

## **Foreign and Defence Policy of Pakistan towards India (2018-2021)**

**Tooba Islam**

*M.Phil. Scholar, Political Science Department, Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, Pakistan.*

**Khushboo Ejaz**

*Assistant Professor, Political Science Department, Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, Pakistan.*

*Email: [khushboo.ejaz@kinnaird.edu.pk](mailto:khushboo.ejaz@kinnaird.edu.pk)*

### **ABSTRACT**

This research is to find out Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India under Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf government (2018-2021). It accesses factors and actors as well as security concerns, role of regional and extra regional powers in shaping Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India under PTI government. It also accesses available options PTI government had through which conflicts with India could resolve. With the change in government there is a shift in Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India under PTI government. PTI 2018 manifesto stated that for lasting peace, conflict resolution and security route to cooperation is most viable between Pakistan and India. This research will help to find out PTI government foreign and defence policy shift towards India. Research is based on qualitative methods. Data is collected from both secondary and primary sources which includes semi structure interviews. This research finds out that Pakistan had open door policy towards India under PTI government and both military and civilian governments shaped Pakistan' foreign and defence policy. The research also found that BJP government non flexible attitude and its unilateral action in Kashmir on August 5,2019 and India's hybrid warfare against Pakistan are security concerns and major factor. The result also shows that US and China have some influence in shaping Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India under PTI government.

**Key Words:** Foreign Policy, Defense Policy, Pakistan.

### **Introduction**

Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India has always been Indo-centric and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was no exception. Since PTI came into power it wished to have peaceful economic relations with India and stressed upon resolving issues through talks (Ayres, 2018). This has always been consistent stance of Pakistan. When Ex PM Imran Khan made this offer there was no Revocation of Special Status of Indian held Jammu and Kashmir Pulwama or Balakot incident happened. Pakistan Army Chief Gen Bajwa had also offered Olive Branch towards India (Yousaf, 2021).

Relations between two countries had remained all time low during PTI government. PTI government had to face 5 August incident when India

unilaterally changed the status of Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Since August 5, 2019, Pakistan sets certain conditions before talks (Yousaf, Why Pakistan offers an Olive branch to India, 2021). PTI government had to face Pulwama and Balakot episode after which Pakistan downgraded its diplomatic relations with India and security concerns were increased in Pakistan. Pakistan had to increase its troop presence along LOC. PTI government made genuine efforts to normalize environment by handing back IAF pilot and opening Kartarpur corridor for Sikhs (Sayed, 2019).

## **Theoretical Framework**

This research work uses Realist theoretical framework to analyse Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India under PTI government (2018-2021). There are so many theories that explain relationship between two states but when it comes to India and Pakistan realist school of thought dominate in shaping Pakistan Foreign and defence policy.

## **Research Statement**

There is a shift in Pakistan's foreign and defense policy towards India during Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf government from 2018 to 2021.

## **Rationale**

Pakistan and India with unresolved issues are two nuclear rival neighboring countries, who have fought 4 wars with each other. Every government in Pakistan formulates its Foreign and defence policy towards India. The aim of this study is to examine Pakistan foreign and defense policy towards India under PTI government from 2018 to 2021. The objectives of this study is to identify factors and actors involved in shaping Pakistan's foreign and defense policy towards India and also to highlight available options Tahreek-e-Insaf government has for resolution of conflicts with India. This research will also shed light on role regional and external powers played in shaping Pakistan Foreign and Defence policy towards India during PTI government from 2018 to 2021.

## **Research Questions**

1. What was Pakistan's foreign and defense policy towards India from 2018 to 2021?
2. What were the major factors and actors that were involved in shaping Pakistan's foreign and defense policy towards India during PTI government?
3. What were the security concerns Pakistan had towards India during PTI government?

4. To what extent do regional and external powers play their role in sculpting Pakistan's foreign and defense policy towards India during PTI government?

### **Research Objectives**

1. To examine Pakistan's foreign and defense policy towards India (2018-2021).
2. To identify factors and actors involved in shaping Pakistan's foreign and defense policy towards India during PTI government.
3. To analyze the security concern Pakistan had towards India that shaped its foreign and defense policy during PTI government.
4. To analyze the role of regional and external powers in sculpting Pakistan's foreign and defense policy towards India during PTI government.

