

ANALYZING PAKISTAN'S PARTICIPATION IN
UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AS
AN INSTRUMENT OF PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY



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Analyzing Pakistan's Participation in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations as
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Abstract

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKOs) are hailed as the foremost retort to the ever convoluting conflict dynamics around the world. Invariably, the conduct of UNPKOs depends, almost exclusively, on the foreign policy objectives of United Nations (UN) member states. Consequently, national interests – foreign policy objectives – are the mechanism for calculating the benefits of conflict intervention. However, keeping direct (political and economic) foreign policy objectives in view, the normative structures of the international society and the internal norms of a state should not be marginalized while analyzing the participation of states in UNPKOs. In this view, Pakistan's involvement with peacekeeping operations has not only been active but diverse. It has expanded to encompass; provision of security to the civilians, monitoring areas and borders which are disputed, observing the peace process and training the military personnel of the deployed countries, and supporting the ex-combatants in implementing the peace process to ensure lasting peace. However, the underlying motivations of Pakistan's involvement have not been elucidated, especially gauging the fulfillment of its foreign policy objectives. The aim of this research is to analyze in-depth the underlying reasons of Pakistan's activism in UNPKOs and thematically and theoretically frame the motivations under *political interests*, *economic incentives* and *normative considerations* to arrive at conclusive assessments of its participation in UNPKOs. More so, the study aims to provide recommendations to advance the relationship between Pakistan's involvement and UNPKOs and to regulate the institutional capacity at Pakistan's end. In this vein, the research will utilize secondary data to analyze the UNPKOs in which Pakistan has been a contributing member and assess the fulfillment of Pakistan's foreign policy objectives from a theoretically grounded approach. Primary data in the shape of semi-structured interviews from peacekeepers from Pakistan and foreign policy experts will verify the subjectivity of the findings. It is imperative to evaluate this dimension – activism in UNPKOs – of Pakistan, despite its limited resources and institutional impediments. Pakistan's unrelenting resolve to put its soldiers in harm's way in the cause of peace needs a thorough and in-depth analysis in paving a strategy laden approach for its future endeavors.

Keywords: UN peacekeeping missions, Pakistan, foreign policy objectives

Table of Contents

Declaration	I
Plagiarism Certificate (Turnitin Report).....	II
Copyright Statement	III
Abstract.....	IV
Table of Contents	V
Table of Abbreviations	VII
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Research Enquiry	5
1.3 Methodological Approach.....	6
1.4 Review of Existing Literature Elucidating the Variables of the Research.....	9
1.5 Thesis Overview and Organization of the Research	18
CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS ELUCIDATING FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING AND OUTCOMES	19
2.1 Foreign Policy Analysis	20
2.1.1 Foreign Policy Decision Making.....	22
2.1.2 Foreign Policy Decision Making in view of ‘Rationality’	23
2.2 Theories of International Relations and Foreign Policy Behavior and Analysis	27
2.2.1 Engaging International Relations Theories and Foreign Policy Analysis	28
2.2.2 Constructivism and Foreign Policy Analysis	29
CHAPTER THREE: PAKISTAN’S FOREIGN POLICY AND THE CASE OF PARTICIPATION IN UNPKOS	32
3.1 Outlining the Guiding Principles and Objectives of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy	32
3.2 Pakistan’s Participation in UNPKOs.....	35
3.2.1 UN Peacekeeping	35
3.2.2 Overview of the ‘Generations’ of Pakistan’s Participation in UNPKOs.....	38
CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYZING THE NEXUS BETWEEN PAKISTAN’S FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN UNPKOS	46
4.1 The Decision Making Mechanism of Sending Pakistan’s Peacekeeping Abroad ..	47

4.2 The Underlying Motivations of Pakistan’s Participation in UNPKOs	49
4.2.1 Political Interests	49
4.2.2 Economic Incentives.....	53
4.2.3 Normative Considerations	55
4.3 The Link between Pakistan’s Foreign Policy and its Peacekeeping Participation..	57
4.4 The Future of Pakistan’s Peacekeeping	60
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUDING DISCUSSION	64
ANNEXURE.....	69
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	70

Table of Abbreviations

DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
GHQ	General Headquarters
HIPPO	High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations
IFOR	Implementation Force
LOAC	Law of Armed Conflict
MINURCA	United Nations Mission in Central African Republic
MOD	Ministry of Defense
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOI	Ministry of Interior
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
PAKBAT	Pakistani battalions
PKO	Peacekeeping Operations
TCC	Troop Contributing Country
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur (known by its acronym)
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
UNMIB	UN Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina
UNMIL	UN Mission in Liberia
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNMIT	United Nations Mission in Timor-Leste
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observers Group in Indian and Pakistan
UNOSOM I AND II	UN Operation in Somalia
UNPKOS	United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
UNPOL	UN Police
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSF	United Nations Security Force
UNTAC	UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNUC	United Nations Operation in the Congo

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The conflicts in contemporary times are evolving and mutating with unprecedented unpredictability. The efforts by the international community, led by the global forum of United Nations (UN), to hinder such egregious developments have also transformed accordingly. The measures by UN have diversified – with blurred differentiation – into processes such as peacemaking, peacebuilding and *peacekeeping*, amongst others. States indulge in all these measures and champion the resolve of UN to serve the humanity. In this view, Pakistan has prodigiously fulfilled its international responsibility to maintain peace and prosperity by taking part in UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKOs), even at the expense of its own service men and women.

The UN emerged as a beacon of hope to eliminate the propensity of another world war and in this context its peace operations¹ have been its foremost visible and constructive activity. The UN Charter declares that its fundamental aim is “to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war”² and therefore, it has been relentless in pursuing peace. It is noteworthy that the UN Charter does not explicitly use the term *peacekeeping* or outline the details pertaining to this activity. However, the UN Security Council (UNSC) is invested with the responsibility to take collective action under Article 24 of the UN Charter where it is envisaged with “the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.”³ Keeping in view the flexibility of the UN Charter, it can be contended that peacekeeping has been implicitly mentioned in Article 33 of the Charter. The aforementioned derivation from Article 33 can be translated as an assertion given to UN Member States, to use “other peaceful means of their choice”⁴⁵ in order to arrive at pacific settlements of conflicts and disputes.

¹ In this thesis, the terms peace operations, peacekeeping operations and international peacekeeping have been used interchangeably.

² “UN Charter,” United Nations, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/un-charter-full-text/>.

³ United Nations, “UN Charter.”

⁴ United Nations, “UN Charter.”

⁵ Pacific settlement of disputes in the UN Charter includes negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies of arrangements, and other peaceful means.

Furthermore, some scholars also contend peacekeeping as a *subsidiary organ* under Article 22 by the UNGA or Article 29 by the UNSC.⁶

Tracing the evolution of its functions, the UN peacekeeping began formally in 1948 as *ad hoc* missions⁷, customized by practice and overseen by the UN Office of Special Political Affairs.⁸ In the initial years, the UNPKOs were tasked to fulfill three functions.⁹ Firstly, it was expected of the peacekeeping forces to maintain *impartiality* in their conduct with the parties in conflict. Secondly, it was necessary up until the 1990s that the parties *consented* to involving the UN peacekeepers in the resolution of the conflict. Lastly, the UN peacekeepers were tasked to avoid the *use of force*¹⁰; essentially transforming their role from a traditional soldier. The end of the Cold War signaled transformation in conventional/ classical peacekeeping; it evolved to meet the convoluted challenges presented by the intractable conflicts around the world. Since the early 1990s, the role of the UN peacekeepers evolved and they were called in to provide security for the transition processes which expanded to include voter registration, free and fair elections, drafting new constitutions, providing humanitarian assistance, and introducing political and judicial reform. Moreover, from *ad hoc* missions run under the UN Office of Special Political Affairs, peacekeeping started to include several hundred thousand members and led to the creation of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in 1992.¹¹ As of April 2018, UN has undertaken seventy-one peacekeeping operations and it's currently involved in fourteen peacekeeping operations around the world.¹²

Pakistan shares an extensive history with UN peacekeeping and has been an active participant in UN-led endeavors to inculcate peace around the world. Pakistan's engagement with UN peacekeeping began in 1949 due to the Kashmir issue as UN

⁶ Bruno Simma ed., *The Charter of the United Nations: A Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 565-603.

⁷ The UN peacekeeping began with United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), concerning the Middle East and United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), pertaining to the Kashmir Issue.

⁸ Jean E. Krasno ed., *The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society* (New Delhi: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), 319.

⁹ Adam Roberts, "The United Nations: Variants of Collective Security," in *Explaining International Relations Since 1945*, ed. Ngaire Woods (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 309-336.

¹⁰ Krasno, *The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society*, 319.

¹¹ Krasno, 245.

¹² "Data," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed April 3, 2018, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/data>.

established a mission, United Nations Military Observers Group in Indian and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), in the region which remains active to date. In UNMOGIP, military observers were stationed in Jammu and Kashmir to supervise the ceasefire line between India and Pakistan. However, in 1960, Pakistan sent its first contingent of eight hundred personnel¹³ under the UN mandate to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). During the Cold War, Pakistani peacekeepers participated in only four peacekeeping missions in total.¹⁴ It became one of the top troop contributing country (TCC) during the early 1990s and remains so till date. Pakistan's fervent engagement in peacekeeping missions throughout the conflict-prone regions of the world is evidenced by the high number of casualties its contributions have suffered. As of April 2018, 156 Pakistan *blue helmets*¹⁵ have laid down their life to ensure peace around the world.

In the recent decades, Pakistan's involvement in peacekeeping operations has expanded to encompass duties such as providing security to the civilians, monitoring disputed areas and borders and supporting the ex-combatants in implementing the peace process to ensure lasting peace. Pakistan has thus far participated in forty-three missions in over twenty-six countries with a contribution of over one hundred and seventy-two thousand uniformed personnel.¹⁶ It is currently involved in seven missions (Annexure) with a contribution of five thousand and eighty-one personnel.¹⁷ Pakistan ranks on number four as the largest TCC in the world, whereas it is the second largest contributor in terms of its military deployment.¹⁸ Moreover, Pakistan is the sixth largest police contributor in the world. For the international policing duties, it has also sent its paramilitary personnel.¹⁹

¹³ Inam-ur-Rahman Malik, "Pakistan," in *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, ed. Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 205.

¹⁴ Data accessed from the Department of Peacekeeping Training, Centre for International Peace and Stability, National University of Sciences and Technology, Islamabad, Pakistan on May 21st, 2018.

¹⁵ "UN Honors 7 Pakistani Peacekeepers," DAWN, accessed April 30, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1402695>.

¹⁶ "Message of the Foreign Minister on the International Day of United Nations Peacekeepers May 29, 2018," Ministry of Foreign Affairs Government of Pakistan, accessed June 2nd, 2018, <http://www.mofa.gov.pk/pr-details.php?mm=NjMzMw,..>

¹⁷ "Pakistan," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed May 15, 2018, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/pakistan>.

¹⁸ Data accessed from the Department of Peacekeeping Training, Centre for International Peace and Stability, National University of Sciences and Technology, Islamabad, Pakistan on May 21st, 2018.

¹⁹ Department of Peacekeeping Training, Centre for International Peace and Stability, Islamabad.

The decision-making surrounding the participation in UN peacekeeping in Pakistan can be characterized under a *military-bureaucratic nexus*²⁰ where the military as well as bureaucratic institutions in Pakistan, such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), General Headquarters (GHQ) and Ministry of Interior (MOI) play an overarching role. Pakistan's involvement with UN peacekeeping hinges on principles of collective security for the greater good of humanity, but peacekeeping has not been outlined or explicitly mentioned in *any* legal doctrine of the State. Therefore, unraveling the underlying motivations of Pakistan's participation, characterizing Pakistan's activism and indulgence in UN peacekeeping operations as a *deliberate* foreign policy objective, is an unattended notion.

Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping has been revered worldwide²¹; UN and its members have commended the participation of Pakistan to advance durable peace and to eradicate conflicts. However, within Pakistan the literature elucidating the contribution of Pakistan to UNPKOs has neither been compiled nor analyzed. Moreover, the in-depth analysis of the contributions by Pakistan, especially focusing on the decisions by the institutions within Pakistan has not been highlighted. Essentially, the link highlighting Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping and the *rationality* of participation proves insufficient to explicate it as a deliberate foreign policy outcome. The deficiencies such as tangible literature surrounding Pakistan's involvement in UNPKOs as instrument of foreign policy, despite its over-arching role in consolidation the resolve of UN, hinders the substantiating retort to Pakistan's adversaries.

In this vein, this research outlines certain theoretical parameters to elucidate foreign policy decision making and outcomes. The aim for incorporating theoretical discussion is to provide a firm base to understand the nexus between foreign policy making and Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping. Moving from theoretical understanding, the research focuses on the profile of Pakistan as a peacekeeping nation and delineates particular significant cases of Pakistani peacekeeping. The aforementioned chapter

²⁰ Malik, "Pakistan," 207.

²¹ "UN Lauds Pakistan for Contributing Troops to maintain Global Peace," The Express Tribune, accessed April 25, 2018, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1666999/1-un-lauds-pakistan-contributing-troops-maintain-global-peace/>.

covering the case study of Pakistan also provides the contours of Pakistan's foreign policy in view of peacekeeping. The subsequent chapter encases the analysis drawn from primary data collection (interviews) about the link between Pakistan's foreign policy and participation in UNPKOs as a deliberate choice. It also showcases Pakistan's motivations to become a part of the global peacekeeping platform and provides recommendations to highlight the future of Pakistani peacekeeping. The final chapter covers the essence of the whole research by providing conclusions.

1.2 Research Enquiry

The investigation into analyzing Pakistan's indulgence in UNPKOs is a modest attempt to arrive at tangible assertions classifying Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs as a deliberate national decision. The unsubstantiated link between Pakistan's foreign policy and its participation in UNPKOs arouses the need for a thorough examination. This is in order to ascertain that Pakistan's assets and resources (peacekeepers) are being utilized to maximize Pakistan's intended outcomes, especially in terms of its foreign policy. Therefore, the absence of literature on the subject, the lack of promulgation of Pakistan's participation and the ambiguity surrounding Pakistan's motivations to participate in such endeavors, necessitated the drive for this research.

In doing so, in essence, the research assumption taken for this study stated: *the participation in UNPKOs significantly contributes to the fulfillment/ achievement of Pakistan's foreign policy objectives*. This undertaken assumption proved helpful in preventing deviation from the central tenets of the research. Moreover, it also aided in formulating the aims and objectives for this research. The core objectives of this research were three folded: (1) the research aimed to determine the underlying inducement of Pakistan's activism in UNPKOs, especially in context of the fulfillment of its foreign policy objectives. In doing so, the research analyzed the foreign policy objectives of Pakistan and its participation in UNPKOs as: (i) its vested national interests such as political interests and economic incentives, (ii) the attainment of a certain desired 'identity' for Pakistan, *constructed* by its vehemence to restore international peace and stability, all the while abiding by the norms of international society, through its participation in UNPKOs – essentially, elucidating normative motivations of Pakistan's

participation. (2) Through this analysis, this research hoped to narrate if the intended engagement with UNPKOs has furthered Pakistan's *interests* while using the theoretical depth of foreign policy analysis, and (3) the research consequentially highlighted avenues of reforming the participation on the domestic level by fulfilling the institutional incapacities to further a sustainable commitment with the UNPKOs.

The aforementioned objectives were complimented with certain questions, to overcome the complexities arising from the lack of literature, debate and discourse on the subject. The study was a pioneering effort in compiling arguments with regard to its variables; therefore, simple yet informing questions were posed to arrive at substantiated assertions regarding the basics of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and its link to Pakistan's foreign policy. Thus, the research sought to answer the following and other related questions: (1) Is Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs aligned with its foreign policy objectives? And (2) what is the extent to which Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs has contributed to the fulfillment of its foreign policy objectives? It is essential to mention that these queries were complimented with theoretical reasoning to provide more depth to the arguments established in this study. It was also attempted in order to establish analysis that were only drawn from a commentary of events (UNPKOs), but were cushioned with scholarly debates.

1.3 Methodological Approach

To understand the nexus between Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and the fulfillment of its foreign policy objectives, the selection of methodology is of great significance. Therefore, the research design, sampling and tool(s) of analysis were chosen after thoughtful considerations. Considering the nature and scope of this research (as detailed above), the undertaken research primarily relied on qualitative-based methodology for data gathering and data analysis. In addition, such a methodological approach was essential to establish fluidity in arguments (narrative and discourse) on Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs which majorly includes quantitative data in numbers (operations, contributions, etc.) overtones.

