

The Lobbying Efforts of Pakistan in the Post-Cold War Era:  
Case Study of the European Union



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## DECLARATION

I certify that this research work titled “*The Lobbying Efforts of Pakistan in the Post-Cold War Era: Case Study of the European Union*” is my own work. The work has not been presented elsewhere for assessment. The material that has been used in this research from other sources has been properly acknowledged and referred.

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*Dedicated to my father,  
whose absence makes me feel things  
that I never felt before.*

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

AECMA	European Association of Aerospace Industries
AGP	Attorney General of Pakistan
AML	Anti-Money Laundering
APG	Asia Pacific Group
ASEM	Asia–Europe Meeting
CERN	Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire
CFT	Combating Financing Terror
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
EC	European Commission
ECHO	European Humanitarian Aid Office
EEC	European Economic Community
EIDHR	European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights
EP	European Parliament
ERC	European Review Commission
EU	European Union
EUEOM	European Union Election Observation Mission
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FoDP	Friends of Democratic Pakistan
FTA	Free Trade Agreement

GCTS	Global Counter Terrorism Strategy
GEANT	Geometry and Tracking
GSP	Generalized Scheme of Preference
HEC	Higher Education Commission
ICRG	International Cooperation Review Group
ILO	International Labor Organization
IoP	Institute of Physics
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MIP	Multi-Annual Indicative Program
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
NACTA	National Counter-Terrorism Authority
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIP	National Indicative Program
NSC	National Security Council
PAEC	Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission
PINSTECH	Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology
PMA	Pakistan Mediators Association
PNE	Peaceful Nuclear Explosion
SEP	Strategic Engagement Plan
TEIN	Trans-Eurasia Information Network
TEIN	Trans-Eurasia Information Network
TIC	Treaty Implementation Cell
TVO	Trust for Voluntary Organization

UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United States of America
WAPDA	Water and Power Development Authority

## ABSTRACT

In the era of globalization, where states are dependent upon each other for economic and social activities and are interconnected, it becomes necessary for every government to promote its national interest not only within its state, but also across borders. Hence, countries pursue their national interests through lobbying in countries that can serve their interests, making lobbying a very effective foreign policy tool. Lobbying is a political way of spreading the idea of the majority and to publicly aware the people of the world about your concerns as well. Pakistan, being a developing country, also considered as a peripheral state is largely dependent upon the core states for seeking and promoting its national interests. Lobbying is a critical political tool used to create beneficial legislations in favor of the Pakistan's national interest. It also played a vital role in the diplomatic growth of Pakistan over the past years. This research aims to explore Pakistan's lobbying efforts in the EU in the areas of trade, strategic and academic relations. The data collected through the elite interviews illustrate that Pakistan may have gained access to various EU programs, initiated for the developed countries, but it has still been unable to form a durable bilateral partnership with the EU through its lobbies in the EU. Pakistan has not put enough attention to its otherwise resourceful European lobbies thus the rate of failures of these lobbies supersedes the success rate.

**Key Words:** *lobbying, elite interviews, foreign policy tool, legislations*



## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Lobbying is not a novel topic in the domain of international relations and political science. Political scientists world over have been focusing on this policy influencing tactic (Carr & Roberts, 2010). Lobbying is an important tool of conducting foreign policy of any state (Buell, 1929). States while interacting with each other, especially with a stronger state, activate their various lobbies to establish a support network (Thapar, 1979). Lobbying is a widely discussed and explored topic in international relations but there has been no significant work done on the lobbying efforts of Pakistan (Tilghman, 2008). This gap has remained an untapped side of Pakistan's foreign policy to which minimal attention is paid in the academia (Musharraf, 2000). This has made Pakistan vulnerable to the lobbying efforts of its adversaries, particularly India (Sharma, 2017). Ashok Sharma's 'Indian Lobbying and its Influence in US Decision Making: Post-Cold War' looks at the Indian lobbying effort and equally explains Pakistan's failed lobbying efforts in the US (Joshi, 2017). But this book does not present the Pakistani narrative on the issue (Commission, 2018). This research is an attempt to fill that knowledge gap and to show Pakistan's side of the equation as well as to identify the lacking in the existing foreign policy of Pakistan. Being one of the few works on the operationalization of Pakistan's lobby, this academic research will help the academicians interested in EU's foreign politics, Pakistan-EU activism, policy makers and scholars to understand the dynamics of this tool.

Pakistan has been in the perpetual quest of security since its inception because of the direct threats from its immediate neighbor India (Ganguly, 2002). This sense of vulnerability has aligned Pakistan with the US; one of the two superpowers during the Cold War (Erickson, 2018). Since then, Pakistan has been putting efforts for successful recognition of its voice in

the Capitol Hill (McMahon, 1988). After the end of the Cold War, Pakistan started exploring new avenues in addition to the US for its foreign reliance because of the strained relationship between the two states (Banks, 2009). The European Union (EU) is one of those new political units with whom Pakistan is determined to strengthen its relations (Pakistan, 2016). The strategic and economic relationship in the EU is established by Pakistan in the respective governmental structures usually by lobbying (Kennedy, 2009). Sometimes these lobbying efforts are fruitful but mostly they have been unsuccessful (Haqqani, 2013). In 2009, Pakistan was able to secure the GSP Plus status from the European Union through its successful lobbying efforts which enabled the developing countries like Pakistan to participate in the international trade arena without compromising their own economic and commercial interest in accordance with her national interest (Quick & Schmülling, 2011). Generally, Pakistan does not operate many lobbies in the EU and the ones that are active are unable to produce the desired results (Lahiri, Nasim, & Ghani, 2000).

## **1.2 Significance of the Study**

Though there is an extensive literature available on foreign policy lobbying, the discursive context of Pakistan's lobbying efforts has not paid much attention thus remained unexplored (Joos, 2016). Scholars and researchers have been working on the lobbying efforts of different countries in the world (Schulzinger, 1993). The bilateral relations in context of lobbying has been vastly studied and discussed and a clear pattern in these studies can be observed (Wolfers & Dihm, 2009). The book 'The Israel Lobby and the US Foreign Policy' by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, focuses on the bilateral relationships of developed or almost developed countries with the US (Patnaik & Nunes, 2007). Not much literature has been produced on the lobbying efforts of most developing states like Pakistan (Ruta, 2010). Pakistan's foreign policy has been an important topic among the academics and researchers

but they seem to leave a loophole by not discussing an important tool of foreign policy i.e. lobbying for a country like Pakistan that cannot have the direct influence in the decision making process of the powerful countries (Duff, 2004). This lack of literature and research is making the future researchers to neglect this important aspect of Pakistan's foreign policy resulting in the negligence of the policy makers towards an important yet unexplored tool of foreign policy (Kayalica & Lahiri, 2007). A lot of literature has been produced on the failed foreign policy of Pakistan, but not much has been produced on the underlying reasons of this failure thus the critical analysis of the tools of developing the foreign policy remained untouched (Haqqani, 2013). Thus the practicality of these researches for the foreign policy making process of Pakistan is under question.

This research will analyze the lobbying efforts of Pakistan in the EU and will provide the exploration of the successes and failures. It also intends to provide the policy guideline in the widely used foreign policy tool; lobbying (Bell, 2003), in context of the foreign policy efforts of Pakistan. The analysis of the political landscape of Pakistan indicates that lobbying is largely absent or is unsuccessful while it can be one of the tools that can be used to promulgate Pakistan's account in the world (Khatib, 2015). It is important to explore Pakistan's culture and political background to understand this feeble point of Pakistan's foreign policy (Today, 2017). Instead of replicating the operationalizing of lobbying, this research will dissect the conceptual grounding of the term 'lobbying' in the context of Pakistan's cultural, political and social norms. This will help pave way for the recognition and acceptance of lobbying as the tool of foreign policy for future lobbying efforts of Pakistan.

This research, on one side is aimed to fill that knowledge gap by to discussing the less discussed area of foreign policy which is lobbying in the context of Pakistan and on the other

hand it will be adding new information in the policy process of Pakistan. This addition of knowledge will help further researchers to thoroughly evaluate the foreign policy of Pakistan with a complete new lens while this research will act as a guiding stone in this process. They can have a new dimension with which the foreign policy process can be assessed by employing the tool of lobbying. It will also be one of the works where the focus will be on the foreign relation efforts of Pakistan while dichotomizing its internal weaknesses and strengths of the policy making process.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

This research aims to answer the following questions:

- How effective has lobbying been in implementing Pakistan’s foreign policy in the EU?
- What are the kinds of Pakistani lobbies, active in EU’s favorable policy towards Pakistan?
- What are the factors that have prevented Pakistan from effectively using lobbying tool(s) in making a strong and favorable case in the EU?
- What are the successes that Pakistan has achieved in its foreign policy making through lobbying in the EU?
- How Pakistan can overcome the lobbying challenges in EU and explore the future prospects of using this tool?

### **1.4 Methodology**

“Without theory there is nothing but description, and without methodology there is no transformation of theory into analysis” (Hansen, 2006). As this research is qualitative in nature, it will use the case study design to explore the particular case of the EU in relation

with Pakistan's foreign policy efforts. Furthermore, exploratory method will be used to further look into the process of lobbying efforts of Pakistan in the EU.

For this research, both primary and secondary data will be used to explore the lobbying efforts of Pakistan in the EU. Foreign policy making and field related experts in the EU and Pakistan such as foreign ministers and lobbyists' interviews will be conducted and then this primary data will be analyzed in the context of Pakistan's foreign policy. It will ensure that the data about lobbying will directly be coming from those who have been actively involved in the act. Detailed interviews from the lobbyists, political and economic units involved in formal lobbying and the diaspora along with other actors involved in the informal lobbying efforts will help generate certain themes, and frameworks for Pakistan's lobbying efforts.

Apart from this primary data, information collected will be from the prior literature in the form of books, journal articles, information reports and official database on lobbying, particularly in the EU as extensive work has been done on its lobbying operation. The foreign policy efforts made by Pakistan in the EU will be deduced from this data. By employing the method of content review of those researches on lobbying efforts in foreign policy, cause and effect of these efforts will be analyzed.

Initially research will be descriptive in nature, as it will be unfolding the history of the relationship between Pakistan and the EU. It will then take the explanatory passage to elucidate the events where lobbying played an important role in shaping up certain policies of the EU and Pakistan. As this research intends to look deeper at the relationship of the EU and Pakistan, thus it will take the route of exploratory research to discover the factors responsible for the successes and failures of the foreign policy of Pakistan.

### **1.5 Schematic Outline of the Study**

This research has been divided into six chapters to ensure the flow of information while managing the context intact. Chapter one is the introduction where conceptual background of the topic, significance, research questions and methodology of the research are discussed.

Chapter two is about the review of the literature where the past work of different authors will be discussed and linked to the topic of the dissertation to form a flow of themes and identify the gaps in the existing knowledge. This chapter will be exploring the conceptual framework of national interest which is translated on the international level in the form of the foreign policy. The chapter is an exploration of the achievement of national interests of a state while employing the foreign policy particularly the lobbying. It will further conceptualize lobbying and the actors involve in the process.

Third chapter will be discussing the methodology adopted by the researcher through this research. It includes the research design, tools to collect data and the analysis of data.

Chapter four will be explanatory in nature as it will be looking upon the history of Pakistan and the EU relations. It will be providing the overall view of the shaping of the relationship between the two political units while keeping the element of national interest intact. It will also be exploring all the lows and highs in the affiliation between the aforementioned political units.

Chapter five will be of exploratory nature as it will reconnoiter the kinds and types of lobbies of Pakistan in the EU. For this chapter three types of lobbies will be discussed that includes the trade and business lobby, strategic lobby and the academic lobby. All three of these lobbies will identify the role of the pressure groups in the certain areas whether through the external diaspora or the strong institutions promoting the cause. Later part of the chapter will be analytical in nature as it will be analyzing the Pakistan's extend of achievement in the EU in the three areas of lobbying. This chapter will also be highlighting the successes and

failures of the policy adopted by Pakistan in the EU. This data analyzed, will be gathered by the interviews of the concerned individuals and institutions and the content review. This chapter will also be highlighting the challenges and prospects that Pakistan is facing in the said field and the areas of improvement to work upon. This chapter will be the most detailed chapter as it has multipurpose approach to serve.

Chapter six will be the concluding chapter that discusses and summarizes the arguments presented. It will also provide the areas of improvement along with the suggestions for future researchers. Apart from concluding the dissertation, this chapter will also be identifying the limitations of the study.

## **CHAPTER 2: NATIONAL INTEREST AND LOBBYING: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 National Interest**

International relations cannot be discussed without the concept of state and national interest is a vital part of a state's existence as it comprises all the interests that a state deems important for its being (Kristol I. , 1990). Among all the interests, 'survival' of the state is paramount. States usually opt for certain tools and methods to achieve their goal of survival (Ellsworth, 1996). They include the national security agenda, economic development, forming international alliances and signing certain treaties and pacts. National interests are the manifestation of a nation's purpose, ambitions and goals (Mazey & Richardson, 2004). They are the objectives of a state that can be achieved by coordinating the military, economic and cultural sections of the state (Husted, 1991). In a broader framework, national interest is defined as the basic needs of a state in the international system (Weldes, 1996). National interest can be generalized as the 'wellspring' which is responsible for the flow of the national goals, objectives, policies and the strategy (Ispahani, 1964). National survival, national identity and the welfare of the state form the premises of the wider concept of national interest (Dueck, 2014). The survival of the state is the foremost national interest and it can be achieved through the territorial integrity, strengthening of socio-political institutions, and the freedom of the state. Hans J. Morgenthau also believed that the states cannot escape from having relations with each other but national interest must be the guiding star for any bilateral dealings of the states (Morgenthau, 1951). He equates national interest as the survival and protection of corporeal, political, social and cultural identity of a state against the infringements of other states (Farooq, 2016).

International Relations cannot be discussed without mentioning the concept of national interest. States are always striving to secure or fulfill their national interests and foreign



policies are made to translate this national interest on the international level (Brands, 2002). International system has provided this globally accepted right to the states to pursue their national interest at all costs, thus every state validates its acts as securing of their national interest (Farooq, 2016). The meaning of national interest is a fluid, one that can be shaped and changed according to the circumstances and the context in which it is being used (Dyke, 1962). Usually the politicians and policy makers use the term with the justification of the state's actions. Hitler continued his expansionist policies in the name of 'German National Interest'. Arms race and nuclear proliferations is also being justified as the 'national interest' of states (Maoz, 1990). USA built and developed many weapons of mass destruction in the name of security and survival which is the core national interest (Trubowitz, 1998). States also invade other states in the name of maintaining their national interest. Russian intervention of Afghanistan in 1979 was justified as the 'Russian National Interest' (Mazey & Richardson, 2004). Pakistan started its nuclear program because it was the national interest of Pakistan as it feared threats for its security from the nuclear neighbor, India.

All these examples and many more raise a question regarding a clear meaning of national interest as a concept. It can be seen from the aforementioned examples that the concept itself is vague and flexible that makes it easier for the states to justify their acts in the cloak of national interest (Arkes, 1972). Thus forming a universally acceptable definition of national interest has been a challenging task for scholars (Frankel, 1990).

National interest can be categorized into a two-fold arrangement.

### **2.1.1 Essential or Vital Components**

The foreign policy of any state is designed to secure the vital components of its national interest (Maoz, 1990). These vital components are named by Morgenthau as the survival and the protection of the ideology and identity of the state (Kristol & Kagan, 2004). Identity is

further classified into three parts (Brands, 2002). First and foremost component of the national interest is the territorial or physical identity of a state. Second is the political and economic identity that made up the politico- economic institutions of the states (Zartman, 2019). Third is the cultural or the historical component that constitutes the basic ideology and cultural legacy of the state. States keep their vital interests very well protected and secure (Nye, 1999). They would go to war with another state if their vital national interests are at stake.

### **2.1.2 Capricious or Non-Vital Components**

The non-vital components of the national interests are not static. They keep on changing according to the circumstances. Sometimes they are activated to protect the vital components of national interest (Kristol & Kagan, 2004). The changing nature of the non-vital components is dependent upon many factors such as the national or international situation, idiosyncrasy of the policy makers, certain group interests and the political and moral section of the country (Rubenberg, 1986). They may be labelled as the secondary objectives of the foreign policy of a state. States are determined to achieve their non-vital interests but they do not go to the offensive mode for this purpose. V. V. Dyke has listed some of the important and common non-vital national interest of the states as peace, law and order, development and prosperity, esteem, aggrandizement and the supremacy of the state (Dyke, 1962). Every state keeps on juggling these interests according to the situation but more or less these are the common non-vital interests among all the states.

