

# **PAKISTAN AND RUSSIA RELATIONSHIP: CHANGING DYNAMICS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA**

Dissertation Submitted to the Central University of Punjab

For the award of  
Master of Philosophy

In

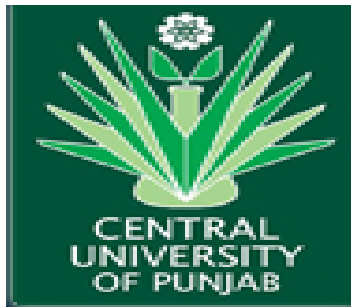
South and Central Asian Studies (Including Historical Studies)

By

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## DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "**Pakistan and Russia Relationship: Changing Dynamics in the Post-Cold War Era**" has been prepared by me under the guidance of **Dr. Sudheer Singh Verma**, Assistant Professor, Centre for South and Central Asian Studies (Including Historical Studies, School of Global Relations Central University of Punjab, Bathinda. No part of this dissertation has formed the basis for the award of any degree or fellowship previously.

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## ABSTRACT

### **Pakistan and Russia Relationship: Changing Dynamics in the Post-Cold War Era**

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**Abstract:** *It would be an important relationship for Pakistan to become a regional partner of Russia, which is a major regional player in the South Asia. During the Cold War and the Post-Cold War era, Pakistan and the Russian Federation (erstwhile the Soviet Union) relationship fluctuated time to time. Pakistan and Russia relationship have been remained over shadow on India and United State of relationship. Both countries' relationship has positive effects on the regional and global political environment. These positive effects are in the geopolitics, economic, security, and trade. It is evident that in the post 9/11 attack, Pakistan emerged as a 'frontline state' in the 'war on terror'. Generally, nation-states follow strategies to gain economic and security related interests out of available opportunities in the world politics. It has been seen as progress in international relations when Pakistan and Russian relations recently moving towards trust zone in the Post-Cold War era. In Inspite of the limitations, the relationship has strong prospects in the Post-Cold War era. Thus, Pakistan has to keep maintain its diplomatic focus on the mutual interests through keeping friendly relations with the Russian Federation. The both countries' relations would help in easing the Political environment in the South Asia.*

**Key words:** Balance of Power, Cold War, Geo-economic and Geo-Political Interests, Trilateral Relationship.

Besakh Singh

Dr. Sudheer Singh Verma

*Dedicated to*  
*My Parents*  
*And*  
*Shri Guru Granth Sahib Ji*  
*Nu*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>Sr No</b>	<b>Full Form</b>	<b>Abbreviations</b>
1	The Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics	<b>U.S.S.R</b>
2	United State	<b>U.S.</b>
3	Turkmenistan-Afghanistan Pakistan-India	<b>TAPI</b>
4	Iran-Pakistan-India	<b>IPI</b>
5	Shanghai Cooperation Organization	<b>SCO</b>
6	Most Favoured Nation	<b>MFN</b>
7	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization	<b>SEATO</b>
8	Central Treaty Organization	<b>CEATO</b>
9	Momendrum of Understanding	<b>MoU</b>
10	Central Intelligence Agency	<b>CIA</b>
11	Inter- Services Intelligence	<b>ISI</b>
12	Estimate	<b>Est</b>
13	Europe	<b>EU</b>
14	United Kingdom	<b>UK</b>
15	United Arab Emirates	<b>UAE</b>
16	Central Asian Republic	<b>CARs</b>
17	Liquefied Natural Gas	<b>LNG</b>
18	United Nation Security Council	<b>UNSC</b>
19	Joint Working Group	<b>JWGs</b>
20	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute	<b>SIPRI</b>
21	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty	<b>CTBT</b>

22	Non-Proliferation Treaty	<b>NPT</b>
23	Nuclear Suppliers Group	<b>NSG</b>
24	Non-Alignment Treaty Organization	<b>NATO</b>
25	Organization of Islamic Conference	<b>OIC</b>
26	Gross Domestic Product	<b>GDP</b>
27	Compressed Natural Gas	<b>CNG</b>
28	Oil and Gas Development Company	<b>OGDC</b>
29	Pakistan Petroleum Limited	<b>PPL</b>
30	World Trade Organization	<b>WTO</b>
31	Free Trade Agreement	<b>FTA</b>
32	Central Asia South Asia	<b>CASA</b>
33	Pakistan Russia Business Forum	<b>PRBF</b>
34	International Security Assistance Force	<b>ISAF</b>

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The end of the Second World War heralded a new era in the world politics. The era, which was defined as an era of bipolarity. The bipolarity nature of the world, politics had decided the direction of building relationship among nation-states. In other words, the world was divided into two poles. The east under the auspices of the erstwhile Soviet Union. The West under the umbrella of the United State of America. Member countries of these two blocs never made efforts to build benevolent relation with other bloc's members. Furthermore, sovereignty is a defining feature of a nation state or a unit in the international political system. For the existence to a state in the system, there is a need for political recognition by another country. Pakistan established political and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. But that relationship could not reach at the very close level, because of ideological divided international political system. Pakistan's was a member country of the western blocs.

The Soviet Union and Pakistan established diplomatic relations in 1 May 1948. History of the world, politics sheds light on the development of relations between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. The major hurdle before enriching relation between the both countries was power politics defined by ideological confrontation between the West and the east bloc's. Having been a member country of the west, Pakistan was chosen a front-line nation to stop the proliferation of communism in the South Asia. As a result, the relationship between Pakistan and Soviet Union could not develop in the Cold War (Ahsan, 65).

The Intensity of conflict driven by the Cold War was felt in the development of relationship between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. Pakistan concluded an agreement with the United States In last of 1959. As a result, the United States was given a grant of usage of territory aimed at a wall against spreading communism. In 1962 the Soviet Union captured the United States's plane in its territory. Later, the Soviet Union brought out the fact that the plane was taken off from the Badaber Airbase, Peshawar (Pakistan). This incident deteriorated established relationship

between two countries. Pakistan and Union Soviet of Socialist Republics (USSR) had relationship became to the deteriorated zone. The relationship between the both countries was starting to improve when Ayub Khan was the President in 1966-1971.

The South Asia is a subcontinent of the Asian continent. Then after the Second world war, India and Pakistan came into existence as two independent nations in the world political map. The political Leaders of the both countries had chosen a different development path. Pakistan had decided to be a part of the powers politics. However, India had adopted a policy of non-alignment. The two countries fought major wars in 1965 and 1971. In 1971, The Indo-Soviet friendship treaty brought the South Asia into the power politics of the Cold War.

During 1973 to 1979, Pakistan's prime minister Z.A Bhutto visited the Soviet Union and made efforts to warm the relationship. The Soviet Union agrees to invests in building up the steel factory. Pakistan had accepted proposal by the Soviet Union. Subsequently, some such development took place in the world politics. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. This event again brought down all the development in the relationship between the both countries.

During the 1980s, tensions increased between the Soviet Union and Pakistan. Since Pakistan was helping the Afghan Mujahedin through providing weapons and political and economical as well. Another side, The United States had backing Pakistan by providing help in all aspects. The détente period came into the World politics, which brought two rivalries, powers on a common platform and they signed a treaty about non-interference in any political matter of any region in the world. The objective of the treaty was to maintain in the international peace and tranquillity. The Soviet Union withdrew its forces from Afghanistan (Topychakanov 9).

In 1991, the Soviet Union, former collapse and Russia became as a successor state of the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union brought a pause in the both countries' relationship. The Post Cold War era heralded a new era in Pakistan and Russia relationship. The prime minister, Nawaz Sharif paid maiden visit to Russia. The prime minister signed several trade and industry related agreements. In the Post

Cold War, there are new emerging challenges as terrorism, human and drug trafficking and environmental issues and before states. The issue of terrorism is global in nature. To tackle, it's, successful cooperative actions required. So, it has paved a way for improving the relationship. A new turned came in the relationship of the both countries not to conclude any agreements related to strategic and military area (Ahmed,785).

With the Passage of time, Russia changes its perspective toward Pakistan. It is evident when President Putin put a proposal for joining Pakistan the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Furthermore; Putin offered Russia's assistance in expansion of Pakistan Steel Mills industry and provision of technical support for the Guddu and Muzaffargarh power factory. The Russians also in addition expressed interest in developing the Thar Coal Project. In 2012, it was expected that Putin was going to pay a visit to Pakistan, but since international political compulsions, the President cancelled visit to Pakistan.

However, Foreign Minister of Russian Federation, Sergei Lavrov visited Pakistan and signed "Memorandum of Understandings" (MoU) with Pakistan on metallurgy industry, energy production and railroad transportation. Pakistan and Russian Federation celebrated 65 years of diplomatic relations in 2013 with the commencement of a strategic dialogue on bilateral issues and agreed on comprehensive cooperation. On April 2014, a Pakistani parliamentary delegation led by Chairman Senate, visited Russia and held meetings with the Russian leadership. Senate Chairman, Nayyer Hussain Bokhari said that Pakistan and Russia had been a discussion on the most views on the international and regional issues (N.H. Fatima, 67).

Pakistan cannot not ignore the Western states and the Soviet Union powers. They are very important for development target achieve and which are the largest trading partners and contribute positively in the Socio-Economic Development and improved a relationship between both countries, currently come to close each other through trade, political issues, cultural exchange and security guarantees deal and nuclear treaty.

## **1.1 REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

During the Cold War era, Pakistan and Russia relationship had been fluctuated. In the last few years, when the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and ended of the Cold War and the international political system and economic relations shifted from a bipolar to a multipolar. Because, its linkages with the security and economic prospects of dynamic changes in relationship. Thus, it is changing effect on the political, economic, military weapons and social system. Both countries have an interesting history of diplomatic relations. Rather than having a bilateral outlook, the relations have been formed under the influence of Pakistan – United States ties and regional situation in South Asia.

A review of literature on the given issue would be undertaken in the following thematic points: 1. Pakistan-Russian Relationship in the Cold War Era 2. Pakistan-Russian Relationship: a Revival in the Post-Cold War Era 3. Disintegration of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR): Geopolitical Change in the World Political Map 4. Moscow's Changing Perceptions of Pakistan.

## **1.2 PAKISTAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE COLD WAR ERA**

During the Cold War era, Pakistan and Soviet Union relationship had been fluctuated. However, in the Post-Cold War period started both nations came to near each other when the United States refused to sell weapons to Pakistan. At those times, environmental Geopolitical changes was one of the most importance debated issues in the Cold War and the Post-Cold War era. After Cold Wars end and USSR's collapse in 1991, the successor state Russia has regained and consolidated its politico-economic and military status as a major world power.

Muhammad Owais, 2007. In his article, "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Political and Economic Dimensional" both countries would be focusing on Geo-strategic and Geo-economics' policy. But there are some aspects like to encourage democracy, human rights, peace and stability and are taken into major consideration for resolving disputes for nuclear non-proliferation deal secondly to develop trade relationships

with Pakistan. The Russia is using a bilateral cooperation with Pakistan. The altered regional and the global necessities that Russia expanded and strengths, its ties with South and West Asian countries to reap benefits from these markets through maximum trade and commercial trade for China, West Asia and South Asia. If peace brought to Afghanistan, then trade route run smoothly, which stopped some work in Afghanistan cross the pipelines and then Pakistan run on the progressive track without restrictions. The growing maintain for the establishment of a new construction of international affairs, based on multilateralism, therefore, but It should sustain an effort to bring Moscow into its economic policy as a first step towards the Russia. This would give superior stability to Pakistan's foreign policy. It would also transport foreign policy more in adjusting with international relationship and regional Geo-economics and Geostrategic requirements increase.

R.G. Gidabhubli, 1995. In his article, "Russia 's Economic Relation with Asia " When the collapse of the Soviet Union, then the bipolar shifted from to multipolar powers. The Russia is a perception that oil treaty done with a Middle East Asia. The South Asia and West Asia are developing countries, but the Russia is the main concerned on economic integration and stability. But the Russia had taken an interested in the cooperated countries like the Middle East, South Asia, West Asia, China, Japan, Vietnam, Asian, Ethopia and Pacific Asia. The Russia wants to take interested in the international market for own products exported-imported through cooperation and slowly-slowly established are dominating in South Asia countries. Its articles main focused on Asian countries that it will be in India's own long-term interest to increase economic ties with Russia and solve easily problems trade and transporting material both countries.

In international relation that 'none is permanent friend or enemy' the same applies to Pakistan and Russia relations in the Cold War and Post-Cold War period. Pakistan's treatment of Russia, mostly the Soviet Union, suggests a meddling in the global powers Politics siding with the United States. Even at the inception of Pakistan, it sent a series of delegations to the United States and Britain for finances and weapons. These will moves suggest things to come in the future. Pakistan showed its willingness to join the British inspired Middle East Defence Organization (MEDO),

which was obviously a strategic ploy to contain the Soviet Union. This plan did not materialistic. But it proved western credentials of Pakistan. Things came to the surface when Pakistan officially joins the United States defence pacts; the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1954 and the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1955. Gradually, Pakistan became the front-line state against war on communism. At times, It had become one of the most trusted friends of the United States.

### **1.3 PAKISTAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP: AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA**

The World has changed rapidly since the formal end of the Soviet Union in December 1991. Pakistan's relations with the Russian Federation, which arisen as the successor state to the Russia federation, are quite inseparable from the legacy of more than four decades of earlier the Russia and Pakistan relations. It seemed for some time that in the changed geopolitical environment scenario after the collapse of the Soviet Union, that Moscow tend to accord greater attention to Pakistan. These relations strengthened during the rule of Nawaz Sharif. The Prime Minister of Pakistan's visit to Moscow for discussion on the economic and political relations established each other country, both nations had come close to each other for development strategy. After 1991, Pakistan was already taking an interest in obtaining military equipment from Moscow. But after The Post-Cold War period, Pakistan and Russia would come near to each other and solved common difficulties related to development.

Thom A. Travis. 1994, in this article, "Advantages and Disadvantages for Pakistan in The Post-Cold War World" the author explained that When the Soviet Union has disintegrated and ended of The Post-Cold War, then the international political system has shifted from a bipolar to a multipolar world. In the world, international capitalist economy, extended by General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The international economic system controlled by the United States and G-7 coalition. Diminished capacity to counter India. Pakistan wants a close relationship with the United States America, till the nuclear disagreement is. Pakistan

needs to improve its relations with the United States by remarkable a good deal on Islamabad's nuclear program, decrease tension with India and build Third World unity by contributing to a solution of the Kashmir conflict. The Islamic movement, where Pakistan's leadership can be translated into enhanced global status and influence.

Rouben Azizian and Peter v Asilieef. 2003, in this article, "Russia and Pakistan: The Difficult Path to Rapprochement" the author explained that the slowly dynamic, changing in the global and regional environment, as well as extensive and possible strategic shifts in South and East Asia and is major influencing relations between Moscow and Islamabad nations. Then the United States and India were relationship warm, When Russia and China close to near each other and assurance building between India and China relationship, Russia and Pakistan to reconsider their heavy political and economic relations and to regulate them to new realities. It should be noted that some provincial states and China has shown in interested in cooperating country and taking practical steps to assist Russian. This development is a pragmatic and popular premier Putin and Musharraf could show new thinking each other country and offer non-conventional advance to the development of bilateral relations. Then the events of 9/11 have created new reasons for better understanding and closer relations both countries.

#### **1.4 DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET UNION: GEOPOLITICAL CHANGE IN THE WORLD POLITICAL MAP**

End of the Post-Cold War period, both nation's relationship has been based on friendship and mutual trust. One of the major reasons for this has been the absence of territorial disputes and ideological differences. Despite two nations were coming too near in 1992, when the United States refused economic assistance and military weapons to Pakistan. Then the Moscow and Islamabad had been signed on the barter deal.

Michel Gorbachev's resignation on 25 December 1991 signaled the downfall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in the bipolar world order. The Russian President Boris Yeltsin, which had official replaced the Union of Soviet Socialistic

Republics (USSR) had emerged as one of the most powerful leaders of the Commonwealth of independent States (CIS). This was a period that saw a vastly altered geopolitical scenario, the collapse of one of the poles in the bipolar configuration of world forces, the emergence of other centers of power (Japan, European Union and China) and the end of the strategic expansion policy (Warsaw pact) of the Eastern bloc. The CIS States, Russia is likely to be India's most important trade partner and supplier of weapons. Currently, the percentage of Indian arms imports from Soviet Russia decreased. India was apprehensive that Russia's economic reliance on the West would affect its reliability as a military supplier. The Majority of the military technology of India was of Soviet Russian origin. However, this time tested friendship was restored from producer-consumer relationship to joint production in Defense technology such as Brahmos, fifth generation fighter air-crafts.

Boris Grekov and S.Solodovnik 1991, in his article "Comparative Studies of Internal Socio-Political Conflicts. A Case Study of Russia (1895-1914) and Pakistan (1950-1987)" in this article both examined says that this study was indicating a dynamic model build in social-political tension (SPT) in the both countries. So, one says that quantities and qualitative comparison of SPT by social and political aspect effect in every field of society. In the size of the investment allocated for and supported in armies Russia. Thus, this War was affected on Political field, trade union and emerge a class conflict in the society. Pakistan wanted to keen a dynamic model in SPT. At those times, Pakistan had been military instability, weak institutional instability reason for violence and mass instability was declined as the economy and political aspects. This article's main focus on the established a dynamic model and quantities and qualitative aspect affected by social-political and economic indicators.

Syed Junaid Ahsan 2004, In his article, "Putin's Russia: Relations with Pakistan" in this article examined says that Pakistan after independence was maintained trilateral policy these are countries, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates (UAE). However, it had been policy, stable a market economy. Putin wants to increase a foreign investment, could integrate a global economy. Promoting inter-bank relations. Then they were dominion a state control in politics, Infrastructure,

International affairs and intellectual potential. Both countries are improved an economy and military relations, the Taliban had not happily in these ties. End of the Cold War, Pakistan moves towards on Russia side and India was smoothly moving to the United States side. The United States had been an allegation and suspicious of Pakistan, when had been attacked on 9/11. There were main pivotal role in the international politics and trade capability. It is article indicate that economy, political and social progress through cooperation.

Richard Sakwa, 1944, In his article, "New Cold War' or Twenty Years' Crisis? Russia and International Politics". The examiner said that two categories raised in the world, one is capitalism and second is communism, there are some conflict emerge in the contemporary period and its some conflicts which Berline-wall, Hungry dispute, Cuban missile conflict and Cuba affected on the international political system and development. During the Cold War era, the two nations were faced an crisis and it is crisis have an effect on the province and geopolitical systems.