Overall, the methodological emphasis (steered by a theoretical framework) enables an in-depth understanding of the foreign policy analysis and on Pakistan's participation in peacekeeping. The analysis of Pakistan's foreign policy making and execution with regards to peacekeeping within a theoretically grounded approach has aided in identifying and elucidating the underlying factors that are integrated at various junctions to this process. Such an approach is crucial as foreign policy making is a dynamic process which requires a theoretical lens and thematic assessment of gauging the fulfillment of its objectives. Furthermore, to address the objectives of this research, a qualitative based approach is adopted to understand the nexus between Pakistan's participation in international peacekeeping operations and the achievement of its foreign policy objectives. With regards, to construct an understanding into the narrative of Pakistan's participation in peacekeeping and to highlight the existing discourse on the foreign policy objectives, a *case study design* was pursued and available secondary data was reviewed which resonated with the relevant research inquiry. The case study was constructed keeping in view the two main variables of the study; (i) Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and (ii) the attainment of its foreign policy objectives through such an endeavor. It was aimed that the case study reflected the research assumption (mentioned above) and was centered on the main argument of the research – unraveling the motivations of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs.

The *semi-structured interviews* were the foremost tool of primary data collection which were adaptive in nature. The interviews were also the main tool of data analysis and were used to ascertain the queries undertaken in this research and to determine the validity of correlation between the variables. The questions put forth during the aforementioned interviews were pertaining to the two main variables of the research: (i) the participation in UNPKOs and (ii) the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy. This research tape recorded all the interviews (with respondents' consents) and also took their explicit consent (via a consent form) for participation in the research. A total of twenty semi-structured interviews were organized as a source of primary data with the key stakeholders and/or representatives belonging to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), Pakistan's armed forces with experience in peacekeeping and individuals of the Police force with similar experience. Moreover, experts on the foreign policy of Pakistan,

especially academics and researchers, were also consulted to comment of the outcome of the nexus between the foreign policy objectives and participation in peacekeeping.

The nature of the research required certain knowledge – combining insights into UN peacekeeping with Pakistan’s foreign policy – to address the questions posed in this research. Therefore, former ambassadors of Pakistan who had served under the MOFA and especially as permanent representatives of Pakistan to UN in New York were carefully sought out for interviews. The current diplomatic deployment of Pakistan to UN in New York was also reached out and their views regarding the research have been incorporated to substantiate the arguments presented in the study. Due to the overarching role of the armed forces in the decision making of sending troops abroad in UNPKOs, Pakistani military experts who had served as heads of missions were also interrogated. Furthermore, Pakistani peacekeepers who had served in missions in Congo and Central African Republic (CAR) were questioned to reflect the individual motivations of peacekeepers in UN missions. The twenty semi-structured interviews were approximately divided in half between these two primary categories of respondents.

The research did not face any overarching challenge; however, the unavailability of any prior existing (academic) literature, or scarcity of secondary data in accordance with the themes of the research proved a hindrance in establishing ground arguments. Moreover, it was difficult to find experts, for primary data collection, on both the variables of the research; UN peacekeeping and Pakistan’s foreign policy. The subsequent issue arose when the aforementioned experts – mostly former ambassadors of Pakistan – were difficult to track down or unwilling to provide information for the research. In addition to this, the institutions with certain information – numerical data mostly – on Pakistan’s participation in UNPKOs, especially the GHQ, MOD and Joint Staff Headquarters were reluctant about sharing the data/ information as they considered it ‘sensitive’ due to details about the training provided to Pakistan’s peacekeeping troops. Consequently, adaptive measures, such as reaching out to former ambassadors, was carried out through more resourceful channels and the wishes of the responding participants – institutes or individuals – was kept in consideration for this research. In conclusion, this investigation was carried out keeping in view ethical guidelines of research.

1.4 Review of Existing Literature Elucidating the Variables of the Research

The literature illuminating the nexus between Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and the achievement of its foreign policy objectives is virtually non-existent. The prevalent discourse on Pakistan's participation in international peacekeeping recounts its contribution in statistical terms, only elucidating its status as a top TCC. Moreover, the literature covers the history of Pakistan's participation in broad strokes, unraveling some aspects of the participation of Pakistani peacekeepers in certain UNPKOs. However, recent literature has also expanded to include analysis of the underlying motivations of Pakistan's contribution to international peacekeeping, though limited to an overall assessment than an in-depth and research driven analysis. The deliberations on UN peacekeeping and its evolution over the decades has been written ubiquitously, and on the other hand, the foreign policy of Pakistan and its objectives have been discussed rigorously, encompassing its trends, alignment, and its multilateral approach towards the international community. However, Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and its alignment with the foreign policy objectives of Pakistan has not received explorative attention and therefore, has not resulted in an in-depth analysis of the efficacy of this partnership.

Despite the fact that not a single book has been devoted to detailing the international peacekeeping efforts of Pakistan, some books do capture the case of Pakistani peacekeeping. For instance, a seminal work on Pakistani peacekeeping by Inam-ur-Rahman Malik, who has a background in working for the National Police Bureau (NPB) for Pakistan, is presented in a book chapter titled *Pakistan in Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contribution*.²² It encompasses almost all pivotal aspects of the Pakistani contribution. The case of Pakistan is presented as a top contributor and sketches the history of Pakistan's contribution and delineates the decision making on the subject as the *military-bureaucratic nexus*. His work echoes that the *political rationale* of Pakistani peacekeeping "can be viewed through the prism of international prestige and influence"²³ that the participation brings

²² Malik, "Pakistan," 204-224.

²³ Malik, 210.

in. The piece also sheds light on *security rationales*, citing Pakistan's peacekeeping credentials a source enabling a robust stance for Kashmir issue in the country's favor, and *institutional rationales* along with *economic rationales*. While elucidating on the latter rationale, he outlined tangible and intangible micro-economic benefits to Pakistani peacekeepers and cited them as a crucial motivational factor to Pakistan's contribution. The case also included an insight into the police contributions made by Pakistan and covered the lessons Pakistan has learned thus far from its participation in international peacekeeping. The chapter concluded after asserting that Pakistan has established itself as a reliable peacekeeping force and would aim to ascend the influence of its status as a top contributor, essentially to make strategic decisions regarding UN peacekeeping. Admittedly, the case of Pakistani contribution to UN peacekeeping by Malik elaborates eminent aspects and references foreign policy related and officials' related materials and sources, but it makes meager efforts to shed light on the achievement of foreign policy objectives through Pakistan's participation in peacekeeping. The underlying inducements of Pakistan's participation as 'rationales' had been adequately discussed, but the nexus between foreign policy objectives and Pakistan's participation in peacekeeping was paid insufficient attention.

A similar overview of Pakistan's peacekeeping activism has been reflected by Kabilan Krishnasamy in his article *Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences*²⁴. The writer constructs the narrative of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs by explicating the initial peacekeeping operations Pakistan contributed to, such as; Congo, West Irian, Yemen, etc., and details major transformations in Pakistan's participation, which were exhibited in operations in Cambodia and Somalia. The article further illuminates the 'motivations' underpinning Pakistan's participation in peacekeeping and includes *economic incentives* and *political motivations* as the primary drivers of Pakistan's activism in UNPKOs. The political motivations outlined by the writer essentially echo the foreign policy objectives of Pakistan despite not having been explicitly mentioned as such. Kabilan asserts that the foremost motivation of Pakistan's involvement in UNPKOs is "to re-shaping its political

²⁴ Kabilan Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," *International Peacekeeping* 9, no. 3 (2002): 103-120, accessed April 18, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1080/714002736>.

image in a positive light and to creating a favorable international impression.”²⁵ Other pertinent political motivations include the continuation of bilateral ties with major powers, to present a persistent competition to India in UN peacekeeping and to further Pakistan’s “Islamic identity and the desire to increase its presence and political status amongst the Muslim world.”²⁶ The article comprehensively outlines Pakistan’s experience with UN peacekeeping, but it does not create substantial arguments linking Pakistan’s participation in UNPKOs and the fulfillment of Pakistan’s foreign policy.

The comprehensive article by Maria Kiani, *Pakistan’s Contribution to UN Peacekeeping*,²⁷ follows a similar trajectory of arguments, as the aforementioned works. Her work initially discusses the parameters of UN peacekeeping defined in the UN Charter and then ventures into the history of Pakistan’s participation, discussing the formative operations (with regard to UN peacekeeping) in Cambodia, Somalia and Bosnia. However, before digging into these crucial cases, she contrives the trends in Pakistan’s role as a peacekeeper by delineating the *three* generations of UN peacekeeping. However, her most significant contribution is the analysis of Pakistan’s role as a peacekeeper where the writer establishes the weaknesses and loopholes in the Pakistani participation and practice. The most fundamental argument presented by her suggested the formulation of a “national doctrine for peacekeeping”²⁸ within Pakistan following the examples of states like United States, Britain and France. Although, the writer’s work analyzes Pakistan’s participation, but it is laced with commentary-styled narrative based on secondary data with more focus on the history of Pakistan’s participation. It does not link Pakistan’s history with UN peacekeeping to any socio-economic or political analysis and she also misses to incorporate the relevance of the role of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping as an instrument of Pakistan’s foreign policy.

Another pertinent literary contribution to the discourse regarding Pakistan’s motivations to send its troops in UN peacekeeping missions has been quite recently made by Dr Tughral Yamin, Associate Dean of the Centre for International Peace & Stability,

²⁵ Krishnasamy, “Pakistan’s Peacekeeping Experiences,” 112.

²⁶ Krishnasamy, 114.

²⁷ Maria Kiani, “Pakistan’s Contribution to UN Peacekeeping,” *Strategic Studies* 24 no. 3 (2004): 41-72.

²⁸ Kiani, “Pakistan’s Contribution to UN Peacekeeping,” 56.

National University of Sciences and Technology, Islamabad. His article titled, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy Motivations in Sending Troops Abroad*²⁹ encapsulates and is intrinsically linked to the themes of this research undertaking i.e., Pakistan's participation in UN peace operations and its foreign policy motivations. Dr Yamin's thorough analysis highlights that there are four factors which are paramount in influencing the Pakistani decision makers in deciding to send the troops for foreign deployments; national interest, security concerns, public opinion and international recognition.³⁰ His articulations also draw focus on the role of leadership in arriving at decisions concerning foreign deployment of Pakistani personnel. Dr Yamin's conclusions reiterate the need for a comprehensive mechanism, including policy guidelines, which would essentially facilitate the decision making process in responding to such requests. In summation, the article reflects and sets the tone for further research on the subject it so accurately elucidates.

The literary contributions to Pakistan's peacekeeping narrative have been scarce, but the existing compilations have also been limited by specificity. Bearing this constraint, there has been repeated mention of the case of Somalia in comparison to other experiences of Pakistan with peacekeeping. In this view, Kabilan Krishnasamy's article titled, *UN Peacekeepers as 'Reliable' Forces: Pakistan's Somalia Experience*³¹, pursues the case of Somalia to unravel Pakistan's role in establishing peace. The writer stresses on the underlying reasons of Pakistani troops' continued engagement despite the deteriorating conditions in Somalia which can be interpreted along the lines of its foreign policy objectives. He sketches the role of Pakistani peacekeepers as being driven by the vehemence to uphold and maintain international peace and stability as promulgated by the UN. More pragmatically, he opines that the massive troop contribution by Pakistan and its readiness to be part of United States-led multinational coalition in Somalia was driven by the desire to "re-establish strategic cooperation with United States"³² which was necessitated due to the increasing tilt of United States towards India. Similarly, Brian

²⁹ Tughral Yamin, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy Motivations in Sending Troops Abroad," *NUST Journal of International Peace and Stability* 1, no. 1 (2017).

³⁰ Yamin, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy Motivations in Sending Troops Abroad," 13.

³¹ Kabilan Krishnasamy, "UN Peacekeepers as 'Reliable' Forces: Pakistan's Somalia Experience," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute Journal* 11, no. 1 (2002): 94-105.

³² Krishnasamy, "UN Peacekeepers as 'Reliable' Forces: Pakistan's Somalia Experience," 99.

Cloughley in his book, *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections*³³ has dedicated a chapter, *UN Peacekeeping*, and covers the case of Somalia and the role of Pakistani peacekeepers. He casts Somalia as an ‘exception’ to the commendable peacekeeping record of Pakistan, where it learned some crucial peacekeeping lessons regarding command, control and cooperation. He concluded by postulating that in the foreseeable future Pakistan would engage in UN peacekeeping operations since its “international standing”³⁴ is pivotal to its peacekeeping activism.

The understanding into Pakistan’s peacekeeping profile is incomplete without dwelling into the profiles of India and Bangladesh as these other South Asian peacekeeping nations embody similar motivations and aspirations of participation in UNPKOs. Rashed Uz Zaman, a Bangladeshi scholar, has written prolifically on the peacekeeping participation of Bangladesh and his insights pertaining to the case of Bangladesh are evident in the chapter on *Bangladesh* in *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*³⁵ which also contains the contributions by Niloy R. Biswas. Their all-encompassing work constructs the history of Bangladeshi participation in UNPKOs and sheds light on the current deployments, indicating the ascending transformation in the country’s profile as a peacekeeping nation. The chapter also delineates the process through which Bangladesh responds to the UN request for contribution in peacekeeping. The motivations for Bangladesh’s participation highlighted in their works are premised on the following; fulfillment of constitutional and international obligations, the improvement in Bangladeshi armed forces due to the exposure to latest military doctrines and equipment and financial incentives which eventually subsidize Bangladesh’s armed forces.³⁶ The work also discusses certain other motivations such as enhancement of the diplomatic profile and image of Bangladesh as one of the top TCC. The chapter ends with highlighting challenges that the country and its peacekeepers face due to their indulgence

³³ Brian Cloughley, “UN Peacekeeping,” in *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 518-523.

³⁴ Cloughley, “UN Peacekeeping,” 523.

³⁵ Rashed Uz Zaman and Niloy Biswas, “Bangladesh,” in *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, ed. Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 183-203.

³⁶ Zaman and Biswas, “Bangladesh,” 193.

in UNPKOs, an approach – the detailed mention of challenges – absent when Pakistan’s case is discussed.

Indian’s peacekeeping profile has been discussed in the same book in a chapter dedicated to *India*³⁷ which shows comparatively well-defined policies and processes for troop contribution. The case of India is significant as India draws the underlying reasons of its motivations from its Constitution which adheres to maintaining international peace and security – an approach in similitude to the case of Pakistan. Also, like Pakistan, India initiated its peacekeeping participation to support the process of decolonization. Moreover, India’s political and normative rationales take precedence over its economic reasons to participate, as outlined in the chapter. In conclusion, the case of Bangladesh and India bear unprecedented resemblance to the peacekeeping profile of Pakistan.

While keeping in view the scarcity of literature linking Pakistan’s participation in UNPKOs as an instrument of Pakistan’s foreign policy, it is noteworthy that the works on formulation and conduct of Pakistan’s foreign policy fail to provide an incisive analysis of the role of peacekeeping in the fulfillment of the country’s objectives. More so, it can be contended that voluminous literature has been dedicated in explicating the dimensions of the foreign policy of Pakistan.³⁸ Also, it does detail the promotion of multilateralism and advocates in favor of the endeavors of UN. However, it fails to highlight participation in peacekeeping as a cornerstone of the foreign policy of Pakistan. Even to the point that Pakistan’s relationship with the UN has been overshadowed by mentioning the complexities of the Kashmir issue and has not expanded to include Pakistan’s peacekeeping role.

In order to navigate a sovereign state’s indulgence in UN peacekeeping and to unearth the underlying motivations of the aforementioned participation, some writings/ literature proved seminal, especially in employing a theoretical lens to view peacekeeping. In this

³⁷ Dipankar Banerjee, “India,” *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, ed. Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 225-244.

³⁸ See, for example, Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal* (Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2000) 1-356, Mehrunnisa Ali, ed., *Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy: 1971-1998* (Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2012) 8: 1-479, and Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: 1947-2012, A Concise History* (Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2010) 2: 1-386.

vein, though not recent, Laura Neack's analysis of the motivations of states to actively participate in UN peacekeeping remains a pioneering study to gauge the motivations in terms of *realist* and *idealist*. Her work, *UN Peace-Keeping: In the Interest of Community or Self?*³⁹, was published in 1995, but remains distinct to date due to her analysis of the motivations of participation in UN peacekeeping by *middle power* states of the world. The writer asserts that participation in UN peacekeeping is afflicted by internal contradiction when national interests are taken into perspectives. While elaborating on the aforesaid contradiction, she contends that activism in "UN peace-keeping is supposedly an act that transcends narrow national interests, while in no small way peace-keeping has developed as a way for middle powers to demonstrate their power and importance to world politics"⁴⁰. Neack further delineates the two motivational factors based on the principles of (idealism and realism) i.e. state's participation in UNPKOs transcending narrow national interests, can be characterized as an idealist notion. This is out of an obligation to protect and preserve the international norms and values and to maintain global peace. Whereas, the realist perspective denotes that states pursue international peacekeeping to project their power potential to maintain international status quo. The writer contends that middle powers are the most driven supporters of peace operations as they have both (idealist and realist) motivations for doing so. The article is a groundbreaking attempt to provide a theoretical base to the underlying motivations of participation in peacekeeping. However, in the context of Pakistan is not typically the middle power, as contrived by Neack because although it is militarily strong, economically it is a weak and struggling state. Nevertheless, the theoretical cognizance provided by Neack's article was useful in outlining a similar theoretical blueprint to understand Pakistan's case in this thesis.