States follow their national interest based on these two components (Parker, 1961). To get a more precise and clear picture of the interest that a state is going to secure, Thomas W. Robinson came up with six classifications of the national interest.

#### **a. Primary Interest**

They are the vital and essential interests of a state (Johansen, 1980). No state compromises on its primary interests.

b. Secondary Interests

They are also the vital interests but not as important as the primary ones (Burchill, 2005). They include the protection of citizens in other countries and the operationalization of the certain diplomatic immunities.

c. Permanent Interests

They are the perpetual interest of the states that are not short termed and do not change easily (Williams, 2005). They are usually translated as the influence of the state in the international sphere.

d. Variable Interests

These interests of a state are important in certain situation (Zartman, 2019). They keep on changing according to the national and international environment.

e. General Interests

They are the common interest of almost all the states as they will be in return affecting the whole international community (Kristol & Kagan, 2004). Maintaining of peace is one such general interest that every state aims to achieve. It will be important for a state as well as the whole globe.

f. Specific Interests

Specific interests are the extensions of the general interest. A general interest that has become important for a certain state due to a certain circumstance is known as specific interest (Jakobsen, 1996). As it is important for all the states to work for the economic development

of the world, but if a developing country is being financed by a developed country then it is the specific interest of those countries (Coen & Richardson, 2009).

However, these classifications are very fluid in nature, as states keep on changing their stance and position in the international community because of the changing dynamics of the international relations (Rice, 2000). This volatility of the nature of national interests of the state is the reason that states keep on changing their foreign policy in accordance with the situation. Achieving these interests is not something that is prewritten. States use certain tools and methods to accomplish different kinds of interests (Burchill, 2005). There can be many ways in which states employ their material capabilities as well as their economic resources to achieve their national interest (Williams, 2005). Major focus is on achieving the vital or primary national interests. One of the most common and acceptable tools to achieve the national interest by the states is the diplomatic efforts (Talbot, 1996).

### **2.1.1 Diplomacy**

Diplomacy is the bridge that translates one country's foreign policy in the international system. The major objective is to secure the goals of the national interest (Johansen, 1980). Diplomats play an important role in the process by negotiating with the other diplomats or the policy makers to convey their stance and thus protecting their national interest. Diplomats use different approaches such as persuasion, incentives and sometimes a subtle threat to revoke the privileges provided to persuade other states to follow the demands of the diplomat and its state (Zartman, 2019). This way they translate their national interest, as defined in their foreign policy objective at the international level. Morgenthau believes that diplomacy is the foremost tool to achieve the national interest of a state. Sometimes diplomacy fails to achieve the desired goal and then the method such as propaganda is used (Johansen, 1980). It is considered as the secondary means of achieving national interest. It is the art of the salesmanship in which a state tries to convince the other states about the evenhandedness of

their goals which are to be secured by them. Its only goal is to get support or may be approval for the national interest of one's state (Dueck, 2014). Another tool employed usually by the developed and financially strong states is the use of economic means. States provide economic aid or loans to propagate their voice in other countries which in return helps them in achieving their national interest (Parker, 1961). This economic apparatus of foreign policy is supported by the fact that there is a huge divide between the rich and the poor state. Rich states exploit the weak economic situation of the poor states by providing them foreign aid, arms, raw material and the advance technology (Brands, 2002). Dawn of globalization has been very effective for this kind of setup as it provides more exposure and economic interdependence between the states (Dueck, 2014). This exposure and interdependence furthers follows a route of alliances and treaties which is another tool to achieve the national interests of states. States form camps and alliances to secure their common national interests (Farooq, 2016). It also enables the states to form an alliance against a common rival or enemy state. The nature of these alliances keeps on changing according to the national interest the states are trying to achieve (Raghuram, 2008). European economic reconstructing after the Second World War led to the formation of the alliance of the European states now known as the European Union (Mazey & Richardson, 2004). The last tool to achieve the national interest of the states is through the use of coercion. It is the last option that states usually tend to avoid until all the other options are being used and exhausted without any favorable result. States can use force as the last resort for the fulfilment of their foreign policy objectives (Kristol & Kagan, 2004). Aggression and war has been declared illegal internationally and states are well aware of the perks of having a peace settlement of disputes yet there may be circumstances where states have to inevitably use the force.

However, it is important for the states to keep a check that their national interests are aligned with the international norms and interests that are for the common well-being of the states

(Aidt & Hwang, 2014). They usually include maintenance of worldwide peace, safeguard of the environment, safety of human rights and the sustainable development (Rice, 2000). It is also important to keep in view the role of domestic factors while devising the foreign policy of a country. Certain domestic pressure groups have a very strong say in the foreign policy decision making process (Taspinar, 2003). Politicians also support their favorable interest group for the fulfillment of their own interests on the international level (Zartman, 2019). Thus the national interest of the state comprises of many factors other than the sole factor of the security and safety of the state (Newhouse, 2009). Public opinion is another important factor in shaping the foreign policy. Sometimes the public opinion is bind into the pressure groups which have their access and influence in the policy making process through certain ways such as lobbying (Williams, 2005). The foreign policy is the image of the national interest of the state at the international level and states work hard to achieve their national interest according to whatever means suitable.

States might work on many levels and dimensions to achieve their pivot interests. Pakistan is one such state that has to take on many levels to achieve its national interest because the decision making process of Pakistan has been heavily influenced by external powers (Hyder, 1966). Initially, Pakistan depended on external states such as the U.S. for its security and economic interests because the newly formed state was fragile with a prominent threat from its neighboring state India (Moskalenko, 1974). With the passage of time and due to certain domestic compulsions and internal politics, Pakistan's foreign reliance kept on increasing (Mahmood, 1997). This approach damaged the national institutions as they were dependent on foreign aid so domestic self-reliance became limited. The same thing happened with the foreign policy of Pakistan. In its seventy two years, Pakistan was unable to outline its basic foreign policy objectives (Sherwani, 1966). Pakistan's foreign policy is an ad-hoc policy (Ghori, 2007). While examining the literature on the national interest of Pakistan, it became

clear that despite having certain prerequisites, Pakistan's foreign policy is not an autonomous preplanned idea (Gurumani, 2018). The important objectives that the foreign policy seeks to achieve are the survival and the national security of Pakistan and the safety of the nuclear program (Islam S. , 2012). Pakistan being a very close ally of US should have lobbied the powerful state so that its nuclear program might have gotten a legal status. But the poor foreign policy decisions could not have let Pakistan do it (Islam, 2013).

While analyzing the literature on the foreign policy of Pakistan, a pattern emerges. Majority of the work done on the subject explains the history of the foreign policy decision but no criticism or analysis of the situation has been found (Khan, 2017). The highest level of analysis could be found where in the Book Review done by Lawrence Ziring entitled 'The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy' by Mehtab Ali Shah. In the review, Ziring emphasized that Pakistan has been unable to sell its importance in the world because of the inefficient policy making (Ziring, 1999). However, despite having such big gap in literature as well as practice, exploration of Pakistan's weak foreign policy has never been a favorite topic among the academia. This gap is becoming one of the reasons why the academia is not helpful in the policy designing process of Pakistan; thus the ad-hoc foreign policy decisions. Second important and vital national interest and foreign policy objective of Pakistan is the economic prosperity (Qadir, 1960). As economic setup is another way to achieve your foreign policy goals yet Pakistan lacks in that tool (Musharraf, 2000). Pakistan has not been able to employ the use of its economic status to achieve its national interest.

It is clear that Pakistan's vital national interests are violated sometimes. Diplomacy is the most important tool to achieve the national interests and Pakistan has been a very weak diplomatic country (Ali, 1958). States tend to seek alliances to break their isolated shell which further helps them to achieve their national interest. This is also one of the vital

national interests of Pakistan (Kasuri, 2005). Pakistan should be exploring new ventures so that new alliances on the common grounds can be formed (Islam S. , 2012).

Pakistan being a populous country has a significant number of diaspora settled mainly in Middle East, Europe and America (Qazi, 2012). Diaspora helps a state to form a pressure group in a foreign country and that helps in achieving the goals of the home country either by lobbying or other means (Agunias, 2009). Safety, security and operationalization of Pakistani diaspora in other countries should be one of the foreign policy objectives of Pakistan but its significance and importance has not been discovered by Pakistan as of yet (Erdal & Horst, 2010).

Foreign policy is an important behavior of a state on international level. It is a measured strategy in which states try to demonstrate, maximize and preserve their global power status. It is a series of action by states, planned by the decision makers in the government to achieve their specific goals that are in coherence with their national interests (Agharebparast, 2017). Foreign policy is the display of domestic interests of the states on international level. Policy makers believe that in contrast, international interests of a state do have their stakes in the domestic policy (Husted, 1991). Strategy that has been used to imply the policy of a state does have its implications on its citizens and their welfare (Hwang & Aidt, 2008). Policies like trade and labor policy, environmental policy and financial policy are some of the policies that create countrywide externalities that it is important to gain foreign lobbying so that states may co-opt these externalities.

Foreign policymaking is one of the most important tasks of the states. It accounts for different actions and their global reactions resulting into a higher interaction of states (Agharebparast, 2017). Foreign policy research comprises the connection of domestic actors and their ideological tilt with the influence they may cause in the international sphere (Buell, 1929). To



address this side of policymaking, foreign policy analysis has put great emphasis on the actors and forces that shape up the national interest of a state (Marrar, 2009). Amongst the elements of accomplishing the objectives of foreign policy is through the mechanism of lobbying. It is so important and cannot be isolated from the tool box of foreign policy. The most important component of lobbying is the diaspora, a representative of the state, working for the national interest of home country in a foreign county (Zoltan, 2009). The diaspora would help build up cognitive lobbying in the host country.

## **2.2 Lobbying**

Lobbying is not a novel term in the arena of international relations (Winham, 1969). Foreign or domestic policy of a state cannot be devised without lobbying in different contexts (Schlesinger, et al., 2001). That is the reason that the students of political science and international relations have put a lot of emphasis on this tool of policy making (Bertrand, Bombardini, & Trebbi, 2014). Political scientists Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech, after overviewing the wide literature on lobbying especially in the US, came to a simple conclusion that ‘Lobbying is an effort to influence the policy processes’ (Mahoney, 2007). It is an effort to influence the government operations (Nownes, 2006).

The end product of lobbying is to affect the government’s decision in one’s own favor by corroborating influence on another actor (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). This elucidates that lobbying is a series of activities and processes rather a single action (Wright, 1930). Different actions are being made at different times to validate the influence of an actor on the government or other actors to get the decision in one’s favor (Nownes, 2006). This influence is made through different actors working in the government or the pressure groups that have a direct effect on the decision making process (Greenwood & Ronit, 1994). These pressure or

interest groups have different behavior and structural characteristics from which they can be identified (Bloodgood, 2011).

The importance of lobbying is remarkably increasing in the international political arena. It is important on the domestic as well as international level as the policy-making processes have become complicated and a lot of actors including the competing interest groups, decision makers and many opinion frontrunners have been involved in shaping up a policy (Zoltan, 2009). Lobbying is to work for the interest representation by different groups while making a policy. It has a subjective agenda, where the goal of the lobbyists is to influence decision makers or legislators in the formulation of a particular policy to achieve their specific goals (Campos & Giovannoni, 2006). It is an action that induces the legislators to act in a particular way that they might not have done in the absence of that action (Zoltan, 2009). It is a legal advocacy that involves the legislation process to influence a political decision in one's favor (Husted, 1991). This influence is a legitimate act that is confined in the legally recognized framework, is done through different means involving the communication and information delivery.

To achieve social and political assistances in a well-functioning democratic state, lobbying is considered as a valuable prospect (Jobst, 2002). Despite having the aim of having pluralist and equitable public representation in the democratic society, it does not always guarantee the reach of every public opinion to the higher offices (Banks, 2009). Thus, lobbying can be used in this case to create awareness about the dissenting opinions in a policy making environment. During the policy making process, the legislators can be informed by lobbying, about the arguments that they are not aware of, thus influencing their decision. Lobbying, if employed properly can serve as an important foreign policy tool for states, especially the weak states in achieving their national goals (Zoltan, 2009). Even the strong political units like European Union, Russia and the US achieves its success by doing effective lobbying

through its diplomats, representatives, politicians, civil society, interest groups, NGOs, economic cooperation and sometimes through professional lobbyists (Coen, 2007). This process of lobbying, if done with efficacious efforts multiplies the chances of success in the decision making process.

Lobbying is a technical procedure that has to be conducted by keeping in view the situation around. There can be formal or informal lobbying. Formal lobbying is done by the groups or professional lobbyists that are hired for the sole purpose to lobby for a certain cause (Zetter, 2014). Informal lobbying is conducted through the individuals, pressure groups, interest groups or the diaspora living in a particular state. It is important to dissect the concept of lobbying, to clearly understand how it works and in what forms it can be employed (IRS, 2017). There are two major types of lobbying, i) direct lobbying that influences legislators, ii) grassroots lobbying that urges the local decision makers to persuade the national decision makers, have been defined by (Raffa, 2000) in his article. The lobbying techniques and types are employed by twelve different institutions and organizations according to the type and need. They include the business firms, trade associations, professional associations, citizen or interest groups, labor unions, governmental entities, think tanks, charities, educational institutions, coalitions, hospitals and churches (Nownes, 2006). Lobbyists have amazing tools and techniques at their disposal but in context of European Union, these organizations use the two major techniques of lobbying; reactive lobbying and proactive lobbying (Drutman, 2017). Reactive lobbying occurs as a result of some future directive action while proactive lobbying is done when interest groups want the EU to develop legislation.

As explained earlier, lobbying is not a simple task. It is a multilevel procedure that involves many steps to reach to the goal. Ten key steps of lobbying to influence any government can be identified as control of the ground where the legislation has to happen. Second step is the, intelligent use of media by which the third step, engineering of followers will be achieved.

This will help the lobbyist in buying credibility which is the fourth step (Hojnacki & Kimball, 1999). Lobbyists can also sponsor a think tank as the fifth step to spread its narrative. Sixth step is to listen to your critics so that the lobbyist gets ready about what he is going to face. Seventh step is the neutralization of opposition which can be important especially if the case is weak. Eighth step is to control the web (Luechinger & Moser, 2014). Ninth is to gain access to politicians and meet someone with the similar point of view, as they have a huge role in the legislation process. Last is the reward of future employment (Cave & Rowell, 2014).

Domestic lobbying is an old concept where certain factions of a state lobby inside the legislation to advocate and advance their own interest. Domestic lobbying can be done by the pressure groups, the opposition groups or the influential trade and economic organizations of the country (Kayalica & Lahiri, 2007). It is a basic attempt to influence the laws and bills passing within a country so that the goals of the organizations lobbying of their own interest can be achieved. The interest could be their personal interest or the voice of the local people, which is unable to reach to the certain audience. While foreign lobbying is generally done to impact the decision of another state the favor of some state (Jobst, 2002). It is usually related to the legislatures of a powerful state which is diverted into the lobbying state's own interests.

The most successful lobbyists are the politicians who have now turned into lobbyists. This practice is known as 'revolving door' where lobbyists turn into politicians and vice versa (Findley, 1921). They keep revolving successfully between the two roles and know the complex inside structure of the government (Newhouse, 2009). The politicians turned lobbyist have expanded connections in and outside the government thus making them the ideal choice for the role (Draitser, 2017). Foreign countries prefer these politicians turned lobbyists because they have a strong influence on the public policy of their own country

(Foehrenbach, 1994), thus they can advocate better for the foreign state. But they may sometime lobby for the enemy state and put the national interest of their own state at stake.

Sometimes countries tend to play the 'dual lobbying' strategy in their foreign policy approach. Dual lobbying aims at influencing the policy of a powerful state in one's favor, while making it against the enemy state (Hunter, 2001). This dual lobbying can be witnessed in the India-Pakistan relationship where the increasing Indian nuclear lobbying in the US is isolating Pakistan (Rashid, 2016). India has been vigorously lobbying the US to get a seat in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) while demeaning the international image of Pakistan. This has changed the US policy against Pakistan (Joshi, 2017). US accused Pakistan for terror financing and not doing enough in stopping terrorism, while Pakistan has been the country facing the worst kind of crisis because of its involvement in the war on terror (Kiely, 2017). Pakistan's lack of efforts in the area of foreign lobbying has cost it a lot in the international sphere.