Sunil Dasgupta and Stephen P.Cohen, 2011, In this article, "Arms Sales to India: How Military Trade Could Energize the U.S. and Indian Relations" the author explained that India has a permanent seat in the United national security council and recently India wants a military weapons assistance by the United States and the U.S are taking interest in the South Asia and The Obama administration wants better reciprocity, including Indian support for United States Policies on global energy and trade. India is granting of more freedom of action in Afghanistan and Pakistan, weapons contracts for the United States firm. But even after the Cold War, India has preferred Russian goods and Moscow remains India's top military suppliers. The United States and India would be relationship improved through cooperation and counterterrorism easily. Especially if the Indian military were to use equipment it received from the United States against Pakistan. The nuclear deal could influence on many Indians policies, that the United States could be a possible long-term partnership. Bush inflexible fight to Chinese and international non-proliferation advocates' pressure to discard the pacts cemented his status in India, as did his rejection of Pakistani demands.

## **1.5 MOSCOW'S CHANGING PERCEPTION TOWARDS PAKISTAN**

Despite the geographic distance, the Soviet Union researchers began analysing what would become Pakistan over half a century ago, the first Soviet work in Pakistan appeared in 1943, before the state was actually created. But Moscow's political interest in Islamabad has been less consistent. Several years ago, the view that Pakistan belongs to the American and Chinese spheres of influence were quite common in Russian political circles. Many in Moscow believed that even the serious threat to Pakistan's security would affect Islamabad's close partners and neighbours. But would not impact on Russia. The Moscow seemed largely uninterested in developing its relations with Pakistan, especially, these ties did not promise to yield quick and large dividends for Russian state corporations.

Today, Russia's view on Pakistan to has diplomatic. Despite the absence of a common border, the Russia and Pakistan face a number of similar problems, from terrorism to organized crime to nuclear security. Moscow also has interested in South Asia that have forced it to develop its ties with Islamabad and other regional actors in recent years. And while Russia approaches Pakistan as part of its larger strategy in South Asia. Moscow and Islamabad have their own agenda that is not dependent on other countries. Further developing the relations between these two nations can be an important instrument of economic growth and security in the South and Central Asia. Declaration stressed the importance of cooperation for maintaining stability in the region and advised that collaboration on such issues as terrorism and drug trafficking was to be carried out through international and regional structures. Further developing the relations between these two nations can be a main device of economic growth and security in both South and Central Asia.

Pervez Musharraf, 2000, in this article, "Foreign policy of Pakistan" the author explained that Pakistan is a dominated country under military rules. Pakistan wants to take a few steps for international cooperation and regional disputes solve. Parvez Musahrif First of all, nuclear proliferation, secondly, narcotic substances, thirdly, so called Islamic fundamentalism or extremism and lastly their concern share with of China. In the international seen as it affects Pakistan to a great extent, one is that the

security interested of Pakistan. This is priority. Security related problems solved instantly through international cooperation. Secondly, is the economic interested of Pakistan increase. Thirdly, international concerns. Other side, there are multi-polar powers, which are concerned with many issues like that, economical, political, cultural, social, terrorism, drug-trafficking, boundary disputes and then our own ideological interests. The issue of preserving our Islamic identity. This is another determinant for our foreign policy and lastly is upholding of the principle.

Martin Malek 2004, in this article, "Russian Policy toward South Asia: An Update" the author explained that the Russia is anxious to keep the influence of the United States in Central to South Asia, it is supported in this endeavour by China and India. Pakistan was On front-line state and made an important contribution to draw out Soviet troops. Therefore, the Russia accused Pakistan of bringing the Taliban to power in Afghanistan and supporting them and also facilitating terrorism in Kashmir. But the other side, Indian navy and air force is equipped with Russian weapons. India not only restricts itself to the mere purchase of Russian armaments but also manufactures Russian weapons under license and there are a number of joint development projects underway.

Rehman Siddiq 2013, In his article, "Pakistan and its relations with its Neighbours" the author explained that one country could not give a Welfare venture without neighbours countries partnerships. This article main focus on multilateral relationship, trade growth, increase, external security, terrorism activity abolished in neighbour countries and maintain peace in the cooperated countries. Pakistan is a trade corridor and has the potential to earn billions of dollars with the trade transit fees alone. However, The gas pipelines passing throughout the country can be vital to overcome the gas shortage in the country.

It is unfortunate that this facility is being misused by the elements present in Pakistan and Afghanistan, which often is leading to problems in clearance of goods. Since the border between the two countries is highly porous, it is very difficult to contain smuggling.

There is enough literature available on the Cold War and Post-Cold War times Pakistan and Russia relationship were fluctuated during the Cold War era. The available literature shows that when Pakistan became to power (independence 14 August 1947) then it has country economic conditions not stable, but after that, Pakistan comes to close the Soviet Union and move on the development way through cooperation. Both countries' relationship had been up and down time and situation. During the Cold War era, Pakistan and Russia were cooperation and some reason had been both Countries tilted each other. Pakistan cannot ignore the Western states, which are the largest trading partners and contribute positively in the social and economic development of the country. Pakistan in its 're-visit' and 're-formed' foreign policy should have an even-handed approach to all great powers, near and distant, to fulfill their national security objectives.

## **1.6 OBJECTIVES OF DOING RESEARCH**

This study has been done in the dissertation based on the following objectives; they are

1. To illustrate the changing geopolitical environment in the global politics led by the collapse of the Soviet Union.
2. To describe the changing dynamic in Pakistan and Russia's bilateral relations.
3. To evaluate the disintegration of the Soviet Union and its impact on Indo-Russia relations and the subsequent tilt towards Pakistan.

## **1.7 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES**

The study has been done in keeping view of the following hypotheses:

1. The changing dynamic geopolitical environment in the world political map in the Post-Cold War era has become a driving element in Pakistan's diplomatic strategies in reconsidering the bilateral relations with the great powers.
2. India's tilt towards the United States in the Post-Cold War era has become a factor for changing Russian perceptions of Pakistan.

## **1.8 RATIONALE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

In the twenty first century, country strategy to enhance its economic development in the multi-polar country. When It would be an important relationship for Pakistan to become a regional partner of Russia, which is a major regional and world power, having great economic potential Russia's federation came to near Pakistan. But some reason had been tilted towards in the Pakistan like that security cooperation and economic factors. With the tense history of their Cold War relationship, the Afghan Jihad against Soviet occupation and the subsequent „war on terror“ now behind them, Pakistan and Russia see their strategic and economic interests converging in the face of the await withdrawal of US-led coalition forces from Afghanistan in 1989 and the Soviet Union had been furious with Pakistan strategy for mujahedin community.

The Russia's wants own strength had maintained in international affairs, production, export to international market and stable international domination.

After scanning the literature of review, during the Cold War era, both countries" relationship had ups and downs. But most of the times they had perceived each other in a negative mindset. Pakistan through the prism of western perception and the Russia through the Indian eyes. Two nations came to near each other through mutual cooperation. So on finding a position between relationships, the two nation relationship had been improved. After the Soviet disintegration in 1991 and in the post Cold War era, both Pakistan and Russia realized their past mistakes and initiated a process of forging closer relations based on new strategic realities. The Russian leaders declared Pakistan as a key player in resolving Afghan conflict and expressed keen interest in investing in various economic and energy projects in Pakistan. Similarly, Pakistan saw Russia as a strong regional partner and source of future economic investment being the world"s eighth largest economy and the third major holder of foreign reserves in the Asia Pacific region after China and Japan. Thus, it is relationship had bad impacts on India foreign policy. Both countries' relationship had been affected on the South Asian. Then India"s had makes distance of the Russia and which had been forgotten a deal signed both countries in the past.

But both nations formal had been mistake not use in the present period, both countries come to near mutual political visitor and economic trade through come close, security conflicts, solve and trade policies extend and industry establish and the Russia has agreed investment in the energy and power sector. It is also important that Russia, Pakistan and Central Asian states should resolve outstanding issues by evolving a regional framework. This would require more than visits of special envoys.

Many political leaders, officials, scholars and former diplomats in Russia, Pakistan and even in India believe that in the post withdrawal days, Pakistan-Russia relations would grow more evenly in face of Indo-US tacit opposition. Based on these arguments and reading through the history of past errors, Pakistan should now 'redirect' its foreign policy. It should come out of its past mistakes and make a fresh start. The Salala incident, the Afghan imbroglio, Indo-US nuclear deal and weakening

economy, all suggest Pakistan should re-consider the objectives and tools of its foreign policy. New Geo-political and Geo-strategic environment needs new readings and new approaches. An obvious error should not be extended and carried on into the future. Pak-Russia relation deserves rational understanding and a bold start.

## **1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The proposed work will be based on the descriptive and analytical methodology.

**Data Collection:** The Research has been conducted applying descriptive and analytical approach. The study has been done by using the data collected from primary as well as secondary sources.

To accomplish the first objective of the research study, the Primary data had conducted to analyze the Pakistan Russia Business Form (PRBF), report of statistical data, white paper reports, the interview of political leader, government records, both countries of the ministry reports, SIPRI reports of weapons and bilateral deals of data, all data collected for both countries' relationship during the Cold War and Post Cold War era. The Secondary sources also included books, journals, magazines and newspapers.

To accomplish the second objective of the research, has conducted secondary as well as primary sources. The primary data of the research had been conducted to analysis of bilateral deals, import and export of statistical data, Report of the Pakistan Russia Business form, the political delegation of the interview, Report of the Bartel deals, Pakistan and Russia government of records. both countries has dynamics in the Cold War and the Post Cold War era. The Secondary Sources also include articles, books, journals, magazines and newspapers.

To accomplish the third objective of the study, along with secondary sources as well as primary sources, had also access to understand the geopolitical of Pakistan and Russia. For this purpose, the interviews of delegations, bilateral deals, white papers of report, government publications had also be analysis to understand the both countries' relationship, During the Cold War and the Post Cold War era. thus,it is relations impact on Indo-Russia, and many finding and recommendation could be

applied both countries. Secondary sources had also used SIPRI year 2013, articles, journals, magazines and newspaper. the study has analysed all the available data related to the Cold War and the Post-Cold War era.

## **1.10 CHAPTERISATION**

The whole research study is divided into six chapters.

### **1. Introduction and Review of Literature**

Chapter one introduces the research title by providing background knowledge aimed at making understand the significance of it. It also sites research problems, rationale and scope of the study, hypotheses and research methodology. The chapter further is doing a review of important available literatures in the concern topic. An attempt had been made through the study of the literature which has employ to carry out research to identify the knowledge gap in the previous research, in justification of the proposed study.

### **2. Pakistan and Russia: Political and Security Relations**

Second Chapter focuses on the political and security relations between Russia and Pakistan. In this chapter are discusses all the signed agreements, political journey, trade weapons relations, defence cooperation and joint working group against anti terrorism activity. During the Cold War and Pre Cold War era, political visits/journey in studying political and security relations.

### **3. Pakistan and Russia: Economic and Trade Relations**

Third chapter examines economic and trade relations between the both countries developed during the Cold War and the Post-Cold War period and discussed on the barter deal, bilateral relations, import and export goods, energy deals and weapons treaty. It also analyzed the data related to import and export goods..

#### **4. Emerging Triangular Relationship Between Pakistan, India and Russia**

Chapter four describes and examines the emerging triangular relationship (Pakistan, Russia and India) in the region. It analyses all the factors are military, political, economic, space program, science programs, energy deals and SCO negotiation. triangular relations affected by external factors India, the United States,China border.

#### **5. Findings and Recommendations**

At last, fifth Chapter mainly concerns the findings drawn out of the study conducted. It also proposes recommendations based on the study for improving the relations between the both countries.

## CHAPTER 2

### PAKISTAN AND RUSSIA: POLITICAL AND SECURITY RELATIONS

The Disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991 has Witnessed a significant shift in the nature of the global politics, as it has transformed the bipolar world into a unipolar. As a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, then Russia started to make reforms in their political, economic and security fields. Pakistan's relations with the former Soviet Union fluctuated from cool to aggressive and hostile. Although Pakistan and the Soviet Union did not have a history of bilateral disputes or differences. The Soviet Union and Pakistan had good and strong relations during the period of 1947-50. The Soviet Union and Pakistan recognized each other and established diplomatic relations on 1 May 1948. The United States backed military revolt resulted into the split of bilateral relations between the two countries. Pakistan had to face many difficulties related to the economic and security (Owais, 167-169).

In 1949, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan received invitations from the Soviet Union and the United States to visit their countries, but Pakistan Prime Minister has selected to go to the United States. Then Pakistan's unfriendly sign towards the Soviet Union region resulted in growing. After that the Soviet tilt towards the Indian state by becoming the chief supplier of military equipment to India and the other side, Pakistan's security threat from India resulted in the further hatred in the bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan. Islamabad was drifted more towards United States and became part of the United States led armies coalition in the 1950 and participated in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) In 1954 and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1955, which were planned to force the 'Northern tier' against a supposed warning from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union did not like coalition with the United States of Pakistan, which it understand as a link in the control policy against by the United States and there were example when Moscow and Islamabad took important steps to improve the relationship. The two nations come to near each other. Although the two countries do not share their land border, they had been maintained geopolitical and geostrategic (Ahmad, 65).

During the period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the cooperative relations were developed between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. At that time, the visit of Bhutto to the Soviet Union and mutual discussion on the integrated steel mill factory (Pakistan), proved positive results and the two countries came close to each other, but soon after some years, India and Pakistan War begin in the 1965, the relations between Pakistan and Soviet Union again got fracture.

On April 1968, Soviet Prime Minister Alexey Kosygin visited Pakistan's for discussion on the security and economic subjects. He announced a limited quantity of weapons and financial aid to Pakistan, which amounted to only 5-10 million dollars as against 600-700 million dollar arms assistance to India, 260 million dollars to Afghanistan and 100 million dollars to Iran. In 1970, Pakistan under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto showed some signs of improvement in the relationship between two nations.

During the 1973 to 1979, the Soviet Union and Pakistan had enjoyed a strong relationship with each other. After that, the Union Soviet of Socialistic Republics (USSR's) military invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, the relations between the two countries got fluctuated. Pakistan had been supported to the Mujahidin community (Afghanistan) backed by the United States. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia countries were given training, economic assistance, weapons and grenades to the Mujahidin's. During the 1980s, tensions increased between the Soviet Union and Pakistan when the mujahedin forced the Soviet forces to withdraw from Afghanistan on February 15, 1989. Pakistan played the important role in this big game. This caused a serious injury to the bilateral relations of Pakistan and the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 has witnessed a significant shift in the nature of the global politics, as it has transformed the bipolar world into a uni-polar one. As a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russians started to make reforms in their political, economic and security relations (Seth 618).

The Russia, itself had shown greater interest in the Post-Cold War period. There is a great opportunity for both countries that they would come under a regional framework to make cooperation in the political, economic and security. Pakistan is showing full interest in buying Russian weapons for security purposes, technology

move in the scientific and research fields, exports and imports goods and good relations with the Central Asian Republic's (CAR) etc. In order to improve their bilateral relations, Pakistan had to take the first step, as Pakistan's strategic and economic interests make Russia an important regional player. All this is possible only after the relations between the Russia and Pakistan will develop up to a certain level, despite that it is a difficult task (Hussain, 83, 2012).

In this Chapter the Past and Present situation of the political and security relation between the Russia and Pakistan has been highlighted. In this chapter, the main focus is on the Security outlook at regional and international level. The Chapter has also given details about the historical and current relations. Various attempts have been made to understand the historical ups and downs in the relations. The study also stressed on the role that both countries played at international level in trade treaties, security agreement and peaceful co-existence perspective. During the Cold War era and the Post-Cold War era mainly relations have been discussed in the chapter as well as.

## **2.1 PAKISTAN AND RUSSIA: POLITICAL RELATIONS**

The twenty first century has become witnesses of evolving multi-polar international political system. As it is said in the international relations that 'none is permanent friend or enemy' the same applies Pakistan and Russian relations. Pakistan and the Soviet Union established diplomatic relations in 1 May, 1948. the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan received invitations to make visits to the Soviet Union and the United States in 1949 but he had chosen was going to the United States. After independence, Pakistan situation had downturns of the security field. The Soviet Union had been miserable to this decision of Pakistan's Prime Minister. Pakistan's unfriendly signal towards the Soviet Union consequence in increasing Soviet tilt towards India with Soviet Union becoming the major supplier of arms to India that aggravate Pakistan's security threat from India. This could the turning point of Pakistan and Soviet relations (Hussain, 82).

The Russia has importance a main play role in the South Asia. Since Pakistan had been in the international attention for the last few decades. But it is not, as big a regional player as India, nor does it show off as many energy resources as Iran. But Pakistan's 'natural resource' is its helpful strategic position, which makes it a major attraction for the Russian Federation.

Pakistan has to maintain the balance of power with its greater friendly neighbour nation and thus it had been also affected its relations with Russia. As Pakistan moved closer towards western bloc for security and financial support and as India's good bilateral relations with the former Soviet Union for weapons purchase and economic stability and maintain security, the differences between the two countries also increased to a certain level. Recently, Pakistan would act as a main player in achieving peace and stability in Afghanistan that may advance towards security stability in the region.

In the starting years (1947-1953) of Pakistan and Soviet Union relationship had been up and downs. In the 1950s, Pakistan became a member of US-led military agreement, then Pakistan became a member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954 and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1955, which were designed to support the 'northern tier' against an understood danger from the Soviet Union. In August 1956, both nations had signed on the International agreements and bilateral deals, which related to development prospects by which both countries achieved the most favored nation (MFN) status in the trade relation.

In 1958, the Russia wants to make relations with Pakistan through economic growth and technical assistance in the agriculture sector, flood-related help, control of desalination, pesticide control and soil erosion and import and export things. The Soviet long term loans give to Pakistan 300 million dollars for an oil cooperation deal and after in 1963. In 1965, President of Pakistan, Mohammad Ayub Khan make visits to the Soviet Union, mutual discussion was held on past mistakes, but then both the countries signed on three agreements related to trade sector, economic growth and cultural exchanges and signed on a Momendum of Understanding (MoU).

End of the World War II and then some powers, origin in the bipolar world. It has bipolar world produce of the Cold War transformed into a multiipolar world. The Russian and United States had two major powers of origin in the world. One country did not move on the development way without international affairs. So Security issues will be very sensitive whole world. On 5 March 1959, the United States signed on the bilateral defence agreement with Pakistan mutual discussion. The United States agreed to military weapons and security threats, the United States declared that any attack on Pakistan, then the United States concern of the attack. It is agreement clearly indicate, of Article 1 that "main focus on its national interests and to world peace maintain the protection of the independence country and territorial integrity of Pakistan. the United States promised to take appropriate action to Promote Peace and Stability in Middle East. In Article 2, the United States main focus and promises to support the economic sector and protection of economic development, integrity and effective promotion of The United States commitment to help Pakistan in the event of violence was more specific than any earlier pacts including the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) 1954 and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)1955. But on those days, bilateral defence pacts had main aims peace and stability in both countries' cooperation (Akhtar“Pak-US partnership”18-21).