### **Literature Review**

The Core Objectives of Pakistan's Foreign Policy as mentioned in Ministry of Foreign Affairs website is as follows:

- Promotion of Pakistan as Democratic, moderate, dynamic and progressive Islamic state.
- Have a good relationship with immediate neighbors, major powers and with all states in the world.
- Protect Pakistan's national security and to safeguard its geo strategic interests specially Kashmir.
- Strengthen Pakistan's economic cooperation and commercial cooperation with all states.
- To protect Pakistani Diaspora interests.
- Positive use of National resources for international and regional cooperation.

Iqbal (1990) analyzed Pakistan Defence policy from 1947- 58. Since the independence India remains a major external factor in shaping Pakistan's defence policy.

Bhagat (1989) analyzed Pakistan's policy shift from Zia Ul Haq to Benazir Bhutto's government. India occupies a very significant role in Pakistan's overall national policy. During Zulfikar Bhutto's era he kept anti-India propaganda at home but he took several steps to normalize relations with India. Zia Ul Haq adopted the policy of "Peace Offensive" towards India. The policy was more confrontational but short on war. During his period Siachen was another issue that emerged between India and Pakistan. Although during his era Pakistan was able to achieve success in the diplomatic front. When Benazir came into power she brought

hope with herself. Many in India and Pakistan see her as new generation who is born in Independent Pakistan and does not have horror memory of partition. Also like her father she wanted to create an environment where peace between countries could be achieved. Although despite severe opposition she put forward soft tone towards India. This was clear policy shift from Zia “peace offensive” to softer tone towards India.

Gul (2004) explains Pakistan and India relations in post 9/11 scenario. With changing global strategic environment and failure of Agra Summit had impacted Pakistan and India relations. After 9/11 two major incidents 1 October car blast in front of Sri Nagar Assembly hall and Firing attack in front of Indian Parliament gave opportunity to India to present itself as victim and Pakistan as a state that sponsor terrorism. These incidents also gave opportunity to India to create an environment where they can get close to US. India increased troop's deployment with Pakistan and India border.

Wanger (2010) analyse Pakistan's foreign policy between India and Afghanistan. Pakistan's security and foreign policy is dominated by military and in which civilian has no say in formulating policy. In pre 9/11 era Pakistan had policy of strategic depth for Afghanistan. This was done to stop India's encirclement of Pakistan.

Jabeen (2011) analyse that Pakistan adopted Indo-centric policy based on threats from India. Unjust division of military and weapons created a constant threat for Pakistan. Pakistan explored other options and aligned itself with west. By aligning with West Pakistan become member of many defence agreements. Basic aim of this alignment was to settle down Kashmir issue and preserve its security against India.

Hafeez (2012) analyse Pakistan National Security structure evolution. From 1947 to 2008 Pakistan saw military and civilian form of government. In military structure initially British established structure was followed with no change until 1976 when Bhutto brought major change in structure of military. It was the first time national security was mentioned. After Bhutto Zia ul Haq did not bring any major structural change. General Jahangir Karamat and Musharaf tried to establish National Security Council but both failed. National command authority was established after 1998 successful nuclear test. National security is not properly understood in Pakistan and it is often considered military structure.

Malik (2012) Analyse impact of track-2 diplomacy on Pakistan and India peace process. Media also put effort in creating such environment e.g Jung and Times of India launched Aman ki Asha.

Yaseen (2016) analyse that history of India and Pakistan is full of conflicts. Since independence they have fought many wars but with those wars peace talks has initiated several times. Kashmir remains core issue between two. After 70 years of independence both states are not even close to resolve any issue. India and Pakistan are two major players in south Asia region so regional security structure of south Asia is affected by these two main players.

Grare (2016) explains that a chance of Peace between India and Pakistan is equal to zero but occasional crisis will continue without escalating into major conflict. Major role in this regard is being played by nuclear capabilities of both states. There are many security concerns which Pakistan and India has towards each other. External player like US and regional players like China as one of factor that shape Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India. Political environment of both societies as well as political structure of both is also one of factor that always plays huge role in shaping Pakistan and India policy towards each other. Military plays a huge role in shaping Pakistan's foreign and defence policy.

Khan (2019) explores India's Cold Start doctrine and Pakistan's policy response to that. India and Pakistan are two hostile nations that have fought many wars and have nuclear capability. Both states have adopted different strategies both Offensive and defensive in different times. Instead of solving issues like Kashmir through talks both states believes to use force. India in 2004 adopted Cold Start doctrine to achieve military and political goals by making targeted penetration inside Pakistan. Although this doctrine was offensive by nature in response to CSD Pakistan adopted defensive strategy.