In similitude to the previously quoted theoretical analysis of participation in peacekeeping, another formative work presented by James March and Johan Olsen, highlights state action within institutions (which can be applied to participation in

³⁹ Laura Neack, "UN Peace-Keeping: In the Interest of Community or Self?," *Journal of Peace Research* 32, no. 2 (1995): 181-196.

⁴⁰ Neack, "UN Peace-keeping: In the Interest of Community or Self," 183.

peacekeeping). *The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders*⁴¹ sheds light on rationalist motivations and normative motivations, the latter of which can be understood as a constructivist approach to understand participation in peacekeeping. To explicate the rationalist motivation(s), their work draws on the analysis of relative costs and benefits which are embedded in the *logic of expected consequences*. In this view, they contend that “foreign policy is *explained* by providing an interpretation of the outcomes expected from it.”⁴² Whereas, their assertion on normatively grounded participation hinges on *logic of appropriateness* which connotes that participation in international institutions stems from evoking an identity or role which essentially matches the obligations attached to that particular identity or role. Therefore, participation driven by normative motivation is associated with identities more than with interests. Building their argument(s) up to foreign policy, they state “we *explain* foreign policy as the application of rules associated with particular identities to particular situations.”⁴³ The writers further argue that the aforementioned logics are not mutually exclusive. However, bearing in mind the explicit lack of attention and focus on UN peacekeeping, the work by March and Olsen stands eminent in understanding the participation international peace operations, especially varying in theoretical analysis from traditional idealist and realist perspective.

The research undertaking also drew appreciable inspirations from particular cases which outlined the nexus between the participation in UN peacekeeping and the impact on foreign policy. The distillations drawn from these cases were pertinent in navigating the dimensions for this research. In this regard, Maria do Céu Pinto’s article on Portugal’s participation in UN peacekeeping titled, *A Small State’s Search for Relevance: Peace Missions as Foreign Policy*⁴⁴, is handled with a dense theoretical understanding and hence proved useful in chalking out theoretical frames for this research. The essence of the article resonates with the aimed undertaking of this research as it stated, “Portugal

⁴¹ James March and Johan Olsen, “The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders,” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998):943-969.

⁴² March and Olsen, “The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders,” 950.

⁴³ March and Olsen, 951.

⁴⁴ Maria do Céu Pinto, “A Small State’s Search for Relevance: Peace Missions as Foreign Policy,” *International Peacekeeping* 21, no. 3 (2014): 390-405, accessed April 18, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2014.938580>.

engages in PKO because Portuguese policy-makers believe it serves various foreign policy goals and thus the national interest.”⁴⁵ The article also asserted that participation in UN peacekeeping enhanced Portugal’s “bargaining power and influential voice”⁴⁶ which is counted as achievements in terms of foreign policy. Pinto’s article was notable as it not only presented the case of a particular country’s participation in UNPKOs as an instrument of its foreign policy, but it viewed the ideational evolution of internationalism of a country through the lens of constructivist scholarship. Such in-depth understanding and analysis is also required to view the relationship between Pakistan’s participation in UNPKOs and its impact on Pakistan’s foreign policy.

Another article titled *Interests, Identity and Brazilian Peacekeeping Policy*,⁴⁷ ventures into similar themes and proves equally enlightening for this research. The piece employs a theoretically grounded approach to unravel the ‘normative rationality’ of the country’s participation in UN peacekeeping and its impact on foreign policy. The article elaborates on Brazil’s identity (re)generation due to its participation in international peacekeeping as “Brazil no longer sees itself merely as the lead power in a particular (relatively peripheral) region of the world, but as a global player in its own right.”⁴⁸ It further mentions Brazil’s approach to UN peace operations as “an absolute prerequisite for the use of participation to further its foreign policy aims, especially with the view to demonstrate aptitude for a Security Council seat.”⁴⁹ The (re)generation of Pakistan’s image on a global level has been considered as the foundational aim of participation in UN peacekeeping, so this case overlaps with the case study of Pakistani peacekeeping.

The work by Sangtu Ko, *The Foreign Policy Goal of South Korea’s UN Peacekeeping Operations*⁵⁰, also sheds light on the relationship between participation in UNPKOs and the attainment of foreign policy objectives. This article pivots the debate on motivation for UN peace operations and the achievement of national interests of South Korea and

⁴⁵ Pinto, “A Small State’s Search for Relevance: Peace Missions as Foreign Policy,” 391.

⁴⁶ Pinto, 399.

⁴⁷ Kai Michael Kenkel, “Interests, Identity and Brazilian Peacekeeping Policy,” *The Perspective of the World Review* 3, no. 2 (2011):10-35.

⁴⁸ Kenkel, “Interests, Identity and Brazilian Peacekeeping Policy,” 27.

⁴⁹ Kenkel, 32.

⁵⁰ Sangtu Ko, “The Foreign Policy Goal of South Korea’s UN Peacekeeping Operations,” *International Peacekeeping* 22, no. 1 (2015) 65-80, accessed on April 18, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2014.993175>.

divides them into political interests, economic incentives and normative considerations for a thorough analysis. It summarizes political interests as prestige, influence and image, and for economic incentives it outlines remuneration, investment and trade as primary reasons for involvement with UNPKOs. Also, the writer contends moral leadership, historical burden and public opinion as normative considerations for participation in international peacekeeping. Building from this case, it is imperative to arrive at conclusive assessments for Pakistan.

The above mentioned literature concerning the cases of Portugal, Brazil and South Korea present insightful analysis of the involvement of countries with UN peacekeeping and its impact on the achievement of their foreign policy goals. The investigation of the antecedent notion(s), in the context of Pakistan, is the underlying aim of this research endeavor which will hopefully add to the existing literature on the matter.

1.5 Thesis Overview and Organization of the Research

The research undertaking has been structured into five chapters. **Chapter One** introduces the research by outlining the background of the problem, the scope and objectives of the research, by presenting a brief literature review and the research questions. **Chapter Two** constitutes the theoretical debates pertaining to foreign policy analysis and other theories which establish a blueprint to better gauge the outcome of Pakistan's participation in peacekeeping. **Chapter Three** establishes fundamental understanding of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs by shedding light on the history of Pakistani peacekeeping experience, by covering the various phases in Pakistan's peacekeeping participation over the decades. **Chapter Four** begins by explaining the decision making process and institutions involved in the process and concertedly weaves the analysis of the nexus between Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and its foreign policy objectives. The arguments presented in this chapter are hinging fundamentally on primary data. It also builds the scenario of the involvement of Pakistan in future peacekeeping and incorporates certain recommendations to improve the quality of Pakistan's participation and role. The last chapter, **Chapter Five**, provides a summary of the findings and briefs about the conclusions drawn.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS ELUCIDATING FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING AND OUTCOMES⁵¹

This chapter seeks to counter the undertheorized perspectives on participation in UNPKOs and its link to foreign policy of a state. In doing so, this chapter aims to generate theoretical discussions by engaging foreign policy analysis (FPA) and theories of International Relations to analyze a state's behavior. FPA offers a worthwhile perspective into studying the dimensions of foreign policy whereas; the reason to divulge in the debate of International Relations theory is rooted in the need to view state behavior and participation on a broader platform. In the following, the particulars of FPA would be outlined with an emphasis on the pertinent contour(s) of FPA as the field is too broad. Moreover, ample of focus would be laid on (rational) decision making within the discussion of FPA. The other main variable along with foreign policy – participation in UN peacekeeping operations – requires the theoretical testing from an International Relations perspective in order to distill the underlying motivations of states' activism in UN peacekeeping. The antecedent notion to employ theories of International Relations is also embedded in gauging the *interests* of states by their participation in UN peacekeeping. Therefore, this chapter constructs a discussion aiming to highlight the nexus between participation in UN peacekeeping and foreign policy. In doing so, it begins by engaging in FPA and moves towards theories of International Relations, where there are relaxed demarcations between these theoretical paradigms and each one of them is discussed individually to find a link between the variables of this research. Understandably, a merger of these schools of thought is a bold undertaking, but it's also crucial to find the link between participation in UNPKOs and the achievement of foreign policy objectives of a state.

⁵¹ The term *outcome(s)* here denotes states' (deliberate) participation in international institutions and forums such as UN Peacekeeping Operations.

2.1 Foreign Policy Analysis

The international politics is layered with complexities and this compounds the understanding of a state's foreign policy. In this view, FPA offers insights into the engagement of states, institutions and individuals into the dynamic international system. FPA, in a nutshell, is the study of the conduct and practices of relations between different actors, primarily states.⁵² Kubálková, an authority in International Relations, offers a thorough appraisal of FPA by contending:

FPA refers to a complex, multilayered process, consisting of the objectives that governments pursue in their relations with other governments and their choice of means to attain these objectives [...] thus foreign policy encompasses the complicated communications within governments and amongst its diverse agents plus the perceptions and misperceptions, the images of other countries, and the ideologies and personal dispositions of everyone involved. An important part of the study of foreign policy has been the nature and impact of domestic politics.⁵³

FPA aims to develop generalizable theories and concepts by highlighting sources of conduct of states. It helps explain the significance to foreign policy decision making, and elucidates the role of state and the influence of institutional and societal factors in shaping foreign policy. Moreover, the scholars of FPA have been involved in blurring the lines between the role of internal factors and environment and the external arena, in view of foreign policy choices.

The emergence of FPA can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s,⁵⁴ when it emerged as a separate area of inquiry under the broader umbrella of International Relations⁵⁵. Since its origin, the primary focus of FPA has been on the conduct of states and the sources of decision making. FPA diversified its mandate from International Relations by focusing

⁵² Chris Alden and Amnon Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 3.

⁵³ Vendulka Kubálková ed., *Foreign Policy in a Constructed World* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2001) 17-18.

⁵⁴ Alden and Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches*, 6.

⁵⁵ Juliet Kaarbo, "A Foreign Policy Analysis Perspective on the Domestic Politics Turn in IR Theory," *International Studies Review* 17 (2015): 191.

more on the foreign policy *process* than the foreign policy *outcomes* (discussed in detail below). The primary themes of FPA emphasize on the states, their motivations, the structure of decision making and the context in which foreign policy choices are formulated. This provides the necessary analytical depth that is not sufficiently employed through utilizing International Relations approaches.⁵⁶ FPA does not focus on a singular decision or indecision, but expounds to include a constellation or sequence of decisions taken with reference to a particular situation.⁵⁷ The focus of FPA inquiry can include decision making process involving problem recognition, framing, perception, goal prioritization, option assessment, and so forth.⁵⁸

The hallmarks of FPA are elucidated by the explicans of FPA which subsequently influence foreign policy decision making and the mindsets of the policy makers. In this view, Hudson has outlined certain hallmarks. The first and second indicators of FPA, as contended by Hudson are *multi-factorial* and *multilevel*. Decision making in FPA involves understanding and arriving at outcomes after analyzing most micro to most macro levels of analysis. More so, intellectual insights are also drawn from psychology, sociology, anthropology, organizational behavior, economics and so forth by foreign policy decision makers and also analysts, therefore making *multi-/interdisciplinarity* the third hallmark of FPA. The *integrative* nature of FPA, amongst all subfields of International Relations, makes it the fourth hallmark since it makes it a broad integrative theoretical enterprise. The label of an *agent-orient theory* presents FPA's fifth hallmarks whereas; the *actor* specificity is its sixth hallmark.⁵⁹ The latter focuses on decision makers and further explanations on the role of agency are mentioned in details as the discussion progresses.

Another pivotal theme undertaken by FPA hinges on 'structure-agency'⁶⁰. In analyzing foreign policy decision making, FPA (structure-agency) divulges into analyzing the

⁵⁶ Chris Alden and Amnon Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 3.

⁵⁷ Valerie M. Hudson, "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1 (2005): 2.

⁵⁸ Hudson, "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations," 2.

⁵⁹ Hudson, 2-3.

⁶⁰ The full range of FPA literature on this theme is not discussed in this research rather the assumptions of (rational) decision making are utilized to build a theoretical case.

influence of *structural factors* which focus on the limitations posed by the international system and the *human agency* (the sixth hallmark) which explains the role of individual choice within the international system.⁶¹ It is also noteworthy to mention that since its beginning, FPA tends to include the role of subjective factors in influencing and providing an understanding of the actors, events, and foreign policy choices. In FPA, *foreign policy substitutability*⁶² is also a commonly discussed notion, where despite the differing possible combinations of material and structural conditions the resultant foreign policy may vary. More so, the actor-specificity and agent-oriented theorizing in FPA explains the aforesaid variability in foreign policy. The methods employed by FPA to diversify the understanding and analysis of foreign policy extend to the rational choice, human agency and organizational studies.⁶³ Moreover, FPA also lays significance on the historical method which accounts for the role of history in shaping a state's foreign policy.

2.1.1 Foreign Policy Decision Making

The work by Richard Snyder and his colleagues regarding decision making in foreign policy is still considered one of the foundational efforts in the field of FPA. The work was paradigmatic as it urged researchers and scholars to view decision making *below* the nation-state level of analysis and drew focus on the players involved and asserted that the 'black box of foreign policy decision making' needed to be opened up. Their take on decision making in FPA is summed as follows: "We adhere to the nation-state as the fundamental level of analysis, yet we have discarded the state as a metaphysical abstraction. By emphasizing decision-making as a central focus we have provided a way of organizing the determinants of action around those officials who act for the political society."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Walter Carlsnaes, "The Agency-structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis," *International Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 3, (1992): 246-47; Colin Wight, "They Shoot Dead Horses Don't They? Locating Agency in the Agent-Structure Problematique," *European Journal of International Relations* 5 (1999):109-142.

⁶² Benjamin A. Most and Harvey Starr, *Inquiry, Logic, and International Relations* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1986).

⁶³ Chris Alden and Amnon Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 4.

⁶⁴ Richard Snyder and Glenn Paige, "The United States Decision to Resist Aggression in Korea: The Application of an Analytical Scheme," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 3, no. 3, (1958):346.

In summation, the inclusion bequeathed to FPA by Snyder and his colleagues was the emphasis laid on foreign policy decision *making* than foreign policy decision *outcomes*. In essence, decision making was viewed as *organizational behavior* in which certain variables, such as, competence of the actors involved, the flow of information and lines of communication and underlying motivations played prominent roles. Further building on this, Rosenau's work elaborated on actor-specific theorizing in FPA:

To identify factors is not to trace their influence. To understand processes that affect external behavior is not to explain how and why they are operative under certain circumstances and not under others. To recognize that foreign policy is shaped by internal as well as external factors is not to comprehend how the two intermix or to indicate the conditions under which one predominates over the other [...] Foreign policy analysis lacks comprehensive systems of testable generalizations [...] Foreign policy analysis is devoid of general theory.⁶⁵

Foreign policy decision making gained impetus as research in this arena (FPA) gained momentum. Discussed below is one of the pivotal works of FPA which is also incontestably relevant to this study.

2.1.2 Foreign Policy Decision Making in view of 'Rationality'

Foreign policy decision making is a central tenet of FPA, as discussed above. More so, rationality and its application is incontrovertibly relevant to foreign policy decision making to unravel the complexities of the international system and state behavior. The scholars of rational choice have worked tirelessly to bring forth sound methodological approaches of decision making in the context of foreign policy.⁶⁶ However, the rational choice is laden with criticisms and weaknesses, primarily due to its link to the realist

⁶⁵ James N. Rosenau, "Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy," in *Approaches in Comparative and International Politics*, ed. R. B. Farrell (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966): 58-59.

⁶⁶ Margot Light, "Foreign Policy Analysis," in *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory*, ed. A.J.R. and Margot Light (London: Pinter, 1994): 94.

assumptions.⁶⁷ The contemporary scholars of the field have retorted by distilling insights from the critics and combining them with the contingencies of rationality.

For realists, the foreign policies of the states of the world revolve around the anarchic international system. They contend that the outcomes of foreign policy are fundamentally influenced by the structure of the international system and the relative power of the states. In this view, foreign policy (national interest) can be calculated *rationally* by keeping in focus the material capabilities of states and the (particular) dilemmas that the states are confronted with.⁶⁸ Coming back to the central theme, *rational choice theory*, also referred as the public choice theory, introduced methodological approaches by employing the basic laws of choice to arrive at the analysis of the processes and outcomes of foreign policy decision making.⁶⁹ In this perspective, the primary actors – states in this case – aim for *maximization of utility* which is contended as the ultimate aim of foreign policy decision makers. The process that unfolds to encompass the maximization of utility begins with the state identifying and prioritizing foreign policy goals, it then moves to identify the most appropriate means available to it in order to achieve the aforementioned goals with the least cost. The cost-benefit analysis produces trade-offs between different foreign policy positions. Consequently, a theory of foreign policy choice is produced that is based on a calculus of self-interest. This approach does not place its primary focus on the decision making body⁷⁰ for the foreign policy, but rather lays emphasize on the policy outcomes. Furthermore, rationalist scholarship asserts that national interests – centered on security and wealth maximization – are pivot in determining foreign policy choice of a state.