In fact the Soviet Union supplied a limited quantity of arms to Pakistan blocs. These policy changes were meant to decrease Chinese and American influence on Pakistan. The bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan improved well. However, the Tashkent agreement next step represented a great diplomatic relation with Moscow. It made the Soviet presence felt in the Indian sub-continent and established the status of the Union Soviet Socialistic Republic (USSR) as an Asian power. As a result, the Soviet Union was able to combine its ties with both India and Pakistan. The Russia has played a mediator role in the both countries, Russian senior Aleksay Kosygin who had invited to two nations chief in Tashkent in 1965. Moscow began to expand large quantity economic and weapons support to Pakistan for a number of projects established through mutual cooperation (Ali, 3-7).

Pakistan and the Soviet Union have again done a Barter deal (exchanged for goods and services without using money) in January 1966, which provided for the exchange of Pakistani rice to Russia. Both countries also undertook interest in many other areas like that of vehicles for road construction and engineering machinery, tools, 80 million dollar aid gives to Russia and 600 million rupees credit to give 15 broadcasting stations established in Pakistan. In April 1968, the Russian Prime Minister Alexey Kosygin visit to Pakistan, the Russia was announced a limited quantity of weapons supply to Pakistan region, which amounted to 5-6 million dollars as against 600-700 million dollar weapons assistance to India, 260 million dollar give to Afghanistan and 100 million dollars to Iran (Owais,130).

Between 1971, Pakistan and the Soviet Union relationship have been fluctuating. There were certain reasons responsible for that like that Indo-Pak war begun on the line of control (LOC). The Soviet Union had supported to India in this war. The Soviet Union provided military assistance to India during this war and Pakistan's relation had been converted moderate to warm. After that, India and Soviet Union signed on the Peace and Friendship treaty in 1971. On the other side, Pakistan's improved relations with China and the United States by signing various agreements with them (Wolpert, 297).

The Prime Minister of Pakistan ,Bhutto visited the Soviet Union three times, first in March 1972 and then in October 1974 and during October 1976. These visits discussed on economic cooperation, political issues, regional security and international matters. But on those days, the Soviet Union played a main role in Pakistan of foreign policy. When the former Soviet Union troops invaded into Afghanistan in December 1979 and Pakistan became a guide for Central intelligence agency (CIA's) clear and undercover aid to mujahedin community fighting against the Soviets Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

In October 1992, Pakistan Foreign Secretary Akram Zaki visited in Moscow and a wide range of bilateral issues was discussed during these visits, including partnership in the fields of defence, outer space technology programs and peaceful uses of nuclear energy and then protocol was signed in July 1994 by Sardar Assef Ali

and his Russian representative. Then the foreign minister of the Russian Andrei Kozyrev, an agreement on the elimination of visa limitations for holders of diplomatic passports was signed. Pakistan and the Russia signed on the three treaties to improve cultural and diplomatic ties, to resolve visa problems and immigration restrictions. Thus, these are problems could restriction on the development way. On 24 September 1995, the Russian delegation, Alexander Vengerovsky visit to Pakistan, disclosed that Russia was ready to supply military weapons to Pakistan, and the Russian technology could find its way into many fields in Pakistani markets. In April 1999, the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif visit to the Russian nation, which was the first journey to Moscow by a Pakistani Prime Minister in 25 years.

In 1999, the Russians also welcomed the deteriorated up of relations between India and Pakistan blocs through the Lahore Declaration. In February 2003, President Musharraf's visit to Moscow resulted in the organization of the Joint Working Group on the Counter Terrorism activity, Joint Working Group was the main focus on peace maintains and anti terrorism activity abolished in the both countries. Pakistan first steps up to improve relations with Chechen place (Russia), When Pakistan caught Chechen Terrorists from Pakistan and Afghanistan border in 2004 and handed them over to the Russian forces without restriction. In 2007, Russian prime minister Mikhail Fradkov became the first Russian Prime Minister visit to Pakistan in Russia era of 38 years (Owais, 126).

In 2011, the Russian alliance has supported that Pakistan should become a permanent member in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). In 2012, the Russian President Vladimir Putin cancelled his visit of Pakistan, according to reported under Western and Indian blocs influence. Then they signed the 'Memorandum of Understandings' (MoU) with a Pakistan treaty on the metallurgy industry, Energy production and railroad transportation field. Pakistan and Russian association celebrated 65 years of diplomatic relations in 2013 with the beginning of a planned discussion on the bilateral conflicts and agreed on broad cooperation. On April 2014, a Pakistani representative said that both countries' relationship had been fluctuated time to time, but now currently period should be discussed on the most views of the

international relations and regional issues and in June 2014, both countries had signed on the defence cooperation agreement (Fatima N.H, 4-7).

## **2.2 PAKISTAN AND RUSSIA RELATIONS AFTER 9/11**

During the Post-Cold War era, Pakistan and Russia were coming too near each other smoothly, keeping in strategy the changed political circumstances and economic conditions at the regional and international levels, although their past some conflicts emerge, This is particularly reflected in high-level contacts and state visits during the last five years, with the two countries forging a partnership that was perhaps never expected in the 1980s and 1990s. For the first time in decades, there are clear signs of improvement in Pakistan and Russia relations.

### **2.2.1 POLITICAL RELATIONS**

The September 11 attacks were a series of four terrorist attacks by the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda on the United States on the morning of Tuesday; the United States President George Bush had been indicating a clear conspiracy by the Taliban (al-Qaeda). When Pakistan's Prime Minister Parvez Musharraf sent to Inter-State intelligence (ISI) Chief general Mehmood to Moscow meet and special discussion on the both countries' relationship. During this visit, Chief General of Pakistan discussed on purchase Russian 16 Mi-17 helicopters. Pakistan and Russia have been engaged in practical diplomacy improved bilateral ties. And the other side, Pakistanis had been already afraid of U.S strategy. In August 2002, the Russians and Pakistan could be approved to set up a joint anti-terrorist group, similar to the Russo-Indian wants to abolish anti-terrorist group and Losyukov said that Pakistan should do more to fight against terrorism. A similar complaint was made by the Foreign Ministry in November 2002 (Smith, 10).

The two countries were emerging of a major discussion on the pacts related to improving a relationship, additional secretary of Pakistan, ministry of foreign affairs, Aziz Ahmed Khan visited Moscow in January 2002 for consultations on trade

development, economic integration and political matters solved by cooperation. In the August 2002, Pakistan and Russia had been conference in Moscow; three leading elite businessmen had comprised in the trade conference. Both countries had one major aim achieved cooperative business Council aim an income one billion dollars worth of the trade and investment of the business in the coming year start each other consent. In the February 2003, Pakistan President Parvez Musharraf visits to Moscow. During the meeting of the main measurement had been emergence Geostrategic realities in the both countries and together cooperation will be solved disputes easily.

The Russia and Pakistan signed on the some agreements to improve cultural activity and diplomatic strategy ties and to resolve visa problems and immigration restrictions. In mid-2004, the Government of Pakistan decided to build planned reserves of wheat for cooperating countries; Pakistan bought 150,000 tonnes of wheat at a very cheap rate of 198 dollars per tonne. This price was offered by Switzerland based Russian wheat, solid which was very low as compared to the prices offered by its traditional wheat suppliers Australia and the United States. The Russia has 15 billion dollar trade volumes with China, three billion dollars with India and five billion dollars of the trade volumes with Iran, India and Iran respectively. The trade volume has gradually increased from 50 million dollars in 1998, 100 million dollars in 2002, 78 million dollars in 2003, 270 million dollars in 2004 to 520 million dollars in 2006. In the above of the data, trade quantity would be increased slow-slow through cooperation (National Defence University, 76-80).

### **2.2.2 SECURITY RELATIONS**

Historical background, geography, demography and political opportunity structure prepare national integration purpose, peace maintain in the nation. These strategic construct 'strategic mindset and security paradigm' reliable with the power possible of the nation. Geo-historical, Geopolitical, Geo-economics and Geo-cultural dimensions together, play their part in making and maintaining the security construct of the region. Pakistan and Russia are major powers, come close to each other countries through cooperation. In 2010, the Russia's prime minister Vladimir Putin

declared that Russia has military ties with Pakistan. Because of Russia want to maintain friendly relations with India. The Russia had used a diplomatic relations with both countries. In 2011 Russia changed its policy and Putin openly official Pakistan offer to join the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). The Russia and Pakistan signed on the very first military cooperation treaty. Ending years of division over Islamabad's close military ties with the United States and Moscow's with India (Bodner 2014).

However, it is a lot tilted in favour of Russia with 459 million dollar exports to Pakistan. The main items exported from Russia to Pakistan are chemical products, fertilizers things, timber, paper and metal, while Pakistan's main export items are garments production and fabric items, leather and leather products and food items. Pakistan can export own production like rice, fruit, sports goods, textile yarn, garments, surgical items and seafood. Russia's overall exports amount to 317.6 billion dollars (est, 2006) and its imports are 171.5 billion dollars (est, 2006), while Pakistan's overall exports stood at 16.5 billion dollars during 2005-2006 and imports at 29 billion dollars. During the same period, estimate of trade volume imported-exported items show that both countries are development growth. Russian wants to take to control Pakistan markets by making its own manufacturing products more competitive. Although it has to permit opposition from China, India, Germany and Holland, the growing trade shortage demand that Pakistan should expand its scope of trade with other countries like Russia and look for alternative markets rather than focus on traditional partners like the United State (U.S) Europe (EU) United Kingdom (UK) China and United Arab Emirates (UAE).

In January 2002, both countries of the delegations discussion on the trade, economic and political matters. A Russian business delegation came to Pakistan in early 2002, as a result of which, the Pakistan-Russia Business Forum (PRBF) was created. In August 2002, Pakistan-Russia Business Council (PRBC) was set up in Moscow (Russia), comprising three leading businessmen each from both countries. They are related to trade development and maintains security. The Joint Business Council targets an income of one billion dollars worth of trade and investment sectors

in the coming years. According to sources privy to the Council, thirty (30) Russian companies are ready for investment in Pakistan and 300 more companies have shown their interest in the nation (Gregory, 13).

The Russia and Pakistan relationship has not been stable during development. There were a number of facts regarding an indifferent nature of the relationship between the two countries. The most important factor was Pakistan's decision to join United States sponsored military alliance in Asia. Thus, it became an important friend of the United States in the South Asian region to contain the Soviet's influence. These developments increased Soviet Union's concern unpaid to its unfriendly with America. When the United States Military aid to Pakistan and establishment of American military bases on Pakistan's soil. Recently, Islamabad also signed on the defence agreement with Pakistan. The Moscow agreed to sell Mi-35 'Hind'E' cargo helicopter to Pakistan. Pakistan's relations were on a decline during the Khrushchev leadership, even When Khrushchev unlimited support to India's stand on the Kashmir disputes and at the same time, spoken his interested to have friendly relations with Pakistan and other side, the Soviet Union growing knowledge between China and Pakistan after the Sino-Indian conflict caused injury in Indo-Pak relations.

Thus it was also cause of serious fear to Moscow, which did not Islamabad come under unfriendly influence of China. Pakistan's successful efforts for consent between China and the United States nations and its rejection to cooperate with the Asian collective security system also contributed to the decline of a relationship. The Soviet Union tried to develop good relations with Pakistan; it would remove its planned location in the Western region. The Soviet Union played an important role in the dismemberment of Pakistan, through its location at the UN Security Council and the Soviet Union by providing military aid to India during Indo-Pak war in December 1971 (Ali, 3-7).

The Russian Federation of Foreign Policy has Concept related to nuclear weapons restriction and then calls to India and Pakistan to join and signed on the treaty Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The Russian experts did not take any type of risk a nuclear war between India and Pakistan. Especially in Pakistan, to stop the illegal use of nuclear weapons and terrorism activity each other country. The event shows that Pakistan's efforts to increase its nuclear security were insufficient.

This nuclear will have a direct affect on the Russia and the international security, stability, it makes should possible the decline of nuclear terrorism activity. Both countries had unanimity of views on the need for a comprehensive approach to combat terrorism and included firm measures against manifestations of ethnic and religious extremism, trafficking of illicit nuclear materials, drugs and transnational organized crime.

**Table: 2.1 WORLD NUCLEAR FORCE 2013**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Deployed Warheads</b>	<b>Other Warheads'</b>	<b>Total (2013)</b>
<b>USA</b>	2150	5500	7700
<b>Russia</b>	1800	6700	8500
<b>UK</b>	160	65	225
<b>France</b>	-290	-10	-300
<b>China</b>	-	-250	-250
<b>India</b>	-	90-110	90-110
<b>Pakistan</b>	-	100-120	100-120
<b>Israel</b>	-	-80	-80
<b>North Korea</b>	-	-	6-8
<b>Total</b>	4400	12865	17265

Table adopted from: [http://www.sipri.org/media/pressreleases/2013/YBlaunch\\_2013](http://www.sipri.org/media/pressreleases/2013/YBlaunch_2013)

At the start of 2013 eight states—the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, China, India, Pakistan and Israel—possessed approximately 4400 operational nuclear weapons. Nearly 2000 of these are kept in a state of high

operational alert. If all nuclear warheads are counted, these states together possess a total of approximately 17265 nuclear weapons (see table 2.1), as compared with 19 000 at the beginning of 2012. At the same time, all five legally recognized nuclear weapon states, China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States are either deploying new nuclear weapon delivery systems or have announced programs to do so and appear determined to retain their nuclear arsenals indefinitely. On the five countries' data clear indicate, only China seems to be expanding its nuclear arsenal. India and Pakistan are both expanding their nuclear weapon stockpiles and missile delivery capabilities (SIPRI, 2013).

Pakistani government's energy policy effect on the economic and climatic stability, these factors are mainly responsible for the electric energy shortage. Any means, developing the country's nuclear energy program could be part of a long term broad program to improve Pakistan's energy sector. Third, one of the issues of the Russian and Pakistani Civil nuclear cooperation is important for use of restriction. It is related to the larger problem of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. However, Pakistan should be satisfactory to cooperate with other countries to develop. Its nuclear energy program has received a huge deal of notice, Since India was granted a refusal that allowed it to engage in civil nuclear trade in 2008 (Ahmed, 785).

On the other side, the rejection the future of the United States (U.S) and draw out limitations on India cooperation with members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) an international company that sets global rules for nuclear trade according. The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) was formed as a response to the peaceful nuclear test that India conducted in 1974 with the help of its cooperation with the United States and Canada. The Russia, which regularly supported both nations the non-proliferation rule and the other side in Indian ignored. The solution will affect both Moscow's nuclear relationship with India. Both nations does not nuclear Weapons not suppliers by U.S According to the author, nuclear cooperation would allow Pakistan and the United States to overcome mutual distrust, which would, in help solve other problems in South Asia, such as applied the situation in Afghanistan.

**Figure: 2.1 NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES EMERGE IN THE WORLD 1970-2014**

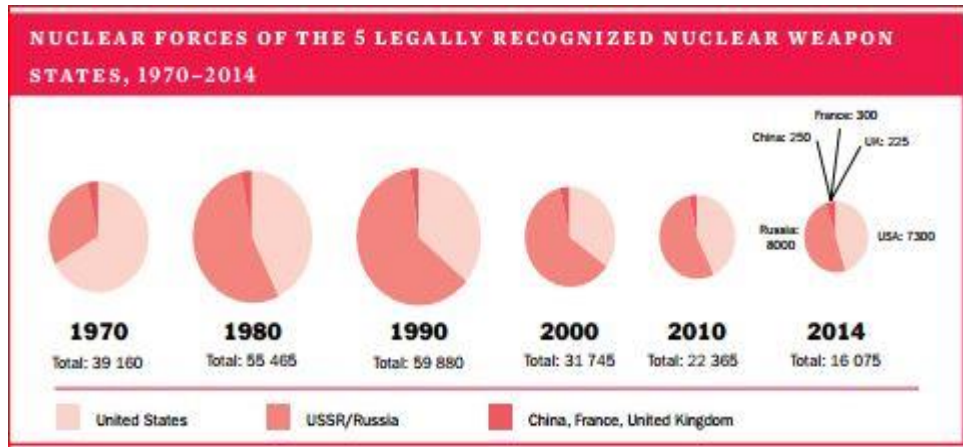


Figure adopted from : <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2014/files/SIPRIYBSummary14.pdf>

In the above, the figure shows that Pakistan and Russia relation had ups and down time to time. But nuclear weapons had been sold to Pakistan through cooperation. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) is controlled disarmament and international conflicts should be shut out easily through pacts. There are three countries used a nuclear weapon in 1970-2014. In 1986, Beijing (China) and Islamabad (Pakistan) reached an agreement to cooperate on the peaceful use of nuclear energy weapons. Since it began working with Pakistan on nuclear energy projects before it signed on the Non proliferation Treaty (NPT) and joined the National Security Guard (NSG) in 1992 and 2004, respectively, China does not believe it is connected its non-proliferation responsibility. As a result of Chinese-Pakistani cooperation agreement, contracts for shipping a total of four light-water reactors, which are used in generating nuclear electricity easily. Pakistan's were signed on the Chashma Nuclear Power Plant In 1991, 2004, and 2010. But some plant works are pending and some are under construction.

The total number of nuclear warheads in the World is declining, primarily due to the United States America and Russia continues to reduce their nuclear arsenals as a result of their 2010 Treaty on Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and unilateral reductions. Together, Russia and the

United States of America hold more than 90 per cent of the global inventory of nuclear weapons (SIPRI, 2014).

### 2.2.3 ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The Chief of Army Staff, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani, visited Russia three times in the past i.e. 2009, 2012 and 2013. Then the Russia army chief visited twice in the last two years, Colonel General Alexander Postnikov, Commander-in-Chief Russian Ground Forces in May 2011. The Russian Army Chief Vladimir Chirkin in August 2013. These visits focused on ties between the armies of the two countries and matters related to regional security and common interests and to lay the establishment of a bilateral planned relationship between two countries. A four country summit in Russia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Tajikistan was held in Sochi (Russia) in August 2010. The Sochi summit was careful as a rotating point in rewriting on the history of relations between two nations. However, the summit main focus on for an opening meeting of the Trade, Economic, new Scientific-Technological Cooperation in Pakistan.