Kulkarni (2019) analyse relations between India and Pakistan under Modi 2.0 and PM Imran khan. Pakistan and India relation under Modi second tenure and Imran Khan have been lowest. Official communication channels and cross border trade relations were suspended. Kartarpur Corridor could prove as breakthrough in Indo-Pak relations but Modi downplayed corridor and refused to talk with Pakistan. Pulwama incident further damaged relations and helped Modi in his domestic politics. Anti-Pakistan and anti-Muslim rhetoric were sold-out in India. What Modi has learnt from February crisis is that with no international intervention and with domestic support he can assert his condition for talks with Pakistan. India under Modi has also enjoyed diplomatic success in FATF and ICJ.

Kumar (2019) analyse Pakistan's geopolitical situation has given it certain advantages. It was Pakistan's strategic location which brings U.S. close to Pakistan during Cold War and U.S continue to rely on Pakistan during war against terrorism in Afghanistan. Again, it was because of Pakistan geographical location that China is investing in it and uses it as an extremely valuable strategic outpost. There is no doubt that Russia has entered as a new player in Pakistan's foreign policy structure with promises of defence cooperation and convergence of approach in the Afghanistan peace process.

Parameswaran (2019) analyse that Pakistan was facing a lot of challenges in foreign affairs when PTI came into power. Imran khan extended hand of friendship towards India and invited PM Modi for talks on crucial issues like Kashmir but it was ignored by Modi government. PTI government handled two of most crucial foreign policy challenges e.g. Pulwama and India's August 5, 2019 step. PTI government avoided war and relied on diplomacy to handle these situations. India

is also revisiting its “no first use” of nuclear policy. At same time Pakistan has been successful in building its positive image in world under Imran Khan Leadership.

Khattak (2019) analyse that Imran Khan as an independent mind can transfer foreign affairs with immediate neighbours like Iran, India and China from Rawalpindi to Islamabad. These are the few areas which have always been considered as no go areas in external affairs for civilian governments. In this regard Foreign policy is one domain where de facto overshadows de jure. Imran Khan announced release of IAF Pilot to defuse situation between two countries and opening of Kartarpur corridor for Indian Sikhs. These moves received great appreciation within and outside Pakistan. Important thing to be noted here is that Imran Khan as independent mind can do what his predecessor weren't able to do.

Chengappa (2019) analyse that Kartarpur Corridor is example how track-2 diplomacy helped track-1 diplomacy. Pakistan and India are two hostile neighbours that focused more on track-1 diplomacy which failed to build-up good relations between two countries. Peace initiatives led by Pakistan and Indian civil society has helped to reduce war hysteria. This includes Pugwah Conference that brings together public figures and scholars from both countries. Not only this retired military and intelligent officers are also playing their role in bringing peace between two countries. Opening of Kartarpur Corridor is led by track-2 diplomacy is encouraging step towards peace between two.

Khan (2019) analyse that Pakistan's reaction to India's unilateral action has been sharpened while on other hand international community reaction is somewhat muted. With uprising in Kashmir and India's brutal actions in region can change the scenario. Pakistan PM Imran Khan offered dialogue in the start but August 5, 2019 move has dimmed all chances of dialogue between Pakistan and India. India's explanation for this move cannot change the fact that it is a step forward to achieve BJP Hindutva ideology. India's unilateral action in Kashmir has limited options for Pakistan.

Jamal (2020) analyse Pakistan's dossier that present proof of India's involvement in spreading terrorism in Pakistan. Pakistan provided detailed evidence that showed India's involvement. This dossier is given to different capitals in the world. With ongoing domestic situation in US it is hard that any one in Washington will be paying any interest in this dossier. According to Michael Kugelman “there will be scepticism in Washington regarding this dossier keeping in mind Pakistan and US troubled relations”. Timing of this dossier is to set tone for Biden administration but it will not create much change in US policy towards region specifically towards India.