The core assumption in rational decision making based on motivation (self-interest) and a unitary decision making body produce compelling explanations regarding the processes and choice of foreign policy. Foreign policy decision making, keeping in view rationality,

⁶⁷ Laura Neack, Jeanne Hey and Patrick Haney, “Generational Change in Foreign Policy Analysis,” in *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in its Second Generation*, ed. Laura Neack, Jeanne Hey and Patrick Haney (Cambridge, MA: Prentice Hall, 1995) 5-8.

⁶⁸ Chris Alden and AmnonAran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 20.

⁶⁹ Alden and Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches*, 20.

⁷⁰ It takes into account a ‘unitary actors’ in making the foreign policy decision rather than one composed of different actors.

is also captured by *game theory*. Game theory draws its approach from mathematical calculations of decision making by focusing on a simple matrix of participants and issues. The game theorists assert that the rules or code of conduct pertaining to a particular ‘game’ (a scenario for a state to frame a foreign policy response to) produces possibilities of choices and decisions which the participants (states and non-state actors) undertake to arrive at the best possible outcomes to suit/benefit them.⁷¹ For example, in context of the international arena, participants (states and non-state actors) can be embroiled in cooperative and non-cooperative ‘games’. Resultantly, the outcome scenarios range from *zero-sum* wins by one participant over the other to trade-offs that secure *win-sets* in which (both) participants can claim satisfactory outcomes.⁷² Admittedly, plethora of literature on game theory addresses the conduct of states during international crises. In this vein, the seminal work by Snyder and Diesing used game theory to arrive at nine possible negotiating ‘games’ to classify the conduct of states: Hero, Leader, Prisoner’s Dilemma, Chicken, Deadlock, Called Bluff, Bully, Big Bully and Protector.⁷³ Thus, the game theory approach has brought forth viable examples of *rational* foreign policy decision making. For instance, Robert Putnam drew his focus on international diplomacy and explained contrary outcomes that emerge in trade negotiations.⁷⁴ His work elucidated the *environment* of decision making. Putnam asserted that foreign policy decision makers have to operate in two over-lapping environments (games); domestic and international which can potentially conflict with each other. The decision makers take into account domestic concerns and also keep in view the international (anarchic) structure. He concluded that *win-set* is only achieved when the resultant outcome reflects and encompasses the interests of all the actors involved and the outcome is also in tandem with domestic concerns of the states.

Rational decision making regarding foreign policy would be inherently incomplete without the mention of the *human agency*. Foreign policy is considered the result of the

⁷¹ George Tsebelis, “Nested Games and Rationality,” in *Nested Games: Rational Choice in Comparative Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 2.

⁷² Tsebelis, “Nested Games and Rationality,” 3.

⁷³ Gary Snyder and Paul Diesing, *Conflict Among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making and System Structure in International Crises* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

⁷⁴ Robert Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games,” *International Organization* 42 (1988): 427–460.

human agency as the leaders or decision makers identify the issues and concerns associated with foreign policy, derive their judgments about the aforesaid issues and concerns and then devise a plan of action based upon that information to arrive at optimal most outcomes. It is from such insights that the rationalist approach to (foreign policy) decision making received criticism from behaviorists which propelled focus on the role and impact of individual psychology on foreign policy. The behaviorists contended that the seminal influence of the decision making leaders over foreign policy was laden with their experiences, outlooks and comprehension of limitations that surrounded their decision making. In this view, various psychological approaches to decision making emerged to challenge the rationalist approach. The foremost psychological factors that impacted the shaping of foreign policy include: the role of individual perception, the role of human cognition and the leader's personality. However, the due to certain limitations⁷⁵ in this research, these strands of behaviorist approaches shall be elucidated, but their application to the case of Pakistan shall be discussed quite narrowly.

The critiques regarding rational decision making have been led by the work of Harold and Margaret Sprout. Their work was dedicated to defining the *environment* of decision making. While examining the environment of decision making, they defined 'operational environment' which they contended as objective reality and 'psychological environment' which they believed included subjective influence of the perceptual biases and cognitive stimuli.⁷⁶ The Sprouts contended that the gap between the operational environment and psychological environment within which the decision makers had to act, accounted for significant distortions to foreign policy which had consequent implications on the foreign policy of the state as a whole. The use of rational choice modeling in foreign policy decision making has been subject to widespread criticism,⁷⁷ but the insights from the of role human cognition in decision making has also been criticized in turn for "focusing in

⁷⁵ The unavailability of data highlighting the psychological factors in place while decision making by Pakistani leaders, including for participation in international institutions or activities (such as UN Peacekeeping).

⁷⁶ Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout, *Man – Milieu Relationship Hypothesis in the Context of International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956).

⁷⁷ Extensive work has been elucidated on role of perception of decision makers, role of cognition of decision makers, role of personality and role of the group. However, this research does not aim to dwell in the criticism(s), but only present a brief mention of it.

on the minute intricacies of human behavior at the expense of useful generalizability”.⁷⁸ Notwithstanding the criticism, the durability of rationality in analyzing foreign policy and its influence in developing predictive understanding of decision making remains intact. The criticisms present more analytically meaningful insights to understand underlying motivations of foreign policy formation and implementation. The insights coupled with theories of International Relations provide a broader framework to fully comprehend the underlying reasons of state participation in international practices (such as peacekeeping).

2.2 Theories of International Relations and Foreign Policy Behavior and Analysis

The leading theories of International Relations, such as realism and liberal institutionalism, consider states as the primary actors in international politics. The theories of International Relations contend that there is no world government or overarching policing body that can ensure state compliance. The consequential anarchy breeds a system of self-help between states in which these principal actors – states – try to maximize their interests. Therefore, random exchanges between states (and non-state actors) are seen as means to ensure survival of states; increasing material attributes of states and to define power capability relative to other states. Hence, structural and material conditions essentially determine preferences of state and the parameters of their foreign policy behavior; fix their national interests.⁷⁹ The liberals (liberal institutionalism) assert that states – the principal actors – behave rationally to attain their interests in the international system of anarchy. However, the liberals do predict a higher level of international cooperation and institution building where states believe they are confronted with common problem to deal with and that cooperative ventures are mutually beneficial.⁸⁰

The benefits of indulging in such theorizing are theoretical elegance and a more rigorous methodological approach. Firstly, it gives an elaborative account of primary determinants

⁷⁸ Carl Beckerman-Boys, “Third Parties and the Arab-Israel Conflict: Poliheuristic Decision Theory and British Mandate Palestine Policy,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10, no. 3 (2014): 227.

⁷⁹ David A. Baldwin eds., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: the Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

⁸⁰ Robert Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989).

of international politics and explains the particular behavior(s) of states, especially the similarity in behavior despite the difference in domestic set-ups or political ideologies. Secondly, a theory of foreign policy behavior in which states act as rational actors and maximize their interests keeping in view structural and material constraints develops generalizability in predicting the behavior of states. Admittedly, the state-centered theories of International Relations focus more on structural and material constraints on state behavior, but they resultantly sideline the role of decision makers in doing so. Moreover, another major theoretical downside of 'black-boxing' foreign policy is that *morality* has no logical standing or significance in International Relations. The necessity driving the states to secure their survival (their national interests) in the international system leaves no place for morality in this field (foreign policy). However, FPA offers links between foreign policy and moral agency by according significance to human agency.⁸¹ Gaskarth further elaborates that claims of morality of decision makers and public eagerness to hold individuals and governments accountable for heinous acts, or a lack of response to the aforesaid suggests "explicit recognition of the possibility of individual [and collective] agency in the world."⁸² Therefore, foreign policy decision making is not always an outcome of paramount necessity.

2.2.1 Engaging International Relations Theories and Foreign Policy Analysis

FPA is dubbed as a subfield of International Relations and both the strands of inquiry pursue varying styles of theorizing. International Relations is driven by structural accounts of international politics whereas FPA divulges into agency and domestic dynamics. However, FPA has long been a free floating approach to International politics.⁸³ Kenneth Waltz offered his insights to differentiate the two by declaring that International Relations was to keep its focus on grand theoretical models of international politics, FPA was welcome to focus on actor specifics.⁸⁴ However, scholars have found

⁸¹ Jamie Gaskarth, "Where Would We Be Without Rules? A Virtue Ethics Approach to Foreign Policy Analysis," *Review of International Studies* 37 (2011): 393-341; Mark Bevir and Oliver Daddow, "Interpreting Foreign Policy," *International Relations* 33 (2015): 273-287.

⁸² Gaskarth, "Where Would We Be Without Rules? A Virtue Ethics Approach to Foreign Policy Analysis," 395.

⁸³ Valerie M. Hudson, "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1 (2005): 26.

⁸⁴ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Relations* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979): 121.

new common grounds to analyze the intermingling between these approaches and they contend that many International Relations theories incorporate decision-making and domestic politics factors to offer foreign policy explanations.⁸⁵ Moreover, the link between FPA and International Relations makes it easier to arrive at the issue of morality with logical conclusions; making it easier to understand, explain and respond to practical moral problems in world politics.⁸⁶ Since [...] international politics are formed by the aggregated consequences of individual and collective decisions⁸⁷ the resultant pattern of interstate behavior emerges from states' foreign policies and these foreign policies from choices of decision makers.

2.2.2 Constructivism and Foreign Policy Analysis

Despite the lack of an overbearing logical connection between constructivism – a prime International Relations theory – and FPA, Houghton claims that “the most logical base” for FPA to base and rebuild itself can be provided by *social constructivism* as it significantly bears upon “the cognitive psychological approach to the study of foreign policy.”⁸⁸ Notwithstanding, the link between constructivism and FPA can be three fold, especially while keeping a focus on the utility of the debate for this research. Firstly, in terms of the role actors and bureaucracies play in shaping foreign policy; secondly, the process of decision making and lastly, the influence of international system or society on the conduct of foreign policy by states. While outlining the differences in the approach of constructivism and FPA towards foreign policy, the focus is drawn to the ‘micro’ level of inquiry; concerning individual foreign policy-makers and ‘macro’ to incorporate

⁸⁵ Anders Wivel, “Explaining Why State X Made a Certain Move Last Tuesday: the Promise and Limitations of Realist Foreign Policy Analysis,” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 8 (2005): 355-380.

⁸⁶ Toni Erskine, “Locating Responsibility: The Problem of Moral Agency in International Relations,” in *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* eds., Christian Reus-Smith and Duncan Snidal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 704.

⁸⁷ Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, “Domestic Politics and International Relations,” *International Studies Quarterly* 46 (2002): 7.

⁸⁸ David Houghton, “Reinvigorating the Study of Foreign Policy Decision Making: Towards a Constructivist Approach,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 1 (2007): 24.

conventional constructivist analyses, focusing on “boarder social structural context” instead.⁸⁹

Furthermore, it is pertinent to clarify between varying strands of constructivism. Broadly speaking, constructivism as one of the primary theories of International Relations has appeared in two major varieties; North American and European and these strands differ principally about their inquiries on International Relations and foreign policy making. The North American variant focuses on the role of social norms and identities in constructing international politics determining foreign policy outcomes. This variant is dominated by positivist scholarship which takes a top-down/ deductive trajectory between actors, norms, interests and identities.⁹⁰ On the other hand, the European strand lays emphasize on the role of language, linguistic constructions and social discourses in constructing social reality. This variant is dominated by post-positivists or interpretivist scholars who employ inductive (bottom up) research strategies.⁹¹ Offering alternate perspective to the understanding of constructivism, it has been categorized into three different forms: systemic, unit-level and holistic.⁹² Systemic constructivism follows the Waltzian neo-realist *third image* level of analysis and concentrates on the interaction between states and thus, limits the role of domestic forces in constructing or transforming their identities and interests.⁹³ The inverse of the systemic constructivism, the unit-level focuses on states’ domestic political realm. The holistic constructivists represent the intersection between systemic and unit-level constructivists and aim to bridge the divide between domestic and international in explaining the state identities and interests.

Extracting the understanding from the discussion above, “if traditional FPA is understood to exogenize interests – to take them as given – then a constructivist FPA would endogenize them: exploring how interests are constructed through a process of social

⁸⁹ Jeffrey T. Checkel, “Constructivism and Foreign Policy,” in *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* eds Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 73.

⁹⁰ Checkel, “Constructivism and Foreign Policy,” 72.

⁹¹ Checkel, 73.

⁹² Christian Reus-Smit, “Constructivism,” in *Theories of International Relations* eds by Scot Burchill and others (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005): 199.

⁹³ Reus-Smith, “Constructivism,” 199.

interaction.”⁹⁴ In the following, the field also emphasizes the role international supranational institutions play in constructing the foreign policies of states. The inquiry (constructivist FPA) dwells into looking at the pressure exerted by the aforementioned institutions on the state and their decision makers to act in certain ways such as the moral force of “commonly held values and norms” and the expanding influence of the “social environment” from which “ethically correct” behavior is derived.⁹⁵ Shifting its focus on decision makers, constructivism argues that decision making elites (agents) possess ‘bounded rationality’ which delineates that agential and structural constraint impede the perfect rationality in decision making. However, constructivist scholars of FPA adopt a *communicative* view of rationality and assert that “communicatively rational agents” gravitate towards argumentation and prefer persuasion through dialogue rather than simply calculating costs and benefits or reply upon organizational environments.⁹⁶

The use of constructivist lens, in cooperation with FPA, to analyze foreign policy decision-making and outcomes concludes that (state) *identities are the basis of interests*. Actors (states) do not have an existing or outlined portfolio of interests that is completely independent of the social context. Instead, interests are defined in the process of defining situations. In other words, it is the constructed identities of states, shared understandings and socio-political situations in the international system which to a larger extent determines their interests and the foreign policy practices to secure them.

The insights into rational foreign policy decision making along with realist (rationalist) and constructivists arguments provides a broad framework to understand the motivations state may possess to partake UNPKOs. The role of gauging the rational (cost and benefits) of Pakistan’s participation can be understood by exploring the motivations of its participation.

⁹⁴ Jeffrey T. Checkel, “Constructivism and Foreign Policy,” in *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* eds Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 73.

⁹⁴ Checkel, “Constructivism and Foreign Policy,” 74.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 76.

CHAPTER THREE: PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY AND THE CASE OF PARTICIPATION IN UNPKOS

The theoretical discussion in the previous chapter was aimed at outlining an understanding into foreign policy decision making and state behavior. The theories elucidated in the chapter were organized as a blueprint that could be used to understand the case of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and its association with its foreign policy. Consequently, this chapter presents Pakistan's profile as a peacekeeping nation and establishes an understanding of its foreign policy. This chapter delineates the guiding principles of Pakistan's foreign policy and its objectives and illuminates its motivation(s) to take part in endeavors lead by UN (peace operations). It then ventures into UN peacekeeping and constructs the profile of Pakistani peacekeeping by highlighting pertinent cases of Pakistan's involvement which have made a lasting impact on the peacekeeping practices of Pakistan. The analyses of the engagement of Pakistan in UNPKOs and its significance as a deliberate foreign policy objective have been discussed in the succeeding chapter.

3.1 Outlining the Guiding Principles and Objectives of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of a country is shaped primarily by its security, political and economic interests, keeping in view its geo-political environment and ideological proclivities and national ethos.⁹⁷ In other words, the foreign policy of any nation aims and strives to consolidate the national interests and the case of Pakistan is no different. The foreign policy of Pakistan aims to protect, promote and advance its national interests in the external domain of international politics. The primary institution responsible for carrying out the injunctions of Pakistan's foreign policy is the MOFA. The Ministry is the executive branch which ensures and safeguards Pakistan's security and advances its development agenda based on the guiding principles shaped by the founding fathers of the nation.

⁹⁷ Zain Noorani, "Foreign Policy of Pakistan," *Pakistan Horizon* 40, no. 2 (1987): 1.

The *guiding principle(s)* of Pakistan's foreign policy and the foundational basis of Pakistan's conduct with the rest of the world are most evidently envisaged in Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's statements. Pakistan's adherence and commitment to peace was envisioned by Quaid-e-Azam who ensured that the nation was built on the pillars of peace and prosperity. The tenets of Pakistan's foreign policy were explicated in Jinnah's famous address of 15th August, 1947. He said:

Our objective should be peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relations with our immediate neighbors and with world at large. We have no aggressive designs against any one. We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world.⁹⁸

The founder of Pakistan and its first Governor General also gave a broadcast talk to the people of United States of America in 1948, reiterating the following goals of his country's foreign policy:

Our foreign policy is one of the friendliness and goodwill towards all the nation of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair-play in national and international dealings, and are prepared to make our contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.⁹⁹

Aside from the parameters of foreign policy as defined by Quaid-i-Azam, the Constitution of Pakistan also outlines the conduct of Pakistan's foreign policy. Article 40 of the Constitution provides that:

⁹⁸ *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948* (Islamabad, 1989), 29.