**Table: 2.2 MILITARY SPENDING IN SOUTH ASIA 2012**  
(Previous years in some cases)

<b>Country</b>	<b>Military Spending US\$ Billions</b>	<b>World Ranking</b>
<b>India</b>	46.219	7
<b>Pakistan</b>	5.16	33
<b>Sri lanka</b>	1.280	65
<b>Bangladesh</b>	1.137	68
<b>Afghanistan</b>	0.250	97
<b>Nepal</b>	0.207	104

Table Adopted from: SIPRI Yearbook 2013.

In June 2002, the president of the Pakistan visit to Russian Federation discusses the military equipment import and export in the South Asia nation. The Joint Working Group on the Counter Terrorism activity, these Joint Working Group (JWGs) has held their regular meetings in cooperating countries. Then the Russians also supported to Pakistan's easy entry into the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to become part of the Russian regional security system (Bodner). Recently, Russia and Pakistan signed on the bilateral defence cooperation agreement to improve its military-to-military relations. Both countries had expected to sign a technical cooperation agreement for the sale of Russia military equipment to Islamabad in cheap rates. Last year, Russia's recorded exports to Pakistan were much more limited, valued at a simple \$22 million dollars, according to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). Then the Russian also sells military weapons to Pakistan through China cooperation (Owais, 29).

Then Ukraine supplied its major fighter tank (T-80) to Pakistan, which had built on the new Russia technology in 1990. In 2009, Russia also lifted its objections related to supply of Chinese JF-17 fighter planes (powered by Russian RD-93 engines) to Islamabad. The Russians had sold over forty MI-17 transport helicopters to Pakistan. Islamabad is also interested to purchase MI-35 attack helicopters to fight against terrorism. In the military equipment developments show that both Islamabad and Moscow came close to near during the last decade and avoid differences and agreement was included in the sale of 16 Russian M-17 cargo helicopters to Pakistan. The China and Pakistan joined in producing the JF-17 Thunder fighter jet (Cabural). The Russia played a mediator role between Pakistan and India. The Soviet Union would maintain a more balanced approach to South Asia by approving to sell defence tools to Pakistan. Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan visited Moscow two times between 1965 and 1968. It was during Kosygin visit in 1968 that the United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) agreed to sell a modern quality of arms to Pakistan. Then the Soviet took a decision to provide arms aid to Islamabad and major problem from their hope of withdrawing Pakistan away from the United States and China region.

**Figure: 2.2 Trend in International Arms Transfer 1950-2014**

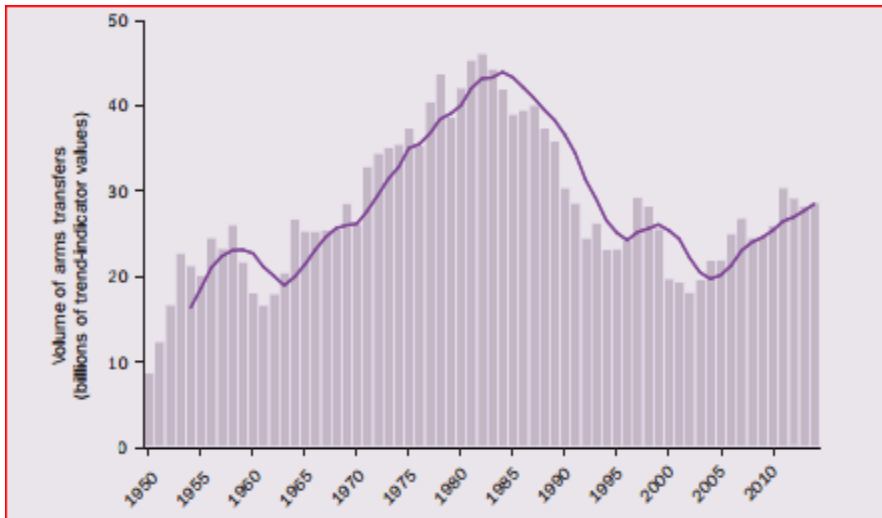


Figure adopted from : [http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/transfers/measuring/copy\\_of\\_at\\_images/arms-transfers-trend-1950-2014/image](http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/transfers/measuring/copy_of_at_images/arms-transfers-trend-1950-2014/image)

In the above, this bar graph clearly indicated that the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) world has been famous weapons sell institutional. But this is dedicated to research into conflict, armaments, arms control, and disarmaments. And then the United States had imposed arms restriction on India and Pakistan, following the outbreak of the conflict in September 1965. Pakistan was looking to China for essential military supplies and China had also extended diplomatic support to Pakistan. Following Air Marshal Asghar Khan's visit to China in September 1965, China agreed to extend military aid to Pakistan. The China supplied to military hardware worth over \$200 million, comprising 200 T-59 tanks, 120 MiG-19s etc.

During the Cold War era, the Soviet Union agreed had supplied military weapons to Pakistan in 1968 (including a number of tanks and helicopters) it wanted to protect and maintain power in South Asia region. Pakistan rejects the close military with Russia nation, but Pakistan clearly wants increase business treaty with Moscow. Islamabad, wants to take an interest in Su-30 fighter jets for self protection. In 2001 Pakistan has purchased of 12 Mi-17 (1) helicopters from Russia, but value approximately \$50 million and a sign of Russian willingness to sell military weapons in

Pakistan. As tools transfers the Russia deliveries, ₹96 of 17 Mi-17s to Pakistan In 1995. The Mi-17 can be used as both a civilian and military Workhorse. the Russian and Pakistani trade (less than \$100 million annually) is to be improved by weapons sales in the expected future. Pakistan had purchased ₹99, Kiev sold 320 T-80DU tanks worth \$650 million, through cooperates broadly with the former Soviet republic From 1997 and in 2002 Islamabad signed on the deal, which \$150 million contract with to supply 315 6TD-2 series diesel engines for the AlKhalid tank had in service with Pakistan army as of 2009.

The Russia does not regard India and Pakistan as official nuclear powers, although their nuclear tests in May 1998. The United States had a full ban on the testing nuclear weapons and then the Moscow abandon the sanction imposed by the United States. Both nations still in fact too little effect on the relationship of nations. However, doubts have been expressed about the reliability of security measures implemented by the two blocs, particularly in Pakistan, to avoid the illegal use of nuclear weapons every in the nation, for example, by terrorist activity.

## **2.5 POLITICAL AND SECURITY RELATIONS: THE MAJOR PLAYERS**

Pakistanis and Russia were two cooperated countries move on the development track mutual discussion. But the Russian should be not ignored to Indian region. During the Cold War era, the Soviet Union and India come to near each country. But where two countries had been faced some difficulties are Sino-India border conflict, Afghanistan issue, Indo-Pakistan war, USA strategy, U-2 Incident spy plane and major topic Kashmir Issue. Thus, it is a massive effect on the both countries 'relationship. In below some internal and external factor is discussing.

### **2.5.1 INDIA**

In this context the role of Pakistan leadership has also been quite non-visionary. India was able to enjoy friendly relations with both the superpowers. It can be argued that Pakistan had not bad aims towards the former Soviet Union (Present Russia). Hence, Indian factors in the foreign policy of Russia and Pakistan is not

more stable. The Russian stress appears to be the maintenance of regional relation stability and economic growth and security guarantees in the both countries. And the other side, Russia's main strategic and economic interests establish in India, which is not only economical, stronger, but at this time supposed by Russia as the more reliable support. But the triangular relationship had been affected by internal problems emerge in this region like that Kashmir conflict, Sino-India border disputes (1962), India and Pakistan war in 1965 and Kargil war, 9/11 and Tashkent 1965 (Ali, 5-7).

After Independence, Pakistan and India circumstances had been economic downturns. But started stage, the Soviet Union had the main focus in Pakistan. India also believed in this principle. For the maintenance of its territorial integrity and sovereignty, it had to face as many as three times war with Pakistan. But the 1965 Indo-Pak War and the Russia role in its declaration through the mediation (negotiation) of the Tashkent Pact in 10 January 1966. The relations saw a downward tendency again with Bhutto's attempts to operate the Tashkent Pact for political increase, but saw improvement relation once again with Bhutto's visits to the Soviet Union towards the close of the last decade of the corporation.

The Russian support to India on the Kashmir issue was reassuring: while Russia was confronting the problems of separatism and religious fundamentalism in its Chechnya province, India was suffering from similar problems in Kashmir. The Soviet Union extends support to India on the Kashmir issue And Indo-Pak War 1971 affected on both countries' relationship (Mazhar, 118-120).

The perception of Pakistan that the nuclear deal between the United States and India had raised eyebrows in the Russia incorrect. In fact, as a result of this deal, the arrangement between India and the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) had been finalized, then the mutual negotiations for which were led from the United States. Russia had also developed hard contacts in the India's nuclear market for the building of the reactor, as a result of these deals and therefore is certainly a supporter of the India and U.S Nuclear Deal. Moreover, the Russia's also agree with the general Western perception that Indian nuclear plan better protects than Pakistan's nation. However the Russia is playing a very positive role in the obstacle of the nuclear

proliferation plan. Rather than engage heavy international criticism and economic sanction that may or may not be effective (Malek, 387).

### **2.5.2 CHINA**

In 1962, the Soviet Union policy in the region was focused to strict pressure, on the irritation of the Sino-Indian border dispute and decline in Sino-Soviet relations and Chinese and Soviet policies had followed similar lines in Asia continental. But the Russia and China had developed friendly relations with India. After some time, however, the Sino-Indian border dispute had been begun and Sino-Soviet ideological distinction, then the Sino-Indian relations deteriorated and at the same time the Soviet Union and India came closer to each other country. But after the border conflict in 1962, When tackle with a choice between India and China, the Soviet Union came out openly in support of India. The Soviet Union also felt that if it reject to support India region, then India would support itself with the Western region, which was included India military in the awakening of the Sino-Indian conflict in 1962. These ideological problems of the suppression of China and Russia (Mahdi, 63).

### **2.5.3 THE UNITED STATES**

The United States role in the foreign policy of Pakistan was noticeable diplomatic strategy and multilateral policy. the join of the United States camp at the time of self-government and then organized the Western security system (SEATO-1954 and CENTO-1955) has never allow Pakistan's elite to make an independent policy towards Russia. But not only this, Pakistan's country has also been used to assemble the United States interests; quite some of them were harmful to Russia's security anxiety. In 1959, Pakistan signed an agreement with the U.S. to oppose communist stress on its Western border side. Both countries relation had been deteriorating in the U-2 spy plane crashed in Pakistan Region. In 1962, (U-2) incident the Soviets captured a United States spy plane on its territory. The Pilot exposed that the plane had taken off from the Badaber Airbase, Peshawar in Pakistan. It is related that the furious Soviet leader, Khrushchev, circled Peshawar red on the map. However, Pakistan and Soviet relations had deteriorated to its worst (Owais, 129).

But the Soviet troops had entered into the Afghanistan in December 1979. Even after the War, there was no much affection in their relations and other side Taliban factor had a worse effect on in Pakistan foreign policy. Both countries' relation were fluctuated and foreign policy and security aspects downturn, As the United States led Non alignment treaty Organization (NATO) forces are planned to leave Afghanistan. The Soviet Union was against Mujahidin community and wants to dominion power in the Region.

Pakistan played the pivotal role in this big game; hence this caused a serious damage to the bilateral relations of Pakistan with Russia. The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and the collapse of the former Soviet Union resulted in significantly improved bilateral relations, but Pakistan's support for and recognition of the Taliban regime in neighboring Afghanistan became another source of tension (Eflein).

The Terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 had "almost changed in the world perception" International relations are experiencing fundamental changes as evidenced by incidents like the structure of the anti-terrorism coalition and the focus of international politics has also changed greatly. After some time, the Taliban (Al-Qaeda) had been attacked on the world trade centre complex in the New York (United States). Thus, it attacked with influence had been in the United States. After the attack, then the United States government had been clear doubt on the Afghanistan region, attack rapidly fall on the al-Qaeda (Taliban). The United State responded to the attacks by introducing the 'War on terror' and invaded to the Afghanistan and drawn out to the Taliban. Then both countries had been reached on the fluctuated zone (Ahsan, 69). After 9/11 Pakistan"s major policy shifted in abandoning the Taliban and becoming a front line state in fighting the international "war on terror" in Afghanistan greatly helped in improving its relations with Russia.

#### **2.5.4 THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION OF ORGANIZATION**

Russia is a former superpower and currently a major regional and world Power as a permanent member of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Having the veto right. It is a leading member of the Shanghai Cooperation

Organization (SCO) In 2005, Pakistan succeeded in getting an Observer's status at the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. But Pakistanis had observed in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization not a member of permanently. The Russia federation wants also supported to Pakistan's permanent membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to become integral part of the Russian provincial security organization. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is a specific anti-American regional project to bring peace and stability in the province.

In the above, in the above, Pakistan and Russia relationship has passed during ups to down in the Cold War era. But the two countries have yet to forge political, social and economic bonds strong enough to make an impact on the overall relationship. The important aspect of these diplomatic exercises is their place in the global context, especially the war against terrorism in which Islamabad is a key partner of the United States. Economic relation is one of the most importance of international politics and an effective method to promote bilateral relation and security relationships. Trade and security tools, links very important foreign policy tools and have become essential size of world politics. There are conflicts, international development towards the structure of bilateral relation changes, regional security, stability and regional groups within the focus of earlier economic development and increase productivity through free trade pacts and close economic cooperation between nations. Then Russia is shifting the focus from Europe to Asia continent. Thus, it has Pakistan furious become the regional trade hub for China, South, Central and West Asia blocs. And it has the possibility to 'become a stability, stress in the cooperated blocs.

Soon, Pakistan show to be an important trade partner for Russia, thus its had maintain strong economic development and political and security links with Central and West Asia continent. Now in the twenty first century, Moscow desires to build a solid and long term partnership with Islamabad and can help Pakistan in many conduct for joint progress in future. It also recognizes that Pakistan is a major play role in the politics and economics of the Moscow and United States region and that it needs to be accepted along with important conflicts that have a force in the

region. These explain its support and inadequate for Pakistan's observer position in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. Country on improving relations with Russia by received into a dynamic corporation for creating a strong stability in our foreign policy. After discussion, Pakistan and Russia relationship may obtain the new height of future improvement relation.

## **CHAPTER: 3**

### **PAKISTAN AND RUSSIA: ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS**

During the period of the Cold War, the world was divided into two blocks- one led by United State of America (USA) and other by the Union Soviet Socialistic Republic (USSR). Within such environments, the economic resources were highly used for the maintenance of power. This kind of utilization of resources led to the economic crisis in Europe, which later moved to the South Asian. In the matter of this, the economic relations between Pakistan and Russia have seen many ups and downs. Moreover, after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union due to its economic downturns the economic relationship once shows the worst trend for a while.

However, When Putin came to power, he takes major steps to integrate the Russian economy with that of Pakistan. Both the countries found it mutually beneficial to cooperate in the economic sector, military, regional political-strategic and security arena. There arose prospective for growth in the trade, investment and joint progress in the fields of energy, infrastructure development, metal industry and agriculture sectors. They become keenly interested and abolished the mistakes of each other. The two countries signed three agreements on trade, economic cooperation and cultural exchange. Since, the Russia understood the value of peace for a successful economy in South Asia. the Moscow, normally had good or moderate relations with all the regional countries except Pakistan (Jim Nichol).

As the Russian economy was involved in the global financial crisis, resulting in the economic decline that began in 2008. The Russian government's reassertion of control over major industries, mainly in the energy sector, has also contributed to an underachieving economy. Although Russian real GDP increased 5.6% in 2008, but it declined 7.9% in 2009. It is generally considered that the Western countries are responsible for Russia's decline in the economy, mainly the European Union and the United States of America. In order to come out of this crisis, Russia had made some attempts to improve relations with Islamabad. In Afghanistan, Russia has the meaning of optimizing its, military-political and economic interests immediately, without awaiting an American withdrawal from that country as it is said in the

international relations that 'none is permanent friend or enemy' the same applies to Pakistan and Russia relations (Saull, 256).

After the end of the Cold War and with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, the successor state Russia has regained and consolidated its political, economic and military status as a major World power. Pakistan's strategic and economic interests make Russia an important regional player and Russia also finds a huge energy market in South Asia particularly in India and Pakistan. Under such import and export system, both countries can get benefit from each other and can cooperate in oil and natural gas, agricultural products, the textiles, leather and weapons. This chapter had focussed on the economic growth and trade relations between the Russia and Pakistan after the Cold War (Owais, 129).

### **3.1 PAKISTAN AND RUSSIA: ECONOMIC RELATIONS**

In the 1958, Russia's gave an opportunity for Pakistan in economic and technical assistance related to agriculture field, control of floods, desalination and pest control and soil erosion. The two states signed three agreements on trade development, economic cooperation and cultural exchanges. During the 1960s, Pakistan and Soviet association signed a Barter deal (goods and services exchanges without using money). In January 1966, it provided for the exchange of Pakistani rice and the Russian vehicles, road building and engineering machinery, 80 million dollars aid to Pakistan, and 600 million rupees credit for constructing 15 broadcasting stations to be established in Pakistan. The Soviet long term loans provided to Pakistan 300 million dollars for oil Cooperation and after that air agreement signed in 1963. In April 11, 1968, the Soviet Prime Minister Alexey Kosygin visited Pakistan for discussion on the some issues. After that, he announced a limited quantity of arms supply to Pakistan, which amounted to only 5-10 million dollars as against 600-700 million dollar arms assistance to India, 260 million dollar arms aid to Afghanistan and 100 million dollars weapons aid to Iran and the Pakistan has also been offered US\$ 1 billion credit assistance line for energy projects by Russia (Owais, 125).

In the twenty first century, one country does not smoothly move on the bilateral defence deals, Bipolar Power had been converted to Multipolar Power, Since the Soviet Union's collapse in December 1991. After the Collapse, the Russian face economic, security and political crises. So, Russia became significantly keen to economic stability and development in the defence sector. In below, we explain that trade strategy from the Cold War to Post-Cold War.

When the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, Russia emerged as the successor state of the Soviet Union. This marked the end of the last four decades of the Cold War era. When Russia became a self-dependent country in the world, politics. Russia wants to establish an international market for own products. On September 24, 1995, the Russian delegation visited Pakistan for discussion on the increased economic and peace. During this visit, Russian leader Alexander Vengerovsky discloses that Russia was ready to supply military weapons and provide economic support to Pakistan, suggesting that Russian technology could find its way into many fields in Pakistani markets. Then Pakistan and Russia smoothly comes closer to each other. They wanted to achieve economic development through trade cooperation. The Russia knows that Pakistan has is not self-sufficient in energy sources, that could provide a huge market for Russia's energy sources (Hussain, 85).