Countries, who are weak diplomatically tries to lobby stronger countries to influence and mold their foreign policy into their own interests. That is how they make sure to counter their rivals in the international spectrum (Weil, 2017). While countries do rely on their embassies in the stronger states like US, but there are hundreds of lobbyists working for foreign states in Washington (Newhouse, 2009). USA is known to be the pioneer of lobbying, domestically and internationally. Unofficial lobbying has been done in USA since 1792. Continental Army of USA hired William Hull to lobby the new American government for some compensation for the Virginia veterans (Nownes, 2006). The politics of USA, especially Ohio was having a huge influence of the lobby groups in 1830s. The term 'lobbying' was introduced in the print media in 1833 by Ohio print house (Ruta, 2010). Prior to that, the term was used for all the people who contacted the lawmakers for their own interests.

With the passage of time, when USA attained a certain level of power in the international sphere, different states realized the need to lobby the powerful state to pursue their goals. Ireland was the foremost promoter of external causes in the USA by a robust policy. Irish American diaspora played a vital role by providing physical and political support to the cause of Irish nationalism in the nineteenth century (Newhouse, 2009). This continued on and the influence and support groups got their legalized position in the government. Since then, USA has been lobbied by different countries and its foreign policy is influenced by certain lobbies working in the congress. Most strong and the viable lobbying campaigns are carried out by the lobbies of Israel, Greek, Armenia, Cuba, Taiwan, India, Saudi Arabia, China, Mexico and Poland (Banks, 2009). Among all these, Israeli lobby has the strongest influence on the foreign policy of USA especially against the Arab states (Foxman, 2007).

Israel has been creating favorable environment by influencing USA's policies, as a result of this strong Israeli lobby, USA recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel (Farrell, 2018). The Jewish diaspora in the US is politically and economically strong group (Foxman, 2007). Major of the countries promote their interest in the USA or in other powerful states through the dense and consistent ethnic diaspora group (Findley, 1921). Ethnic lobbying complements the official diplomatic efforts of a state by its unique operation that traditional diplomacy cannot perform (Newhouse, 2009).

Along with the ethnic lobbying, economic faction of the diaspora also plays an important role in the lobbying efforts of the host country (Das, 1990). Different strong corporations and organizations lobby to expand their business domain and this helps them to appear as an influencer in the policy making process (Nownes, 2006). Multinational corporations and the oversea business interests groups are the influential lobbyists in the Capitol Hill. Russian companies are very much involved in this kind of lobbying (Tsygankov, 2009). Their state

owned energy giant Gazprom is one of the most leading lobby faction on the Hill (Gawande, Krishna, & Robbins, 2006).

Saudi Arabia is another strong lobby in the US congress. It ranks second in the political lobbying spending, much of that is in the USA (Kim, 1999). The successful lobbying event of Saudi Arabia is that despite having negative view about Saudi Arabia, President Donald Trump had his first official visit to Saudi Arabia. Saudi lobby on the Hill made sure to reduce the tensions between the newly elected president of USA and Saudi Arabia (Miller & Sokolsky , 2017). They were successful in their task when President Trump made his first official visit to Saudi Arabia.

Another strong lobby working in USA is the Indian lobby because of the dense and successful Indian diaspora in the USA (Institute, 2014). American Indians have access to the higher government positions too hence making it more feasible for them to understand and bend the policies in their favor (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006). International allies make blocs with the strong states against their rival states so that the policies are made to support them against their enemies (Gupta, 2004). This strong Indian lobby where works for their interest, it also tries to sabotage the Pakistani image in the international community. Indian professors are teaching at the top universities in the USA (Shabbir, 2012). The kind of narrative building they are doing is making Pakistan's position questionable in the academia; hence the knowledge production based on those narratives is tarnishing the international image of Pakistan (Cohen, 2000). In 2016, when USA and Pakistan made a deal about selling of F-16 jets to Pakistan, Indian lobby became active to sabotage the deal (Iqbal, 2017). Initially they were successful in doing so but then Pakistan understood the gravity of situation and the fruitful lobbying efforts of Pakistan saved the deal (DeWind & Segura, 2014). Such situation causes concerns for the states having weak lobbying efforts.

Pakistan, being the member of various international organizations like UN, is at difficult position to secure its interest in the international sphere. Countries having better diplomatic and lobbying efforts influence the policy in their favor, leaving Pakistan helpless to face the consequences. The traditional approach to diplomacy and foreign policy does not always ensure the interest keeping of the states (Nuechterlein, 1976). They need to be complimented with strong and effective lobbying activities to increase the probability of achieving the national interest and to establish its responsible position as a responsible part of comity of nations (Zoltan, 2009). These formal channels along with the informal ones eliminate the chances of misinformation about a country on the international level thus reducing the impending shortcomings.

When it comes to Pakistan, no prominent work has been done in the said field (Agencies, 2007). This could be one of the reasons as to why Pakistan has weak lobbying efforts because the field hasn't been explored (News A. , 2016). The inattentiveness of such important issue is giving Pakistan's adversaries an advantage over it (Moskalenko, 2007). India is one big example, which is trying to validate its presence in the Capitol Hill while abating Pakistan's cause (Mayer, 2008).

USA, being the hub of international politics and the abundance of political games, is one of the most lobbied states (Kasuri, 2005). It causes attraction for the power seeker states, mass media, politicians and the lobbyists because of its hegemon status in the international system (Zia, 2014). States want to lobby the US so that any decisions that the superpower takes does not collides with theirs. Other big powers are also lobbied to ensure their support for the comparatively small state's interests (Agencies, 2007). The political onlookers showed their concerns on the increasing influence of interest groups in the policy making of the US (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998). Baumgartner and Leech (1998) had recorded that each year the lobbying community of Washington is increasing in different policy fields. This increase



has caused a lot of influence in the recent decision making process in the USA. The states that were able to successfully secure their lobbyists in the government were at the advantage (Baumgartner, Larsen-Price, Leech, & Rutledge, 2011).

States like Israel, Taiwan and India have proven support of Washington in their interests as compared to their adversaries (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). For that kind of support, foreign states do need help to traverse through the labyrinth of Capitol Hill (Leonard, 2000). They feel dependent on the stronger state for their political support (Newhouse, 2009). For that matter when the countries like China and Russia need some decision of Washington in their favor, they spend a lot of resources and time to gain political support (Young, 2013). Policy makers may hire the professional lobbyists to advocate their case in the Capitol Hill (Abbott, 1965). These lobbyists work on different levels inside the government as well as outside with their diaspora to organize an interest group which may turn into a pressure group to influence the decision of the US government (Schlesinger, et al., 2001).

Pakistan has been depended on US for its strategic support for a long period (Markey, 2013). US also needed Pakistan as its strategic ally during cold war because of the strategic geopolitical location of Pakistan. Different defense and security deals were signed between US and Pakistan including SEATO and CENTO (McMahon, 1988). Pakistan also signed a Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with USA and has been termed as the most allied ally of USA against Soviet Union in Asia (Khan, 1964). But this relationship faced many twists and turns especially when Pakistan needed the American support during the 1965 war against India and US refused to provide any (Haqqani, 2013). This was a very shocking betrayal for Pakistan, as Pakistan considered itself as the important strategic ally of the US and expected the same in return. That was the time when Pakistan failed to put enough efforts to gain the support of US. The same happened during the 1971 war and Pakistan was still unable to turn the tables into its favor (M.J.S., 2011). The relationship between the two states become

strained but the 1989 invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet Union again made US to reestablish the lost strategic relationship with its Asian ally (Khan, 1964). That was the time when Pakistan was having the ambitions of going nuclear because of the security threats from its neighboring state India. It would have been the perfect opportunity to get some serious US support for Pakistan's security but that couldn't happen as well. Cold war ended leaving the two states at distance with each other.

US imposed a lot of sanctions on Pakistan in the light of its ongoing nuclear program. Pakistan was again unable to manage the situation in its favor though the reasons for going nuclear were significant. But 9/11 proved to be another turn in the bilateral relations of Pakistan and US (Leiby, 2013). Pakistan participated in the war of terror alongside the US and provided the logistic as well as the military support. Later, the US blamed Pakistan for being a terrorism sponsoring state and Pakistan was again clueless about how to clear this misconception between the states, which later on caused global implications on the image of Pakistan (Paracha, 2012). Currently both the states are having negative sentiments for each other. This is the time of Pakistani lobby in the US to work for the image building and clear the misconceptions about Pakistan in the US (Zia, 2014). Pakistan's lack of representation in the Capitol Hill is one of the challenges for Pakistan. Though in this wake of mistrust, Pakistan has tried to run a vigorous campaign to bridge the gap between the two states but it seems to be fruitless. The hate sentiments are raising in both the states and the mass media is only fueling the fire (Kizilbash, 1988). Thus the lobbyists are working to mend the fence on both ends but the efforts are not as much as required.

As the efforts being made by Pakistan in the Capitol Hill are not enough to control the damage thus no such academic work has been done on the issue. The policy elite of Pakistan have expressed its concerns on the weak lobbying efforts of Pakistan in the US (Iqbal, 2016). They are of the view that despite spending a hefty amount on hiring the lobbyists in

Washington, they are not able to generate a positive image of Pakistan in US (Laskar, 2018). It is because of the focus of Pakistani lobbyists on promoting the political personalities of Pakistan rather than the country. As no prominent work has been done on the issue so it has not been securitized in Pakistan and deemed unimportant.

Another reason because of which Pakistan lacked behind in its lobbying efforts in USA is the strong Indian lobby already functioning in the Capitol Hill. India is achieving the status and strengths of Israeli lobby in the US (Newhouse, 2009). India spent \$2,00,000 on lobbying in USA in 2017 (Mandavia & Mendonca, 2018). Indian lobby is supported by the strong Indian diaspora in the US which is educated and strong financially (Gray & Lowery, 1998). American Indians hold important positions in the government and serve as the backbone of the resilient network of law firms and public relations (Kirk, 2008). The Indian Americans are involved into the political activism much like the Jewish Americans. Their hold is strong in the legislative process in the US as they generating huge revenue for the country. Indian Americans own 20% of the companies of the Silicon Valley (Hussain, 2013). They were also able to form the U.S.-India Business Council whose core committee has 200 companies, where the corporate sector of US is closely associated with the Indians (Sharma, 2017). This nexus is giving a hard time to Pakistan (DeWind & Segura, 2014) as on one hand Pakistan has to counter the strong Indian lobbying and on the other side it has to advocate for its own interest in the US.

Pakistan, being an important ally of USA in the war of terror and having a significant geographical location has a lot of potential to create a strong strategic partnership with USA particularly and with the European Union as well (Hassan, 2014). But weak Pakistani international efforts made this unaccomplished. Pakistan is an agriculture country with extremely suitable weather for the growth of crops (News D. , 2013). It has been a large textile industry in the Europe for the past years. European Union has remained an important

trading partner for Pakistan. 15% of Pakistan's total trade was accounted in Europe in 2016 (Kundi, 2009). Europe in return supported Pakistan's inclusion in the global economy and granted it the GSP+ status. This status ensured that 80% of exports from Pakistan entered Europe at the preferential rates (Commission, 2018). This shows how big of a market EU is and Pakistan can maintain its trade and strategic relations with EU with efforts in its international standing.

But on the other hand Pakistan's name has been put in the grey list of Financial Action Task Force (FATF) (Webdesk, 2018). This huge set back in the international image was called as the 'diplomatic failure' of Pakistan. Pakistan has already been facing a backlash because of the negative image build in the world (Laskar, 2018). These failures damage the existing reputation of Pakistan. Pakistan needs a campaign of worldwide lobbying to break this stale reputation and clear its image of all the negativities spread around (Malik, 2016). This image building can help Pakistan to gain international support over issue like Baluchistan and Kashmir. Pakistan has a lot to offer to this world, but the unpromising diplomatic efforts are becoming the hurdles in the way.

Pakistan has to learn from the failures made in USA and not to repeat them in the European Union, which appears to be a huge partnership for Pakistan in many areas (Islam, 2008). UK has recently promised to provide its technical support to Pakistan to come out of the grey list of FATF (Miraj, 2018). This seemed like a big achievement for the new government of Pakistan that is focusing to improve its relations with Europe. Researchers are focusing on the deteriorated relationship of Pakistan and US but the work for mending the relationship is close to none (Zia, 2014). Pakistan is opening up its doors to the new ventures like Russia, China and European Union in addition to USA (Islam S. , 2011). It is important time for Pakistan to review its international policy so that the mistakes done during its relationship

with USA, that made Pakistan vulnerable to the international backlashing, should not be repeated and avoided at all costs (Ziring, 1999).

## CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the research methodology applied in this research. It also talks about the relevance and applicability of the methods to this particular area of research. The research design, process of data collection and the analysis of the data will be discussed in this chapter. The discussions about the sampling method and the tools, instruments and techniques to collect data are the vital part of this chapter. A detailed overview of the data collection process including the timeline will be discussed. Finally the limitations that the researcher faced during this research will also be discussed.

### 3.1 Research Design

Research design is the structure of the plan to strategize and implement a research (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). Research design indicates the type of the research carried out (Lamont, 2015). This particular research is qualitative in nature, as qualitative research helps in the study of deep underlying explanations, aims and causes of the central theme (Babbie, 2016). The qualitative research provides the rich explanations of the complex problems (Silverman, 2016). The lobbying efforts of Pakistan in the EU need an in depth study and analysis of all the factors and actors involved in the lobbying process and qualitative study fulfills this purpose. The research design that this research follows is the 'exploratory case study' approach. The exploratory case study is an in depth study of a phenomenon or a particular situation and it helps to answer the questions about 'what', 'how' and 'who' (Devers & Frankel, 2000). Hancock and Algozzine (2011) explained that case study design has three basic types; exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive. Researchers can use all three of them in a research or any one or two of them, according to the type of the study they are conducting. As this research aimed to explore the lobbying efforts of Pakistan and to analyze their successes and failures, thus it is exploratory in nature, while the case study of the EU has been taken. According to Sekaran (2010), the exploratory research helps in finding out

the issues and problems that are not widely discussed or have very little information given about them. In this research, exploratory case study approach helped in probing the factors responsible for the conduct of the lobbying efforts of Pakistan in the EU (Flick, 2018).

This exploratory research helped determining the data collection methods and the subjects of sampling. Exploratory case study usually involves a small sample size and instead of finding the generalizations, it focuses on the thorough understanding of the situation (Babbie, 2016). Exploratory case study method also helped in this research because of the limited published research work on the worldwide lobbying efforts of Pakistan. No published work on Pakistan's lobbying efforts was found in the context of the EU, thus making it impossible to find a reference of the similar research design.

In this research a deep analysis of the EU and Pakistan relationship, with respect to the lobbying efforts of the later in the EU, has been done. Lobbying efforts of Pakistan in post-Cold War era is an extensive subject. To narrow down this broad field of research, it needed a comprehensive research design that goes into the depth of the subject while keeping the focus on a case study (Mills, Durepos, & Wiebe, 2010). This research design helped the researcher to understand the lobbying process of Pakistan in the particular setting of the EU.

### **3.2 Tools and Instruments**

In a research, tools are instruments for collecting the data play an important role (Creswell & Poth, 2017). This research is qualitative in nature, having the exploratory case study research design approach so the data collection methods could be the interviews, questionnaires, surveys, focus groups etcetera (Palinkas, et al., 2015). For this particular research, primary and secondary data collection tools were used for a thorough data collection.

### **3.2.1 Primary Data**

To get the first-hand information from the officials, directly involved in the policy making of Pakistan, were interviewed. For primary data collection, in depth semi structure interviews with the relevant respondents were conducted. Interviews helped in understanding the dynamics of the decision making process by exploring the idiosyncrasies of the individuals involved in the foreign policy decision making process. Semi structure interviews helped the interviewer and the interviewee to converse in detail thus making the exploratory research useful (Kumar, 2019). They also helped the interviewer to be flexible in asking questions and taking the interview in the desired direction (Noor, 2008). The interviewer was in control of the conversation in the semi-structured interviews thus channeling it accordingly (George, 2019). The one-to-one interviews with the officials helped the researcher to get the first hand experienced data from the respondents. This data helped in formulating the Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of this research.