Shah (2020) analyse India's abrogation of article 370, 35 A and kind of response from international community. This move of GOI internationalise Kashmir which Pakistan failed to do. Pakistan with help of China called UNSC closed consultation meeting although no unanimous statement was released after UNSC close consultation meeting. Pakistan was successful in convening OIC foreign ministers meeting which showed its concern on Kashmir issue and asked India to rescind its action in Kashmir. Pakistan downgraded its diplomatic ties with

India and expelled Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan. Pakistan showed the world human rights violations in Indian occupied Kashmir. South Asian countries called this India's unilateral issue and asked both states to resolve issues between them through talks. However, Turkey and Malaysia supported Pakistan narrative on Kashmir.

Alam (2020) analyse Pakistan's Kashmir policy under PTI government after India unilaterally changed status of Kashmir. Kashmir's policy has been reactionary in past decade depending on India's activities in Indian Occupied Kashmir. Good will which was created after Kartarpur Corridor was overshadowed by Pulwama attack. After Pulwama episode India carried out pre-emptive strike in Pakistan which further damaged relations between two. However this helped Modi win elections. After elections Modi changed status of Kashmir which was part of BJP 2019 elections manifesto. Imran Khan declared this action unconstitutional and warns world that this conflict has potential of war between two nuclear states. After India abrogate special status of Kashmir Pakistan enjoyed support of OIC, China, Malaysia and Turkey while rest of world Including 4 permanent members of UN and Saudi Arabia and UAE called this India's Internal matter. Pakistan under PTI government failed to resolve Kashmir.

Yousaf (2021) analyse that after India's August 5, 2019 action. Pakistan downgraded its diplomatic ties with India.

## **Research Methodology**

### **Research Design**

Qualitative method and case study design has been used to conduct this research. The research carried out is exploratory, analytical and historical in nature.

### **Research Tool**

Semi-structured interviews using open ended questions has been conducted from relevant persons including retired military officers and academia personnel in order to acquire relevant information. Purposive sampling technique has been employed.

### **Data Collection**

Primary and secondary data has been used for this case study. Books, Journals, research articles, magazines and electronic newspapers and documents have been analysed for review of related literature. Online and telephonic interviews have been incorporated for in depth analysis.

### **Interviewees**

### *Tooba Islam & Khushboo Ejaz*

Respondent A: Prof. Dr. Moonis Ahmar (International Relations Department, University of Karachi).

Respondent B: Dr. Salma Malik, Assistant Professor, QAU.

Respondent C: Former ISI Chief Lt. General (Retd.) Assad Durani (Defence Analyst).

Respondent D: Lt General (Retd.) Talat Masood (Defence Analyst).

## **Pakistan Foreign and Defence Policy of Pakistan under PTI Government**

### **PTI Foreign and Defence Policy Guideline In Its 2018 Manifesto**

PTI 2018 manifesto stated that conflict resolution approach will be adopted to improve its relations with both Eastern and western neighbours. If PTI came into power, government will work on blue print for resolution of Kashmir issue within UNSC prescribed parameters. Multidimensional defence policy will be adopted as stated by PTI 2018 manifesto (Manifesto, 2018).

### **National Security policy presented by PTI government**

When PTI came into power it gave new national security policy on January 2022 to 2026. This policy also clearly states that Pakistan want to have better relation with India for betterment of people of this region. By putting economic security at core PTI wants to have trade relations with India after addressing long standing issues like Kashmir (Akhtar, 2022).

### **Pakistan's Foreign and Defence Policy under PTI government**

Since PTI came into power it initially it adopted open policy with India but got cold response from Indian government. Few events occurred during PTI government which had positive and negative impact on Pakistan and India relationship.

- **Kartarpur Corridor:** Track to diplomacy worked during PTI tenure and Pakistan and India was able to open Kartarpur Corridor for Indian Sikhs. This was also Imran Khans wish and a gift from Pakistan to Indian Sikhs. Kartarpur Corridor was down played by BJP government and its potential to be proven as conflict resolution mechanism goes unchecked and certainly Ex PM Imran Khan wish to have good relations with India (Chengappa, 2019).
- **Pulwama and Balakot Incident:** Kashmiri freedom fighter blew him and killed 46 Indian soldiers at Pulwama. India instantly blamed Pakistan for the attack. India launched airstrike in Pakistan and described the purpose of airstrike was to targeted JeM training camp not civilian population. Pakistan debunked Indian claim and showed the world purpose of air strike was to gain popularity in coming elections by BJP



government and there was no JeM training camp in Balakot. Ex PM Imran Khan called National Security Committee meeting after Balakot episode and it was decided that further Indian aggression will be responded. Pakistan responded by launching operation swift resort. Although Pakistan tried to calm situation by sending back Captured Pilot Wing Commander Abhinandan which then PM of Pakistan Imran Khan announced during special parliamentary session. In result of Pulwama incident and its aftermath's tension were raised between two countries (Tasleem, 2019). Both states recalled there diplomats. GOI reversed Pakistan's Most Favorite Trading status and raised duties to 200%. Pakistan in response to that closed its air space and trading routes with India. Cross border violations become norm after that and Pakistan and India started to increase military at border. Although after two months Pakistan and India returned their diplomats (Kumar, 2019).