Economic ties remain very weak between Pakistan and Russia. In 2002, trade between Russia and Pakistan was only 100 million dollars. President Musharraf stressed that Pakistan would like to support exports of traditional manufacturers and farm products (crops growing and animals rising) to Russia and, at the same time, the Russia want to invest a billion dollars in the oil cooperation, energy sector, and gas production sector in Pakistan. On the other side, the reality is that Pakistan hopes that strong relations with the newly independent Muslim countries of Central Asia will give it to 'strategic depth' in its political relations, if not in the firm military intelligence. Both countries want to remove the obtainable limitations to the development of cooperation between Pakistan and Russia organizations. Some of the keen issues which are under consideration:

- Pakistan wants to take debt reconstructing' settlement of financial responsibility.
- Increase of inter-bank relations.
- Establishment of most-favoured nation (MFN) status in trade agreements signed and investments of the natural resources.
- To create economic development and restructure the Russian economic integration.
- Russia wants to make a major power in the world and played a main role in the international affairs.

Recently, political conflicts were solved through visitor's discussion on the pacts and economic development which increased the cooperation (Ahsan, 63-67).

### **3.1.1 ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION ESTABLISHED**

After the collapse of the former USSR in December 1991, when Russia faced economic decline due to its previous economic policies and the Cold War with the United States. Putin came to power on his motto "to build up the Russian economic development" (through mutual discussion) and social communication and economic modernization. The Russia aim had been to get converted from a socialistic state to capitalistic democracy. In August 2000, the Russian government announced the policy of modernization in the economic sector and the social sector through trade cooperation. In order to support and control the Russian state and politics, Putin came up with three broad objectives:

- To create economic growth,
- Restructure the Russian economy by cooperation and
- Russia wants a major power in the World and played a main role in the international affairs.

The Russia is moving under the above mentioned three broad objectives. In April 2001, Putin came up with a plan called as an "Action Plan of the Government of Russian Federation", in the area of Social Policy and Economic Modernization. Since

We are mainly worried with the economic aspect and needs to be improved where Pakistan may find space to improve its relations with the Russian Federation. Putin government was aimed at securing sustainable economic development and liberalizing the Russian economy (Ahsan, 63-74).

- Supported to the business sector and investment.
- Development of the financial infrastructure and achieving the financial stability through trade cooperation.
- Significantly decrease the tax burden on the permanent residence and improving term and condition of the tax and customs systems changeable.
- Ensuring the balance and good organization improvements of the Russian budget system.
- Encouraging development, structural shifts in the national economy.
- Creating circumstances for accelerated development of production based on the new technologies and intellectual possible achieved by economy stability.
- Russia wants to take an integration of the global economy.

### **3.1.2 ECONOMIC INTEGRATION**

The Russian president Putin had been pursuing policies for economic integration in the international market with some regional countries like Pakistan, China and India. But the world knows that China is a developing country and being the fastest growing economy better than other developed country, having no comparison with Russia. But India depends on the Russia's Weapons. In the Russia regional perception had been towards Pakistan and India. In the last two or three decades ago, India was a major trade partner of the Russia and 70 percent weapons comes from Russia through cooperation. It seems unlikely that Russia would prefer Pakistan to India when it receives 25 percent of India's four billion dollars budget through arms besides the energy sector and metallurgy sector.

On the other side, the Russian leadership is giving economic profit to Pakistan in its fight against economic downturns. Pakistan could find new ways to develop its relations with the Russian Federation. A brief survey of Indo-Russian relations will

extra clarifies the strategic partnership between the two countries that affects its relations with Pakistan. But on those days, Pakistan had not an option, tilted towards Russia. However, India and United States used aggressive strategy towards Pakistan. But Russia is the main focus on the economic modernization established, though mutual discussion of Pakistan (Musharraf, 45-50).

### **3.2 ENERGY RELATIONS**

There could be no two opinions that require energy both for economic growth and industrialization sector. There are many rich and cheap energy serve as the heredity of the modern civilization and energy as the most important demand of today. Its domestic necessity Pakistan imports a huge ability of oil mostly from Persian Gulf countries (eight countries). Pakistan's has gas reserves are also declining at an earlier speed, making it energy speed downturn in the low level day by day. Good fortune, Pakistan is sacred with two energy corridors which connection with Russia, Centre Asian Republics (CARs) and Iran with international market. Persian Gulf countries are huge quantities of hydrocarbon resources and observant as world future focus of interest. The Russia is stabling World largest gas reserves and Iran is second in the row. Pakistan in order to meet its energy demand and to provide an access to these reserves to World markets has begun two pipeline projects in the region, Iran-Pakistan-India (now only Iran-Pakistan called IP) and Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) Gas Pipeline Projects.

But both plants have been technical and economical requirement for development, and its Iran-Pakistan (IP) pipeline being more practical both technical and financial has downward, the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI). On the other hand, the U.S. and Russia have support on the both pipelines. On the other hand, the Russia has also shown financing interest in these energy projects, but shall also provide access to Russia and Centre Asian Republics (CARs) to the West side. Moreover, Pakistan has also required Russia's support in the coal mining plant and generation of coal Power plants. All these States are rich in hydrocarbons (component of petroleum and natural Gas) resources and considered as World future

focus of attention. Some estimates indicate that Russia is holding World's largest gas reserves where Iran is second in the row (Bhutta).

**Figure: 3.1 TAPI AND IPI PIPELINES**



Figure Adopted from: <http://www.uccindia.org/turkmenistan-to-begin-construction-of-10-billion-gas-pipeline-2/>

It is also known as Trans-Afghanistan Pipeline is a proposed natural gas pipeline being developed by the Asian Development Bank (ADB). The pipeline will transport Caspian Sea natural gas from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan into Pakistan and then to India. Pipeline Project aims to export up to 33 billion cubic meters (bcm) of natural gas per year through a proposed approximately 1,800-kilometer (km) pipeline from Turkmenistan to Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. The Caspian Sea is the largest enclosed inland body of water on Earth by area, variously classed as the World's largest lake or a full-fledged sea.

### 3.2.1 ENERGY RELATED MEETINGS

Energy is a very important for making progress in the developing countries. In Current period, some experts are of the opinion that Pakistan is having huge quantity of natural resources with an attached boundary corridor. Pakistan in order to meet its energy demand and to provide an access to these reserves to the World markets has started two pipeline projects in the region, Iran-Pakistan-India (now only Iran-Pakistan called IP) and Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India(TAPI) Gas Pipeline Projects. Both the projects being technically possible and economically practical have been subjected to great powers, political interests, Iran-Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline, being the most realistic, both technically and financially has miserable chances of materialization in near future unpaid to Iranian nuclear disagreement. The Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India on the other hand, enjoys the support of the United States and Russia. On the other hand Russia has also shown interest in financing the energy project. The materialization of this super project shall not only help Pakistan in meeting its energy loss, but shall also provide access to Russia and Centre Asian Republic (CARs) to the West. Moreover, Pakistan has also required Russia's assistance in coal mining project and generation of coal power plants (Qureshi, 347).

In October 3, 2012, the Russian Foreign Minister, Sergey Lavrov, and Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf during his meeting, said that Pakistan wants to increase economic stability relations through cooperation and benefit from the capability of the Russian Federation, mostly in the energy sector where Russia has much in coal mining and generation of coal power plants. Pakistan and the Russia have great potentials in the energy sector and they can improve economies of each other by cooperation. They reviewed bilateral ties, major focus on the global issues and cooperate in various fields, including energy pacts signed, communications availability, railways manufacturing and information technology increase. There are many opportunities available to support Pakistan-Russia relation in the field of fuel cooperation and energy deal, a sector in which Russia has acquired advanced technology. Both nations of the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources have

been discussed on the energy sector in October 2005 by Gazprom (Russia). This treaty provides that mutually trust, cooperation will be developed in the construction start and safety of gas pipelines, underground storage facilities maintenance, investigation of natural gas fields and replace of diesel fuel by hard gas used by a motor for the engine and rail transport In 2006, a five-member delegation from the Russian group of Oil and Gas discuss on the major utilization in both countries, headed by the Vice- President of the Russia.

The both sides examined the possible in oil and gas exploration, cross-border pipelines smoothly each other country, gas storage have for future consumption, Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) projects launched and improving of oil fields in Pakistan. The both countries signing on an Momendum of Understanding (MoU) of related to oil Sector explored in November 19, 2007, during Pakistan's petroleum minister's visit to Moscow Economic communication has till now protected behind the strong political desire to build close relations. The Russia is keen to invest in Pakistan energy sector through international gas pipelines, importing electricity to Pakistan, in addition to the privatization programmed by the government. The Gazprom has also shown importance in the construction of the Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline project.

So, extending business cooperation in the oil, gas and power sectors, apart from Russia's keen interest in participating in the Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) pipeline project. The two countries and generally described as a "milestone" in bilateral relations emerge, Islamabad and Moscow have energized their relationship with Russia agreeing to invest \$2 billion in construction of a 1100 Kilometers pipeline Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) in Pakistan. The pipeline will transport liquefied natural gas (LNG) from the southern port city of Karachi to Lahore. In November 2002, both countries of the Petroleum and Natural Resources Ministry, has a discussion of the oil sector and become involved in the construction of a gas pipeline running from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan and Pakistan to India. In February 2003, the President Musharraf has also spoken interest in attracting Russians to propose in the possible privatization of the Pakistani Oil and Gas Corporation. Then the Russia and Pakistan familiar a number of promising information in the development of their economic relations, such

a power engineering cooperation, metallurgy, telecommunications and a number of infrastructure related to projects. Pakistan and the Russia signed on the major deal on energy projects (Bhutta).

There could be no option that we need energy for economic growth and for industrialization. In order to meet its domestic requirement Pakistan imports a huge capacity of oil mostly from Persian Gulf (eight countries). Pakistan's gas reserves are also not up to the mark, making its energy situation even worse. Pakistan is sacred with two energy corridors which link Russia, Centre Asian Republics (CARs) and Iran with international market.

The Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf during his meeting with Russian Foreign Minister, Sergey Lavrov on October 3, 2012, said that Pakistan wants to increase economic relations and benefit from the capability of the Russian Federation, particularly in the energy sector where Russia has experience in coal mining project and generation of coal power plants. Pakistan and Russia have great prospects in the energy sector and they can improve economies of the both the countries by cooperation in this particular area. Pakistan and Russia relationship had emerged through bilateral cooperation in each other country. They reviewed bilateral ties, and lay major focus on global issues and cooperate in various fields' including energy pacts, communication availability, railways manufacturing and information technology increase. There are many opportunities available to Pakistan and Russia relation in the field of fuel cooperation and energy deal, a sector in which Russia has acquired advanced technology (Hancock, 75-77).

In October 2005, the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources of both Russia and Pakistan discusses energy sector by Gazprom. This tool supply that mutually advantageous cooperation will be developed and protection of gas pipelines, underground storage facilities maintenance, investigation of natural gas fields every aspect and replace of diesel fuel by hard gas used by motor vehicles for engine and rail transport. In 2006, a five-member delegation from the Russian group of Oil and Gas discusses on the major utilization in both countries. The Alexander S. Bornov, visited in Pakistan and held meetings with Federal Minister for Petroleum and Natural

Resources Amanullah Khan Jadoon, and discusses the Oil and Gas International Cooperation.

The both sides observe the potential in oil and gas exploration, cross-border pipelines and gas storage for future consumption, Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) projects launched and up gradation of oil fields in Pakistan. Joint partnership in the oil sector was explored with the signing of an Memorandum of understanding (MoU) on November 19, 2007, during Pakistan's petroleum minister's visit to Moscow. Economic communication has till now protected behind the strong political desire to build close relations. The Russia is keen to invest in Pakistan's energy sector through international gas pipelines, importing electricity to Pakistan and upstream and downstream petroleum activity in both countries. In addition to the privatization programmed by the government Gazprom has also shown importance in the construction of the Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline project (Bhutta).

The most important product of this meeting was the agreement to launch a mechanism aimed at activating Pakistan-Russia dual Governmental Commission on Trade. Russia showed keen interest in participating in the Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) pipeline project. A-five-member delegation of the Russian Association of Oil and Gas visited Pakistan in April 2006. The Shanghai cooperation Organization (SCO) summit held on 30 November 2006 in Dushanbe (Tajikistan), led focus on energy club in which areas for enhancing cooperation, especially focus on energy, increased, investment through trade cooperation and trade were identified.

The two countries have energized their relationship whereby Russia was agreed last week to invest \$2 billion in construction of a 1,100-kilometer pipeline Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) in Pakistan. The pipeline will transport liquefied natural gas (LNG) from the southern port city of Karachi to Lahore. Since September 2001, there have been moves to improve a heavy economic relationship. A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed in November 2002 between Gazprom (Russian Company) and Pakistani Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources. Gazprom may also become involved in the construction of a gas pipeline running from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan and Pakistan to India (Bhutta).

In February 2003, President Musharraf of Pakistan also expressed interest in attracting Russians to propose in the possible privatization of Pakistan's State Oil and Gas Corporation. Russia and Pakistan identified a number of promising directions in the development of their economic relations, such as power engineering cooperation, metallurgy, telecommunications and a number of infrastructure related projects. Pakistan and Russia signed a major deal with two countries, after an energy deal of \$1.7 billion for laying a liquefied natural gas (LNG) pipeline from Karachi to Lahore. First time, both countries have signed an energy agreement. Before Gen Ziaul Haq's military regime, the Soviet Union helped Pakistan to set up the Karachi Steel Mills plant and also supported the Oil and Gas Development Company, which is still used Old Russian machinery in exploring oil and gas.

Pakistan is currently working on two liquefied natural gas (LNG) pipelines as an alternative like, Iran-Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline project, which included liquefied natural gas (LNG) Gwadar pipeline and south pipeline from Karachi to Lahore.

**FIGURE: 3.2 TWO PROPOSED PIPELINES IN SOUTH ASIA**

**Two Proposed Pipelines in South Asia**



Figure adopted from: <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2008/05/the-proposed-iran-pakistan-india-gas-pipeline-an-unacceptable-risk-to-regional-security>

In the above, figure clearly indicates that in its mission to secure energy, Pakistan has also looked towards Iran side, which is also strategically very important for developers

to Pakistan as a land corridor to the Middle East, Asia Minor, the Caucasus and the Western Central Asian region. For some time, both Iran and Pakistan have been busy in improving communication deal and transport links to support relations. In 2009 Iran had export 1000MW of electricity to Pakistan easily worth of US\$72.3 million. And in 2010, Pakistan signed another deal with Iran worth US\$7.6 billion and two nations have decided to export 750 million cubic feet of natural gas daily to Pakistan by mid-2015. In this way, trade through output increased per year (Desilva, 2-5).

In the energy sector, good prospects for Pakistan and Russia cooperation is re-emerging as the government of Pakistan signed a (Memorandum of Understanding) with Gazprom for cooperation in the oil and gas sector. Under this Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), research in the natural resources and the development of gas production and operation of underground gas storage systems, the new field of the oil and gas exploration and production, development and research to explore Pakistan's available gas reserves, especially in offshore areas will take place. In addition, Gazprom would provide training facilities for the persons who are working in Pakistan's oil and gas sector. The Chairman of Gazprom also had interest in purchasing Pakistan's Oil and Gas Development Company Limited (OGDC) and Pakistan Petroleum Limited (PPL), the plan was showered by Pakistan's Petroleum and Natural Resources Minister Naveed Qmar, who regarded it as a milestone toward meeting energy needs of the country (Fazal-ur-Rahman, 215).

Pakistan is not a self-dependent country, in simple words that Pakistan is a developing country. So that Pakistan has a large quantity of the natural resources. But that is not sufficient economy for establishing the industry. So, Pakistan had tilted to the Russian side. There are many opportunities available to support Pakistan and Russia cooperation in the field of fuel and energy, a sector in which Russia has acquired advanced technology. This instrument provides that mutually beneficial cooperation will be developed in the construction and maintenance of gas pipelines, underground storage facilities and exploration of natural gas fields.

In 2006, five-Member Delegation of the Russian Association, visited Pakistan and the two sides examined the possible opportunities in oil and gas exploration, cross-

border pipelines through mutual cooperation, gas storage capacity and training programs, Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) projects and up gradation of oil fields in Pakistan. The Russia is keen to invest in Pakistan's energy sector through transnational gas pipelines importing electricity to Pakistan and in both upstream and downstream petroleum activities in the country. In addition to the privatization Program of the government, Gazprom has also shown interest in the construction of the Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline project (Fani, 56).

### **3.3 ARMS TRADE**

The Russia and Pakistan signed a bilateral defence cooperation agreement in November 2014 in order to improve its military-to-military relations. Both countries are expected to sign a technical cooperation agreement for the sale of Russian military tools to Islamabad. Last year Russia's recorded exports to Pakistan were much more limited, valued at a mere \$22 million, according to SIPRI. As Russia also agreed sells arms to Pakistan.the only Russian reservation in its relation with Pakistan is related to the sale of weapons (SIPRI).

Then Russia also sells military weapons to the Pakistan through China cooperation. Then Ukraine supplied its major fighter tank (T-80) to Pakistan, which is built on the new Russian technology in 1990. In 2009, Russia also lifted its objections related to supply of Chinese JF-17 fighter planes (powered by Russian RD-93 engines) to Pakistan. The Russians had sold over forty MI-17 transport helicopters to Pakistan. Islamabad is also interested to purchase MI-35 attack helicopters to fight against terrorism. In the military equipment developments show that both Islamabad and Moscow came close to near during the last decade and avoid differences, an agreement was included in the sale of 16 Russian M-17 cargo helicopters to Pakistan. the China and Pakistan joined in producing the JF-17 Thunder fighter jet (Cabural).

**Table: 3.1 THE MAIN IMPORTERS AND EXPORTERS OF  
MAJOR ARMS (2009–13)**

<b>Sr No</b>	<b>Exporter</b>	<b>Global Share %</b>	<b>Importer</b>	<b>Global Share%</b>
1	USA	29	India	14
2	Russia	27	China	5
3	Germany	7	Pakistan	5
4	China	6	UAE	4
5	France	5	Saudi Arabia	4
6	UK	4	USA	4
7	Spain	3	Australia	4

Table Adopted from: <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2014/05>

From the above, the table clearly indicates that, during 2009-2013 both countries had international weapons. As the United States had imposed arms restriction on both India and Pakistan following the outbreak (Sudden Occurrence) of the conflict in September 1965, Pakistan was looking to China for essential military supplies and China had also supplied military hardware (Weapons and choppers) to Pakistan with over \$200 million, which include 200 T-59 tanks, 120 MiG-19s choppers, 11-28 bombers and tools sufficient for arming two infantry divisions and other unnamed equipment. The President of Pakistan Ayub Khan visited Moscow two times between 1965 and 1968. It was during Kosygin visit in 1968 that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) agreed to sell a modest quality of arms to Pakistan. The Soviet decision to provide arms aid to Pakistan was on the one condition of withdrawing away from the United States and China (Bodner).