### **3.2.2 Secondary Data**

Exploratory case study research usually relies on the secondary data, such as the content review of already existing literature (Hill, 2017), because of the small sample size. In this research, secondary data was collected by the review and analysis of the existing literature and the data of the foreign policy operations of Pakistan. Researcher was not able to find significant literature on Pakistan's lobbying efforts. To counter that problem, archival research provided the original data from the official sources of the foreign office. This method also helped in the collection of the facts and figures used in the Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 of this research. Content review of the literature on the past foreign policy making of Pakistan also helped in establishing a framework for this research.



### **3.3 Sampling**

To collect the relevant data, an appropriate sample was chosen for this research (Creswell, 2018). Purposive sampling is important in this regard because it is based on focusing the population suited best for the study (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). Non probability purposive sampling was used to achieve the goal of identification and assortment of the information rich data related to the actual phenomenon under discussion (Setia, 2016). This research is divided into three themes; trade, strategic and education and the relevant officials were contacted according to the themes. Different ministries and public and private institutions, involved in the policy making, were contacted for this purpose. Ministry of Commerce and Trade and different trade unions were contacted to arrange interviews for the trade sector. They helped to bring facts and figures related to trade activities between Pakistan and the EU. Ministry of defense and strategic think tanks helped in collection of data for the strategic theme. The cooperation in the strategic field between the two actors was discussed in these interviews. While Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan remained resourceful in giving relevant information about the education sector of Pakistan and its functionality in the EU, different education gurus of Pakistan in the EU were also contacted to get the information about the academic representation of Pakistan in the EU. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) Pakistan provided with the official records of the history of the relations between Pakistan and the EU. Concerned individuals from the ministry also helped in mapping out the foreign policy objectives of Pakistan especially in the European region. While selecting the sample for the interviews, a lot of focus was put on the point that the people directly or indirectly involved in the policy making of their fields are chosen. This helped to get the better inside picture of the facts rather relying on the perceptions floating around.

### **3.4 Data Collection**

Data collection is one of the vital steps in the methodology of the research as an accurate data collection leads towards valid results of the research (Patton, 2005). Data collection is the process of gathering the information about the research problem in a logical way to analyze and assess the outcomes (Taylor, Bogdan, & DeVault, 2015). As described earlier, that the two methods of data collection; interviews and content review, were used in this research to collect a more comprehensive information in the form of primary and secondary data. This step enabled the researcher to collect in-depth, adequate and related data about the whole process of Pakistan's efforts in lobbying the EU.

#### **3.4.1 Interviews**

The primary data for this research was collected by conducting the interviews of the relevant people. The interviews were carried out from the month of February'19 till June'19. After choosing the relevant sample, the researcher contacted more than eighty people for the interviews through emails and telephone calls. Most of the people rejected the interview as they were not in the position to talk about this unexplored avenue of the foreign policy of Pakistan. Finally, fifteen individual interviews were arranged during the described course of time. These interviews were divided on the basis of the themes of the study. Four interviews each were conducted for trade, strategic and education sector, while three interviews about the general foreign policy of Pakistan from MOFA were conducted.

Eleven interviews were face-to-face but four of them were conducted using the online mediums such as the emails and video calls. The one-on-one interviews were conducted in the cities of Islamabad, Rawalpindi and Lahore. After earlier commitment, the face-to-face interviews were conducted in the work places of the officials. The researcher initially briefed the respondents about the scope of the research problem and then get the consent form (see

Appendix 1), which stated that the respondents understand about the study, signed from them. The consent form also assured the respondents that their identity will be kept anonymous. Verbal permission to audio record the interview was taken from the respondents, to which none of them had any objections. After giving the interview guideline, the researcher presented the respondent with the predesigned questionnaire (see Appendix 2). Semi-structured interviews were conducted to get the thorough information while letting the researcher to somehow control the direction of the conversation. The interviews were recorded in the audio form as it allowed the researcher to concentrate on the discussion and prepare for the continuing questions. One interview per day was conducted. Each interview took about 2 hours.

The interviews conducted on emails were structured in nature, where the researcher sent the prepared questionnaire to the respondents and they filled it within a week. Two interviews were also conducted using the video call medium and they were recorded with the prior permission of the respondent. The data was discarded after the analysis to keep the anonymity of the respondents.

### **3.4.2 Content Review**

Secondary data which is not directly collected by the researcher but was readily available for the use of anyone (Kumar, 2019), played a very important role in this research. Researcher was able to find out the history of the EU and Pakistan relations through the content review of the available data. Journal articles, books, academic documents and reports related to the foreign policy of Pakistan and the EU towards each other, were studied and relevant data was collected. Library research and online research were used to collect the secondary data. Some government institutions were also approached to collect the official facts and figures from their archives. Secondary data collected through the content review helped in the formulation

of the Chapter 1, Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 of this research. This data helped in the contextualization of the topic but no existing data was found specifically on the lobbying activities of Pakistan.

### **3.5 Data Analysis**

Data analysis is one of the most crucial parts of the research work (Creswell & Poth, 2017). After gathering enough data, it is important to analyze it to get clear findings of the study. The data collected in this research, through the interviews, was gathered, summarized and analyzed using the thematic content analysis. The three major themes of this research; trade, strategic and academic areas were identified. After transcribing the audio interviews, the researcher divided the data thematically. Each theme was then analyzed according to its successes, failures and challenges, thus comprehensively examining every area. The secondary data backed the primary data with the accurate historical background and the current situation of the relationship between Pakistan and the EU. This analysis helped in drawing the conclusions in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

### **3.6 Limitations and Obstacles**

The researcher faced a lot of limitations while collecting the data for this research. The fact that Pakistan's foreign policy has never been studied with the context that it should have been by the academicians (Abbas, 2017), caused a severe crisis of the relevant data and the specialized people. Moreover, the researcher faced the time, resources and limited data constraints. Even the people who were involved in the foreign policy process were reluctant to give interviews on this topic, because of their lack of specialization, thus the insignificant number of the interviews. Overall, the research based on the foreign policy of Pakistan, especially the lobbying efforts, remained a challenging task because of the lack of information and data available and the reluctance of the relevant people to consider lobbying as something significant for the foreign policy process of Pakistan.

## **CHAPTER 4: HISTORY OF PAKISTAN AND THE EU RELATIONS**

Since its inception Pakistan has aligned with the USA as strategic partner. This partnership continued throughout the Cold War (Musharraf, 2000). It was during the late 50s, when Pakistan realized the importance of having an economic partnership along with strategic one (Qureshi, 1969). The European Union, then European Coal and Steel Community, was significantly growing economically during that era (Dinan, 2005). This important economic growth grabbed the attention of Pakistan. While Pakistan was maintaining its relationship with the European countries consensually, soon in 1962 both Islamabad and Brussels formally established their bilateral relationship (Jones & Menon, 2012). The focus for Pakistan was to gain access into the duty free markets of Western Europe, which in turn will facilitate the process of domestic industrialization in Pakistan (Gstöhl, 2017). So basically, the relation between the EU and Pakistan was based on the economic terrain. In the 1970s, the European Economic Community (EEC) started to establish and implement deeper foreign policy agendas with the states outside the framework of the institution (Cram, Dinan, & Nugent, 2016). The European Community was able to play a significant role in the world politics from early 1970s (Iqbal, 1974). Their noteworthy contribution is the agenda setting of the Conferences in Europe on Security and Cooperation (Elvert & Kaiser, 2004). This step brought the East and West blocs of Europe closer and established a formal negotiating framework between the two units (Amato, Milanese, Pasquino, & Reichlin, 2019). It also played its role in the strategic issues of the region which had direct impact on the peace and stability of Europe (Vooren, 2012). This was the time when the EEC started to take up the strategic front along with the economic façade while Pakistan was struggling between the transition of dictatorship and democratic governments (Cushing, 2003).

The type of governance in the partner countries was one of the pre requisite for the EC before signing any formal pacts and agreements (Amato, Milanese, Pasquino, & Reichlin, 2019).

Despite having various concerns about the type of governance Pakistan has been pursuing, the EEC signed agreements with Pakistan (Brügge, 2014). First trade and economic cooperation agreement was signed in 1976 between the EC states and Pakistan (Tahir, 2003). In 1978, when General Zia-ul -Haq imposed martial law in Pakistan, the West and the EEC showed their disdain towards this undemocratic move (Islam, 2011). Pakistan's relations became strained with the democratic world (Aslam, 2017). The tables turned for Pakistan after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan 1979, when the world comprehended the important geostrategic location of Pakistan (Sial, 2013). The changing dimension of the international security put Pakistan into the spotlight because of its position in South Asia (Sarwar, 1980). The West took innumerable measures to strengthen the economy of Pakistan so that it can be used as the forefront state in the crisis because of its geostrategic location (Butt & Siddiqi, 2016). In defeating the superpower USSR in Asia, Pakistan became the part of the Western strategy (Abbas K. , 2017). This venture of Pakistan put its own security into jeopardy and this exertion was highly applauded and recognized by the EEC (Braithwaite, 2011). The Community also acknowledged the part played by Pakistan in accommodating more than 4 million of the Afghan refugees (Hilali, 2010). The inflow of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan continued for many years and the EEC made sure to give a significant humanitarian assistance to Pakistan in this regard (Weinbaum, 1991). Pakistan, at that time, was facing a lot of internal economic problems because of the internal political scenario (Zaidi, 2015). On top of that, a huge burden of 4 million refugees totally shook up the economic structure of Pakistan (Kreft, 2012). The EEC as a whole and the member states in their individual capacity made sure to keep up with the flow of economic and humanitarian assistance to Pakistan in that tough time.

In 1985, the representation of the European Commission was set up in Islamabad (Sultana, 2013). In 1986 a second generation agreement of five years was signed between the EC and

Pakistan which primarily focused on economic, commercial and development cooperation (Tonra & Christiansen, 2004). In 1988 it was promoted to the level of the European Delegation (Hill & Smith, 2011). This delegation was responsible for the supervision of trade, cooperation and development association of the EEC (EC) and Pakistan (Bickerton, 2011). In 1989, the Soviet Union withdrew its forces from Afghanistan in the aftermath of adoption of the Geneva Accord (Missiroli, 2017). During that particular time, Soviet lost huge control over the Eastern European states and eventually communism was deracinated from Europe (Licklider, 1992).

After the end of the Cold War in 1991, the European states started to strengthen their security ties along with the economic one (Gill, 2012). The EEC became The European Union (EU) in 1993 and started to explore its strategic and political groundings in the international sphere (Jørgensen, 2016). Since the early 90s, the EU designed the pillars of its partnership in the form of democracy, good governance and human rights (Krossa, 2011). It put a huge stress on the partner countries where there was violation of human rights and rule of law was absent. In the promotion of peace and economic stability and development, the union laid out the promotion of democracy as one of its most important long term goals (Pinder, 2001). The EU has been associating itself with the countries having the rule of law, civil supremacy, fulfillment of human rights and democracy (Booker & North, 2005). It has been in negotiations with the developing states for the acquiescence and ratification of various international treaties because the EU regards the flourishing of democratic norms and strengthening of the human rights in the partner countries (Zajackowski & Wolf, 2014). To strengthen this policy, the EU incorporated many human rights clauses in its economic and commercial policy in 1995 (Holland, 2002).

Pakistan and the EU were set to sign the third generation cooperation agreement in 1996 but it got postponed because of Pakistan's noncompliance to some of the clauses of the EU

commercial policy (Hill, 2004). The EU was determined to get uninterrupted access to the maritime services of Pakistan (Serradell, 1996). This caused a clash of interest between the two. The EU wanted to include the conventions of intellectual property rights and the clauses of International Labor Organization (ILO) to the agreement (Vooren, 2012). They wanted that the ILO would be motioning the promotion of human rights in Pakistan but the labor clause was rejected by Pakistan (Sultana, 2013). After a lot of lobbying efforts by Pakistan and negotiations between the two the agreement was signed in 1998 (Commission, 2019). Given its own strategic concerns, Pakistan tested its nuclear weapons in 1998, so the formal approval of this agreement was again delayed (Cini & Borragan, 2009).

The West had reservations about the non-democratic form of government in Pakistan (Aslam, 2017). They also criticized the human rights violations in Pakistan during those dictatorship reigns (Hix, 1999). The succeeding democratic governments were also criticized for their suspected anti-human rights policies (Jabbar, 2017).

In 1974, after India tested a nuclear device as the Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE), Pakistan also started its quest for acquiring the nuclear weapons to maintain the security equilibrium in the South Asia (Perkovich, 2001). This new pursuit of Pakistan was a sore point in the relations between West and Pakistan (Abbas H. , 2018). Despite being an ally of West, Pakistan faced a lot of backlash on this decision, unlike its arch rival neighbor India. India served as a balance to People's Republic of China in South Asia so the West and Europe seemed a little biased towards India in the nuclear weapons acquisition journey (Karnad, 2009). Another important factor was India's growing population which is more than 1.36 billion now (Bank, 2019). It served as the huge potential market for investments and merchandises for the world.



This era made Pakistan's position irrelevant to the international community as the concerns on Pakistan's development of the nuclear weapons grew (Pandey, 2018). The international community again became precarious of Pakistan's involvement in the Kashmir uprising thus pushing Pakistan more into the hot waters. In 1998, a resolution was adopted by the European Parliament (EP) to rebuke India and Pakistan for the nuclear weapons development (Islam, 2014). The member states were also urged by the Parliament to stop exporting the tools, equipment and the technology that can facilitate the two neighboring states into the nuclear arsenal development (Shaikh, 2002). The EP also made sure that no state was facilitating the two countries in the acquisition of the missile technology and the nuclear warhead delivery system (Ganguly & Kapur, 2012). Pakistan and India were pressurized by the international community to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). But both the countries have not signed it yet (Ahmad, 2011). They tested the capability of short to medium range missiles in carrying the nuclear warheads (Kapur, 2008).

The European countries condemned the act of the serial nuclear tests of India in 1998 and showed fear that Pakistan will follow the precedent (Ruble, 2009). Even after facing a lot of economic and political pressure from the international community, Pakistan finally carried out the nuclear tests on 28 May 1998 (Cimbala, 2014). The EU responded strongly the same day with the message that the relation between the two cannot be same as usual after the tests (Gillingham, 2016). Following the nuclear tests, the international agencies cramped the loans back while there were no new sanctions imposed on Pakistan (Javaid, 2010). In 1998, the European leaders issued a serious warning to India and Pakistan about signing the NPT at the Cardiff summit in Wales (Bulmer & Lequesne, 2012). They also warned the two states about the further measures that the EU might take if they both do not sign the treaty.

As the EU was more concerned with its economic growth and protection of its commercial interest rather than taking the security matters of other states head on, they did not actually

take any serious measures against India and Pakistan (Ballesteros Peiró, 2015). Thus their focus remained on carrying out dialogues to bring both the parties out of the nuclear rather than taking any hard military action against Indo-Pak. However, the EU was skeptical of Pakistan's economic resources spent on building the weapons while it faces severe internal social and economic problems (Heartfield, 2013). It also criticized Pakistan's share of aid that the international organizations were providing for the social and economic wellbeing of the people of Pakistan but it was rather spent on building the nuclear arsenal ignoring the poor social and economic condition of the country (Keukeleire & Delreux, 2014). The EU was so furious that they called upon the law enforcement agencies to look upon the human rights violations in Pakistan (Abbas K. , 2015).

The relation between Pakistan and the EU was already strained and the 1999 military coup added fuel to the fire (Peterson & Shackleton, 2012). The EU was actively vocal against this progression of military rule and the cooperation agreement was again postponed (Khorana, Yeung, Kerr, & Perdakis, 2012). The only connection that the both units shared was the continued aid from the EU as they believed it was directly for the people of Pakistan (Amin, 2009). They also sent a fact finding task force to Pakistan while Pakistan lost its commonwealth membership because of the military coup (Sattar, 2017). Upon the discontent of the task force, of the situation of democracy in Pakistan, the EU sent another mission in 2000 to ensure the democratic transition of government from the military ruler soon (Kocijancic, 2019). The then Head of European Delegation to Pakistan Kurt Juul was determined in making sure that Pakistan complies with the Article 1 of the human right clause in the EU-Pakistan agreement that was about the promotion of democratic principles in the country (Piebalgs, 2012). He also made it clear that the EU will not be cooperating or making any agreements with Pakistan under a nondemocratic government, however the aid

from the EU will be continued for the welfare of Pakistani people amounting to 0.347 million (Pakistan P. a., 2019).