- **Revocation of Jammu and Kashmir Special Status:** Revocation of J&K was long standing wish of BJP and was part of BJP manifesto during 2019 elections and after coming into power BJP government revoked Kashmir special states on August 5, 2019. Kashmir which is a disputed area between Pakistan and India and on Kashmir both states have fought wars. India by revoking J&K special status did internationalized Kashmir issue. Ex PM Imran Khan advocated Kashmir dispute at various international forums. One closed consultation meeting of UNSC and Emergency session of OIC at ministerial level was also called by Pakistan. Pakistan failed to organize international attention towards Kashmir (Khan, 2019). Pakistan suspended trade with India and downgraded its diplomatic relations with India. Also Islamabad expelled Indian high commissioner to Pakistan. India extended hand of peace towards Pakistan to avoid 2 front war threats and both states agreed to revive 2003 border agreement to defuse tension (Sajjad, Pakistan and India agree on LOC ceasefire, 2021).

PTI government also welcomed EU disinfo lab findings. Which expose India role in damaging Pakistan image internationally and India role in delegitimizing Kashmir struggle? Pakistan under PTI government did provided dossier consist of India's involvement in spreading terrorism inside Pakistan to the major capitals of world and multilateral organisations such as UN, OIC etc. However India did enjoy some diplomatic success as well e.g. in FATF and ICJ. Although India's external Minister S. Jaishankar statement regarding BJP government efforts to keep Pakistan in grey list of FATF did politicize it (Jamal, 2020).

India adopted CSD by putting Pakistan at centre which forced Pakistan strategic leadership to fill gap in its force posture and this led to adoption of FSD. FSD was adopted as deterrence at both conventional and strategic level. By adopting FSD Pakistan reconstructed its conventional war fighting doctrine. This

*Tooba Islam & Khushboo Ejaz*

comprehensive response remained same under PTI government. Under this comprehensive response Pakistan launched operation swift retort (Abdullah, 2018).

## **Bajwa Doctrine**

When it comes to India, doctrine understands that war is not possible between two neighbouring nuclear states. Doctrine adopts the policy of wait and watch with India. During Islamabad Security dialogue Army Chief General Bajwa focus was towards the solution of issue through peaceful means (Warraich, 2018).

## **Nuclear Doctrine**

Strategic deterrence of Pakistan has always remained Indo-Centric. Pakistan considers Nuclear weapon as last resort. Pakistan's nuclear doctrine in past two decade has changed from minimum credible deterrence to Full spectrum deterrence. Nuclear policy remained same under PTI government (Alex, 2019).

## **Pakistan Defence Budget under PTI government**

Majority of Pakistan defence spending is Indo-centric. Past few years Pakistan has been increasing its defence budget. PTI presented its first budget in 2019 and 4.6% was increased in defence. During 2020-2021 fiscal year 11.8% was increased in defence budget. During 2021-2022 fiscal year 6.2% was increased in defence budget (Anis, 2021).

## **Pakistan's Military Capability during PTI Government**

Development of tri-forces continued even under PTI government. China remained main defence partner due to limited military cooperation with U.S. in result of sanctions. To maintain its FSD against India, Pakistan is developing its Air force and naval forces. Air force is improving its precision-strike and ISR capabilities by modernising its inventory. Pakistan with collaboration of China has added JF-17 block 3 into its inventory. It has also added Chinese J-10C in response to India Rafael Purchase (Ansari, 2021). Pakistan added Chinese supplied SH-15 155mm truck-mounted howitzer and HQ-9P long range air defence system to maintain FSD against India. Nuclear investment continued from 2018-21 as well. Pakistan continued development of Submarine launched cruise missile and commissioning of VLF submarine communication facility (IISS, 2019). In 2020 Pakistan continued testing nuclear capable sea launched cruise missile to exclude sea based threat from India. In 2021 Pakistan to improve its sea based combat capability and for protection of sea based nuclear weapons has increased UAVs, Surface Combatants, Patrol aircraft and Submarine (with collaboration of China) (IISS, 2021)

## **Major Findings and Analysis**

The purpose of this study was to examine foreign and defence policy of Pakistan under PTI government from 2018 to 2021. Semi structure interviews were conducted from experts and retired military officers and they were asked about Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India under PTI government (2018-2021). Relevant literature has been discussed in this part of the paper.