⁹⁹ *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948*, 55-56.

The State shall endeavor to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.¹⁰⁰

The above mentioned guiding principles clearly indicate peace and stability can be contended as primary national goals of Pakistan. More so, as a member of the UN, Pakistan lays ample of significance on international cooperation to achieve peace and stability. These principles also assert Pakistan's insistence and emphasis on economic diplomacy by gaining the advantages offered by globalization. These policy thrust lines are meant to incontrovertibly project the *image* of Pakistan as a dynamic and moderate country.¹⁰¹ The foreign policy of Pakistan steadfastly adheres to the promotion of internationally recognized norms of inter-state relations such sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in the affairs of other states, non-aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes. In summation, Pakistan has always aimed at developing friendly and cordial relations with all the countries of the world.¹⁰²

Alongside the guiding principles of Pakistan's foreign policy, it is pertinent to outline the *objectives* of Pakistan's foreign policy. In view of the guiding principles mentioned above, following are the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy: (i) promoting Pakistan as a dynamic, progressive, moderate, and democratic Islamic country; (ii) to develop friendly relations with all countries of the world, especially major powers and immediate neighbors; (iii) the emphasis has been on safeguarding national security and geo-strategic interests, including Kashmir; (iv) to consolidate the country's commercial and economic cooperation with international community; (v) safeguarding the interests of Pakistani diasporas abroad is of vital interest and (vi) in the list of these objectives has been to

¹⁰⁰ "Guiding Principles," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed April 10th, 2018, <http://www.mofa.gov.pk/>.

¹⁰¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Guiding Principles."

¹⁰² Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy," *Pakistan Horizon* 58, no. 3 (2005): 47.

ensure optimal utilization of national resources for regional and international cooperation.¹⁰³

The guiding principles and objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy unequivocally reinforce the propositions of the UN Charter. The antecedent assertion is supported by the statements of Quaid-i-Azam who explicitly emphasized Pakistan's to uphold and abide by the principles of UN Charter. Circling back to one of the primary variables of this research, participation in UN peacekeeping missions, it is noteworthy that the UNPKOs are not explicitly mentioned in the supporting arguments presented above. However, Pakistan's direct support to UN endeavors stretches to include UNPKOs in its fold and provides the testament of Pakistan's commitment to international peace and stability. The profile of Pakistan as a peacekeeping nation and the trends in its participation are discussed below which further present grounds for a meaningful analysis of Pakistan's role in peacekeeping.

3.2 Pakistan's Participation in UNPKOs

3.2.1 UN Peacekeeping

UN was created to uphold the ultimate ideal; the prevention of wars and maintenance of peace. The central tenet of its foundation – peace – proved harder to realize and thus emerged varying mechanism within the UN to curb the menace of war and conflicts. The UNPKOs represent one of the evolved roles and responses of UN over the decades to the perilous inter and intra state conflicts around the world. Most pertinently, UNSC, under Article 24 of the UN Charter guides the member states of the UN in UNPKOs¹⁰⁴ and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) assumed responsibility of the operationalization of UNPKOs in the early 1990s. Despite the absence of the explicit mention of 'peacekeeping' in the UN Charter, some insights offer a definition for peacekeeping as: "The deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military

¹⁰³ "Foreign Policy Objectives," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed April 10th, 2018, <http://www.mofa.gov.pk/>; Kasuri, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy," 47.

¹⁰⁴ The details pertaining to the legal framework regarding UNPKOs has been mentioned in the introduction of the research.

and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well.”¹⁰⁵ Moreover, peacekeeping has also been explicated by the UN as, “a way to help countries torn by conflict create the conditions for sustainable peace and security.”¹⁰⁶ Recent developments to define peacekeeping were undertaken in the Capstone Doctrine which contended that “Peacekeeping is a technique designed to preserve the peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted, and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers.”¹⁰⁷

Peacekeeping, which began as a military model for observing peace, evolved into a complex process to include the elements of the police and civilians. The hierarchy of the UN peacekeeping forces was organized to keep the primacy of the civilian policy maker of the military and police personnel. The provisions of peacekeeping have expanded to include processes such as the withdrawal of combatants from conflict area, the supervision of elections and to provide reconstruction aid. The increasing complexities in the conflicts around the world have transformed the role of peacekeeping and it is perceived as an “activity with extremely flexible boundaries.”¹⁰⁸

UN peacekeeping during Cold War was characterized as “techniques to control violence by means other than enforcement and counter-violence.” In the post-Cold War years, UNPKOs expanded extensively and UNSC authorized twenty missions between 1989 to 1994, raising the number of peacekeepers from eleven thousand to seventy-five thousand.¹⁰⁹

In this context, one of the major developments in the doctrine of UN peacekeeping was introduced by Boutros Boutros Ghali in his report called *An Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* which was presented in 1992.

¹⁰⁵ “An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping,” UN Documents, accessed May 15th, 2018, <http://www.un-documents.net/a47-277.htm>.

¹⁰⁶ “Peacekeeping,” UN Peacekeeping, accessed May 15th, 2018, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/pko_2008.pdf.

¹⁰⁷ “United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines (“the Capstone Doctrine”),” United Nations and the Rule of Law, accessed May 17th, 2018, <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/blog/document/united-nations-peacekeeping-operations-principles-and-guidelines-the-capstone-doctrine/>.

¹⁰⁸ Norrie MacQueen, *Peacekeeping and the International System* (New York: Routledge, 2006): 1.

¹⁰⁹ “Data,” United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed May 17th, 2018, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/data>.

The report emphasized that UN needed to expand its role in peace endeavors in order to exert a more substantial influence on conflict prevention.¹¹⁰ This was followed by the *Brahimi Report* which presented fifty recommendations concerning strategic direction, decision making, rapid deployment, operational planning, use of modern technology, and other suggestions within the UN peace operations. The recommendations were an output of an Independent Panel on UN Peace Operations in the year 2000 which was backed by the efforts of Secretary General Kofi Anan.¹¹¹ In 2008, the *Capstone Doctrine* was introduced by the DPKO, which debated that the peace operations and processes undertaken by the UN are part of a larger peace process.¹¹² Moreover, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed the *High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations* (HIPPO) in October 2014 to review the current state of UN peace operations. The Panel came forth with four recommendations to the Secretary-General; first, political solutions was given primacy over military and technical engagements; second, it was suggested that responsive UN missions/ operations should be tailored to context; third, a more resilient global and regional architecture for international peace and security was needed for the future; and lastly, field-focused and people-centered approach was emphasized.¹¹³ However, the most recent development in UN peacekeeping was the initiative announced by the current Secretary General, Antonio Guterres, titled as *Action for Peacekeeping*. The initiative aims to focus on three areas: refocusing peacekeeping with realistic expectations; making peacekeeping missions stronger and safer; and

¹¹⁰ “An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping,” UN Documents, accessed May 15th, 2018, <http://www.un-documents.net/a47-277.htm>.

¹¹¹ “Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (The Brahimi Report),” United Nations and the Rule of Law, accessed May 17th, 2018, <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/blog/document/report-of-the-panel-on-united-nations-peace-operations-the-brahimi-report/>.

¹¹² “United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines (“the Capstone Doctrine”),” United Nations and the Rule of Law, accessed May 17th, 2018, <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/blog/document/united-nations-peacekeeping-operations-principles-and-guidelines-the-capstone-doctrine/>.

¹¹³ “The Review by the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations,” Providing for Peacekeeping, accessed July 6th, 2018, <http://providingforpeacekeeping.org/the-review-by-the-high-level-independent-panel-on-peace-operations/>.

mobilizing greater support for political solutions and for well-structured, well-equipped, well-trained forces.¹¹⁴

3.2.2 Overview of the ‘Generations’ of Pakistan’s Participation in UNPKOs

Pakistan’s engagement with UN peacekeeping commenced in 1949, when Pakistan became the recipient of to the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). UNMOGIP is one of the longest running peacekeeping missions of UN. It was deployed to monitor the ceasefire between Pakistan and India with regard to the dispute in Kashmir. Pakistan’s acceptance of the UN role as an arbiter and custodian of peace and stability is reflected by the statement of former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Riaz Khokar: “Pakistan attaches great importance to both the symbolic value and substantive contribution of this mission.”¹¹⁵ However, Pakistan’s contribution to UN peacekeeping activities started in 1960.

The peacekeeping profile of Pakistan is articulated below keeping in view the generations of UN peacekeeping and Pakistan’s significant role in certain peacekeeping missions. The earlier peacekeeping activities of UN included the responsibilities such as observing and verifying ceasefires and acting as neutral buffers between two contentious parties. These practices are dubbed as the *First Generation* of UN peacekeeping or as ‘classical’ peacekeeping.¹¹⁶ Pakistan participated in three such operations i.e., UN Operations in the Congo (ONUC) in 1960; UN Security Force (UNSF) in West New Guinea in 1962; and UN Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM) in 1964.¹¹⁷

Pakistan formally began to participate in UN peacekeeping operations in 1960 when it contributed four hundred logistics personnel to ONUC. The Pakistani troops were responsible for transporting weapons, equipment stores and rations all over Congo. They were also tasked with the responsibility to facilitate the inland movement of

¹¹⁴ “Secretary-General Launches ‘Action for Peacekeeping’ Initiative,” Permanent Missions, accessed June 10th, 2018, <https://www.un.int/news/secretary-general-launches-%E2%80%99action-peacekeeping%E2%80%99-initiative>.

¹¹⁵ Maria Kiani, “Pakistan’s Contribution to UN Peacekeeping,” *Institute of Strategic Studies*, 24, no. 3 (2004): 42.

¹¹⁶ Maria Kiani, “The Changing Dimensions of UN Peacekeeping,” *Strategic Studies* 24, no. 1 (2004): 181-183.

¹¹⁷ Kiani, “Pakistan’s Contribution to UN Peacekeeping,” 46.

peacekeeping forces.¹¹⁸ However, it was during Pakistan's engagement in UNSF that Pakistan deployed combat forces and gained firsthand experience in UNPKOs. Pakistan's contribution was significant as UN had urgently requested thousand soldiers from politically neutral countries to the conflict and Pakistan responded with one thousand and five hundred troops which constituted the entire ground forces in UNSF.¹¹⁹ The case of UNSF was also significant for Pakistan as it contributed an additional one hundred and ten members from the Pakistan Navy who manned nine vessels which were tasked with transporting the security forces and were also involved in patrolling duties.¹²⁰ Pakistan proceeded to become part of UNYOM, but hereafter its role in UNPKOs was delimited by internal turmoil and national security concerns alongside its borders and for the next twenty-five years it did not take part in any UN peacekeeping mission.

The *Second Generation* peacekeeping started in the Post-Cold War transitional period. It introduced multifunctional operations which were tasked to bring about negotiated settlements of complex conflicts. These operations were launched to facilitate the peaceful transition of the political processes through elections in the recipient countries. Pakistan took part in UNPKOs to monitor accords and settlements; disarmament and demobilization of combatant; verification that parties to conflicts abided by human rights commitments; introduction of reforms to eradicate the root causes of civil warfare; establishment of new policing system and monitoring and conducting free and fair elections.¹²¹ Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping grew extensively during the second generation of UN peacekeeping and it took part in numerous operations. Some noteworthy mentions of Pakistan's participation include UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in 1989 in Namibia, UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) in 1989-1997, UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) in 1991-2003, and UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in 1992 amongst others.

Pakistan's participation in UNTAG in Namibia changed its commitment to UN peacekeeping and it began to expanded its influence. Pakistan did not make any troop

¹¹⁸ Kabilan Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," *International Peacekeeping* 9, no. 3 (2002): 103-104, accessed April 18, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1080/714002736>.

¹¹⁹ Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," 104.

¹²⁰ Alan James, *The Politics of Peacekeeping* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1969): 162-163.

¹²¹ Kiani, "The Changing Dimensions of UN Peacekeeping," 184-187.

contributions in UNTAG, but deployed twenty military observers, civilian police and electoral commissioners to oversee Namibia's transition to independence.¹²² Therefore, Pakistan's commitment can be translated into its support for the independence of formerly colonized states.

In another case, UNTAC, Pakistan began to exhibit signs of a nuanced responsible peacekeeping participant. In UNTAC, Pakistan experienced one of its first instances dealing with an intra-state conflict. The Pakistani government deployed an infantry contingent of one thousand and six troops, civilian police and civil administrators.¹²³ The primary responsibility of the Pakistani contingent in the Preah Vihear province was to provide security to the democratic elections, but Pakistan took additional steps to mobilize local support for elections. The Pakistani peacekeepers took steps to organize social events in the province such as funfairs, cultural festivals and sports activities. And keeping in view the diverse ethnic population in Preah Vihear, the Pakistani contingent was keen not to display partiality in its community relations.¹²⁴ Pakistani contingent also conducted English classes in local schools due to the demand of the language and in turn learned the Khmer language, showing sensitivity to Cambodian culture and language.¹²⁵ As a part of UNTAC's nation-wide awareness program, the Pakistani contingent established a local radio station which transmitted to far flung areas; it organized Peace Walks in order to instill the spirit of participation in the democratic process in the locals, and lastly, it screened videos to introduce the significance of free and fair elections to the locals.¹²⁶ Pakistani peacekeepers' efforts in UNTAC paid off as ninety percent of Cambodian in Preah Vihear province registered to vote and traveled (walked) for twenty-five kilometers to the polling stations from their villages.¹²⁷

Along with the expanded role of UN peacekeeping during the second generation, the *Third Generation* of peacekeeping supplemented the responsibilities of peacekeepers.

¹²² Kabilan Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," *International Peacekeeping* 9, no. 3 (2002): 105, accessed April 18, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1080/714002736>.

¹²³ Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," 106.

¹²⁴ Tariq Mehmud, "Pakistan's Role in Peacekeeping Mission in Cambodia," *Strategic Perspectives* 12, no. 1-2 (1994):13.

¹²⁵ Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," 107.

¹²⁶ Mehmud, "Pakistan's Role in Peacekeeping Mission in Cambodia," 10-16.

¹²⁷ Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," 108.

The third generation of peacekeeping was largely concentrated on enforcement operations under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.¹²⁸ The third generation of peacekeeping shifted its focus from traditional inter-state conflicts to intra-state conflicts based on internal dynamics. These humanitarian emergencies resulted in ethnic cleansing, genocide and mass displacement of populations as seen during the conflict in Rwanda, Bosnia and Somalia. Pakistan's participation in UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I and II) from 1991 to 1995 and in Bosnia in UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) significantly changed the role of Pakistani peacekeeping.

The case of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs is utterly incomplete without the mention of Somalia, where it was the single largest troop contributor to the peace operation in Somalia.¹²⁹ Pakistan decided to become part of UNOSOM in 1992. Pakistan's involvement in Somalia went through three stages: UNOSOM I, it entailed the responsibility of humanitarian assistance; UNOSOM II, it was a peace enforcement mission for disarmament and nation building and lastly; participation in active combat as part of joint operations with the US-Quick Reaction Force.¹³⁰ In UNOSOM I, it contributed five hundred soldiers¹³¹, one infantry battalion of the Seven Frontier Force, to undertake the task of facilitating the provision of humanitarian relief aid to the local population which was entrapped in a civil war and a severe drought. The Pakistani contingent was quick to (re)secure the control of the airport in Central Mogadishu which was the major port for receiving and disseminating relief supplies. However, the conflict was spreading fast and became increasingly intractable which hampered the distribution of the relief supplies and did not address the plight of the locals. Pakistan was also quick to deploy an additional eight hundred and eighty troops to the US-led Unified Task Force (UNITAF).¹³² The mandate of UNITAF was to aid in the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance and enforces peace in Somalia and the mission was dubbed as *Operation*

¹²⁸ Maria Kiani, "The Changing Dimensions of UN Peacekeeping," *Strategic Studies* 24, no. 1 (2004): 188-189.

¹²⁹ Kabilan Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," 108.

¹³⁰ Maria Kiani, "Pakistan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping," *Institute of Strategic Studies*, 24, no. 3 (2004): 49.

¹³¹ Krishnasamy, 108.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 108.