The delegation formed a commission responsible for the social wellbeing of the people especially in the backward areas of Pakistan (Malik, 2018). With the cost of 0.66 million, they established the Trust for Voluntary Organization (TVO) in Multan for the healthcare of children and their mothers (Kearns, 2018). Meanwhile the continuous delegations were sent by the EU to make sure that the military government is taking steps towards the establishment of the democratic government by conducting free and fair elections (Islam, 2012). The relationship took another deep dig when the Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Pervez Musharraf became the President of Pakistan in 2001 (Elahi, 2010). The EU abhorred the decision and practically cut off any agreements of cooperation with Pakistan (Kasuri, 2016). Political ties between Pakistan and the EU were severed and there were no official visits from the EU to Pakistan (Sultana, 2013) . All the negotiations, dialogues and trade and cooperation agreements were frozen.

International arena drastically changed after the 9/11 attacks on the twin towers in the USA (Chomsky, 2011). Pakistan, being the neighboring state of Afghanistan, came into immense pressure again to cooperate with the West in the US led coalition attack on Afghanistan (Anwar, 2007). Pakistan was again made a front line state in the war on terror. The relation between Pakistan and the West, which were almost freezing because of Pakistan's nuclear development and the military coup, started to flourish again vigorously, though before that they were frozen because of Pakistan's nuclear development and the military coup (Kim & Jones, 2008). The EU also jumped into the bandwagon and promised to restore the status of Pakistan internationally (Reid, 2005). Several EU leaders paid visits to Pakistan and vowed to cooperate with the same military leadership that was once detested (Ahmad S. S., 2005). Pakistan realized its importance in the international community at that time and tried to cash

its role fully by asking trade concessions from the West. Pakistan communicated clearly about its need to access the European markets (Mahmood, 2017). Pakistan was also ambitious to get debt relief and newly issued loans from the EU.

Although, according to the experts, Pakistan was not very successful in negotiating the terms with the West regarding its role in the war of terror, yet Pakistan was granted the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) status in 2002 for 3 years (Gul & Yasin, 2011). The GSP status allowed Pakistani products to have a duty free trade of 10% compared to any other products (Pakistan M. o., 2017). In 2004, anti-dumping duty of 13% on Pakistani bed-linen products was implemented by the EU for 5 years (Masakure, Henson, & Cranfield, 2009). However, this duty was reduced to 7.6% and then to 5.8% in 2006 (Agencies, 2019). Pakistan also requested the writing off of her debts to support Pakistani economy to which the EU waiver off £ 20 million debt off Pakistan (Gereffi & Frederick, 2010). Pakistan was also able to secure £ 105 million of new loans and funds in a short period of 2 years (Anwar, 2007). A trade allowance of \$ 1.4 million to Pakistan was also guaranteed by the EU Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy (Commission, 2019).

This was the interesting time when the then critical European leadership was now very fondly managing its relationship with the military government of Pakistan (Khorana, Yeung, Kerr, & Perdakis, 2012). The much delayed third generation agreement was also signed during that time (Tahir, 2003). However, with the increased control of US led coalition in Afghanistan, the criticism and concerns with the military rule in Pakistan also hiked. In 2002 General Pervez Musharaf started a national referendum that allowed him to stay as the president for the next 5 years but the EU Parliament's committee on foreign affairs was critical about the authenticity of the referendum (McCarthy, 2002). They also refused to provide the final approval of the recently signed EU-Pakistan Cooperation Agreement (Ballesteros Peiró, 2015). In 2002, a Legal Framework Order that allowed military to play a leading role in the

domestic politics of Pakistan was issued by the President Pervez Musharraf, which constituted a National Security Council (NSC) by revising the 1973 constitution (Jaspal, 2002). The EU criticized the measure by showing apprehensions that this change should have been brought through the constitutional way (CPGS, 2014). Also the EU showed concerns about the new structure dominating the national politics, thus making it difficult for the democratic structure to revive in Pakistan.

The European Union Foreign and Security Policy Chief, Javier Solana assured that they have kept a close eye on Pakistan's election process of 2002 (Noor, 2008). They sent the EU Election Observation Mission (EUEOM) to Pakistan in 2002 so that the stature of free and fair elections can be maintained (Lodhi, 2009). The mission was critical of the election process pointing out many flaws and intentional government efforts to halt the elections by stopping the opposition leaders from taking part in it (Soorty, 2004). The mission also termed the deal between the government and the Sharif family as illegal. EU was also critical of the eligibility criteria set by the government to participate in the elections (Abbasi, 2009). The mission recommended a more independent election commission so that it can work without having any political pressure attached (Commission, 2019). Pakistan wholly rejected the EU Mission report and maintained its stance that the EU Observer Mission is not legally entitled to make comments on the constitutional matters, institutions and the head of the state of a sovereign country (Cushing, 2003).

Despite the political tensions between the EU and Pakistan, a grant of £71million was approved for the development of the National Indicative Program (NIP) in Pakistan for three years by the European Commission (Christiansen, Kirchner, & Murray, 2013). Education sector was the major area of focus of this program. For that matter £59million were allotted to improve the education sector of Pakistan (Islam, 2017). To maintain the EU-Pakistan trade, £6million were allocated to boost up the trade activities under the NIP (Mahmood, 2017).

The EU still maintained its support for the human rights in Pakistan and to ensure that, £5million was allocated to fight the menace of child labor in Pakistan (Abbasi, 2009). They also allotted a million euros for the drug abuse victims as well (Abbas K. , 2015).

The EU's Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO) has been active in providing aid to the sufferers of natural disasters and the Afghan refugees in Pakistan (Attina, 2014). In 2003, a drought hit Baluchistan, for which £5million were assigned by the ECHO to the victims (Hoebink, 2005). The EU also launched a regional civil aviation project by cooperating with the Asian countries; Pakistan, Cambodia, Bhutan, Nepal, Laos, Thailand and the Philippines (Knack & Rahman, 2004). The project was the joint initiative of EC and the European Association of Aerospace Industries (AECMA) (Anwar, 2007). Under the project, Pakistan received £30million from the European Commission as the forerunner of the project (Ahmad S. S., 2005). The EU also provided funds in association with the Agha Khan foundation for the education development of Northern Areas of Pakistan (Cini & Borrigan, 2009). A livestock development project, initiated and funded by the EU for the period of six years, strengthened the domestic livestock services of Pakistan (Knack & Rahman, 2004). The EU also funded the humanitarian projects in context to the natural disasters in Pakistan.

The 2003 visit of the then foreign minister of Pakistan Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri to Brussels on one hand paved way for the political negotiations between the two partners and on the other hand it brought much anticipated criticism from the EU about the Pakistan's mode of governance (Santiso, 2003). Despite the admittance of foreign minister that Pakistan is making its way to the road of democratic transition, the EU leaders criticized the demeaning democratic reforms in the country. It also showed concerns about Pakistan's political backing of the militants in Kashmir and Afghanistan (Kim & Jones, 2008). The EU was very critical about the role of Pakistan's cross border activities especially in relation to its neighbor India (Noor, 2008). The visit concluded with a lot of disappointment for Pakistan as the two parties

could not reinstate a better relationship. In 2004, a triad of the EU External Relations Commissioner, the foreign ministers of the Ireland and the Netherlands visited Pakistan (CPGS, 2014). The delegation offered to provide financial assistance to solve the Indo-Pak dispute peacefully and was willing to play a role in the negotiations process. It also showed concerns about Pakistan sharing its nuclear technology covertly with the 'axis of evil', Iran, Libya and North Korea (Squassoni, 2006). They also demanded that Pakistan follows the international nuclear safeguards to keep its weapons safe and secure (Ahmad K. M., 2011). After this visit, finally the much due trade and cooperation agreement was ratified by the EP. The EU made it clear to Pakistan that the ratification was withheld because of the human rights and democratic governance mishandlings (Cram, Dinan, & Nugent, 2016).

In the aftermath of the disastrous earthquake in Pakistan in 2005, the EU provided the medical assistance to the victims (Abbasi, 2009). It also established rehabilitation and reconstruction centers in the areas affected. An aid of 98.6 million euros was also given for the purpose of reconstruction of those areas (Jørgensen, 2016). The European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) also provided Pakistan with 400,000 euros to strengthen its human rights condition (Kim & Jones, 2008). This program also enabled Pakistan to work for the promotion of democracy and the civil society by working closely with the NGOs. While engaging in these democratic promoting activities, the EU remained critical of the unconstitutional acts by the then military government of Pakistan (Abbas K. , 2017). They even commented on the exile of Nawaz Sharif in 2007 as illegal and against the rule of court (Jabbar, 2017).

President Pervez Musharraf enforced emergency in the Pakistan in November 2007 which was strongly condemned by the EU leaders (Bulmer & Lequesne, 2012). They passed a resolution against the emergency in the EU Parliament. They also insisted on early elections without imposing any sanctions or cuts in the already promised aid. General Musharraf announced the

general elections amidst this international pressure in February 2008 (Amin, 2009). The European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM) to monitor these elections arrived in Pakistan and showed its displeasure over the arrangements and measures taken to conduct free and fair elections (Cram, Dinan, & Nugent, 2016). The mission issued a report in which the irregularities were highlighted and as a result Pakistan was asked by the EU to take the matter of electoral reforms as one of its main concerns (Agencies, 2019). The organization even offered Pakistan to help in the transition process as it had earlier provided its assistance to some of the member states Spain, Portugal, Greece and Poland who were going through the process of democratic transition (Sattar, 2017). The EU is eager to have trade relations with Pakistan but it is very difficult for it to compromise on the nondemocratic government structure of Pakistan. This can clearly be seen in the Friends of Pakistan forum that was established in 2008 to help Pakistan to consolidate the democratic process and the EU is one of the core members of the forum (Vooren, 2012).

After the 2008 elections in Pakistan, democracy was restored and the EU appreciated it as the High Representative for EU Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana visited Pakistan (Abbasi, 2009). He stated the EU is intending to cooperate with Pakistan in many sectors. He also mentioned that the EU is seeking long time cooperation with Pakistan and is willing to help Pakistan in any democratic activity (Gill, 2012). He also extended his hand to help Pakistan fight the menace of terrorism (Islam, 2011). This visit was the silver lining for the EU and Pakistan long strained relationship. After the visit, Pakistan and the EU arranged the first bilateral summit in June 2009 (Amin, 2009). This summit was important because both sides agreed to establish their strategic and security cooperation along with the ongoing economic one (Islam, 2012). This summit was also an indication that how much support the EU is providing to the civilian government of Pakistan hence signing different agreements on security and trade. In 2009, the European Commission announced \$75 million and 40 million



euros for humanitarian crisis and food security project aid respectively for the conflict ridden areas in Pakistan (Attina, 2014). This project was carried out by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and helped the farmers and agriculturalists to explore better avenues for the production of food (Gereffi & Frederick, 2010).

In 2010, the second EU-Pakistan summit held in Brussels (Abbas K. , 2015). This summit revised the agreements of the first summit and highlighted the need for strong partnership between both the parties for peace and security in the two regions (Gstöhl, 2017). The EU announced a huge humanitarian aid for the 2010 flood victims of Pakistan. Both the sides vowed to strengthen Pakistan's civil and democratic institutions while the EU offered its full support in the process. A five year plan was also signed that will be focusing on reinforcing of the economic, political, security and development network (Brügge, 2014). However, as Pakistan's economy was still under enormous effects because of the war against terrorism, the EU clearly stated that it will take some years for Pakistani products to reach European markets and no further concessions such as tariff free entry were granted to Pakistan in this regard (Jørgensen, 2016).

The EU Foreign Policy Chief Catherine Ashton insisted that the EU must help Pakistan in fighting terrorism and providing trade concessions to the country (Islam, 2012). The UK and Germany were the strong proponents of this suggestion while many Eastern European countries, having their own textile industries, opposed the idea (Bulmer & Lequesne, 2012). They were of the view that this step will make the European domestic market more competitive and will cause problems for the textile industry of these European states (McCormick, 2011). This was one of the reasons that the EU preferred to not grant any enhanced and specific trade benefits and to give the traditional aid to Pakistan (Lundsgaarde, 2012). After a lot of negotiations, only 75 Pakistani products were allowed to reach the

European market (Abbasi, 2009). Moreover Pakistan was given 250 million euros as aid for rehabilitation of the flood victims.

In an effort to build and increase the capacity of the law enforcement agencies in Pakistan 2010, Pakistan and EU signed a memorandum of understanding (Bulmer & Lequesne, 2012). This agreement was designed to assist the National Counter-Terrorism Authority (NACTA) and the provincial police forces (Gillingham, 2016). The five year engagement plan that was finalized in the 2010 Pakistan-EU summit was also recognized by the both sides in 2012 (Heartfield, 2013). Pakistan was conducting many domestic military operations to eradicate terrorism from the EU (Bernaciak, McCormick, & Hyman, 2014). The EU provided 20 million euros for the internally displaced people of Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) in the aftermath of the security operations thus averting a huge humanitarian crisis in Pakistan (Abbas K. , 2017).

The head of EU Foreign and Security Policy Catherine Ashton visited Pakistan in 2012 for the initiation of the strategic interchange and to launch another five years engagement plan between the two countries (Sultana, 2013). This plan was vaster and covered many new dimensions besides the traditional trade, security and governance. Energy sector, education development, poverty eradication, socio-economic development and investment in business were the new domains of interest for the two sides (Gillingham, 2016). The EU also provided aid to the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) as the climate change project to assess the changes in the Swat basin due to Munda dam project of Mohmand Agency located in FATA (Islam, 2014). The total aid provided by the EU to Pakistan in 2012 reached to 70 million euros by the end of the year (Attina, 2014).

In 2013, the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO) made the second biggest aid contribution of €55 million in Pakistan (Ballesteros Peiró, 2015). It amounted the 28% of

the total foreign aid of Pakistan for that year (Bernaciak, McCormick, & Hyman, 2014). The EU sent its EUEOM to monitor the 2013 general elections of Pakistan (Commission, 2019). In 2014, the €45 million aid was allotted by the ECHO to Pakistan as humanitarian aid for the internally displaced people of conflict areas (Abbas K. , 2015). Pakistan and the EU also managed to organize the Strategic Dialogue Meetings in 2013 which has been continued in 2014, 2016 and 2019 (Butt & Siddiqi, 2016).

Pakistan achieved a huge economic and trade concession when it was granted the GSP+ status in December 2013 by the EU (Agencies, 2019). Under the status Pakistan is enabled to reach the European markets with zero tariff rates (Brügge, 2014). Also the Pakistani products entering the European market will be on 75% preferential rate thus increasing the trade surplus of Pakistan with the EU. Due to the GSP+ status, 20% increase in Pakistan's exports to the EU was seen (Khan, 2017). To receive the benefits of this status, the EU made Pakistan to commit to the 27 international conventions that includes the human and labor rights, governance and environment protection (Abbas K. , 2017). To renew the status every two years, Pakistan must have to fulfill all the commitments listed above otherwise it can lose the GSP+ status (Commission, 2019). Pakistan enjoyed the GSP+ status in 2015 to its fullest. Textile exports of Pakistan to the EU reached up to \$2,057.2 million in 2015 and \$2,355.5 million in 2016 as compared to \$1,569.2 million in 2013 (Pakistan, 2017). The trade flow to the EU was increased from 21.5% in 2014 to 33.7% in 2015 (Pakistan A. P., 2017).

The EU has also decided to increase the development and cooperation funds of Pakistan especially in the areas of governance, education, human rights and law and order for the year 2014-2020 (Abbas K. , 2015). The EU Election Observation Mission to Pakistan was also present at 2018 general elections of Pakistan. The continuous presence of the EU Election Observation Mission in the elections of Pakistan is a proof of the dedication that the EU has, to peacefully restore the democratic transition of the governments in Pakistan (Agencies,

2019). A strategic dialogue was held in March 2019 in Islamabad between the two parties (NNI, 2019). This dialogue paved way for the Strategic Engagement Plan of 2019 held in Brussels, that encompasses a whole lot of areas of corporation (Commission, 2019). New dimensions of corporation such as cyber security, migrant issues, corruption, peace and prosperity, sustainable development, culture, energy, education and anti-money laundering activities were also discussed in this strategic plan (Agencies, 2019). This plan is a long term resolve that will help boosting the relationship of the EU and Pakistan.