The year 1971 saw the emergence of US-China-Pakistan on the top ranks. Dr Kissinger paid a visit to Beijing via Islamabad in July 1971. And the other side, this had created anxiety for both India and Soviet Union relation. Hence, India and Soviet Union signed a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation, Pakistan's relations with Soviet Union remained worried and after the Soviet armed forces were sent into Afghanistan in December 1979, Pakistan stand against the Soviet involvement resulted in extra decline of relations between them (Mazhar, 111-117).

In 2007, Pakistan received the first shipment of JF-17 Thunder jet fighters, jointly developed by China and Pakistan cooperation (as of now, Pakistan Air Force has 40 such jet fighters). The Russia and China have a new technology, manufacturing of the weapons. Then the Russia is being integrated Russian RD-93 engines with an agreement, which give for the shipment of 100 engines and may be 400 more. Some Indian analyst powerfully believes that these airplane fighters can take nuclear weapons. Moreover, some Russian experts believe that Russia could sell MiG-35 jet fighters to Pakistan without disturbing India. It exports modern arms to both India and China, at less expensive rate, whose relations had been clear by a border dispute deep mutual mistrust slowly improve (SIPRI 2014).

### **3.4 PAKISTAN AND RUSSIA: BILATERAL TRADE RELATIONS**

In the world, one country could not move smoothly on the development track. Trade is a backbone of the developing countries and achieved an own self independence. World countries have dependence on each other. Pakistan's economic relations with the Soviet Union have been rather moderate since the independence of Pakistan. When Putin came to power, Russia was facing an economic decline and he was aware of the fact that the United States and its allied countries had built an empire of influence on the ruins of the former Soviet Union. The same continued till 2000, however, President Vladimir Putin was able to turn around the situation and make Russia economic development inevitable. Russia understood the value of peace for a successful economy.

In South Asia, Moscow, normally had good or moderate relations with all the regional countries except Pakistan. However, the Russian economy was hit hard by the global financial crisis and resulting economic decline that began in 2008. The crisis exposed weaknesses in the economy, including its significant dependence on the production and export of oil and other natural resources and its weak financial system. The Russian government's reassertion of control over major industries, especially in the energy sector, has also contributed to an underachieving economy (Jim Nichol).

When Pakistan became independent on 14 Aug,1949, Pakistan was facing an economic crisis. Pakistan had not any choice without cooperation with the Soviet Union blocs. When the Soviet Union and Pakistan established trade relations in the early 1950s, the Soviet Union agreed to import three things like that cotton, jute and leather to Pakistan. The Soviet Union bought Pakistani jute in exchange for 150,000 tons of wheat in summer of 1952 during food shortages in Pakistan.

In 1958, Pakistan and Soviet Union finally established an oil consortium, Pakistan Oilfields and Expressing interest in establishing the country's first steel mill plant. In 1961, the Soviet Union gave a Loan of 27 million Rubles (basic unit of money in Russia) to Pakistan for oil and gas discovery of new locations, which later enabled the establishment of Oil and Gas Development Organization (OGDO) in Pakistan. The Soviet Union provided technical support and a loan of \$200 million to Pakistan for the establishment of Pakistan Steel Mills plant in 1972 (Grenory, 11-15).

In mid-2004, the Government of Pakistan decided to build strategic reserves of wheat for Russia. Pakistan bought 150,000 tons of wheat at a very cheap rate of 198 dollars per tonne. This price was offered by a Switzerland-based Russian wheat firm which was very low as compared to the prices offered by its established wheat suppliers, Australia and the United States.

The Russian Federation has again promised to finance support of Pakistan Steel Mills plants in 2012. The both countries, bilateral trade had been at \$80 million and grown up to \$542 Million in 2012. Pakistan also required a mutually helpful trade balance between the two countries with Russian shipping goods worth 71 million dollars out of the total annual trade volume of 78 million dollars.

**TABLE: 3.2 VOLUME OF BILATERAL TRADE**

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>VOLUME OF TRADE (US \$ MILLION)</b>
2003	\$ 92 MILLION
2006	\$ 411.4 MILLION
2008	\$ 630 MILLION
2009	\$ 400 MILLION
2012	\$ 542 MILLION

Table Adopted from: Ministry of Commerce, Government of Pakistan, 2013

In 2003-2012, both countries trade volume had been US\$ Million Dollars. But in 2008 trade relation had been growing up to \$630 Million Dollars. Similarly, the Russian Federation imports to Pakistan in \$542 million (2012) stands at 0.07% of the total Russian trade volume. Pakistan has been the main exporter of potato to the Russian Federation in 2010-2011.

It exported 125,000 tons of potato to the Russian Federation. Pakistan is a major exporter of “*Kinnow*” to the Russian Federation. Over 40% of the Pakistani Exports of Kinnows went to Russia in 2015 (Over 40% of exports go to Russian market, 2015). There is a massive possible trade of textile, jute, cotton, leather goods, vegetables and fruits. The main issue is the quality, non-professional outlook of exporters and the bureaucratic barrier at the government level (M.Hathaway).

**Table: 3.3 MAJOR EXPORTS OF PAKISTAN TO RUSSIAN  
FEDERATION (2012)**

<b>PRODUCTS</b>	<b>VOLUME US \$ DOLLAR</b>
Vegetable, Fruits, Rice	\$111.11 Million
Textile Goods	\$ 78.9 Million
Chemical fibers and Filaments	\$ 52.8 Million
Cotton	\$ 29.5 Million
Leather Goods	\$17.3 Million
Pharmaceutical Products	\$ 10.6 Million
Sports Goods	\$ 4.9 Million

Table Adopted from: Ministry of Commerce, Government of Pakistan, 2013

**Table:3.4 MAJOR IMPORTS OF PAKISTAN FROM RUSSIAN  
FEDERATION (2012)**

<b>PRODUCTS</b>	<b>VOLUME US \$ DOLLAR</b>
Ferrous Materials and Products	\$ 124.5 Million
Fertilizers Exports	\$ 53.5 Million
News print and Paper Board	\$ 18.1 Million

Table Adopted from: Ministry of Commerce, Government of Pakistan, 2013.

In the aftermath of the 2010 floods in Pakistan, the Russian Federation decreased the duty up to 35% on Pakistani goods as a goodwill sign. Pakistani trading houses have been opened in Saint Petersburg (Russia). A trading house is also established in Moscow to encourage Pakistani products and showed in the market. Pakistan-Russia Business Forum (PRBF) established in 2009 to promote the trade and tourism. Another such forum Business Council for Promotion of trade with Pakistan is rather successfully working since its establishment in 2011.

Also, in order to enhance economic cooperation between Pakistan and Russia a governmental commission has been formed. In terms of Russian investment in

Pakistan, it offered various options; financing the Iran- Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline, the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) and expansion of Pakistan Steel Mills production from 1 to 3 million tons per annually. It also offered to finance support of energy sector projects in Pakistan such as Tarbella Dam (Indus River in Pakistan) expansion, Diamer Bhasha Dam (on the Indus River Gilgit-Baltistan in Pakistan) CASA -1000 (Central Asia, South Asia Transmission Project), up-gradation of Gaddu, Muzafargarh (Sindh) and Jamshoro Power Plants in Pakistan (Bhutta).

There are two other areas, firstly, the textile industry got establishment, which is the largest export product of Pakistan and second, the oil and gas sector searching and pipelines in which Russia has the necessary knowledge and attention as well. On other trade, Pakistan has comprehensive absolute maintain to Russia to be part of the World Trade Organization (WTO). This is one situation that Moscow symbols a Free Trade Area (FTA) with Islamabad. Pakistan's cabinet has permission the Ministry of Commerce to start discussions with Russia to discover the possibility of symbols in Free trade Area (FTA). Pakistan is looking for market access availability easily for leather, Jute, Cotton, surgical instruments, sporting goods and textiles. Trade between the two countries is showing a symbol of development ability, in spite of the balance in favour of the Russia.

In 2004–2005, the bilateral trade volume reached \$320 million from \$134.24 in 2003–2004 and \$100 million in 2002. Around 90 percent of Pakistan's exports to Russia were textile items like that jute and cotton. Since few Pakistani businesses have direct contact with Russian industry lists, a number of other countries are exporting Pakistani textile products to Russia. According to experts in textile business, Pakistan can increase its export to Russia up to \$500 million from the current twenty million if Pakistan can trade directly with Russia (Owais,126).

When political and diplomatic relations are up to the mark, then a country can develop economic and trade relations with other countries. The trade volume between Pakistan and Russia is far from the prospect of economic observers and the business community. The trade volume has gradually increased from 50 million dollars in 1998, 100 million dollars in 2002, 78 million dollars in 2003, 270 million dollars in 2004 to

520 million dollars in 2006. The trade volume was increased through bilateral trade cooperation. However, it is a lot tilted in favour of Russia with 459 million dollar exports to Pakistan last decade. When both countries come close to each other through bilateral trade relation.

The main items exported from Russia to Pakistan are chemical products, fertilizers, timber, paper and metal, while Pakistan's main export items are garments and fabrics, jute, cotton, leather products and food items. Russia's overall exports amount to 317.6 billion dollars (est. 2006) and its imports are 171.5 billion dollars (est. 2006), while Pakistan's overall exports stood at 16.5 billion dollars during 2005-2006 and imports at 29 billion dollars during the same period. The judgment of trade volume shows that both the countries are not contributing even one per cent to their overall trade. Pakistan can export rice, fruit, sports goods, textile yarn, garments, surgical items and seafood easily bilateral trade countries (Hanif, 65-70).

Although it has to face a contest from China, India, Germany, and Holland, the growing trade shortage demands that Pakistan should wider its scope of trade with other countries like Russia and look for option markets rather than focus on traditional partners like the United States, Europe, United Kingdom, China and United Arab Emirates. They are major power in the world trade and economic sector. The Russia-Pakistan bilateral relations expand it to any level of the trade, there are three specific areas need for special focus strategic cooperation, peace maintains stability and exchange of defence technology and partnership in civil-nuclear technology. Pakistan is keen to enhance its multi-dimensional relations with the Moscow developing through cooperation, including defense guarantees, economic integration, and nuclear deal sign and to increase bilateral trade between the two countries which currently reach on at \$542 million dollars (M.Hathaway).

In the above, Pakistan and Russia relations had ups and down during the Cold War and the Post-Cold War era. Islamabad economic relations with the Soviet Union has been quite moderate when Islamabad comes close to Russia blocs. Then both countries' relationship has been converted warm to cool. In the starting stage of Pakistan had some limited choice tilted towards proposal country. In simple words, in

the beginning stage, Pakistan faced an economic crisis and security conflicts with the neighbour country. At those times, Pakistan had not any option for economic growth or integration. And then Pakistan tilts toward the Soviet Union region. Then Pakistan wants to have some discussion on the economy topics and security issues with related to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union and Pakistan established trade relations in the early 1950s, when Soviet Union approved to import cotton, jute and leather. The Soviet Union bought Pakistani jute in trade for 150,000 tons of wheat in summer of 1952 among food crisis doubts in Pakistan. The Russian wants to become member of the international market and only for one aims own products sell in the international markets. The Russian would economic cooperation through the stability origin in the world market. Both countries would participate in the development treaty and signed on the import-export goods each other countries without restriction. Pakistan needs to accept a practical and future prospects approach towards its engagement with Russia bloc and, separately.

There was no effort by Pakistan to search Russian power and energy sector, in which, the Russian know that's available has an energy quantity of Pakistan and growing energy requirements. The government should go more than just discussing on the prediction of joint progress in sectors such as oil and gas, coal, thermal and hydropower generation sectors. Pakistan should also understand the great advantages that could increase if it were to make a truthful approach towards the Russia (Fani, 55-60).

## CHAPTER 4

### EMERGING TRIANGULAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PAKISTAN, INDIA AND RUSSIA

Since the Cold War era begins, the great powers have done everything to draw out into the Asia countries. Asia is a big continent in the world where the South Asia is sub-continent. The South Asia included seven countries, but two are major powers. It has become the anxiety of the great powers. The West side, which had full interests in the historical period and made plans with newly independent country of India and Pakistan. Since 1954, the Western countries formally associated with India and Pakistan country. However, some years after, at least in effect, when the Sino-India border conflict emerges in 1962, the Soviet Union strategy co-existence gets established in the South Asia continent.

Although, the Soviet Union and Western powers have been dominating over Pakistan through cooperation. However, a newly complex circumstance has emerged in the region and the international relation had been changeable in the region. One has the Sino-Soviet argument and second has the Sino-India border conflict. Old split, on which policies were based on the new alliance and closing mutual cooperation. Thus we can see once again the main effect of the Suez crisis in 1956 and the Sino-India border conflict in 1962. Then western and Soviet Union, military supported to Indian against of the communist China, Pakistan knows that always had no more than the truthful relation with Communist China, but, has recently come closer to the Chinese country. This position of Pakistan, instead of having an error effect on Pakistan-Soviet relations, as would seem to be logical in the light of the Sino-Soviet dispute, has in effect created just the opposite result. How such a situation has an effect on the Soviet Union's relations with India and Pakistan and changes that have occurred in the Soviet foreign policy of the outlook and thus fluctuate it has been issued to (Qureshi, 345-349).

India and Russia relations had been affected three broad periods. The first period from 1917 to 1947 covers relation before post-independence periods and a second period from 1947 to 1953 covers relations before independence and third

period of the relationship started in the post Stalin period and the Khrushchev era. On those days, India had not any defined type of foreign policy, related to Soviet relations. However, there was the main impact of the Soviet revolution on the minds of Indian nationalists' leader's likes Jawaharlal Nehru Lenin supports to liberation movements. In October 1917, the association for the Liberation of the East side, located in Moscow (Russia), had recommended for India a significant role in Asian continent. But some years after that, colonial revolution started in 1920 and the strategy of manufacture of socialism in one country was adopted. In 1925, Satya Bhakta was established of the communist Party of India (CPI). In those days, the Soviet Funds came to India during the British Communist Party, which wanted to spread Communism in India. And then the Socialist policy made an impact on the minds of the Indian Leaders like Nehru and was impressed by Soviet achievements in the social economic field.

In 1947-53, the second period started, in which the Soviet Union and India relationship had been up and down time to time. The Soviet Union support to aggressive strategy of the Communist Party of India and India's own pro-west feelings created doubt in the relationship. The Soviet Union Press which becomes to criticize India. The Soviet newspaper the '*New Times*' of Moscow wrote that Nehru was maintaining his country affairs to dictate Indian strategy used in the Soviet Union. On the other side, the Indian nationalist had been doubted on the Communist Party of India (CPI). As a result, bitterness emerged in the relations. However, in 1950-53, the Soviet and India relationship saw new signs of the reorganization. When Khrushchev came to power, the Soviet Union and India relation had come to nearer to each other country. In those days, Khrushchev developed the belief of co-existence and the policy of the previous Communist policy of helping liberation movements in the East side. Moreover, the Soviet Union strategy which specially indicates the 'state of national democracy' of the Communism adds more prospects. Thus, a new era begins in the Soviet and India relationship which grew in economic, cultural sector and scientific and technological field. During this period, Pakistan tilted to the west side, which further gave the Soviet Union another cause for cultivating relationship with India (D.M Smith, 2-12).

## **4.1 RELATIONSHIP DURING PUTIN'S PERIOD**

The Russia and India Relations is a key pillar in the India's foreign policy and the Russia has been a longstanding partner of India. Because the signing of "Declaration on the India-Russia Strategic Partnership" in October 2000 (when the President Vladimir Putin of Russia visit to India), the Indo-Russia relations improve through mutual discussion. Both countries main focus had been in the political deals; maintain of the security, trade growth and economy production, defence, science, technology and culture developed. During the Russian President visit to India in December 2010, the Strategic corporation was high to the level of a "Special and honoured Strategic Partnership".

### **4.1.1 POLITICAL RELATIONS**

The first major political proposal, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, between India and Russia began with the Strategic Partnership signed between the two countries in 2000. On this occasion an agreement was signed at the Indian-Russian Strategic Partnership". In December 2002, the President of the Russian had been agreed to the Indian prime minister's proposal and set up a Joint Working Group (JWG). the first meeting was held in September 2003 and second meeting held in April 2004.

At the second meeting, both sides agreed on a five-point preparation of action which included joint efforts to undertake terrorism financing activity and drug-trafficking activity abolished through cooperation. Both sides agreed to exchange the intelligence information related to anti-terrorism and drug-trafficking. As the Russia and India have close views on regional conflicts, the Russia has requested to Pakistan to stop terrorism activity crossing into the Kashmir side. When Putin visited in India December 2002, he made a strict request to Pakistan leadership to break down on the terrorist infrastructure in Jammu and Kashmir. The Russia sees India as a more significant associate than Pakistan.

In July 2003, the foreign minister of the Russia criticizes terrorism activity In Kashmir and the Russian could declare support for India in its fight against terrorism

activity. In November 2003, the Prime Minister of the Indian visit to Moscow, during this visit had been a major political relationship developed. And the most important outcome of this visit was the signing of a Joint working on the Global Challenges and pressure to world protection and stability. Both sides had been committed to fighting against terrorism activity. Another side, they were also spoken support for expansion of the United Nation Security Council and India becomes to permanent members of the UN (United Nations). On November 2003, India and Russian federation declare that future international stability would be based on the multi-polar world (D.M.Smith, 5-11).

#### **4.1.2 THE MILITARY RELATIONS**

India has been main purchaser of the Soviet Union weapons for the last decades. Since 1960, India and Russia military contacts had reached on the total value of weapons comes to \$33 billion dollars. It clearly indicates that both countries move on the development way. Russian expert according to, "Some 70% of the weapons comes from the former Soviet Union side. During the Cold War era, a massive quantity of the Soviet Union Military weapons was produced under license in India. After China, the Russia is a major military industrial complex in the World. In December 2003, the Russia and India military contract value stood at near \$10-12 billion dollars. But during the Post-Cold War era, India has become more interested purchasing weapons by other cooperated countries. But on the other side, Indian expert says that, the next 20 years India will spend \$100 billion dollars on the weapons purchasing and the Government of India's army would obtain more advance model and new technology weapons. Russia can offer only modification models produced back in the late 1980, but India has also become concerned in developing military-technical weapons cooperation with Ukraine and Belarus sides (Qureshi, 346-351).