Restore Hope. Pakistan's troop contribution in Somalia, in the subsequent months, rose to five thousand troops.¹³³

The lasting imprint of tragedy to Pakistan's participation in Somalia came on 5th June, 1993 in Mogadishu. The day holds significance in Pakistani peacekeeping as it represents the largest number of lives (troops) lost on a single mission in one day. The Pakistani contingent was tasked to carry out a weapons inspection in order to neutralize General Aideed's ammunition stock in accordance with the Addis Ababa Accord to which all the concerned parties were signatories, including Aideed.¹³⁴ In tandem with the Accords, the UNSC Resolution 814 authorized UNOSOM II which superseded the mandate of UNITAF. The UN Headquarters had sent out and informed the details of the inspection, but General Aideed had already aroused the feelings in his followers against the peacekeepers. Consequently, they fired at the Pakistani contingent and an unexpected showdown cost the lives of twenty-four Pakistani peacekeepers.¹³⁵ The General justified the attack from his side by blaming the Pakistani contingent of nefarious intentions to capture a nearby radio station while using the inspection as a cover.¹³⁶ Pakistani government not only denied the allegations by General Aideed, but also lambasted the Italian force in its delay to provide cover to Pakistani troops.¹³⁷

Thenceforth, Pakistan became part of Quick Reaction Force which was deployed by US in order to contain Aideed and to seek justice for its slain peacekeepers.¹³⁸ The open confrontation with General Aideed's forces lead to the incident of 3rd October, 1993 in which seventy-five US Rangers were surrounded by the General's forces. The rescue operation largely by Pakistan with support from Malaysia still resulted in the death of eighteen US Rangers whose corpses were dragged though Somalia's capital and televised live. The fighting grew so intense that at one point Pakistani troops opened fired at a crown, killing twenty civilian, which were being used by Aideed's forces as human

¹³³ Kabilan Krishnasamy, "UN Peacekeepers as 'Reliable' Forces: Pakistan's Somalia Experience," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute Journal* 11, no. 1 (2002): 97.

¹³⁴ Kiani, "Pakistan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping," 50.

¹³⁵ Kiani, 51.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," 109.

shields.¹³⁹ Pakistan received severe backlash and Pakistan's continued participation in Somalia drew negative traction. The death of US Rangers prompted the US to exit the Somalia immediately which was followed by the withdrawal of other contributors such as Italy, Belgium, France, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Norway, Germany, Sweden, Morocco, Republic of Korea and United Arab Emirates.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, reducing the force level in UNOSOM II from twenty eight thousand to fifteen thousand troops.¹⁴¹ During Pakistan's participation in UNOSOM I and II, Pakistan lost a total of thirty-seven. It was the first country to arrive with its peacekeeping troops in Somalia and the last to leave. Despite the challenges, Pakistan remained committed to the UN mandate in Somalia and therefore established itself as a reliable peacekeeping nation.¹⁴²

Another outstanding case of Pakistan's peacekeeping practices were exhibited in UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia. The disintegration of Yugoslavia led to chaotic civil war between the ethnic Serbs, Bosnians and Croats in 1991. The UN as a response established UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in 1992 to monitor ceasefire agreement in Croatia and to disseminate humanitarian assistance to the population. Pakistan made a contribution of two battalions including three thousand contingents and a National Support Headquarters to UNPROFOR in 1994. The Pakistani battalions, PAKBAT I and II were deployed at Varies and Durdevik in Bosnia, while the National Support Headquarters were established at Split in Croatia.¹⁴³ PAKBAT I and II were responsible for cessation of hostilities between the Bosnians and Croats. They acted as liaisons between the parties in conflict, supervised the ceasefire agreement and monitored the confrontation lines.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, Pakistan also participated in the UN Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina (UNMIB) from 1994 to 2002 which aimed to implement post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation.¹⁴⁵ Pakistan was also one of the fourteen non-North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries that took part in the NATO-led

¹³⁹ Krishnasamy, 109.

¹⁴⁰ Kiani, "Pakistan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping," 52.

¹⁴¹ Kiani, 52.

¹⁴² Krishnasamy, "UN Peacekeepers as 'Reliable' Forces: Pakistan's Somalia Experience," 98.

¹⁴³ Kiani, "Pakistan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping," 52-53.

¹⁴⁴ Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," 110.

¹⁴⁵ Kiani, "Pakistan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping," 53.

operation called the Implementation Force (IFOR) from 1995 to 1996.¹⁴⁶ Interestingly, the latter was not an UN-led endeavor, but Pakistan's involvement evidences its commitment to inculcating peace and eradicating human sufferings. Pakistan's overall troop contribution in Bosnia was of over six thousand soldiers, from which six lost their lives. Pakistan's steadfast resolve to save the Bosnian people from the massacre of ethnic cleansing prompted Pakistan to play a broader role in peacekeeping activities in the conflict.

It is also important to mention the role of Pakistan's female service personnel on the front lines of international peacekeeping as they are serving as police officers, doctors and nurses. Pakistan currently has female staff officers deployed in MONUSCO, UNMISS and UNAMID. Pakistani female medical officers and nurses are deployed in Pakistan field hospital in Darfur and as well as in the recently closed down mission in Liberia. Their positive contribution during the Ebola epidemic in Liberia has been acknowledged by UN and Liberia as well. A Pakistani woman police officer, Shahzadi Gulfam, received the 2011 International Female Police Peacekeeper Award in recognition of her outstanding performance during her deployment with the United Nations Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) as the UN Police (UNPOL) team leader.¹⁴⁷ Pakistan is constantly making efforts to increase the number of female military and police officers in its peacekeeping contingents.¹⁴⁸

Moreover, the Pakistan Army's senior officers have served as force commanders in UN peacekeeping missions. Lieutenant General Maqsood Ahmed of Pakistan served as the Military Adviser for the UN DPKO. Capitalizing on its rich and diversified peacekeeping track record, Pakistan has recently established a Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS) in Islamabad, which was inaugurated in August 2013 by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon. CIPS also has a Department of Peacekeeping Training (PKT). The vision of CIPS is to develop as a center of excellence in international peace

¹⁴⁶ Kiani, "Pakistan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping," 53.

¹⁴⁷ "Pakistani wins International Female Police Peacekeeping Award," The Express Tribune, accessed July 1st, 2018, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/237524/pakistani-wins-international-female-police-peacekeeping-award/>.

¹⁴⁸ Ambassador Nabeel Munir, Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan to UN Mission in New York, email message to author, July 10th, 2018.

and stability with focus on peacekeeping, peacebuilding and conflict resolution within the existing international and regional milieu.

The chapter provided insights on the guiding principles and objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy to contextualize the case of Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping. It outlined the parameters deemed crucial in prompting Pakistan to participate in international norms and practices, such as peacekeeping. The familiarity with the foreign policy objectives was necessitated in order to cognize the underlying motivations of Pakistan's involvement in UNPKOs. The case of Pakistan's peacekeeping practices provides a view into the challenges Pakistan has endured and remained resilient to in order to uphold the principles of UN. Over all, the chapter sets the basis for arriving at a meaningful analysis, employing the theoretical discussion(s) from the previous chapter, to explicitly outline Pakistan's participation as a deliberate foreign policy object. The succeeding chapter is engrossed in the aforementioned analysis and also delineates the underlying motivations of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYZING THE NEXUS BETWEEN PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN UNPKOS

This chapter indulges to draw meaningful analysis between Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping and its link to Pakistan's foreign policy. It also deduces the underlying motivations¹⁴⁹ of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and provides the scenario for the future of Pakistani peacekeeping. The preceding chapter was instrumental in outlining the pivotal tenets of Pakistan's foreign policy; its guiding principles and objectives. Moreover, it also presented Pakistan's peacekeeping endeavors by highlighting certain cases of peacekeeping. However, the aforementioned themes covered by the previous chapter did not include an analytical lens, but rather shared a configuration of facts associated to Pakistan's peacekeeping practices and its foreign policy. In this vein, this chapter answers certain pertinent questions to add an analytical understanding to Pakistan's peacekeeping and establish it as a deliberate foreign policy objective. Therefore, in this chapter, the data from the primary methodological tool – semi-structured interviews – has been employed to ascertain the reliability of the level of correlation between the undertaken supposition(s) of the research.

In doing so, this chapter addresses to the following questions: what is the decision making mechanism and the role of the crucial institutions involved in sending Pakistan's peacekeepers abroad? What are the motivations (political interests, economic incentives and normative considerations) behind Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs? Is participation in UN peacekeeping in line with Pakistan's foreign policy objective(s)? What purpose(s), if any, does participation in UN peacekeeping serve to Pakistan? What recommendations can be draw to enhance, or better, Pakistan's activism in UNPKOs? These questions have been substantiated with a logical discussion, supported by testimonial and events based insights. In the following, the chapter sequentially sheds light on the motivations of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and then shifts its focus onto the linkage between Pakistan role in UNPKOs and its foreign policy. Lastly, it

¹⁴⁹ The use of the term motivations in this chapter can be interchangeably used/ understood as 'rationales'.

articulates recommendations to further the role and participation of Pakistani peacekeeping.

4.1 The Decision Making Mechanism of Sending Pakistan's Peacekeeping Abroad

It is imperative to chalk out the intricacies and details of the decision making mechanism regarding Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs. Within Pakistan, three institutions play a significant role in the decision making process; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), the Ministry of Defense (MOD) and the Ministry of Interior (MOI). The request for Pakistan's involvement in UNPKOs originates from the UN Secretariat which contacts the Permanent Mission of Pakistan in New York, which turns to the MOFA in Pakistan for a response. Before replying to a request for peacekeepers, MOFA takes into account the several considerations.¹⁵⁰ First, the need for a clear mandate hinging heavily on judicious interpretations of UN Charter along with international laws and norms; second, the extent of the political will of the recipient parties or the parties to the conflict to respect agreements by UN and permit its injunctions. The third consideration relies on the geopolitical interests of the states in close proximity to the conflict zone and the anticipated cooperation of the neighboring states; fourth, the show of support from international actors and lastly, the provision and allocation of resources to achieve the objectives of the UNPKO(s).

The Peacekeeping Cell within the Military Operations Directorate at the General Headquarters (GHQ) in Pakistan is tasked to probe into the logistical and operational details and provide their input on the decision regarding Pakistan's participation. The decision making circles of the armed forces takes into consideration if it has enough troops to spare, the scale and scope of the mandate and also the terms and conditions of the remuneration of its peacekeepers.¹⁵¹ Pre-deployment training is carried out locally

¹⁵⁰ Inam-ur-Rahman Malik, "Pakistan," in *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, ed. Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 207.

¹⁵¹ Ambassador (Retd.) Zameer Akram (Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan to Geneva, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), in discussion with the author, 11th June, 2018.

and the troops are moved by air or sea as per the requirement of the UN.¹⁵² On the other hand, the decision on the participation of Pakistani police personnel is undertaken by the MOI. However, Pakistan's contribution to UN Police (UNPOL) also involves inputs from provincial and federal police set-ups, the Economic Affairs Division, the MOFA, the Cabinet Division and the Establishment Division about the selection and deployment process.¹⁵³

The second aspect of Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping, aside from troop contribution, includes participation in policy discussions and norm building on the subject of peacekeeping in UN Headquarters in New York. The Permanent Mission of Pakistan to the United Nations plays an important role in maintaining a leadership role in norm building and policy discussion on peacekeeping. Pakistan mission also engages constructively in the premier policy making body of the UN in the field of peacekeeping, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C-34).¹⁵⁴ The Pakistan Mission also plays an important role in liaising with UN DPKO regarding all issues related to existing troop deployments. One of the recent initiatives at the UN by the Permanent Mission of Pakistan, which has been highly appreciated, is the creation of an Informal Group of top troop and police contributing countries at the UN under the chairmanship of Pakistan and Morocco. The main objective of this initiative has been to effectively highlight the positive contributions of Pakistan's peacekeepers.¹⁵⁵ Pakistan Mission in New York provides input regarding future deployments and areas where Pakistan can participate to maintain its position as a leading troop contributor to UN Peacekeeping.

It is also important to note that the Parliament of Pakistan is not involved in the decision making process regarding Pakistan involvement in UNPKOs and the decision making is dominated by the executive branch of the government of Pakistan.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, the public of Pakistan is also kept out of the loop of decision making process or does not

¹⁵² Tughral Yamin, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy Motivations in Sending Troops Abroad," *NUST Journal of International Peace and Stability* 1, no. 1 (2017): 14.

¹⁵³ Malik, "Pakistan," 207.

¹⁵⁴ Ambassador Nabeel Munir, Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan to UN Mission in New York, email message to author, July 10th, 2018.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ambassador (Retd.) Zameer Akram (Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan to Geneva, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), in discussion with the author, 11th June, 2018.

influence it substantially. In summation, the decision making in the case of Pakistan's participation to UN peacekeeping is the outcome of the *military-bureaucratic nexus*¹⁵⁷ within the country. The final say about Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs comes from the chief executive of the country i.e. the prime minister of the country.¹⁵⁸

4.2 The Underlying Motivations of Pakistan's Participation in UNPKOs

The motivations that prompt Pakistan to consistently participate in UNPKOs, at least since the 1990s, can be divided into political interests, economic incentives and normative considerations. The aforementioned categories of motivations represent varying arguments associated with Pakistan's activism in UN peacekeeping. However, the first two motivations, political and economic, can be analyzed with a realist¹⁵⁹/rationalist lens whereas the normative motivation is better understood through an analysis drawn from constructivism. Therefore, they have been given individual attention in order to highlight which motivation takes precedence in case of Pakistan's involvement with UNPKOs.

4.2.1 Political Interests

The factors that influence a state's participation in UNPKOs manifest primarily as concerns for international recognition. It includes; prestige, influence and image that a state garners due to its participation in UNPKOs. The political benefits that reciprocate due to participation in PKOs are translated into practice by establishing embassies in recipient countries or vice versa (in case they did not exist before), political recognition, and increase in state visits and to secure the interests of nationals living abroad, especially in the target country. However, the phrase 'political interest' is a pejorative while being associated to UN peacekeeping practices of Pakistan as they "overshadow Pakistan's altruism towards global humanity".¹⁶⁰ More so, the political motivations

¹⁵⁷ Malik, "Pakistan," 207.

¹⁵⁸ Ambassador (Retd.) Ali Sarwar Naqvi (Executive Director, Centre for International Strategic Studies, Islamabad), in discussion with the author, 12th June, 2018.

¹⁵⁹ The political and economic rationales heavily tilt towards realist and rationalist explanations, but some aspects of idealism (liberalism) can be used/ have been used to explicate certain features of the participation.

¹⁶⁰ Ambassador (Retd.) Zameer Akram (Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan to Geneva, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), in discussion with the author, 11th June, 2018.

heavily coincide or can be interchangeably used to justify Pakistan's foreign policy objective(s)¹⁶¹. Political motivations also encompass the security rationales of Pakistan, essentially broadening the scope of their utility. The coinciding rationale(s) between political interests and foreign policy objectives primarily include Pakistan's *idealist explanations* regarding involvement in UN peacekeeping.¹⁶² The underpinnings of UN peacekeeping emanate from the principle of collective security of UN which Pakistan has unrelentingly supported as it coincides with Pakistan's continued commitment to emancipating the humankind from suffering through peaceful means.¹⁶³ Pakistan engagement with UN peacekeeping begun as it understood the enterprise stood to erode the ramifications of colonization or supported the struggle of minority against majority.

The aforesaid argument and broader political interests are affirmed by the Zain Noorani: "[...] our abiding support to the Islamic causes all over the world, our continuing commitment to a just settlement of Jammu and Kashmir dispute, which has affected our foreign policy throughout our national existence, and our commitment to national liberation movements, decolonization and self-determination of people."¹⁶⁴ Thus, due to the similitude with its own political history and narrative, Pakistan has been politically motivated to support nations fighting for their self-determination.

Another undisputed political interest that Pakistan attaches to UNPKOs is the *international prestige* that follows when Pakistan opts for UNPKOs. However, it is essential to clarify that Pakistan does not seek international prestige through its activism in UNPKOs, but it is an outcome of Pakistan's steadfast engagement to this noble calling.¹⁶⁵ The status of Pakistan's ascending participation has also boosted its credentials as a *middle-power* to the rest of the world. The dawn of the increased participation of middle powers came as many powerful states pulled out of contributing troops in UN

¹⁶¹ Political interests/ motivations that can also be contended as foreign policy objective are discussed more in-depth when the debate of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs, as an instrument of Pakistan's foreign policy, is outlined.

¹⁶² Kabilan Krishnasamy, "Recognition for Third World Peacekeepers: India and Pakistan," *International Peacekeeping* 8, no. 4 (2001): 57.

¹⁶³ Malik, "Pakistan," 209.

¹⁶⁴ Zain Noorani, "Foreign Policy of Pakistan," *Pakistan Horizon* 40, no.8 (1987): 1.

¹⁶⁵ Ambassador (Retd.) Khalid Mahmood, Chairman Board of Governors, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, in discussion with the author, 31st July, 2018.

peacekeeping in early 1990s, primarily due to massive losses in engagements such as Somalia. The void was filled by smaller and middle power states, such as Pakistan which used the platform of UN peacekeeping to display its capabilities on the global terrain. Pakistan also uses its diplomatic profile, its participation in UNPKOs, as a means to overshadow India's bid for permanent seat at the UNSC. The large contributors to UNPKOs automatically have a considerably greater influence to control the conditions of peace and conflict, hence their echo for a more permanent role in UNSC. India, "a favorable candidate for a permanent seat on the Security Council"¹⁶⁶ has garnered support for precedence over Pakistan at the UN¹⁶⁷ and uses its peacekeeping profile to supplement its drive for a permanent seat at the UNSC.