Since the revival of democracy in 2008 in Pakistan, both Pakistan and the EU have been cooperating with each other in many areas (Amin, 2009). Trade and strategic relationship are the two most important areas where the states have been exploring their mutual capabilities the most. Pakistan regards the EU as its most important trade partner. 22% of the total exports and 18% of the entire imports of Pakistan are directed from the EU (Agencies, 2019). The imports from the EU to Pakistan mostly consist of the machinery (50%) and the pharmaceutical goods (16%) (Commission, 2019). It also includes the mechanical, electrical and the chemical products. Meanwhile, Pakistan has majorly been exporting its textile goods (44%), clothing (36%) and leather items (15%) to the EU (Commission, 2019). In 2018, the volume of trade between the two trade partners reached up to US\$20 billion (Kocijancic, 2019). To deal with the issues of the two way trade and individual market access, the EU and Pakistan with the backings of the EU-Pakistan Joint Commission, has set up a sub-group (Malik, 2018). The target of the business community of Pakistan is to strengthen the trade relationship with the EU as well as the major members of the organization such as United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and Spain (NNI, 2019). Pakistan's lobbying efforts are often being reported in Belgium that is the headquarters of the EU and the hub of the policy making (Abbas K. , 2015). Pakistan-EU Free Trade Agreement has also been established by those fruitful lobbying efforts of Pakistan in Belgium and Italy (Pakistan A. P., 2017).

Along with the trade relation, Pakistan has also strived to maintain a strategic relationship with the EU especially with the states like the UK and France (Abbas, 2015). Both these European states are the permanent members of the Security Council as well having the veto power (Iqbal, 1974). The United Kingdom is assisting Pakistan in its fight against terrorism by providing support in strengthening the internal law enforcement agencies of Pakistan (Bulmer & Lequesne, 2012). Similarly, France is helping Pakistan in building its military capability especially the navy and the air force (Agencies, 2019). France also supplies military equipment to Pakistan and is adamant about Pakistan's active role in the war against terrorism.

In the recent years, the EU has been showing enormous interest in the Asian continent. This interest is not specific merely to support USA's policy in the region but to form bilateral relationship of their own with the Asian countries (Agencies, 2019). Remorsefully, the relation between the EU and Pakistan could not take off as it should have been. Pakistan was not in the position to follow up with the demands that the EU required for its partner states to have fulfilled. However, recently both sides are slowly, but surely deepening the matter of their conversation. The EU is transforming from a soft power having the economic goals only to the strategic power that is concerned with the security situation of the world (Attina, 2014). In this transformation, a weakened Pakistan is a threat to the EU as well. It is presumed that the EU has been looking into the security of Pakistan from the Afghanistan prism (Ballesteros Peiró, 2015). Instability in the South Asia can have a direct inflicted on the trade and economic activity of the EU. Also, the EU wants to show its reliability as the security actor by putting its effort in stabilizing Pakistan (Jones & Menon, 2012). This will also help the organization to come out of the soft power image that it has in the world. This way, the EU will be able to exercise its influence in the Asian continent in the form of trade, aid, and governance (Gill, 2012). Although the US will remain the crucial strategic partner of Pakistan

yet Pakistan wants to have a deep and wide relationship with Europe so that the area of its interests can reach far beyond the USA (Islam, 2014). It could be the global uncertainties that the countries are facing in managing their relationships or the EUs' urge to widened its scope because of Brexit, it is safe to say the EU and Pakistan are finally coming closer and are starting a dialogue on the shared international complications.

## **CHAPTER 5: PAKISTAN'S LOBBYING EFFORTS IN THE EU**

Pakistan has been managing its external relations with the three most distinct external political actors, the US, the United Kingdom (UK) and China (Kishore, 2017). Pakistan shares a strong relationship with the UK because of the shared colonial history which has been translated into a huge and strong Pakistani diaspora of two million in the UK (Shah, 2019). Pakistan has been improving its relationship with the rest of the EU states since the restoration of democracy in Pakistan in 2008 (Abbasi, 2009). The strained relationship between Pakistan and its strategic partner, the US, provided an opportunity for the EU to play an active role in the consolidation of the delicate democratic institutions of Pakistan (Chappell, 2009). The EU is effectively playing its role in the developing countries like Pakistan, in the promotion of sustainable development and the human rights (Jayasinghe, 2015).

Over the period of time, Pakistan and the EU established their partnership in diverse areas such as trade, business, strategic, cultural, academic and development (Schmitz, 2016). Among these, the three areas identified in this research are trade, strategic and academic fields of cooperation between Pakistan and the EU on the basis of their importance in the bilateral relationship and the indispensability of the two political units. This chapter aims to present the data gathered from the elite interviews in the areas of trade, strategic partnership and academic cooperation of Pakistan and the EU. It will also assess the role played by the Pakistan's lobby in creating meaningful partnership and agreements with the EU in the described areas.

### **5.1 Role of Pakistani Lobby in Trade Relations**

Lobbying is an important tool for turning an economic policy into one's favor (McQueen, 2007). Pakistan has been employing its economic lobby in the EU as the economic

partnership between the two is the baseline of their relationship.<sup>1</sup> The EU has been the largest export partner of Pakistan while Pakistan holds the position of the third largest import partner of Brussels (Wolf S. O., 2019)

### **5.1.1 Successes**

Pakistan was able to secure the Generalized Scheme of Preference (GSP) + status in 2014 from the EU, is one of the biggest successes of Pakistan's lobbying efforts.<sup>2</sup> The GSP+ is a preferential status given by the EU to the developing states so that they can access the European markets at zero duty on 90-95% tariff line of the EU global imports (Shirazi, 2018). The background of the GSP+ status indicates that the basic driver of GSP+ scheme was to accommodate Pakistan.<sup>3</sup>

In 2007, India was negotiating the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the EU (Khorana & Perdakis, 2010). The impact assessment report of this FTA issued by the University of Sussex stated that neighboring countries of India, especially Pakistan, will be adversely impacted by this agreement (Evans, Holmes, Gasiorek, Rollo, & Robinson, 2007). The EU was not looking to disturb the balance of trade in the South Asian region (Bartels, 2007). The mitigation strategy of the internal assessment report stated that FTA is not feasible with Pakistan as Pakistan is a small market and the EU will not be gaining a lot from this agreement with Pakistan (Kawai & Wignaraja, 2009). Instead of exhausting the resources on something that is insignificant in terms of trade for the EU economy, it decided to grant a unilateral concession to Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> This is the basic driving force behind GSP+ status around which the entire scheme was built (Wolf S. , 2016).

The EU decided to not make it Pakistan specific only, rather it was open to other developing countries as well (Beiter, 2017). The EU envisioned that the countries getting unilateral

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<sup>1</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry employee , June 2019

<sup>2</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce secretary , May 2019

<sup>3</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry employee , June 2019

<sup>4</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani bureaucrat , April 2019



benefit of the market access to the EU should in return negotiate the social and human rights of theirs and improve them (Stok-Wodkowska, 2014). Thus, GSP+ is an incentive to improve the human rights situation in the developing countries rather than giving it without any conditions (Gunatilleke, 2016). To incorporate this clause in the scheme, the EU introduced the 27 core conventions in the fields of social rights, labor rights, women rights, environmental protection and narcotics to be fulfilled for the continuation of the GSP+ status (Marx, 2018). Pakistan put extensive lobbying efforts throughout the process as the EU FTA with India was posing adverse trade implications for Pakistan (Awan, Sarwar, & Siddique, 2015).

The GSP+ status obtained in 2014 enabled Pakistan to increase its trade with the EU by 2 billion dollars in the first 2 years.<sup>5</sup> The statistical data shows that Pakistan has significantly increased its imports and exports with the EU after the acquisition of the GSP+ status (Fatima, 2018). The exports of Pakistan to the EU were of 4.538 billion euros in 2013 and they increased to 6.68 billion euros in 2017 because of the zero tariff duty (Forum, 2018). Pakistan was importing the goods of 3.84 billion euros in 2013 from the EU and it increased to 6.14 billion euros in 2017 (Fatima, 2018). The total trade that Pakistan conducts with the EU is of 12.82 billion euros with the trade surplus of 1.1 billion euros.<sup>6</sup> This balance of trade is in the favor of Pakistan.

Pakistan was able to secure the GSP+ status in 2014 with its lobbying efforts but this status renews after every 2 years on the condition that all the 27 conventions are implemented in the country.<sup>7</sup> European Review Commission (ERC) visits Pakistan to observe the implementation of the 27 conventions and decides if the GSP+ status is to be continued or not (Czermińska, 2018). For this review process, continuous lobbying by the provincial and federal

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<sup>5</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry employee , May 2019

<sup>6</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry secretary of the European division, June 2019

<sup>7</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce secretary , May 2019

departments of the government is done.<sup>8</sup> The ERC had its first review in 2016 for the renewal of the status (Khan & Ashfaq, 2018). The review was made successful by the extensive lobbying efforts of Pakistan, despite of the fact that Pakistan was not able to implement all 27 conventions (Malik, How can Pakistan Fully Exploit its GSP Plus Status?, 2017). The second review was done in 2018 by the ERC and it also stood as a successful review and Pakistan maintained the GSP+ status (Majeed, Haq, Ishaq, Iqbal, & Ullah, 2019).

The next review of the GSP + status is scheduled for the year 2020 (Shirazi, 2018). Extensive efforts are being made by the commerce ministry of Pakistan for the success of this review.<sup>9</sup> A Treaty Implementation Cell (TIC) has been made by the Prime Minister of Pakistan to ensure that all the 27 conventions are implemented.<sup>10</sup> TIC is headed by the Attorney General of Pakistan (AGP) Anwar Mansoor Khan and it is under the direct supervision of Ministry of commerce secretariat Pakistan.<sup>11</sup> The federal and provincial governments of Pakistan coordinate with the TIC to identify the weak areas and ensure the implementation of the 27 conventions (Nawaz, 2019).

The ERC had an initial visit of Pakistan in January 2019 (Majeed, Haq, Ishaq, Iqbal, & Ullah, 2019). The commission identified 10 weak areas where they had their concerns regarding the human rights clauses.<sup>12</sup> AGP ensures the frequent visits of these weak areas for the rectification of the weaknesses (Wolf S. O., 2019). In June 2019, an initial report was presented to the ERC in guidance of AGP.<sup>13</sup> More efforts are being made in this regard so that Pakistan gets the renewal of the GSP+ status in 2020.<sup>14</sup> A special trade minister of

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<sup>8</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce secretary , May 2019

<sup>9</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani bureaucrat , April 2019

<sup>10</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry secretary of the European division, June 2019

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce secretary , May 2019

<sup>13</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry secretary of the European division, June 2019

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Pakistan in Brussels has been hired to lobby for this particular cause.<sup>15</sup> The lobbyists work in the EU Council and the EU Parliament in favor of Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> As Pakistan is still unable to implement the 27 conventions in their full state, so Pakistan has to lobby the economic secretaries, ministers and parliamentarians of the EU in its favor.<sup>17</sup>

Formal finalization of the Brexit will also pose challenges in the economic relationship between the EU and Pakistan.<sup>18</sup> The UK is the biggest trading partner of Pakistan in the EU (Khan M. M., 2019). Also Pakistan has immense support from the UK because of the presence of the sizable critical mass of the Pakistani diaspora (Khan U. E., 2018). Brexit will have critical economic and political implications for Pakistan because if the UK is out of question, Pakistan will lose a magnificent support in the EU (Hussain, 2019). Pakistan has an influence in the UK political sphere as many British Pakistanis are in the parliament of UK (Council, 2018). They hold offices of the state ministers and mayors (Khalid, 2018). These influential Pakistani origin politicians are easy to reach during the lobbying activity.<sup>19</sup> Pakistan carried out a successful economic lobbying effort in Britain as the UK will continue giving the bilateral GSP+ status to Pakistan even after Brexit on the condition that Pakistan maintains the 27 conventions.<sup>20</sup> This step will help Pakistan to initiate negotiations regarding the FTA as it will boost its bilateral trade with the UK after the Brexit as well (Munawar & Haroon, 2018).

Pakistan succeeded to pass off the danger of being in the economic blacklist by the EU after being the grey list of FATF in 2018 (Times, 2018). The UK was the biggest supporter of Pakistan in this fight and eventually, after lobbying the economic sectors of the EU, Pakistan successfully escaped the danger of being blacklisted by the EU (Siddiqui, 2019). This

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<sup>15</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry employee , May 2019

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani bureaucrat , April 2019

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce secretary , May 2019

<sup>20</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani bureaucrat , April 2019

blacklisting could have caused a huge economic recession in Pakistan (Adnan, 2019). The trade sector, especially the textile industry could have faced a big blow by its top trading partner (Nawaz, 2019).

Pakistan government is also working to maintain the trade relations with the European countries in addition to the UK (Jajja, 2018). Pakistan has the highest trade ration with Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Sweden.<sup>21</sup> After Britain, Pakistan is putting much effort in Germany as many factors contribute in making Germany as the next big bet for Pakistan in the EU.<sup>22</sup>

### **5.1.2 Failures**

States carry out their lobbying activities by two means; the institutions and the foreign diaspora (Newland, 2010). Pakistan has been trying to make efforts in the economic sector especially with the EU but somehow the efforts are going directionless because the two units of lobbying are not aligned with each other.<sup>23</sup> The Pakistani diaspora is not actively involved in the lobbying process of Pakistan; rather the Government of Pakistan is making efforts on its own.<sup>24</sup>

Pakistan has one of the largest diaspora in the EU that is involved in the trade and business sector (Karla, 2012). This significant presence of diaspora can pave path for Pakistan to have access in the European business along with the markets (Samad, 2014). The diaspora can also help Pakistan to lobby for its cause in the European economic sectors and bring investment in Pakistan for the future business ventures, but it has failed to do so.<sup>25</sup> Pakistan has failed to establish a network to bring its diaspora in Europe to a platform where they can be beneficial

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<sup>21</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani bureaucrat , April 2019

<sup>22</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistan commerce secretary , May 2019

<sup>23</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistan commerce and textile industry ministry employee, April 2019

<sup>24</sup> Personal interview with an overseas Pakistanis and human resource development ministry employee, June 2019

<sup>25</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry secretary of the European division, June 2019

for Pakistan and its trade sector.<sup>26</sup> This failure of the trade policy is making Pakistan neglect its diaspora, which can be a very important tool for the fulfilment of its economic interests abroad.<sup>27</sup>

Pakistan also failed to sustain the countries that were willing to invest in Pakistan. Germany showed interest in investing in the various industries of Pakistan in 2018 (Memon, 2019). France too, showed willingness to invest in the automobile sector in Pakistan (Bhatti, 2019). Numerous other EU countries showed their interest in investing in various fields in Pakistan but it remained a huge failure at Pakistan's part that it could not grab the offer and get the opportunities (Mahmood, 2019). These offers were just an effort away.<sup>28</sup> A little urging and lobbying could have attracted more investment than the already interested one.<sup>29</sup> However, the lack of serious efforts of Pakistan in the field of economic lobbying let the country lose some big investment plans and closed the doors for the future investors (Adnan, 2019).

### **5.1.3 Challenges**

While Pakistan was able to achieve some successes in its lobbying efforts in the trade sector in the EU, it still faces a lot of challenges that pose as an obstruction in the way of a better economic relationship (Malik, 2019). The first and the foremost challenge that Pakistan will be facing in the near future is the Britain's exit from the European Union. Pakistan will lose a big support of the UK in the European Union after Brexit (Adnan, 2019). Pakistan origin British parliamentarians also fear that Pakistan might not be able to secure the GSP+ status in the future without the continuous support from the UK (Khan M. Z., 2019). Pakistan has to put rigorous bilateral lobbying efforts in the European countries to get the support needed for

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<sup>26</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry employee , May 2019

<sup>27</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani foreign affairs ministry employee, June 2019

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry employee , May 2019

the renewal of the GSP+ status.<sup>30</sup> The European countries especially France, Germany and Italy are having reservation with the implementation of the 27 conventions in Pakistan (Hanif, 2018). They may raise a point on the human right concerns that Europe has in Pakistan. To overcome this obstacle, it is important for Pakistan to employ its best offices in the EU so that they may lobby for the trade interest of Pakistan.