The Russian military-industry had come and bringing over 370 models of weapons and military hardware equipment and 70 models of dual-purpose and civilian products. The Russian exhibition mainly displayed ground level vessels and round boats, light missile systems, air protection systems and helicopters for army used and

marine used equipment. On other side, The Amur-1650 and Amur-950 diesel electric submarines involved concentration. The Russians also offered a range of conversion projects. The Russia established heavy machine building industry, Uralvagonzavod (UVZ) is a Russian machine building company located in Nizhny Tagil (Russia). The supplier of the T-90 tanks and also offered a range of road building machines, load cars. And second industry in the Russia as a Kurganmashzavod - producer of infantry fighting vehicles - offered caterpillar cross-country vehicles and tractors.

**Table: 4.1 THE INDIA AND RUSSIA BETWEEN MILITARY DEALS**

<b>Contracts</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>Status</b>
In 1990: Ten submarines type 877EKM	Not mention the value	Fulfilled deal
In 1996: 50 Su-30MK/Su-30MKI aircraft, 140 aircraft licensed	\$3.0 billion	Being fulfilled
In 1997: 3 frigate type 11356	\$1.0 billion	Fulfilled deal
In 2002: 176 tanks licensed, 124 tanks T-90S	\$0.8 billion	Fulfilled deal
In 2002: guided munitions 'krasnapol' 2000 pieces	\$80 billion	Fulfilled deal
Sale aircraft Admiral Gorshkov, arming vessel and aviation group	\$2-3 billion	Agreed both countries
Three submarines type Amur 1650	-	Draft leasing
1-2 atomic submarines	-	Project
Rocket Iskander-E	-	Project

**Table adopted from :** Viktor Myasnikov, "Indostan: "Sukhoy" goes into a spin", Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 16 December 2003.

In the above, figures clearly indicate that the Russian and India had signed on some contracts related to military equipment. These were contracts related to

purchasing weapons from the Russian side. However, Russia remains an important partner of India. At the defence exhibition Def Expo (Defence Exhibition organization) held in India 2004, ground level weapons and marine weapons system firms were well represented (SIPRI 2014).

### **4.1.3 ECONOMIC RELATIONS**

Although India and the Russian Federation relationship between is a good one in the politico-military sector, both countries economic relationship is based on a low level. In January-December 2003, the trade income was \$3.3 billion dollars, compared with \$2.1 billion for the period January-December 2002. In the judgment with India's trade quantity with the European Union (EU), the United State of America (USA), Japan and Switzerland and the Russo-Indian trade position is very moderate, During the Post-Cold War era. However, it should be noted that trade position is now not that much lower than during the Soviet period. In 1990, the Soviet-Indian trade income was \$5.5 billion (of which the Russian republic had a 60% share) and the other side, Iraq has supplied a massive quantity of oil and other side, as Baghdad's method of paying for Soviet military tools.

In May 1992, an Inter-governmental Indo-Russia Commission was established on the subject of the economic sector, Trade field increase, Scientific, Technology growth and Cultural Cooperation. The Commission has been framework on the twelve working groups (a) Power and non-conventional sources (b) Trade and Economic Cooperation (c) Ferrous and non-Ferrous Metallurgy (d) oil industry (e) culture (f) Science and Technology (g) coal industry related (h) environment and natural resources (i) Information Technology (j) Regions Cooperation (k) Pharmaceuticals (l) Civil aviation with Cooperation.

**Table: 4.2 INDIAN TRADE FIGURES WITH SELECTED COUNTRIES 1999-2003**

<b>Country</b>	<b>1999 Exps</b>	<b>1999 Imps</b>	<b>2000 Exps</b>	<b>2000 Imps</b>	<b>2001 Exps</b>	<b>2001 Imps</b>	<b>2002 Exps</b>	<b>2002 Imps</b>	<b>2003 Exps</b>	<b>2003 Imps</b>
<b>USA</b>	8,100	3,583	9,083	3,152	9,355	4,141	11,318	4,508	12,502	5,485
<b>Japan</b>	1,677	2,518	1,767	2,016	2,011	2,134	1,900	2,056	2,053	2,418
<b>Germany</b>	1,767	1,916	1,865	1,780	2,037	2,272	2,143	2,472	2,655	3,027
<b>UK</b>	1,990	2,686	2,233	3,053	2,467	2,824	2,553	2,913	3,190	4,115
<b>France</b>	890	720	999	661	1,047	1,077	1,091	1,173	1,276	1,349
<b>China</b>	511	1,240	758	1,449	1,545	2,094	2,067	2,940	3,865	3,678
<b>Russia</b>	888	604	904	544	492	765	468	1,784	522	2,500
<b>Switzerland</b>	345	2,684	417	3,020	315	427	301	453	363	533

**Table adopted from:** Direction of Trade Statistics, International Monetary Fund Yearbook 2003 and Quarterly June 2004.

Figures are in millions of US dollars. NB: Trade with China does not include trade with Hong Kong.

India almost shows little attraction in the Russian market. A Conflict situation there is insufficient to attract them. The Russia almost shows Greater interested investment in Indian Markets. But in those days, the major western powers are very much more important to Indian as economic investor associates. So, the Russian commercial interest will not be able to create a significant confront to western ones. Both countries 'relationships' had been improved import and export goods, through cooperation. India export to the Russian Federation are: coffee, tea, cashew nut, tobacco, leather, footwear materials, drugs and pharmaceuticals, chemicals, rice, spices, minerals, cotton yarn fabrics and other things. India Imports from the Russian

Federation are: waste paper and pulp, cotton raw and waste, metal oral, metal scrap, organic chemicals, fertilizer, newsprint, iron, steel, heavy machinery, electronics and transportation equipment. In the next major development project launched in countries, Indian state oil and Gas cooperation invested almost \$1.7 billion dollars in the Sakhalin-1 (Russia) oil plan of the Russian in 2001. Then Indian has in recent large scale of the projects which are in coal mining projects, construction of power stations, construction of metal plant, manufacturing railway lines and water purification plants (M.Hathaway).

**Table: 4.3 INDIA’S TRADE WITH RUSSIA, VERSUS OTHER  
MAJOR TRADE PARTNERS USD BILLIONS**

Country	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2009-10	2010-11	Growth
Russia	2.8	3.3	34	5.4	4.5	13%
China	17.6	25.8	38.0	41.8	42.4	25%
USA	26.8	30.6	41.0	39.7	36.5	8%

Table adopted from: Indian Department of Commerce

In 2003, the Indian and Russia created a joint council related to development. The Russia Chamber of Commerce and the Indian Federation Chambers of Commerce are related to economic development projects. Since they were working towards technology projects, the Russo-Indian computer center has been set up in the Russia, which is prepared with the Indian super-computer PARAM-10000. This computer is used for modelling atmospheric activity and for research in micro-electronics substances, medicine research, seismology and ecology system provided information (Smith D. M., 2004, pp. 3-7).

#### **4.1.4 ENERGY RELATIONS**

The Russia and India should want security related to the nuclear sector, energy is very important for manufacturing nuclear weapons and major industry. The Russia is an important partner in peaceful uses of the nuclear energy weapons and it knows India as a country with advanced nuclear technology with a perfect non-proliferation

record. Both countries had established two energy mill in the Russian region like Construction of the Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant (KKNPP in the Russia) and Voda-Vodyanoi Energetichesky Reaktor (VVER 1000 MW) units are instances of successful cooperation between India and Russia. These power plants were developed through nuclear energy substances. KKNPP Unit 1 has become prepared in July 2013, while its Unit 2 is at an advanced step of manufacture. India and Russia also have current cooperation in the field of hydrocarbons and power mills. However, Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) Videsh Limited has substantive investments of over US\$ 5 billion dollars in two major oil and gas projects Sakhalin-1 and Imperial Energy Limited (Tomsk) in the Russia. The Moscow companies are investing money in several major power mill constructions and financial aid in oil and gas projects in India (M.Hathaway).

#### **4.1.5 SPACE RELATED PROGRAMS:**

In the next development aspects related to Space Programming and both countries would come close to each other through space information. The Russia and India would collect information space related and then both countries had established new space project. India-Russia cooperation in the field of non-violent uses of external space dates back to about four decades. The two countries are currently occupied in cooperation with Global Navigation-Satellite Service in Russia (GLONASS) project and other space applications. The purpose of the Global Navigation Satellite System (GLONASS) is to supply an unlimited number of air velocity, marine activity observed, exchange information quickly related to natural disaster and any other type of users with all-weather activities and three-dimensional positioning, air velocity measuring and timing any place in the world or near-earth space (SYSTEM,24-29).

#### **4.1.6 SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY RELATIONS**

The Russia and India bring major development in the technology and Science sector. Both countries obtain new technology weapons. The Working Group on the Science and Technology performance under IRIGC-TEC Group, the Integrated Long

Term Programmed (ILTP) and other side, the Basic Science Cooperation Program are the three main institutional mechanisms for bilateral Science and Technology cooperation. The Science Academies of the two countries encourage inter-academy exchanges. The Integrated Long Term Programmed (ILTP) which supports mutual research in essential and practical sciences has resulted in the establishment of nine thematic centers in India and Russia and performance of about 500 projects. In 2010, The Integrated Long Term Programmed (ILTP) was extended for another 10 years with a renewed consent “innovation led technology programmer”. And the other side, India and Russia were established Science and Technology Centre with a division each in Delhi-NCR (National Capital of Region) and Moscow set up in 2011-12 in order to support the move of technologies and their used commercialization. Two Program of Cooperation in the field of science in October 2013 was signed on the technology related projects (Harshe, 458).

#### **4.1.7 THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION**

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is a regional cooperation between Central Asia, China and Russia countries. But India and Pakistan not permanent member of the Organization, but just as an observer state. But Russia should make proactive role to allow India as a full membership of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), as he supported India in becoming an Observer in 2005. India can get improved occasion to complete its energy requirement from the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) partners. During the Second term, it is a security organization that focuses on the regional stability through mutual cooperation. Fighting against terrorism activities, religious extremism abolished each other country and political autonomy forms the core of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization plan. In this sphere, India has mutual concerns with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization member countries. but another side, it respects the national sovereignty. In fact, it qualities first preference to national sovereignty and in the fourthly Shanghai Cooperation Organization offers massive scope for economic cooperation with cooperated countries. it has become highly demanded and attractive in the region

and many countries of the world have expressed their willingness to join it (Hindu 2015).

## **4.2. TRIANGULAR RELATIONS**

In 1949, the Soviet Union federation had invited the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan for discussion on the sensitive subject. The invitation brings new hope for the people of Pakistan, but caused doubt in Western circles. The Prime Minister of Pakistan accepted the invitation but did not benefit from it. He went to the United States (U.S) on an authorized visit where the organization of Pakistan and United States relationship was laid. On the other side, having observed the Soviet Union's relations with its associates, Pakistan feared the Soviet Union support to India. Moreover, Pakistan was in required of new technology goods and natural resources material aid and it believed that, could not supply this aid Pakistan had not any option without, only turn to the Western side. Moreover, Pakistan had experience of relations with the Western side. So, it irritated assured level of Pakistani cooperation with the Soviet Union, which exhibits many ups and downs.

The Soviet Union would smoothly increase contact with India and the other side, Pakistan's flow towards the Western side. Such reason comes deteriorated the relationship. The Soviet Union's support of India and Afghanistan on the Kashmir conflict and 'Pashtunistan' (Afghanistan Province of people) issues, wound the feelings of the Government and people of Pakistan. The Soviet and Pakistan relations became very soulful when the Government of Pakistan finally tied with the Southeast Treaty of Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). From Pakistan's personal thinking, an alliance with the Western side was the only way of getting much required security guarantees from an unfriendly neighbour like India side. The Soviet Union showed its unhappiness in a practical method used by Western region and other side, India and Afghanistan were sending eternal protest notes to Pakistan Government.

Pakistan has always refused the existence of Western bases on its soil. The Soviet Union compress has also worse commented on Pakistan's cooperation with

the Western region. During the Cold War era, one incident happened in the Soviet Union airspace. On 1 May 1960, The U-2 plane flying in the air in the Soviet Union region and it had flown from bases in Pakistan. Western side had a directly allegation on the Russia and Pakistan of the conspiracy. In October 1961, the Khrushchev secretary of the communist party in the Soviet Union, again gesture out Pakistan for serious criticism of its worse strategy. On the whole, the Soviet Union and Pakistan relations improved after President Ayub's regime came to power in October 1958.

This was a period of expansion of Pakistan's view and normalization of Pakistan-Soviet relations. This strategy was partly due to turn down Pakistan and the United States relations. Observing this attitude, it became integral part of Islamabad region. The Soviet Union, would be finding new places for the trade goods increase and support, the Eastern bloc not excluded.

As a result of the change in the pattern of international relations in the triangular region, the Russia has seen Pakistan and India as an important state in the South Asia Continent. However, India is a major power in the South Asia. So the Russia has been interested in India side. But there arose many ups and downs which led to deteriorated bilateral zone. Recently, the Soviet Union has also come closer to Pakistan. The western allies' side, given Massive military aid to India and the Pakistan got shocked and to come out of its self-satisfaction has impressed upon Pakistan need to change its policy.

In the simple words, the Russian had been used diplomatic strategy into the India and Pakistan region. Pakistan used partly of the opposition, it with India. Indian used partly also because of the close ties in the Cold War period in the United States and China. Pakistan already had moderately good relation with China and it had made efforts to increase them with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has given a good response to Pakistan's current introduction. This could be due to the recognition of the Soviet Union in its relations with Pakistan and preferred it to be temperature or as some say it may be unpaid to a wish to withdraw Pakistan away from China region. Pakistan's opposition with India, and its control of a nuclear weapon equipment, its interest in Afghanistan and Central Asia region, may be helpful of essential forms of Islam to the foreign policy establish of Pakistan (Qureshi, 345-352).

The Russia and Pakistan rapprochement should not come as a surprise. It is only a reflection of rapidly changing, larger geo-strategic realities to which India must quickly learn to adapt.

Recently Pakistan and the Soviet Union have been signed on two barter agreements. The Soviet Union has also offered support to Pakistan for its water purification project and power projects, for the training of expert and for solving salinity and water sorting problems. There may be difficulties in the way of very close relations between Soviet and Pakistan arises out of mutual doubts practical difficulties arising out of Pakistan's dependence on the Western region. The Soviet Union committed Indian support. However, there are rays of hope signs of close the Soviet and Pakistan cooperation in the future prospects. In the above, the Soviet policy in South Asia is adjusting itself to the dynamic, changing pattern of international relations in the region. Although it may take some time, but will fully crystals. The Soviet Union could not ignore India, seventy percent weapons came from the Russian side. Recently the Russia and India were signed on the development agreements. The Russia side moderate strategy had to be used in India and Pakistan regions. The historical memory of ties with India is too strong and Russia will also face a push-back from both the United States and China in its attempts to woo Pakistan. However, it is expected that there will be a period of much more intensive and extensive interaction in various fields between the two countries.

#### **4.3 TRIANGULAR RELATIONS IMPACT OF “EXTERNAL FACTORS”**

Pakistanis and Russia were two cooperated countries move on the development track and mutual discussion. However, the Russians should be not ignored the Indian side. During the Cold War era, the Soviet Union and India come to each other when two countries had been faced some difficulties are Sino-India border conflict, Afghanistan issue, Indo-Pakistan War, United States America strategy, U-2 Incident spy plane and major topic Kashmir Issue. Thus, it is a massive effect on the trilateral relationship. In below some internal and external factor is discussing.

### 4.3.1 CHINA

In 1962, the Soviet Union policy in the region, however, it was focused to strict pressure, on the irritation of the Sino-Indian border dispute and decline in the Sino-Soviet relations, and the Chinese and the Soviet policies had followed similar lines in Asia continent. However, the Russia and China had emerged friendly relations with India. After some time, however, the Sino-Indian border dispute begun and the Sino-Soviet ideological distinction, then the Sino-Indo relations deteriorated and at the same time the Soviet Union and India came closer to each other country.

But after the border conflict in 1962, while facing with a choice between India and China, the Soviet Union came out openly in support of India. The Soviet Union also felt that if it rejected to support India region, India would support itself with the Western region, which was included India militarily in the awakening of the Sino-Indian conflict in 1962. Pakistan and Russia relations commonly developed in the circumstance of counter the Chinese and Soviet policy (Fazal-ur-Rahman 21).

the Soviet Union extended support to India on the Kashmir issue. In the Security Council, where earlier the Soviet Union had withdrawn from voting on the Kashmir issue, in 1951 it began supporting in India region. Setting up of the four Constituent Assembly in occupied Kashmir issue was permitted by the Soviet Union. Later Bulganin (Defence minister of the Russia) and Khrushchev (Communist party of the member) during their visit to India in 1955-56, came out in the open and declared that they related Kashmir as a part of Indian province. In 1957 and 1962 the Soviet Union used its veto power in the Security Council to help in India out on the Kashmir question.

This agreement has already been discussed on the Kashmir issue. It was a peace agreement between India and Pakistan, which was signed on January 10, 1966 (Tashkent Pact, Afghanistan), a result of Indo-Pak war of 1965. The great powers discussion into the agreement and pushed the both countries to a cease fire to bring peace guarantees in the region. However, the agreement was criticized in India because it did not control any rejection of guerrilla warfare in Kashmir side. Thus, discussions were unsuccessful on this conflict and no any type of the result was achieved during the declaration (Singh Sandeep 90-93).

### **4.3.2 THE UNITED STATES**

The United States and The Soviet Union have an important power in the World Politics. During the Cold War and the Post-Cold War era the United States and India relations had been fluctuated with internal and external mutual activity. the United States role in the foreign policy of Pakistan is a noticeably diplomatic strategy and multilateral policy. After that, Pakistan joining of the U.S. security camp at the time of self-government organized and then signing on the West's security pattern Southeast Asia Treaty Organization 1954 and The Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) 1955, has never allowed Pakistan's elite to make an independent policy towards Russia side. However, Pakistan's role in Afghan war (December, 1979-1989) is the most suitable example of the same. Pakistan support had towards Mujahedeen community (Afghanistan) side. But not only this, Pakistan's country has also been used to assemble the United States interests; fairly some of them were harmful to Russia's security anxiety. In 1959, Pakistan signed an agreement with the United States to oppose communist stress on its Western border side. But both countries' relations had been ups and down in 1962.

Both countries relation had been deteriorating in the U-2 spy plane crashed in Pakistan Region. In 1962, (U-2) incident the Soviets captured a U.S. spy plane on its territory. The pilot exposed that plane had taken off from the Badaber Airbase, Peshawar in Pakistan. It is related that the furious Soviet leader, Khrushchev, circled Peshawar (Pakistan) red on the map. The Soviet Union and Pakistan relations had deteriorated to its worst (Jim Nichol).