Keeping in view the India-centric formulation of Pakistan's national interest(s), it is imperative to note that Pakistan forms its national security agenda while concentrating on India's urge to gain regional or global prominence. Pakistan's "policy making elite tend to define threats to national security mainly in terms of the perceived peril from New Delhi."¹⁶⁸ Moreover, the rivalry with India is most commonly contested in terms of military capability and consequently India acquiring a greater status than Pakistan on this front is antithetical to Pakistan's interests.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, Pakistan uses its peacekeeping profile to counterweight Indian ambitions on a regional as well as global level. Closely associated to this debate, in terms of national interest(s) and India, is the importance Pakistan attaches to its peacekeeping profile and the resolution of the Kashmir issue. Kashmir issue, Pakistan's national interest,¹⁷⁰ is linked to the peacekeeping practices of Pakistan; firstly, Pakistan uses its enhanced diplomatic profile as a top troop contributor to UN peacekeeping to raise the issue of Kashmir more consistently and effectively at the UNSC and secondly, by its acceptance and support to UNMOGIP. In view of the recent developments, Pakistan has welcomed the Commission for Inquiry for Human Rights

¹⁶⁶ Kabilan Krishnasamy, "The Paradox of India's Peacekeeping," *Contemporary South Asia* 12, no. 2 (2003): 263.

¹⁶⁷ "Barack Obama's Speech at the Parliament," Indian Express, accessed June 2nd, 2018, archive.indianexpress.com/news/barack-obamas-speech-at-the-parliament/708277/.

¹⁶⁸ Ayesha Siddiqi, *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 62.

¹⁶⁹ Siddiqi, *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*, 63.

¹⁷⁰ Robert G. Wirsing, *Precarious Partnership: Pakistan's Response to U.S. Security Policies* (Hawaii: Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2003), 5.

violations in Indian occupied Kashmir as it reiterates Pakistan's continued stance that UN has a pivotal role to play in the resolution of Kashmir.¹⁷¹

The political interests associated with Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping would be inadequately discussed if Pakistan's relation with United States is not highlighted. Pakistan's national interests, since its inception, have coincided with the US security policies. Pakistan's participation in peacekeeping began due to American military and economic aid which allowed Pakistan to gain sophistication in military organization along with material gains. More so, Pakistan was politically interested (motivated) to establish bilateral relations with a super power such as United States. Pakistan's vehemence to become the ally of US and develop sustained strategic cooperation, by using UN peacekeeping as in the case of Somalia, is demonstrated by its support to US-led multinational force and increase in troop contribution.¹⁷² Although Pakistan justified its participation in Somalia as: its commitment to UN, its support to global peace and security and religio-cultural and historical affinities with Somalia. Paradoxically, the end of Cold War ushered in detachment from US as the strategic significance of Pakistan decreased considerably. More so, US applied sanctions on Pakistan due to its nuclear endeavors, disregarding its necessity to Pakistan's security and survival. Consequently, the abandonment by the sole 'superpower' propelled Pakistan to gain a distinct and individual standing on the international platform and participation in UN peacekeeping seemed like the solution to this predicament. This inference can be corroborated by the growing tilt of US towards India during the twenty-first century. Therefore, participation in UNPKOs provides a diplomatic lifeline to Pakistan to counter 'isolationist' designs against it.

Pakistan desire to increase its political standing and presence in the Muslim world has also been a motivator to increase its participation in UN peacekeeping missions. Pakistan's participation in UNPKO in Bosnia-Herzegovina stands to support this claim. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif wrote to the Secretary-general of the Organization of the

¹⁷¹ "Pakistan welcomes recommendation for a Commission of Inquiry for Human Rights violations in IoK," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed June 22nd, 2018, <http://www.mofa.gov.pk/pr-details.php?mm=NjM5OA,,>

¹⁷² "Nawaz Sent Troops to Please U.S.," *Frontier Post*, February 19, 1991.

Islamic Conference (OIC) and asserted that “since Bosnia-Herzegovina is a member of the OIC, there is a special responsibility of the Muslim countries to take urgent special measures to help the Bosnians in a grave situation which is fast generating into a genocide aimed at exterminating the entire Muslim population of Bosnia.”¹⁷³ Therefore Pakistan saw the PKO in Bosnia as an opportunity to expand its presence within the Muslim world and the OIC.

Pakistan’s participation in UNPKOs has also fostered amiable relations with African nations due to its expanded role in peacekeeping missions in Africa. Pakistani peacekeeping in Africa has included a wide-ranging role of Pakistani peacekeepers. Pakistani personnel have supported implementation of peace agreements, deterred spoilers through robust peacekeeping, assisted African host states with rule of law, institution building, disarmament and demobilization of rebels, and security sector reform, protected civilians, facilitated humanitarian assistance, provided social services, built infrastructure, and carried out quick impact projects. The UN and the African host countries recognize the positive contribution and acknowledge the professionalism and devotion to duty displayed by Pakistani troops on ground. Taking the example of Liberia where the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) has recently withdrawn after completion of its mandate. Pakistani troops deployed in Liberia have been recognized for their positive contribution to the implementation of the cease-fire agreement, as also in disarming of more than hundred thousand former combatants during the first years of the mission. Pakistani medical units have especially been acknowledged by the UN and Liberia for their positive contribution during the Ebola epidemic in Liberia.¹⁷⁴ Hence, participation in UN peacekeeping has provided Pakistan a platform to enhance its relations with other states of the world.

4.2.2 Economic Incentives

The underlying reasons that propel states to intervene based on economic incentives include economic engagements such as trade and investment. States also intervene to

¹⁷³ “Nawaz Offers Pak Troops for Bosnia,” *The News*, October 7, 1993.

¹⁷⁴ Ambassador Nabeel Munir, Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan to UN Mission in New York, email message to author, July 10th, 2018.

instill peace and stability if economic interests are on stake as evidenced by People's Republic of China's (PRC) overarching involvement in Africa. Almost three quarters of Chinese peacekeepers are stationed in Congo, Liberia, Southern Sudan, and Ivory Coast to secure Chinese economic investment.¹⁷⁵ Remuneration is considered another significant factor to account for the contributions by developing countries, in UNPKOs, such as India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and India.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, this creates division of labor between the developing and the developed nations as the former contribute their troops and use the remuneration by UN as an economic incentive to participate while the latter fund and command missions.¹⁷⁷ The preceding argument also aids in creating a distinction between contributing or non-contributing state. Significantly, financial incentives play a crucial role in boosting the morale of the contributing troops and keeping them committed to their engagement even in challenging times.¹⁷⁸ Additionally, the UN financially compensates the peacekeepers at a fixed rate and their respective governments pay them according to their national ranks and salaries. It is noteworthy that remuneration given to peacekeepers is additional to regular monthly salaries received. The input from Pakistani peacekeepers involved in United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) and United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA) suggested that the engagement in UNPKOs is a once in a lifetime career opportunity to serve abroad and gain economic benefits to secure financial stability.¹⁷⁹

In the case of Pakistan, it is remarkable to note that the government does not deduct its share from the peacekeepers' remunerations or death/ disability claims.¹⁸⁰ The payments are made individually to peacekeepers which is not a case for every country. Moreover, to counter the economic incentives of peacekeepers, the Pakistan Army ensures that it

¹⁷⁵ Chin-Hao Huang, "Principles and Praxis of China's Peacekeeping," *International Peacekeeping* 18, no. 3 (2011): 264.

¹⁷⁶ Sangtu Ko, "The Foreign Policy Goal of South Korea's UN Peacekeeping Operations," *International Peacekeeping* 22, no. 1 (2015): 68, accessed on April 18, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2014.993175>.

¹⁷⁷ Preeti Patel and Paolo Tripodi, "The Challenge of Peacekeeping in Africa," *Contemporary Review* 279, no. 1628 (2001): 148.

¹⁷⁸ Ambassador (Retd.) Khalid Mahmood, Chairman Board of Governors, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad), in discussion with the author, 31st July, 2018.

¹⁷⁹ Pakistani Peacekeepers from MONUSCO and MINURCA, in discussion with the author, 9th June, 2018.

¹⁸⁰ Malik, "Pakistan," 218.

deploys its soldiers in one external mission/ assignment through their military service.¹⁸¹ This measure warrants that the peacekeepers do not see UN peacekeeping as a money making venture. Keeping in view realist considerations such as economic capacities and maximization of utility, Pakistan with its status as a top TCC can be contended to be driven by economic incentives to pursue participation in UN peacekeeping. However, data from individual peacekeepers staunchly contradicts the state's economic incentives to get involved with UN peacekeeping. The Pakistani peacekeepers do not sight financial gains as a primary motivator for their participation, but they do view them as a concomitant benefit of their participation.¹⁸² The economic incentives cannot be considered the main motivator of Pakistan's engagement with UNPKOs; the primary incentive is based on the ideals and on a greater purpose than gaining wealth. This is contended because the risks involved in PKOs require a more convincing reason to participate than wealth accumulation.¹⁸³

4.2.3 Normative Considerations

Normative considerations are embedded in the pursuit of moral leadership, or to uphold international norms and practices in order to forge a distinct foreign policy *identity*. The influence of distinct historical experiences also prompts a normative approach to participation in UNPKOs. Moreover, an actor (state) behaves in international politics keeping in view social norms, ideas and relations and does not only consider objective or material conditions¹⁸⁴. Martha Finnemore presents a crystallization of normative considerations by stating that “interests are not just ‘out there’ waiting to be discovered; they are constructed through social interactions.”¹⁸⁵ Therefore, state's national interests contribute greatly in forming and outlining its foreign policy. In this view, it is imperative to contemplate the normative motivations of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs.

¹⁸¹ Malik, “Pakistan,” 218-219.

¹⁸² Peacekeepers from MONUSCO and MINURCA, in discussion with the author, 9th June, 2018.

¹⁸³ Official from the UN Division, (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad), in discussion with the author, 5th June, 2018.

¹⁸⁴ The term material conditions here means economic capacities or military capabilities.

¹⁸⁵ Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), 2.

The normative considerations associated with Pakistan's participation can be analyzed through the link to its *identity* and *image*. Some countries, due to the virtue of their historic identity, have a larger role and influence in instilling peace, such as New Zealand and Scandinavian States. Pakistan, on the other hand, being a nuclear country, has had to work harder to gain the same identity. However, by participation in peace operations, it gains and will gain a greater role in management of conflict or global peace.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, participation in UN peacekeeping is a means of projecting Pakistan's profile at the international level as a country that is interested in promoting peace and resolution of disputes.¹⁸⁷ This profile in turn aims to construct a certain image of Pakistan as a promoter of peace. Admittedly, Pakistan has received negative traction due to the presence of non-state actors operating within its borders which consequentially tarnishes its national image. Participation in UN peacekeeping works to expunge this image and instead weaves the image of Pakistan as a responsible nation.¹⁸⁸ However, participation in peacekeeping does not “not necessarily construct a ‘soft’ image, but certainly a good image of Pakistan.”¹⁸⁹ Moreover, engagement in UNPKOs provides Pakistan's the opportunity to establish amiable relations with the Muslim world (political motivations), but also propagates its image and identity as an ‘Islamic’ country. The activism in PKOs is in line with the Islamic values of Pakistan as they reinforce the duty towards humanity. Furthermore, the significance attached to Pakistan's image as a peacekeeper can be viewed in the supposed absence of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and the resultant backlash that the country would receive and would be stripped off any merits or say in international conflict management. Therefore, normative considerations are heavily emphasized upon when participation in UN peacekeeping is taken into account as it is intrinsically linked to Pakistan's international image and national identity.

¹⁸⁶ Anis Bajwa [Major General (Retd.)], in discussion with the author, 10th June, 2018.

¹⁸⁷ Ume Farwa and Ghazanfar Ali Garewal, “An Analysis of UN Peacekeeping as Pakistan's Soft Power Asset,” *NUST Journal of International Peace and Stability* 1, no. 2 (2018): 96, accessed August 14th, 2018, <http://njips.nust.edu.pk/index.php/njips/article/view/9/20>.

¹⁸⁸ Ali Sarwar Naqvi, (Former Ambassador of Pakistan), in discussion with the author, 12th June, 2018.

¹⁸⁹ Official from the UN Division, (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad), in discussion with the author, 5th June, 2018.

4.3 The Link between Pakistan's Foreign Policy and its Peacekeeping Participation

Pakistan's participation in the UNPKOs has been a conscious thought through policy choice. Since it involves engagement with an international organization – United Nations – its participation is surrounded by ambiguities of being a deliberate foreign policy object. More overridingly, it brings into question the objective(s) the participation in UN peacekeeping serves. The absence of the explicit mention of the UN peacekeeping in any legal framework or (foreign) policy doctrine of Pakistan adds to the ambivalence of sending Pakistan's troops (peacekeepers) in harm's way.

The foremost issue, mentioned above as the lack of explicit mention of participation in UN peacekeeping, can be countered by citing the prescriptions outlined by Quaid-i-Azam and the Constitutions of Pakistan. The excerpts from Quaid's speeches such as: "[...] peace within and peace without [...] we stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world"¹⁹⁰ and "(we) are prepared to make our contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter."¹⁹¹

These quotations demonstrate that the founder of the nation stood firm with the principles of the UN and reaffirmed Pakistan's commitment to international peace and security. Pakistan's unwavering support to UN Charter and UN activities pursued under the legal framework of the Charter encompass the UN peacekeeping operations. Moreover, the Constitution of Pakistan delineates "[...] promote international peace and security [...] encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means."¹⁹² The Constitution also echoes Quaid's stance on Pakistan's foreign policy by validating Pakistan's support to UN endeavors in eradicating conflicts and instilling enduring peace.

¹⁹⁰ *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948* (Islamabad, 1989), 29.

¹⁹¹ *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948*, 55-56.

¹⁹² "Guiding Principles," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed April 10th, 2018, <http://www.mofa.gov.pk/>.

Therefore, UN peacekeeping can be declared a deliberate foreign policy objective of Pakistan where Pakistan uses the forum of UN peacekeeping to fulfill its responsibility as an enforcer of peace. Hence, contribution to UN Peacekeeping spanning over decades is the most tangible manifestation of Pakistan's contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security

Pakistan was drawn towards UN peacekeeping also due to its belief in the principles of the UN and its ability to end suffering, conflict and warfare around the world. Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan said in the UN General Assembly on 30th September, 1947 that "our united efforts are ought to be directed towards strengthening the organization, discovering means of making it work in the spirit in which it was founded, and achieving the ideals which have been set as its goal."¹⁹³ Various Pakistani statesmen have highlighted that the settlement of disputes process under the UN and the contribution of troops (peacekeepers) was an articulation and demonstration of the nation's commitment towards international peace.¹⁹⁴ Over the years Pakistan stood by its avowed support to UN and UN peacekeeping operations.

In the early and formative years of Pakistan's participation, it was heavily involved in Muslim causes and supported the interests of developing countries that fought for their right of self-determination. By the early 1990s, Pakistan has adopted a proactive approach to UN peacekeeping as the enterprise had undoubtedly grown in utility worldwide. This enhanced activism was in line with the recognition of UN peacekeeping as a top priority in Pakistan's foreign policy.¹⁹⁵ This notion goes alongside securing another foreign policy objectives of Pakistan; the peaceful resolution of the Kashmir issue. Pakistan persistently seeks sustained international focus on the conflict dynamics in Kashmir and aims to gain a superior standing at the UN through its active participation in UNPKOs. However, these objectives should not undermine Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs by asserting 'selfish' motivations, but rather highlight these as added

¹⁹³ Latif Ahmed Sherwani, "The Objectives of Pakistan Foreign Policy," *Civilizations* 16, no. 2 (1966): 230.

¹⁹⁴ Ambassador (Retd.) Tariq Usman Hyder (Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan Mission to UN in New York), in discussion with the author, 4th August, 2018; Ambassador Zameer Akram (Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan to Geneva, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), in discussion with the author, 11th June, 2018.

¹⁹⁵ "Pakistan for a Bigger Peacekeeping Role," *The News*, January 19th, 1995.

advantages in Pakistan's peacekeeping altruism. Benazir Bhutto professed that "[Pakistan] is proving that [it is] willing to commit [its] *prestige*, energy, resources and above all the lives of its citizens to fulfill its international responsibilities."¹⁹⁶

Moreover, the *prestige* that Pakistan has gained by its participation in UN peace operations can be viewed on two levels. Firstly, it is the prestige that Pakistanis feel because of their involvement in UN peacekeeping and in eradicating conflicts and wars. Secondly, the prestige that follows when Pakistan's efforts in peacekeeping are recognized internationally by other states and international organizations. However the prestige garnered by Pakistan, at any level, cannot be contended as a motivation to participate. It's the *higher idealism* that plays a more significant role as the restoration of peace and security is essentially for the larger good of everyone. Therefore, prestige is a foreign policy concern and an 'associated' objective than a primary rationale. The participation in UNPKOs also accumulates *recognition* at the international level that the Pakistan is willing to take risk for the greater good of humanity at large. Yet again, recognition is seen as by-product of Pakistan's participation in UNPKOs and not the ultimate objective.