Another challenge that Pakistan faces while managing its trade lobbying activities in the EU is the imperfections of the foreign policy.<sup>31</sup> Pakistan has unable to define a clear trade and economic foreign policy goal.<sup>32</sup> The foreign policy is practiced as an ad-hoc activity.<sup>33</sup> No preemptive affords are made by Pakistan to tackle even the foreseeable circumstances.<sup>34</sup> Thus, until Pakistan gets ready to face a challenge, the competing parties have already established their base in the area, making it difficult for Pakistan to lobby with the already committed regions.

Pakistan's economic activity in the EU is facing another challenge in the form of Gravity Model of Trade (Gul & Yasin, 2011). It states that bilateral trade gravitates between the neighbors and the regional partners (Mohmand, Salman, Mughal, Imran, & Makarevic, 2015). Trade is directly proportional to the economic size and inversely proportional to the distance between the states (Akhter & Ghani, 2010). Thus, to have an effective trade relationship, it is better to have trade between the neighbors and regional countries rather than going overboard (Yotov, Piermartini, Monteiro, & Larch, 2014).

This model is based on the three main clauses:<sup>35</sup>

1. Cost of transportation is lesser in neighboring states.

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<sup>30</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry employee , June 2019

<sup>31</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistan finance, revenue and economic affairs ministry employee , April 2019

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan foreign office secretary, May 2019

<sup>34</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan state and frontier region ministry secretary, May 2019

<sup>35</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry secretary of the European division, June 2019

2. Consumption patterns are cultural and integrated between the neighboring states because of the cross border flow of the culture.
3. Comfort level is maintained between the neighbors because of the cultural affinity and sometimes identical language.

According to the gravity model of trade, states tend not to spread their tentacles all across the globe without exploring their neighboring countries (Metulini, Patuelli, & Griffith, 2018). Pakistan is facing a dilemma because it does not maintain very cordial relations with its Eastern and Western neighbors.<sup>36</sup> So, Pakistan has to explore other avenues without exhausting the closer ones.<sup>37</sup> But, as the gravity model of trade suggests that trade is not much favorable in terms of cost in distant countries, no matter how much efforts Pakistan put in its trade relations with the EU, it will always be having a disadvantage of the distance and different cultural and consumption patterns (Chaney, 2018).

Pakistan has been putting efforts to strengthen the trade relation with the EU but some external issues, domestic policy making and internal structures do not allow the country to fully explore this partnership.<sup>38</sup>

## **5.2 Role of Pakistani Lobby in Strategic Relations**

The EU's sole interest in strategic cooperation with Pakistan is based on strengthening Pakistan's counter-terrorism abilities so that the internal law enforcement structures of Pakistan can be strengthened (Mukherjee, 2018). It also focuses on the internal deterioration of the security situation of Pakistan.<sup>39</sup> The EU emphasizes on the importance of regional peace and stability of Pakistan (Galland & Thomson, 2018). Its main concern was the Afghanistan issue and the situation prevailing because of this in Pakistan as Pakistan has been

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<sup>36</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan foreign office secretary, May 2019

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistan interior ministry employee, June 2019

<sup>39</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani law and justice ministry employee , May 2019

a key player in the regional security and stability of South Asia (Commission, 2019). Pakistan has been the biggest host for the millions of the Afghan refugees through the years (Ali, Sabir, & Muhammad, 2019). The EU appreciates Pakistan's efforts in the process and always supports the country in the repatriation of the Afghan refugees (Reslow, 2019). Pakistan has been able to grasp the EU attention towards the bilateral strategic partnership because of the European interest in the Afghanistan issue (Ahmed, 2018). Pakistan has been identified as the regional strategic partner of the EU.<sup>40</sup> They both hold annual strategic dialogues on many issues like the regional security and stability, defense cooperation, counter terrorism programs, nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament.<sup>41</sup> These well-established security ties between the two actors are embedded in the five-year engagement plan of 2012 (Basrur & Kutty, 2018).

### **5.2.1 Successes**

Pakistan has been able to expand its trade relationship with the EU into a more dynamic relationship that includes the strategic paradigms as well (Singh, 2018). The first success of Pakistan-EU strategic relationship was the initial bilateral summits of 2009 and 2010 held in Brussels, when Pakistan had recently established a democratic government after years of dictatorship (Qadri & Qadri, 2016). These summits paved the way for the five year engagement plan of 2012-2017.<sup>42</sup> This plan was concluded after the indefatigable efforts from Pakistan's defense and strategic sector.<sup>43</sup> The political and strategic leadership was directly involved in the lobby process as Pakistan was facing international strategic isolation because of the dictator rule for a long period in the country.<sup>44</sup> The internal security situation of Pakistan was also fragile so a strong international support was the need of time (Chaban & Holland, 2018). The EU was concerned of the regional security and stability, so it was the

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<sup>40</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani defense ministry secretary of the European division, April 2019

<sup>41</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan foreign office secretary, May 2019

<sup>42</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan defense production ministry secretary, April 2019

<sup>43</sup> Personal Interview with a senior European delegation employee to Pakistan, June 2019

<sup>44</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan foreign office secretary, June 2019



right time for both the parties to align strategically, which Pakistan successfully managed to do.<sup>45</sup>

The five year engagement plan addressed the issues like trade, political cooperation, promotion of human rights and governance, infusion of democratic norms in the Pakistani society and sectoral cooperation on matters like energy, culture and information sharing (Rubab, 2019). It was most effective in the strategic and security domain where it ensured the European cooperation in the field of peace, security, counter narcotics, and fight against organized crime and to counter terrorism.<sup>46</sup> Annual bilateral meetings to review the progress were the key point of the engagement plan (Ballesteros Peiró, 2015). It opened the door of bilateral cooperation between Pakistan and EU by providing an annual platform for the leaders of both sides to interact and communicate their concerns with each other (Pan & Michalski, 2019).

The five years engagement plan remained fruitful for Pakistan, as it brought the country into the international arena in the light of its stance on the regional peace, security and stability.<sup>47</sup> It was important for Pakistan to stay connected with the EU so that they future peace efforts of Pakistan may get an international validation.<sup>48</sup> The annual two-sided interaction turned as the corner stone in paving way for the new talks of the cooperation agreement between Pakistan and the EU after the end of the five year engagement plan in 2017 (Russell, 2018). The talks for the new engagement plan began in the early 2018.<sup>49</sup> It was anticipated that this new plan will further deepen the relationship between Pakistan and the EU (Stanzel, 2018).

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<sup>45</sup> Personal Interview with a senior European delegation employee to Pakistan, June 2019

<sup>46</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan narcotics control ministry secretary, April 2019

<sup>47</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan foreign affairs ministry secretary, May 2019

<sup>48</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan defense ministry secretary, June 2019

<sup>49</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan foreign affairs ministry employee, April 2019

The Pakistani officials had to overcome many obstacles to ensure the EU that Pakistan has been in compliance with the UN human rights conventions.<sup>50</sup>

Pakistan signed the new Strategic Engagement Plan (SEP) with the EU in June 2019 in Brussels.<sup>51</sup> SEP was based on the foundations laid by the Cooperation Agreement of 2004, Joint summits of 2009 and 2010 and the five years engagement plan 2007-2012.<sup>52</sup> SEP was applauded by the European and Pakistani government officials as it will boost the cooperation between the two units and will lay down foundation for the bright future cooperation (Ansari, 2019). SEP aimed to address the issues on trade, investment, sustainable development, education, migrant issues, energy, cyber security and money laundering.<sup>53</sup> It is also based on the principles of mutual understanding of regional peace and security framework.<sup>54</sup>

One of the most important clauses of the SEP is the inclusion of all the concerned actors in the regional prosperity, security and peace process.<sup>55</sup> Cooperation in the sectors of disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation was strengthened in the SEP.<sup>56</sup> SEP also discusses to reinforce the mutual capabilities for regional security and crisis management by holding regular security and defense dialogues (Agencies, 2019). These dialogues will ensure the flow of information which will help in the prevention and resolution of the future conflicts.<sup>57</sup> Pakistan will also be facilitated in the border control management by the EU, according to the SEP (Recorder, 2019).

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<sup>50</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan human rights ministry secretary, April 2019

<sup>51</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan foreign affairs ministry secretary, July 2019

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan energy ministry secretary, May 2019

<sup>54</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistan defense ministry secretary of the European division, May 2019

<sup>55</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani cabinet committee of national security member, June 2019

<sup>56</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani atomic energy commission employee, June 2019

<sup>57</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani national security council member, June 2019

An important feature of the SEP is to implement the UNSC Resolutions by the agreed mutual framework on peace, violence against women and human security.<sup>58</sup> The SEP also tends to explore the different avenues of mutual assistance to counter the violent extremism in Pakistan (Reporter, 2019). After being in the FATF grey list, Pakistan has been working hard by taking solid actions to prevent this in the future (Malik, 2019). The EU has applauded this action by Pakistan in the SEP by providing cooperation and assistance in the matters of FATF and the Global Counter Terrorism Strategy (GCTS).<sup>59</sup>

### **5.2.2 Failures**

While Pakistan was able to bag some strategic engagement plans with the EU, the practical implementation of these plans seems negligible (Rana, 2018). Despite having the five years engagement plan with the EU, Pakistan was placed on the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), an international watchdog on Anti-Money Laundering (AML) and Combating Financing Terror (CFT), in June 2018 because of the ineffective strategies in terror financing regime which led to the money laundering.<sup>60</sup> An international monitoring body International Cooperation Review Group (ICRG) presented a report on the weak areas of Pakistan's anti-money laundering laws (Karim & Hayat, 2019). The agenda of putting Pakistan into the grey list was brought into motion by the US and three very important European states; the UK, France and Germany (Jamal, 2019). Pakistan needed support from the member countries to vote in its favor to avoid being on the grey list, in which Pakistan failed.<sup>61</sup> No European country voted in favor of Pakistan thus putting Pakistan on the FATF grey list (Mohan, 2019).

This whole motion came out as the biggest diplomatic failure of Pakistan where Pakistan could not lobby more than three states in its favor (Ameer, 2019). Earlier, in 2012, Pakistan

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<sup>58</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani human rights ministry secretary, June 2019

<sup>59</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani national security council member, June 2019

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani foreign ministry employee, May 2019

was initially put on the FATF grey list but it was able to get itself out of the list in 2015 after launching an aggressive lobbying campaign by assuring FATF that Pakistan has been doing enough to avoid the money laundering for the terrorism financing activities.<sup>62</sup> Pakistan faced a loss of \$10 billion yearly by being in the FATF grey list (Kiani, 2019). In the recent development, Pakistan was able to narrowly escape the FATF list in June 2019 by lobbying China, Turkey, and Malaysia in its favor (Karim & Hayat, 2019). But Pakistan is still facing the danger of being blacklisted by Asia-Pacific Group (APG), the regional subgroup of FATF.<sup>63</sup>

Another very important failure in Pakistan's lobby is to not get the regional security threats acknowledged internationally especially by the European community.<sup>64</sup> The Indian desire to be the regional hegemon has disturbed the balance of South Asia.<sup>65</sup> Pakistan's stance on the development of nuclear weapons is to maintain the regional balance of power but it was misunderstood as the aggressor state. Pakistan could have lobbied the European countries over its nuclear status under the strategic engagement plans but it failed to get its nuclear weapons legitimized despite of the constant threat of nuclear development from the neighboring country India.

Despite being the victim of terrorism for more than a decade, Pakistan is still unable to clear its position on terrorism and extremism (Islam, 2016). Pakistan has been called out as the Islamist state many times, but Pakistan could not effectively counter these arguments with the ground realities that Pakistan has suffered from terrorism the most (Haqqani, 2018). An organized and coordinated lobby could have worked for the international image building of Pakistan but no concrete measures were taken in this regard, whereas, the Indian lobby has

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<sup>62</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani finance, revenue and economic affairs ministry employee , April 2019

<sup>63</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani securities and exchange commission secretary, June 2019

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani atomic energy commission employee, June 2019

been actively working against Pakistan and is determined for the diplomatic isolation of Pakistan on the international level (Kirk, 2008). Pakistan has not realized the magnitude of threat this has been posing to its reputation and is failed to securitize this magnificent attack on its international image (Sheikh, 2018). Thus, being a weak voice in the international arena, Pakistan has been unable to draw the international attention towards the Kashmir conflict as well.<sup>66</sup>

### **5.2.3 Challenges**

Pakistan's security paradigm has been fragile throughout its history so the foreign alignments were always made on the basis of its security concerns.<sup>67</sup> While Pakistan was able to conclude the strategic engagement plan with the EU, it faced many challenges in its way. These challenges also played an important role in the weak lobbying of Pakistan in the aforementioned failures (Khan, Jaspal, & Yasmeen, 2017). The foremost obstacle that Pakistan has to face is its historic political and security partnership with the US as Pakistan does not have many strategic partners to look forward to.<sup>68</sup> Being aligned with a powerful state can give you the most security, so Pakistan had to bear the ups and downs of its relationship with the US so that the security equilibrium does not get disturbed.<sup>69</sup> This constant fear of having a stable security assurance did not let Pakistan to leave the US even in the worst of the situations (Islam, 2009). Pakistan put all of its efforts in keeping up with its relationship with the US, thus no significant strategic efforts of Pakistan can be seen to maintain a relationship with other political entities (Baabar & Alvi, 2019). Most of the EU countries are embedded into the security framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) along with the US (Savin, 2019). The rise and fall of Pakistan-US relations translates the nature of

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<sup>66</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani Kashmir affairs and Gilgit-Baltistan ministry secretary, April 2019

<sup>67</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani foreign affairs ministry secretary, June 2019

<sup>68</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani defense production ministry employee, April 2019

<sup>69</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani defense production ministry employee, April 2019

Pakistan-NATO relations thus making Pakistan dependent on the US for its better relations with NATO (Islam, 2010).

Another challenge that Pakistan is facing while establishing a strong lobby in the EU is the security threats because of the instability in Afghanistan.<sup>70</sup> The EU has been long looking at the security situation of Pakistan through the lens of Afghanistan (Kaldor, Rangelov, & Selchow, 2018). Pakistan, for a long period, was unable to get the individual attention that it needed irrespective of the Afghanistan issue.<sup>71</sup> The EU was having the security concerns in Pakistan over Afghanistan or the extremist groups allegedly based in Pakistan.<sup>72</sup> Active Indian lobby in the Europe also played an important role in making Pakistan's position irrelevant as an independent sole actor (Jain & Sachdeva, 2019). Pakistan, on one hand has to lobby for its own cause in the EU, and on the other hand it has to anti-lobby the Indian activities in the European parliaments against Pakistan (Sharma, 2017). Pakistan needs a strong strategic position in the EU that can only be achieved by identifying the relevant countries and propagate the Pakistani cause to them through an active and intensive lobby.<sup>73</sup>

### **5.3 Role of Pakistani Lobby in Academic Relations**

Education and development sector of Pakistan has been under the special consideration of the EU funding projects.<sup>74</sup> The EU has launched many development and educational projects in Pakistan (Paramati, Apergis, & Ummalla, 2017). The main focus is to provide funds for the establishment of institutions so that the country may benefit from them in improving its developmental status.<sup>75</sup> This academic cooperation dates back in 1960, when a renowned Institute of Physics (IoP) was established in the then University of Islamabad, currently

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<sup>70</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani defense ministry secretary, April 2019

<sup>71</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani foreign affairs ministry secretary, April 2019

<sup>72</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani defense ministry secretary, May 2019

<sup>73</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani defense production ministry secretary, June 2019

<sup>74</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani defense production ministry employee, April 2019

<sup>75</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani higher education commission employee, June 2019

Quaid-e-Azam university, with the German cooperation (Islam, 2009). Many German scientists also worked with the Pakistan's physicists for the promotion of Physics in Pakistan.<sup>76</sup> Germany also remained resourceful in providing support in achieving the observant status for Pakistan in the Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire (CERN), a nuclear research organization of Europe (Schaeffer, 2016).