### **Pakistan's Foreign and Defence Policy towards India under PTI Government**

The first question was designed to find out Pakistan's Foreign and Defence policy towards India under PTI government from 2018 to 2021. Respondent A, B, D pointed that initial there was open door policy towards India when PTI came into power. But incidents like Pulwama and Balakot and India's unilateral action on 5 August 2019 when it changed status of J&K by revoking article 370 and 35 A all these events negatively impact and Pakistan downgraded its relations with India closed its air and trade links to India. Parameswaran (2019) also stated that PM Imran Khan extended hand of friendship towards India but events like Pulwama, Balakot and India's unilateral action in Kashmir on 5 August 2019 changed situation between two and situation in Kashmir has downgraded relations between Pakistan and India. Respondent A pointed that Pakistan foreign and defence policy towards India is always been reactive. Alam (2020) also says that Pakistan's policy towards India has always been reactive depending on Indian actions in Kashmir. Respondent C highlighted Pakistan had no policy under PTI government. Pakistan got opportunity when India unilaterally revoked Kashmir special status on August 5 but we missed that opportunity.

### **Major Actors that Shaped Pakistan's Foreign and Defence Policy towards India under PTI Government (2018-2021)**

According to Respondent A there are visible and invisible actors but there are 4 no go areas for civilian governments when it comes to foreign and defence policy these are Afghanistan, Nuclear, Kashmir and India. Khattak (2019) also pointed out that there are few areas in external affairs like Afghanistan, India, Iran which are considered as no go area for civilian government and these areas de jure dominates de facto. Respondent B stated that civilian and military leadership both formulate Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India. Respondent C pointed out that policy is formulated at defence committee of cabinet. Respondent D pointed out that military has always been major stakeholder in influencing policy but at same time civil governments are also taking interests and contributing in Pakistan's foreign and defence policy. Khattak (2019) pointed out although there is no go area's in external relations but moves like releasing IAF pilot and opening Kartarpur corridor are commendable steps taken by Imran Khan as an

independent mind person which are appreciated by national and International audience.

### **Major Factors that Formulated Pakistan's Foreign and Defence Policy towards India under PTI Government (2018-2021)**

This question was asked to find-out major factors. Respondent A highlighted there are multiple factors Kashmir and Water are major factors. Respondent D pointed out that Kashmir is an important factor but every government in Pakistan and military leadership also feels like there should be peace between two countries. Another important factor is that India got support from west to counter China in region. Kuszewska (2016) also highlighted that Kashmir and water conflict are two factors that shape Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India. Respondent A stated Pakistan want good relations with India. India under PM Modi won't come on table but at same time Pakistan had a very pragmatic and mature policy towards India. Grare (2016) pointed out that political environment in both countries is one of major factor that shaped there foreign and Defence policy towards each other. Respondent C pointed out that there was no policy and there had never been any policy towards India.

### **Security Concerns Pakistan had towards India that shaped its Foreign and Defence policy under PTI Government**

All respondent pointed out that After August 5, 2019 when India revoked Kashmir's special status and atrocities it carried out in Kashmir became biggest security concern for Pakistan. Kulkarni (2019) also analysed that India's unilateral action in Kashmir on August 5, 2019 did downgrade relations between two countries but it helped PM Modi to build his anti-Pakistan and anti-Muslim narrative for elections.

### **Regional and Extra Regional Power's Role in Sculpting Pakistan's Foreign and Defence Policy towards India (2018-2021)**

Respondent A and B stated Indo-pacific policy of US has given central role to India to counter China and steps India is taking to make sure that CPEC don't succeed has US willingness. Grare (2016) and Muzafar (2016) also highlighted that external factors play their role in shaping Pakistan's Foreign and defence policy. Respondent B stated also the Gulf States like Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates etc they do not show any support to Pakistan when it comes to Pakistan's stand on Kashmir but only country that did support us was Russia. Kumar (2019) has pointed out that Russia has entered as a new player in Pakistan's foreign policy structure. Respondent C stated that external elements does put pressure on us but we don't make policy according to their wish and

Muzafar (2016) also pointed out that we should not make our policies according to external powers interests. Respondent D pointed out that China and US does influence our policy. Grare (2016) also pointed out that players like US and China are major factor that shapes Pakistan's foreign policy towards India.