Pakistan and Russia will come near to each other through trade cooperation. But on those days, the Soviet troops had entered into the Afghanistan in December 1979. The Soviet Union was against Mujahidin community and wanted to dominate in the Region. Even after the war, there was no much affection in their relations, outstanding to Taliban factor in Pakistan foreign policy. Both countries relation were fluctuated and foreign policy and security aspects decrease. In February 1989, the Soviet Union has withdrawn troops into the Afghanistan region. the other side, the United State (U.S) led Non-alignment Treaty of Organization (NATO) forces are

planned to the international security assistance force (ISAF) to leave Afghanistan in 2014, the role of both Pakistan and Russia will be even meaningful in Afghan security in particular and the whole region in general. In the Post-9/11 period, some convergence has emerged between Pakistan and Russia (Eflein).

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 had effect on the “almost changed in the world.” International relations are experiencing fundamental changes as evidenced by incidents like the structure of the anti-terrorism coalition and the notable worse in the United States and Russia relations. The focus of international politics has also changed greatly. When the Russia troops had entered into Afghanistan in December 1979. the Russians had been full aggressive on the mujahedin community. Pakistan was supported to the mujahedin community in the Afghanistan.

Some time after, the Taliban (Al-Qaeda) had been attacked on the world trade center complex in the New York (U.S) in 11 September 2001, worst effected almost changed in the whole world. After the attack, then the United States had been clear doubt on the Afghanistan region, doubt of attack rapidly fell on the al-Qaeda (Taliban). The United State responded to the attacks by introducing the ‘war on terror’ and invaded to the Afghanistan and draw out to the Taliban. Then both countries had reached on the fluctuated zone. Than Pakistan would tilt towards the Russian region for taken security and economic assistance. Pakistanis and Russia have come increasingly close as a result of the emerging, changing on matter such as an anti-terrorism activity, separatism, economic cooperation, and drug trafficking abolished and energy cooperation. Nor is there, compulsory the outcome of visionary through cooperating, the Pre-planned strategy, cultural exchanges and methodical foreign policy discussion (Gul, 46).

However, India weapons quantity depends on the Russia region. Seventy percent military weapons for security come from the Soviet Union side. The Russian keen supply chopper MI-35 to Pakistan and still is pending decision. Then Pakistan was provisionally to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR’s) regional welfare established and they mainly focus control on the China side, But done it mutually cooperatively and international market established. However, with the establishment of significant economic stability links. However, the Russian solid relations with India

and Pakistan are not equally selective. The Russian appears to be the maintenance of regional relation stability and economic growth and security guarantees in the both countries. The Russia's would main focus on economic interests established in India, which is not only economical, stronger, but at this time supposed by Russians as the more dependable supporter. But the triangular relationship had been affected by internal problems emerge in this region like that Kashmir conflict, Sino-India border disputes, India and Pakistan war in 1965 and Kargil war and 9/11 (Chopra, 225-228).

After Independence, Pakistan and India showed downturns in their relationship. The Soviet Union and United State (U.S) had been the main focus into Pakistan and India region. During the period U.S. supported to Pakistan and the other side, the Soviet support to India. In the 1965 Indo-Pak war, the Russia played role in its declaration through the mediation (negotiation) of the Tashkent Pact in January 1966. The relations saw a downward tendency again with Bhutto's attempts to operate the Tashkent Pact for political increase, but saw improvement in relations once again with Bhutto's visits to the United States towards close of the last decade of the corporation. Generally, the period was marked by regular ups and down relations. India and the Soviet Union diplomatic relationship is the quality of this period.

As a result of the change in the pattern of international relations in the region recently the Soviet Union has also come closer to Pakistan. The Large quantity military support given to India by Pakistan's Western associates has upset Pakistan out of its satisfaction and controls its relations with the giants of the East bloc's. Pakistan already had relationship maintained with China and it had been making efforts to improved relation with the Soviet Union nation. Then Pakistanis and Russia have been air agreements and Barter deal (goods and services are exchanged without the United States of cash) signed on its. And the Soviet has also offered to Pakistan in the water purification and power projects. the Soviet Union has given a good response to Pakistan's recent overture. This could be due to the realization by the Soviet Union that its relations with Pakistan should be normalized or as some say it may be due to a desire to wean Pakistani way from China. There may well be difficulties in the way of very close the Soviet-Pakistan co-operation, such as mutual

suspensions and practical difficulties arising out of Pakistan's dependence on the West and Soviet commitment to India. Nevertheless, there are hopeful signs of close Soviet-Pakistan cooperation in the future. However, there are encouraging symbols to come close to Soviet and Pakistan cooperation in the future prospects. Thus, it is clear that Soviet policy in South Asia is to maintain its own affairs itself and the dynamic, changing model in the international relations.

Russia will continue to attempt to develop a cooperative relationship with Pakistan. Islamabad is too important to ignore. At the same time, it is unlikely that Moscow would ever shift from seeing India as its main partner in South Asia. Pakistan is strongly oriented towards the United States, and Moscow cannot possibly hope to displace Washington as Pakistan's key partner. However, both Moscow and Islamabad see their relationship as being of mutual benefit. Russian sources have claimed that there is Pakistani interest in eventually becoming a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, although, as in the case of India, there is little likelihood that this will happen in the near future. In the long-term, however, this might promote Russian aims of becoming further involved in the management of Asian security.

## CHAPTER 5

### FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the historical period, Pakistan and the Russian relations have often been under-rated, despite strong potentials, mainly due to misperceived notions and mindsets. There have been many opportunities to improve their relations, but were lost due to different approaches to regional and global security perceptions. It is interesting to note that there is not a single bilateral issue between the two countries that divides them. The Russian Federation is the inheritor of Soviet mantle; studded with strong nationalism, historical strength, geopolitical outreach and great power status. On the other hand, Pakistan's proximity to Afghanistan and Central Asia, nuclear power status and growing anti-Americanism, have great potential for renewed Russian interest in Pakistan. However, both the policy practices and academic approaches in Pakistan were instrumental in neglecting this vital area of the country's foreign policy. Pakistan's foreign policy in respect of cooperative country has always blocked small of achieving anything but self-interest maintains. Rationality can simply be explained as a state understands its 'actual' benefit and a 'sincere' some behaviour of its foreign policy in understanding of them (N.H. Fatima).

The Pakistan's relations with the former Soviet Union going from ups and downs. Although Pakistan and the Soviet Union did not have a history of bilateral conflicts or no similarity, they were not able to establish a friendly and trade cooperative relationship. However, the Soviet Union and Pakistan have known each other and established diplomatic relations on 1 May 1948. Then after that, both countries one perceptions had economic integration and security stability with cooperation. At the time, the economics integration stable emergence of Pakistan, the existing international system was characterized by the fixed bipolarity of the Cold War (Owais). Pakistan and Russia find it mutually advantageous to cooperate in the economic, military and regional politico-strategic and security areas. Prospects are bright for promoting trade, investment and joint ventures in the fields of energy,

infrastructure development, metal industry and agriculture sectors. Russia wants to invest in mega projects in Pakistan like construction of Iran- Pakistan gas pipeline, expansion of steel mill at Karachi, improvement of heavy mechanical complex in Taxilla, expansion of Guddu and Muzaffargarh power plants, development of Thar coal project, partial funding of the CASA (Central Asia- South Asia) 1000 electric transmission project from Tajikistan and the construction of the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline. Russia sees Pakistan as a big market for its engineering exports and Pakistan is interested in Russia's energy projects due to its urgent needs in the sector. This was reiterated by the Russian Premier at the last SCO Summit, where he announced support for Pakistan's proposed trade and energy projects. Indian diplomats also think that Russia wants better relations with Pakistan for its economic interests and securing CARs from religious extremism in cooperation with Pakistan.

The collapse of the Soviet Union started a new era known as the Post-Cold War era. The Post-Cold War era redefined the matrix of power politics and relations between nation-states. The relationship between Pakistan and Russia was not left from the effect of the global political phenomenon. The both countries engaged in redefining their relations, according to the strategic interests. The post 9/11, Pakistan became an integral part of the "Global war on terror" and discard its support of the Taliban rule area (Al-Qaeda), common belief between Pakistan and Russia improved and bilateral relation high stage contacts picked up the frequency. Pakistan and Russia saw their provincial planned and economic interests increasing.

Therefore, in the 2010 to 2012, saw very fast development in Pakistan and Russia understanding of the planned need to get closer and work in resolving the Afghan war and other provincial issues. Pakistan and Russia were also paying attention by the prospects of common economic cooperation after withdrawal. Pakistanis and Russia have two major cooperated powers come close to each other country with mutual alliance. Both countries had moved on developed track each other cooperatively. Both the countries, wants recognizing in the world and dynamic, changing Geo-strategic and Geopolitical environment changing on the discussion, in the beginning stage had been relation up and down. Both countries relation had been

the main focus on these, three areas (Military, Trade and Technology) of cooperation are of special attention to the Pakistan, in which future cooperation can be based mutual trust and developed into a solid long-term relationship.

## **5.1 THE AFGHANISTAN**

In 2012, Foreign Minister of the Russian Sergei Lavrov said that “Pakistan has a major quality support and influence on the Afghanistan. Given the security situation in Afghanistan, meeting between Pakistan and Russia is further developed opportunities Russians also support to an ‘Afghan-led, Afghan-formed’ solution. Moreover, in order to guarantee stability in Afghanistan, security cooperation between Islamabad and Moscow has increased. Another side, There are increased intelligence exchanges between the two nations, as well as a planned discussion between the foreign ministries of the two countries and on security discussion between the ministries of interior. Both countries need to develop mutual trust and cooperation not only in the field of intelligence sharing. But also can help each other benefitting from the exchange of Counter- terrorism expertise (Pakistan, 20).

## **5.2 ENERGY**

In December 2014, both countries Ministers were signed \$1.7 billion energy agreement to place Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) pipeline between Karachi to Lahore throughout the Joint Commission meetings in Pakistan and Russia. The Russia wants to invest in major projects established in Pakistan like construction of Iran- Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline, and the manufacture of the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) Gas pipeline cooperated countries. But other sides, the Russia see Pakistan as a big market for its engineering, production, exports and Pakistan are fully interested in Russia’s energy projects unpaid to its urgent requirements in the energy (Bhutta).

### **5.3 BOUNDARY SECURITY**

In the current period, the world could not walk on peaceful way without cooperation. If they will be want to maintain peace and stability in the society, The Border Security issues were emerging a complicated problem in the World. Pakistan boundary has attached north side China and east side, attach India and west Iran and Afghanistan. On the other side, Pakistan strategy was triangular sides countries also maintain external relation through own discussion. Currently, China and Russia two major powers had been emerging in the world, and new weapons technology supplies to Pakistan on cheap rates. Pakistan main focus on new strategy restricted drug trafficking and anti-terrorism activity (Siddiq).

### **5.4 FOREIGN POLICY**

Pakistan should diversify its foreign policy by making efforts for building trust to conduct a new era of bilateral improved relations with Russia. Both countries Delegation were visits to each other country, discussed on the foreign policies and solved easily. Pakistan foreign policy had main focus some field like that first nuclear proliferation second area narcotics abolished, sell to weapons, third area Islamic fundamentalism or extremism and last is their concern in China region. Then Pakistan has remained a very important focus of our foreign policy (Malek, 390-394).

### **5.5 REGIONAL ISSUES**

There are many major global issues emerging in the world of the geopolitical relation. Both countries relation had been affected by external affairs and external power, influence in the World peace and stability. In the world, there is micro level countries influence in internal relations, in the simple languages, the Syria and Iran are Muslim dominated countries in the world and maintain own identity in the World. There are also multiple problems on a number of global issues, So on, Syria and Iran as well as different issues connecting to human rights and humanitarian interventions. In the current times both have displayed very close organization on the Syrian domestic conflict and Iran's nuclear program. Two nations are facing regional issues like Kashmir conflict, Pakistan terrorism activity. Both countries should share each

other's experience of counter terrorism through initiatives like seminars, sharing of literature and joint training in specialized counter-terrorism fields. In order to further refine anti-terrorism efforts both countries should consider establishment of joint intelligence sharing mechanisms at the appropriate level. There are also multiple meetings on a number of international issues, such as Syria and Iran as well as various issues relating to human rights and humanitarian interventions.

## **5.6 SECURITY COULD IMPROVE RELATIONS**

In the military sector also, the Russia and Pakistan had a restriction on anti-terrorism activity. Pakistan wants to have cooperation with neighbour countries in fighting against terrorism and radical. The United States not interested weapons selling to Pakistan and it had illegal used weapons. The latter opportunities turn to Russia for its military supplies which will also help in maintain peace in its defence sector. As former recommended, Russia recognizes Pakistan's Planned importance in the region mainly with respect to final settle Central Asian Republic (CAR) and North Caucasus. Pakistan can also be helpful in dealing with drug trafficking emerging from Afghanistan to Russia through Central Asian Republic (CAR). The Russia has historically stable, friendly relations with Indian side and is still one of the mainly important suppliers of its defence equipment, which is a matter of anxiety for Pakistan (Han, 174-176).

## **5.7 SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION**

In June 2002, the President of the Pakistani visit to the Russian Federation discussed on peace stability topics. Pakistan and Russia relations were institutionalized. Both countries were Joint Working Group on anti-Terrorism activity and second focus on the Joint Working Group on Strategic Stability and on those days, self-governmental Joint Commission was established. But Pakistan had observed in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) not a member of permanently. The Russia wants also supported Pakistan's permanent opening into the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to become integral part of the Russian provincial security organization. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is a

specific anti-American regional project to bring peace and stability in the province (Hindu).

## **5.8 IMPORT AND EXPORT**

Pakistan and the Soviet Union trade relation established in the early 1950. On those days, the Soviet Union had agreed to import goods jute, cotton and Leather productions. However, the Soviet Union bought a jute products and exchange export to 150,000 tons wheat in summer of Pakistan in 1952, the Soviet Union is one of the fastest growing economy in the G8. Averaging 7% annually, Since 2003. Pakistan exports to Russia account for only 0.06% of Russia's total imports while Russian export to Pakistan is only 0.99% of Pakistan total imports. There is great potential for the Pakistan textiles sector to increase their exports (US \$ 47 Million) to Russia, which is the third largest Textiles importing country in the world. A bilateral free trade agreement is required to give more promote to Pakistan's textile sector in the Russian markets (Gregory, 3-6).

## **6. RECOMMENDATIONS**

The frequent exchange of high-level visits shows a positive trend in the relationship between the two countries. But this improvement has not occurred overnight. The two countries appear to have found more reasons to work together in the last sixty years than in the previous 65 years. They have realized the importance of forging a relationship in the regional and international political and economic scenario. This is an era of change in the world and this can be considered a prime time for Pakistan and Russia to gradually improve their relations. In the globalized world, relations with all the key players of the world, especially in the region should be promoted. However the improvement of bilateral relations should not be at the expense of current relations with other countries. The Russia and Pakistan have a legitimate right to view the prospects of their partnership with optimism and need to do consistent efforts to strengthen mutually beneficial cooperation for the benefits of their people as well as in the interest of regional peace and stability.

- Development of Guddu and Muzaffargarh power plants, development of Thar coal project, limited financial support of the Central Asia-South Asia (CASA) 1000 electric transmission project from Tajikistan. Development of steel mill plant in Karachi (Pakistan), improved condition of heavy mechanical complex in Taxilla. Its investment in energy producing and import projects, steel mill, infrastructure development and agriculture including water management.
- To Increase people to people connectivity. Create space for boosting and facilitate regular Private, Commercial and Trade Programs. Establishment of commercial counselor appointment in Russia, to exchange important information, trade delegations of both the countries and coordinate trade exhibition for enhancement of trade.
- Pakistan should seek Russian aid for the improvement of its Railway focusing on the growth of existing infrastructure, including Railways bogies, tracks expansion and locomotives. Connecting Gwadar to Russia and Central Asian States through rail link is the need of time (Pakistan 23, 2014).
- To promote greater intellectual cooperation and improve understanding of the country, establishment of a Russian Study Centre in Pakistan and a Pakistan Study Centre in Russia, must be done through affords. The Russia has an equal competitive environment for systematic education. Hence, while sending our students to Western countries we should simultaneously develop cooperation with Russia in the scientific education sector as Russia is geographically closer to Pakistan and the cost of education is relatively affordable. Availability of translated Russian literature, in both English and Urdu (Pakistan 23).
- Both the countries have a strong state support Media. It may be possible to carry out an exchange of various programs part like News, cultural shows, dramas, mutual negotiation and political leaders of interview to increase awareness about each other's thinking and cultural activity through broadcasting.

- There is a main focus on the enhanced people to people contact in different fields like economics, politics, society; especially culture would help in changing the relations between two nations.
- Pakistan should discuss with Russia on what role both countries play in Afghanistan territory should and manage their efforts to achieve early peace in Afghanistan.
- Pakistan should plan on making Russia a long-term trading partnership and supplier of military equipment. To understand bilateral necessities and compulsions, both countries to boost the exchange of military delegations. Form Joint Commission on Defense Cooperation and hold annual meetings to identify areas pertaining to training, joint exercises, defence procurement and mutual cooperation. And replace of Armed Forces soldiers cover wide ranging areas of training.
- Pakistan and Russia should share each other's own experience of counter terrorism activity through program like seminars, special program and joint training in specialized counter terrorism fields. In order to further refine anti-terrorism efforts both countries should consider establishment of joint intelligence sharing mechanisms an appropriate level.
- At a suitable stage Pakistan should start a discussion with Russia to develop planned partnership with Pakistan.
- Pakistani should focus on increasing exports of products like raw materials, agricultural produce, finished and unfinished textile, leather products as well as cheap skilled, unskilled and technical manpower to Russia.
- In this search Pakistan should stay careful attention on China and Saudi Arabia's strategic and economic interests' growth..
- Pakistan may also extend trusted friend of the Russia, its relations with Russia will not injure its strategic interest in the province.
- Regional cooperation should be enhanced in the areas of common interest. Russia supports full membership of Pakistan in SCO, this organization should be used effectively to deal with the common issues of the region like

extremism, drug trafficking, money laundering, cross border organized crimes, security threats etc.

Pakistan and Russian relations are the story of the relations of neglect opportunities and doubt during various stages. The changing geo-strategic circumstance has supplied an occasion to work jointly at province and international discussion. The way forward is to have maintainable and build up a long-term bilateral relationship where both countries have massive possible to improve mutual cooperation. Pakistan was needed to adopt a pragmatic and a strong foreign policy which activities not only build up closer relations with Russia but with all countries of the World. A common objective of all the nations in a multi-polar power structure should be peace, stability, cooperation, goodwill, development, peace and progress and welfare of the people. In the above, All these future prospects highlight the massive possible in many sectors for the rising growth and the increase of relations between Pakistan and Russia, there should be a solid effort to address the trust shortage between the two countries.

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