### **5.3.1 Successes**

Since the 5 year plan of 2012, Pakistani academicians have been trying to explore the European land specifically for the educational research purposes.<sup>77</sup> Pakistani students approach the European universities for their higher education because of numerous facilities provided by the European education system (Robertson, Dale, & Azevedo, 2016). Pakistan put extensive lobbying efforts while being an observant member of CERN and finally in 2014, Pakistan got the status of associate member of CERN.<sup>78</sup> This helped Pakistan to carry out thorough research for using nuclear technology for the peaceful purposes (Schaeffer, 2016). It also helped Pakistan to pave its way to access the software toolkit of GEANT developed by the CERN (Waldner, 2015). The GEANT network is the research platform that connected the researcher of Pakistan with 100 million researchers across Europe and Asia (Shafique & Mehmood, 2012). The project was specifically funded by the Trans-Eurasia Information Network (TEIN) to facilitate Pakistan and to develop its research capability in the field of astronomy, radiology, climate change and biotechnology (Vicinanza, 2016).

The Pakistani student diaspora in Europe is actively taking part in guiding the students back home in the process to achieve a place in the academic exchange programs or the degree

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<sup>76</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistan institute of nuclear science and technology employee, June 2019

<sup>77</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani higher education commission secretary for international programs, May 2019

<sup>78</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani atomic energy commission employee, June 2019

programs.<sup>79</sup> Various scholarship forums have been working to lobby for their fellow researchers and students in the labs in Europe for their smooth entry.<sup>80</sup> One of the biggest scholarship programs is the Erasmus+ program, for which hundreds of students from Pakistan apply to the various programs offered (Stanzel, 2018). Pakistani students, who have already achieved the Erasmus+ scholarship, are now helping to connect their fellow Pakistani students to the professors abroad thus reducing the communication gap between them.<sup>81</sup> Every year, the number of Erasmus+ scholarship holders from Pakistan is immensely increasing and the Pakistani student diaspora has been playing a strong role in this.<sup>82</sup> These efforts provided 7700 European visas for the Pakistani students in 2017 which is increasing by 20% every year.<sup>83</sup> This brings Pakistan among the top ten countries that are getting benefits from the Erasmus+ scholarship and exchange programs.<sup>84</sup>

Pakistan was also able to secure its position in the Horizon – 2020 research and innovation program of the EU.<sup>85</sup> This biggest research and innovation program is funded by 80 Billion EUR for the years 2014-2020.<sup>86</sup> Pakistan was able to promote its joint research and scientific projects in collaboration with the European science and technology partners through the Horizon – 2020.<sup>87</sup>

Pakistan was also able to sign the EU – Pakistan Multi-Annual Indicative Program (MIP) 2014-2020 through its academic and developmental lobby active in the EU.<sup>88</sup> The goal of MIP is to facilitate Pakistan in achieving its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), to

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<sup>79</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani higher education commission secretary for international programs, May 2019

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani higher education commission employee, June 2019

<sup>83</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani overseas employment ministry employee, May 2019

<sup>84</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani statistics ministry employee, June 2019

<sup>85</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani higher education commission secretary for international programs, May 2019

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani ministry of science and technology employee, June 2019

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.



fasten up the pace of human development and to improve the quality of its academic sector (Shah, Iraqi, & Barrech, 2019). The SEP signed between the EU and Pakistan in 2019 also opened up many opportunities for Pakistani students in EU countries (Nawaz, 2019). It intends to decrease the gap between the academia and the relevant industries by providing the links and platform to the students (Schmitz, 2016).

### **5.3.2 Failures**

Pakistan has been able to get access of different European academic programs but it has not been able to actively mobilize its academic lobby in the EU (Tarar, 2017). The biggest asset of this academic lobby is the Pakistani student diaspora that has been in the EU for quiet long (Hoodbhoy, 2018). They have connections and links in the academic areas of the EU, thus they can be used to affectively bring about more opportunities for the Pakistani students which Pakistan has been unsuccessful in doing.<sup>89</sup> Lack of an organized structure, that forms a link between the Pakistani diaspora in the EU and the institutions involved in the academic activities back home, is missing (Rehman & Khan, 2018).

There has been a huge gap in the national and international coordination in the academic sphere of Pakistan. Instead of utilizing our significant huge academic diaspora in the EU, Pakistan hire foreign lobby groups to protect our national interest at different forums is one of the biggest failures of the academic area of Pakistan (Naveed & Suleri, 2019). While these foreign based research and academic lobbies get their funding from many sources thus making them unreliable for promoting the national interest of a certain country (Bravo & Serralheiro, 2018). Pakistan has unable to form its indigenous independent research groups in the foreign countries which can further lobby for the interests of Pakistan.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani foreign affairs ministry secretary, April 2019

<sup>90</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani think tank researcher, April 2019

There are numerous think tanks in Pakistan that claim to carry out the research activities for Pakistan, however, these think tanks are unable to fulfil their major task of providing a strong research support to the officials of Pakistan involved in the policy making activities (Khan R. , 2019). The development driven states usually relay on the research activities of their think tanks that have better connections abroad and make their officials well prepared for the future ventures.<sup>91</sup> Meanwhile, the think tanks of Pakistan are not playing an effective role in producing effective and relevant research for the policy making and the propagation of the national interest of Pakistan on international level (Inayatullah, 2018).

The official governmental visits to different countries own a huge importance and they should be preplanned by the indigenous research groups as foreign lobby can only be strengthened by internal research groups.<sup>92</sup> However, no think tank is active in Pakistan for this kind of extensive research for the official visits.<sup>93</sup> There is no independent research group in MOFA as well, so it only issues the brief about what is happening on the basis of the statements issued in the past rather than analyzing why something is happening.<sup>94</sup>

Pakistan's biggest failure in its academic lobbying is the lack of identification of the foreign academic goals and policies.<sup>95</sup> Pakistan is not able to identify its objective and needs from its partnership with the EU at certain point in time (Tarar, 2017). Government must be informed by these think tanks about the identification of the problem only then they can further work in the right direction and then even the hired foreign lobby groups can be of any advantage (Hoodbhoy, 2018).

Internationally, educationalists and senior professors, having expertise in the world politics and international relations, are the advisor of the foreign policy makers equipped with all

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<sup>91</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani think tank employee, June 2019

<sup>92</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani foreign affairs ministry secretary, June 2019

<sup>93</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani think tank researcher, April 2019

<sup>94</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani mediators association employee, June 2019

<sup>95</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani foreign affairs ministry secretary, June 2019

knowledge and historical information.<sup>96</sup> While Pakistan has appointed some bureaucrats, military officials and political leaders, with no knowledge or background of the issue to be addressed and they make policy around it.<sup>97</sup> They work on the short term face saving techniques rather than the continuous process of research in the policy making (Islam, 2016). If there is an official visit in the near future, Pakistan's policy makers, research institutes and think tanks become active and start highlighting the relations between the two countries to gain maximum coverage during the upcoming visit (Jamal, 2016). The goal is not to pursue the national interests rather to get in limelight before the visit.<sup>98</sup> Whereas, this action is not something that can give results overnight, instead continuous efforts can materialize the maximum advantages.<sup>99</sup>

This failure of lobbying is changing Pakistan's discourse in the foreign countries that are providing scholarships and investing their capital on the students which will in return act as automatic lobbying activists for these countries.<sup>100</sup> They will be producing the research that will coming directly from the natives but the narrative will be supporting the stance of the country of their stay.<sup>101</sup>

### **5.3.3 Challenges**

The biggest challenge that Pakistan is facing in the successful academic lobbying is the internal instability of its institutions (Islam, 2012). The decisions and policies are government centric rather than state centric and are changed by the governments not the state.<sup>102</sup> Thus no clear and defined foreign policy objectives have been highlighted (Inayatullah, 2018). With the change of government, policies change and the next government does not carry on with

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<sup>96</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani foreign affairs ministry secretary, June 2019

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani mediators association employee, June 2019

<sup>100</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani higher education commission employee, June 2019

<sup>101</sup> Personal interview with a Pakistani awardee of the Erasmus+ scholarship, May 2019

<sup>102</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani foreign affairs ministry secretary, June 2019

the projects started by the previous government.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, no previous project gets completed after the tenure of a particular government has been over (Haqqani, 2018). The world is also skeptical to make relations with Pakistan because new government might change its attitude with the world based on its own idiosyncrasy.<sup>104</sup> Historically, only Pakistan-China relations are consistent with every changing government.<sup>105</sup> China does not have any fear that the change of government might shut down their investment projects so they invested a lot in Pakistan in the form of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and many other projects (Nawiwala, 2018).

Pakistan needs to build up its internal capabilities to explore the external opportunities. Though Pakistan has a lot of potential to explore its partnership with the EU in different domains but the weak diplomatic efforts caused a hurdle in this partnership to its full extend (Abbas, 2018). This thematic analysis highlighted the quality of lobbying efforts Pakistan has been employing in the EU. It also elaborated the strengths, weaknesses and the opportunities Pakistan faces in the process of lobbying. A detailed analysis on these aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy will be catered in Chapter 6.

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<sup>103</sup> Personal Interview with a senior Pakistani foreign affairs ministry secretary, June 2019

<sup>104</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani mediators association employee, June 2019

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER 6: DISSCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

### 6.1 Discussion:

It is due to successful lobbying that Pakistan is today able to diplomatically relate with the major powers of the world on bilateral level. The current bilateral relation of Pakistan with the US, the UK, the EU and China are on a very healthy level and ensure the best portrayal of Pakistani national interest through lobbying. On the other side, Pakistan fails to create a successful and positive lobby for the awareness of issues Pakistan is facing, terrorism being the greatest one. Unfortunately, Pakistan has been blamed for sponsoring terrorism from the past many years which has affected our reputation as a great nation. Pakistan has failed to create a lobby with other states, ensuring or promoting the foreign policy interest of Pakistan and their image as a non-terrorist engaged state. While on the other hand, India has been successful in promoting its image as a world largest democracy and a secular country mostly through its powerful lobbying efforts despite the fact that it is currently involved in severe forms of human rights violation towards minorities especially Muslims.

Pakistan's lobbying efforts in the EU in the post-Cold War era have mostly been successful as since 2001, EU policy is to stay constructively and strongly engaged with Pakistan and to make a significant and visible engagement, both in political and economic terms. Measures include the resumption and upgrading of political dialogue, signature of a third generation cooperation agreement, as well as additional development assistance (Islam, 2015). Although Britain has now voted to leave the EU but Pakistan's lobbying efforts in Britain have been the most successful also due to the commonwealth ties it still has with Britain. Pakistan has also built strong ties with Germany over the years. Pakistani community is quite active in the field of politics, medicine, teaching, journalism and businesses. The businessmen of Pakistani origin actively take part in B2B events and have tried to facilitate Pakistan's access to EU markets. An important role has been played by the Pakistani diaspora actively involved in the

political process of the EU (Islam, Europe's Concern, 2014). The Pakistani origin British members of Parliament (MP) and the members of the European Parliament facilitate the lobbying process thus playing an active role in the EU.

The EU's relation with Pakistan can pose both challenges and opportunities. The Union has been a promoter of democracy around the world for many years. Pakistan has experienced multiple military coups over the years. Therefore, considering the EU's effort to promote democracy in Pakistan can help us analyze its political and normative power and its effectiveness. Hence, a powerful lobby in the EU is necessary to ensure that Pakistan's interests and concerns are well represented there.

Pakistan needs to build its image in the EU as a peace loving country which has fought a war on terror and has sacrificed more than 70,000 lives. The narrative that India has been pushing for long that Pakistan harbors terrorisms also needs to be effectively tackled. Pakistani culture, art and music need more promotion in the west even our movies can help in creating Pakistan's positive image abroad. Apart from that Pakistan severely relies on a few export markets and it needs to find new niches in the EU that can be targeted in order to increase exports.

As the Pakistani government is trying hard to build its tourism industry, lobbying efforts can also help in building linkages and enhancing people to people contact that would facilitate more Europeans coming to Pakistan.<sup>106</sup> The EU countries, governments and citizens need to be assured that security conditions in Pakistan have greatly improved in the previous 2-3 years.

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<sup>106</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani foreign affairs ministry secretary , May 2019

## 6.2 Conclusion

Pakistan needs to strengthen its internal institutions for the implementation of its national interest on the international level. The lobbying efforts of Pakistani will only be fruitful if they will be in coherence with the national as well as international policies. Pakistan needs to develop its academic and research framework in cooperation with the EU to promote a peaceful international image. Pakistan needs to fund its scholarly voices in the west to promote its softer image which will further open up the doors of European investment and business opportunities. The Pakistani academic diaspora in the EU should be involved to play the role of the national researchers in the European states where they should be collecting the first hand data rather than quoting books and journals in the form of country based think tanks. While the ministry of foreign affairs back home must be identifying the issues and the research problems to be solved. The national government of Pakistan must fund these national think tanks based in Europe by keeping the HEC in loop for the recruitment of the researchers under the subject specialist Pakistani professors.<sup>107</sup> It will be a very slow process but will be fruitful in the longer terms to change the negatively associated international perception of Pakistan.

Pakistan has been reluctant putting much lobbying efforts in the EU as it has regarded the US as the ultimate strategic partner since independence. This perception leads to make EU as not a very serious security and political partner for Pakistan. Also, the initial strategic interest of the EU in Pakistan was always Afghanistan centric and Pakistan has not been able to get over this fact. It does not rely on the strategic partnership with the EU individually, thus making

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<sup>107</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani defense ministry secretary , June 2019

the bilateral relationship business and trade oriented. Pakistan does not have any enemies in Europe but the level of diplomacy required to create stronger relationships is missing.<sup>108</sup>

The results of the elite interviews concluded that Pakistan has a lot of potential to explore this new dynamic relationship with the EU by employing the tool of political lobbying. Pakistan needs to think beyond the trading and economic partnership with the EU as it can help Pakistan establish the regional peace and stability especially with the Afghanistan issue (Minhas, 2018). The EU is also seeking a strong alliance system around the world to become an important political unit globally (Ballesteros Peiró, 2015). Pakistan can cash out this opportunity by identifying the important areas of partnership and employing its effective lobby at work. This unique blend of diplomatic efforts will bring about productive results for both the countries while keeping the benefits at large.

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<sup>108</sup> Personal interview with a senior Pakistani commerce ministry secretary , June 2019



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## APPENDIX 1: CONSENT FORM



Centre for International Peace & Stability (CIPS)  
National University of Sciences & Technology,  
(NUST) Sector H-12, 44000, Islamabad

### Informed Consent Form

Theme of Project	
Principal Investigator	

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

The following considerations have been made regarding participation in the research upon insights received from the project information sheet and the research investigator(s):

1. I acknowledge that complete details, methods and nature of this research have been explained to me, and I have been given a written research project information sheet to keep.
2. I understand that my participation will involve interview(s) and I agree that the researcher(s) may use the findings as described in the information sheet.
3. I have been informed that with my consent the data provided will be treated strictly confidential and will be safely stored in locked office premises.
4. I understand that my name, organization and designation will be kept anonymous and confidential.
5. I understand that my responses in this study are anonymous and confidential and will ONLY be used for the purpose of this study.
6. I understand that my participation in this research project is completely voluntary and that I can withdraw my participation at any stage of the project without any penalty or prejudice from the researcher(s).
7. I have been informed that there is no financial benefit for my participation in this research.

I hereby agree to be involved in the above research project as a respondent. I have read the research information sheet pertaining to this research project and understand the nature of the research and my role in it.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

**NB:** This study adheres to the guidelines of the ethical review process of the Centre for International Peace and Stability, National University of Sciences and Technology, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE

### Lobbying Efforts of Pakistan in Post-Cold War Era: A Case Study of the EU

#### QUESTIONNAIRE

\*\*\* *trade/business, strategic and academic* \*\*\*

1. Do you consider 'Lobbying' as an important tool for foreign policy process?
2. How important is lobbying for Pakistan's foreign policy/ national interest?
3. Which EU countries does Pakistan have the most active lobbies in?
4. What kind of lobbying efforts Pakistan employed in these domains in the EU; trade, strategic and academic sector?
5. How much Pakistan has been successful in its lobbying efforts in the EU Post-Cold War?
6. What are the successful aspects of Pakistan's lobbying efforts in the EU?
7. What are the challenges Pakistan is facing while lobbying for its interests in the EU?
8. What improvements would you suggest in Pakistan's lobbying efforts in the EU? In which sector should Pakistan's lobbying efforts increase?
9. Please comment on the role of diaspora in lobbying efforts in the? Which of the segment of the diaspora would you characterize the most active in their lobbying efforts for Pakistan in the EU?
10. What lessons has Pakistan learned from its lobbying efforts in the US that can be replicated in the EU?

# Thesis

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