The prominence in the international diplomacy provided through the platform of UNPKOs is also invaluable to Pakistan in international politics. Pakistan has used its membership in the UNSC to influence the UN peacekeeping mechanism to inculcate a more pronounced role of UN peacekeeping. During Pakistan's tenure as member of the Security Council in 2003-2004, Pakistan put a special focus on peacekeeping, in particular the issue growing challenges of complex missions, in which regard a wide-ranging Presidential Statement was adopted by the Council (S/PRST/2004/16). During Pakistan's last stint in the Council in 2012-2013, one of the principle focuses of Pakistan's Presidency was peacekeeping. Resolution 2086 on Multidimensional Peacekeeping, adopted under Pakistan's presidency of the Security Council is considered a landmark as well.¹⁹⁷ Pakistan is also steadfast in abiding by international rules and

¹⁹⁶ "United Nations Peacekeepers: Pakistan Main Contributor" *DAWN*, July 2nd, 1994.

¹⁹⁷ Ambassador Nabeel Munir, Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan to UN Mission in New York, email message to author, July 10th, 2018.

norms and its participations in UNPKOs is a reflection of it. Pakistan is keen to follow the Law of Armed Conflict (LOAC) in its engagement in UN peacekeeping.

Participation in UN peacekeeping is a *deliberate foreign policy objective of Pakistan*. Pakistan has always been extremely interested in all institutional activities of the UN. Pakistan believes in supporting the international community with an emphasis to establishing peace and stability in the world. The participation is an instrument which garners prestige and recognition for Pakistan. It also provides a broader diplomatic platform to Pakistan in the shape of influencing UN decisions in peacekeeping and enhancing its relations with other states through engagement in peace missions. Therefore, participation in UNPKOs is incontrovertibly one of Pakistan's principle foreign policy objectives.¹⁹⁸

4.4 The Future of Pakistan's Peacekeeping

Pakistan has significantly increased its contributions to UN peacekeeping missions, especially since the early nineties. The expansion in Pakistan's peacekeeping practices is evidenced by its involvement in missions all over the world: Middle East (Iraq-Kuwait); Asia (Cambodia and East Timor); Africa (Western Sahara, Liberia, Angola, Sierra Leone, Congo and Somalia); Europe (Georgia, Macedonia, Prevlaka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Eastern Slavonia); and the Americas (Haiti). However, in order to maintain its status or enhanced its standing as a UN peacekeeping nation it must focus on certain issues at the national level. In this vein, some selected recommendations have been outlined below to increase the potential of Pakistani peacekeeping qualitatively and quantitatively.

Firstly, at the policy level, Pakistan's considerations should be two-fold. It should articulate a *National Doctrine of Peacekeeping* to cite its participation explicitly as a deliberate foreign policy objective. In doing so, Pakistan needs to outline the scale and scope of its participation and elucidate conditions which justify its participation in UNPKOs. This task shall be undertaken by experts in the field associated to institutions in Pakistan such as the MOFA, MOD, academicians, etc. The second policy concern

¹⁹⁸ Ambassador (Retd.) Khalid Mahmood, Chairman Board of Governors, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad), in discussion with the author, 31st July, 2018.

surrounds *Institutional Reforms*. Due to Pakistan's overarching role, Pakistan should establish a focal department within the MOFA or elsewhere to ease the coordination between varying decision making institutions. The Peacekeeping Cell under the Military Operations Directorate, General Headquarters is engrossed more in logistical and strategic planning than providing a common platform to all the stakeholders involved in UNPKOs in Pakistan. Moreover, this (focal) department should be responsible for assessing and analyzing Pakistan's role in various missions. It should also establish a direct line of communication with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) at UN to voice a greater role and presence of Pakistan in political, strategy, deployment and planning divisions.

Keeping in view the complexities the UN peacekeeping missions entail, there is a need for modifications at the *operational level*. Pakistani troops which indulge in UN peacekeeping need more familiarization with the mission mandate and rules of engagement.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, it should either opt for missions where the training of its peacekeepers (troops) would prove sufficient or introduce mission specific training. Pakistan should also keep in view the agreement of the parties in conflict regarding its participation in UNPKOs.²⁰⁰ Pakistan should also demand adequate provisions from UN and warranty the supply of equipment and armaments for its peacekeepers.

It is absolutely crucial to impart necessary technical and professional *training* to Pakistan's peacekeepers leaving for missions. The foremost focus should be laid on providing in-depth information on the conflict and its dimensions. In order to facilitate the activities with the locals of the recipient countries, it is imperative to train the peacekeepers regarding their culture and lifestyle. Many peacekeepers professed that the language and cultural barriers were a hindrance in conducting winning hearts and minds (WHAM) campaigns and in performing the transformed role of the contemporary peacekeepers. Moreover, peacekeepers should be educated regarding gender sensitivity

¹⁹⁹ Pakistani Peacekeepers from MONUSCO and MINURCA, in discussion with the author, 9th June, 2018; Ambassador (Retd.) Zameer Akram (Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan to Geneva, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), in discussion with the author, 11th June, 2018; Ambassador (Retd.) Tariq Usman Hyder (Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan Mission to UN in New York), in discussion with the author, 4th August, 2018.

²⁰⁰ Ambassador (Retd.) Zameer Akram (Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan to Geneva, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), in discussion with the author, 11th June, 2018.

for fellow peacekeepers and the populations of the recipient countries. Having said so, Pakistan does impart training to its peacekeeping prior to their exit from Pakistan for the mission(s) and one such establishment is the Department of Peacekeeping Training (PKT) at the Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS) at National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST). Since there is scarcity of institutions such as PKT in Pakistan, there should be more establishments such as the PKT with more evolved training courses and techniques regarding UN peacekeeping missions. The training and experiences Pakistani peacekeepers gain abroad at UNPKOs is crucial knowledge for the future generations of peacekeepers that have to be deployed. Pakistan's troops get a chance to work and learn from other troops and militaries with varying history, experiences and training which is invaluable exposure.²⁰¹ Therefore, this should be proper mechanisms and institutional channels, such as the PKT, to disseminate the insights from experienced peacekeepers to future peacekeepers, and also to a wider audience.

This research was conducted within the limited discourse available on the peacekeeping history and practices of Pakistan. Certain observations during the research pointed to the lack of public awareness regarding the performance of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping. Therefore, efforts should be made to shine a light on the sacrifices made by the contributions of Pakistan and its diligence as a responsible state of the world striving to establish enduring peace. The engagement of the public and nation-wide discussion regarding Pakistan's performance in UNPKOs would urge civilians to play a more significant role, either by participation or by generating more discussion. More so, media, academics and researchers also have to shoulder the responsibility to generate meaningful debate on civil-military contributions of Pakistan and on the issues regarding peacekeeping, consequently aiding in enhancing the capabilities of peacekeepers. These efforts would also project Pakistan's contributions on an international level where Pakistan's deserves its due recognition in the field of UN peacekeeping.

²⁰¹Major General (Retd.) Anis Bajwa (Former Director of Policy, Evaluation and Training Division and Inspector General for Peacekeeping for United Nations), in discussion with the author, 10th June, 2018.

Pakistan's largest contribution to UN peacekeeping is in terms of troop participation. Pakistan must take into consideration the above mentioned recommendations and enhance its contribution in other avenues, such as: contingents consisting of other armed forces for instance navy and air force, it should send experts on legal and judicial matters, enhance the involvement of civilian volunteers to UN peacekeeping and also send experts and practitioners of medicine.²⁰² Participation in UNPKOs should also be considered a mechanism to promote Pakistan's regional and bilateral rubric as a peacekeeping nation. The world needs to understand that despite the egregious and detrimental threats to Pakistan's internal security and stability, Pakistan's commitment to international peace and security remains unchanged.

It can be summed up that Pakistan's motivations for its participation in UNPKOs are multi-purpose and multi-dimensional. If Pakistan's reasons of involvement are magnified, the underlying cause has been to suppress the sufferings of humanity. Admittedly, Pakistan's participation has garnered financial advantages, more significant international standing and the image of a responsible nation, but these have been concomitant benefits rather than deliberately desired objectives. Pakistan has been steadfast in the face of varying challenges posed by its participation in UNPKOs and it has suffered considerable losses, yet it has relentlessly supported the cause to expunge the menace of war and conflict. Therefore, the drive of higher idealism has been its foremost motivator to send its armed forces and civilians in harm's way.

²⁰² Major General (Retd.) Anis Bajwa (Former Director of Policy, Evaluation and Training Division and Inspector General for Peacekeeping for United Nations), in discussion with the author, 10th June, 2018.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

UN was created to uphold the ultimate ideal; the prevention of wars and the maintenance of peace. The central tenet of its foundation – peace – proved harder to realize and thus emerged varying mechanism within the UN to curb the menace of conflicts and wars. UN peacekeeping ventures represent the evolved role of UN as a retort to the mutated complexities of the contemporary conflict dynamics. In the present times, the underlying foremost predicament to global peace and security can be summed up as the limited control of certain states of the world – five to be exact – over managing the conflict(s). Resultantly, the other states of the world, especially small states, seek to expand their influence and use participation in UN peacekeeping as a means to materialize their clout in international politics. Pakistan has not been immune to such expressions and demonstrations; thus, it articulates its national, regional and international influence through instrumentalizing UN peacekeeping. In the last ten years, Pakistan has experienced a significant surge in the demand for UN peacekeeping; roughly one out of every ten peacekeepers has been a Pakistani. Pakistan is proud of its role in some of the notable successes of peacekeeping: Sierra Leone, Timor-Leste and Liberia.

In this vein, this research was pivoted on inquiring into the nexus between Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping operations and its link to Pakistan's foreign policy. The basic objective of the research was to establish the underlying motivations of Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping and to contend the engagement with UN peacekeeping as a deliberate foreign policy objective. In doing so, the research dwelled into literature engrossed with Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping and developed themes and theoretical discussion(s) to arrive at meaningful analysis. The research looked at foreign policy analysis (FPA) to elucidate *rational* decision making in terms of foreign policy. More so, the theoretical discussion also stretched to incorporate theories of International Relations with FPA. These theories were used to analyze state behavior, or more conveniently, state participation in international institutions (peacekeeping). The use of the theoretical reasoning was coupled with elaborating the case of Pakistan's peacekeeping by shedding light on pertinent cases of peacekeeping where Pakistan's role as a peacekeeping nation was transformed indefinitely.

The analysis from the research drew insightful findings. The construction of Pakistan's peacekeeping profile illuminated that Pakistan digs deep into its history and freedom movement to reason the initiation of its engagement with UN peacekeeping. Pakistan extended its support to countries torn by conflict and participated actively if the country was fighting for its right of self-determination or was plagued by the struggle of minority against majority. Pakistani personnel have supported implementation of peace agreements, deterred spoilers through robust peacekeeping, assisted host states with rule of law, institution building, disarmament and demobilization of rebels, and security sector reform, protected civilians, facilitated humanitarian assistance, provided social services, built infrastructure, and carried out quick impact projects. Pakistani peacekeepers have established niches in engineering, de-mining, logistics and the implementation of quick-impact projects (e.g., road improvements) in post-war conflict zones.

In its early years, Pakistan was also keen to proffer its peacekeepers to Muslim countries to further its presence in the Muslim world. However, these idealistic standings were coupled with political motivations such as securing strategic partnerships with superpowers or influential states and non-state actors. These political interests also served economic advantages as well since these actors reciprocated to Pakistan's participation by financial compensations or remunerations. Fundamentally, Pakistan's approach towards UN peacekeeping has been linked to Indian peacekeeping practices as well. Indian designs for regional and global dominance, over Pakistan, through participation in UN peacekeeping are most evidently demonstrated through its persistent bid for a permanent seat at the UN Security Council. Consequently, Pakistan's peacekeeping activism is a retort to India's nefarious designs. Besides, Pakistan aims to use its recognition as a top TCC to raise the issue of Kashmir more effectively at the UN for UN's sustained engagement. The peaceful resolution of the Kashmir issue is one of the principle objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy. It is in this spirit that Pakistan unconditionally supports the Commission for Inquiry for Human Rights violations in Indian occupied Kashmir.

The foreign policy of Pakistan supports UN peacekeeping as a crucial engagement to *construct* and maintain the national identity of Pakistan as a responsible nation. Its

participation also promulgates Pakistan's identity as an 'Islamic' state striving to save humanity from suffering. The involvement of Pakistan is supported by the guiding principles of Pakistan's foreign policy and inferences to seek peaceful settlement of disputes are also embedded in Pakistan's Constitution. At the international level, the contribution to UN peacekeeping brings *prestige* and *recognition* for Pakistan, however; it is noteworthy that Pakistan earns the prestige and recognition, but does not aim for it. The broader platform for international diplomacy in establishing relations with other nations of the world and gaining more influence in decision making regarding peacekeeping (UNSC membership) is also closely associated with Pakistan's activism in UNPKOs. Peacekeeping also provides Pakistan to prove that it steadfastly abides by the LOAC through its engagement with UNPKOs and this also shows that Pakistan follows international norms and principles and promulgates them on the international platform. Furthermore, the assimilation and consequent exposure of Pakistani peacekeepers to militaries and experts in peacekeeping from all over the world offer and add invaluable experience to Pakistan's troops and civilians engaged in peacekeeping abroad. In summation, participation in UN peacekeeping is *deliberately* contrived to support higher ideals of humanity and to eradicate war and conflicts.

The scarcity in literature and public awareness on Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping signals the need for an enhanced approach to disseminate the narrative of Pakistan's participation to UNPKOs, nationally and abroad. Moreover, the decision making regarding the participation in UN peacekeeping should be in close consultation with the MOFA and the GHQ. It is also imperative that Pakistan's diplomatic and military presence should supplement one another and exist simultaneously. Pakistan also needs to diversify its contributions and send civilian volunteers, judicial and legal experts, law enforcement personnel (police, rangers, etc.), navy and air force contingents and medical practitioners. The participation of female peacekeepers in other fields than troop contribution needs to be emphasized. Contribution in UN peacekeeping from South Asia is substantially more, active and diverse than other region. But the united peacekeeping efforts in Africa, especially under African organizations such as African Union, signal and detail a more nuanced approach for South Asian peacekeeping. Pakistani peacekeepers are sought after around the world, especially in convoluted and

intractable conflicts due to their resilience in the face of adversity and their ability to fulfill the mission mandate. These attributes are instilled particularly in the armed forces due to their transformed role at home in rebuilding and rehabilitation activities.

UN peacekeeping needs a (re)vitalization as the establishment is under heavy budget cuts and there are gaps in its improvement. Although peacekeeping's relevancy to international peace and stability remains unquestionably crucial. However, there is need for *sustained* attention from the UN Security Council and the provision of equipment and proper deployments befitting the mission mandate are pertinent to maintain peacekeeping and succeed it to peacebuilding. Along with transformation in UN peacekeeping practices, Pakistan needs to articulate a long term policy and a national doctrine regarding its participation in peacekeeping. Pakistan's status as a top troop contributing country has dropped in recent years primarily due to the 'Africanization' of peacekeeping, budgetary cuts and deviation of its armed forces to maintain internal stability and security at its Eastern and Western borders. Therefore, in view of the aforementioned arguments, predicting the future trends in Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping remains a perplexing pursuit.

So far, the foreign policy of Pakistan regarding participation in UNPKOs has been articulated on short-term basis. Notwithstanding the lack of foresight, the view of the foreign policy on UNPKOs has not changed since Pakistan's inception as Pakistan's commitment to international peace and security has not changed. The crux of the *rationale* regarding the participation of Pakistan in UNPKOs can most easily be understood in comparing its participation with the absence of its involvement in UNPKOs. This notion was the most repeated response by the individuals of the foreign policy decision making in Pakistan.

The representation, prestige, identity and expanded role Pakistan gains through its participation in UNPKOs, coupled with increased bilateral and multilateral relations with other member states and additional economic benefits through its engagement are crucial for state like Pakistan. Moreover, the stance Pakistan can present for the Kashmir Issue through its active role in UNPKOs is too significant to contain India's aggressive and expansive designs in the region. These outcomes would not have been associated with

Pakistan if it was not an active participant of the UNPKOs. The international backlash due to its internal turmoil and negative traction is has to bear due to being a nuclear and struggling state is somewhat counterbalanced by its overarching role in UNPKOs. Therefore, participation in UN peacekeeping is incontrovertibly a deliberate foreign policy objective of Pakistan to achieve the 'ultimate ideal' and instill enduring peace around the world.

ANNEXURE

Serial No.	Name of Operation	Location	Start of Operation
1	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in West Sahara (MINURSO)	West Sahara-Africa	1991
2	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO)	Democratic Republic of Congo	1999
3	United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)	Sudan	2007
4	United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS)	South Sudan	2011
5	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA)	Mali	2013
6	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA)	Central African Republic	2014
7	United Nations Mission for Justice Support in Haiti (MINUJUSTH)	Haiti	2017

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