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this research is to find out shift in Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India under Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf government from 2018 to 2021. According to the result Pakistan had open door policy at start of PTI government. This has always remained Pakistan's policy "talks without conditions" and same steps were followed by PTI government. Imran Khan also invited India to increase trade relations. Incidents like Pulwama, Balakot and then later on India's unilateral action in Kashmir on August 5, 2019 negatively impacted Pakistan and India relations. Results show us that Pakistan military is major actor when it comes to formulation of foreign and defence policy and they have kept foreign and defence policy towards India under them. While on other hand civilian government are taking interest in formulating Pakistan's foreign and defence policy towards India. But Ex PM Imran Khan steps like opening Kartarpur corridor and returning of IAF wing commander Abhinandan show that civilian government has to some extent say in these domains. On-going situation in Kashmir after August 5, 2019 has also become major security concern for Pakistan. Pakistan and India downgraded their diplomatic relations after incidents like Pulwama, Balakot and August 5, 2019 India's unilateral action in J&K. India's role in disturbing Pakistan's internal situation using Afghanistan soil was also major security concerns of PTI government. It is evident that India had U.S. agreement as well which is concerning point for Pakistan. Result also shows that us U.S. and China has their own stakes when it comes to Pakistan and India relations and they do play role in shaping Pakistan's Foreign and Defence policy towards India. Both states are Nuclear Power and only way for both countries is to make peace with each other. Pakistan Ex PM Imran Khan in start offered hand of friendship towards India but no encouraging response was received. Pakistan Army Chief General Bajwa also offered Olive Branch to India.

## **Limitations**

- The purpose of this research was to analyse Pakistan's Foreign and defence policy towards India. Interviews were conducted from experts. Relevant personalities lived in Islamabad and Karachi and due to COVID-19 restrictions it was not possible to take interviews physically so interviews were conducted on phone calls.

- Documents on Pakistan's Foreign and defence policy towards India under PTI government were classified so it was not possible to access them and use them in this research.

## **Recommendations**

1. Civilian governments should be given more say in policy making towards India.
2. Diplomatic relations should not be downgraded after any incident between two countries and talks should continue between two countries.
3. Pakistan and India should increase their trade with each other and all physical links should not be stalled after a single incident.
4. Hotline between two DGMO's should be used regularly it helps to reduce chance of any major mishap.

## **References**

- Abdullah, S. (2018, 12 13). *Pakistan full spectrum deterrence: Trends and Trajectories*. Retrieved from South Asian Voices: <https://southasianvoices.org/pakistan-full-spectrum-deterrence-trends-trajectories/>
- Akhtar, R. (2022, 1 20). *SouthAsiaSource: Pakistan's new National Security Policy: A step in the right direction*. Retrieved from Atlantic Council: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/southasiasource/pakistan-new-national-security-policy/>
- Alam, M. (2020, 7 9). *The Pulse: Pakistan's Kashmir Policy Post-Article 370*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/07/pakistan-kashmir-policy-post-article-370/>
- Anis, M. (2021, 6 12). *Defence Budget Increased for fiscal year 2021-2022*. Retrieved from The News: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/amp/848508-defence-budget-increased-by-rs44-bn-to-rs1-370-bn>
- Ansari, U. (2021, 3 23). *Pakistan Showcase its latest equipment during military parade*. Retrieved from Defence News.
- Bhaumik, A. (2022, 4 10). *Opinion: Pakistan's ties with India in Imran Khan years: Just as acrimonious as ever*. Retrieved from Deccan Herald: <https://www.deccanherald.com/amp/opinion/Pakistan-s-ties-with-india-in-imran-khan-years-just-as-acrimonious-as-ever-1099499.html>
- Chengappa, B. (2019, 7 2019). *Opinion: Track Two diplomacy can put India-Pak ties on track*. Retrieved from The Federal: <https://thefederal.com/opinion/track-two-diplomacy-can-put-india-pak-ties-on-track/?amp>
- Foreign Policy: Guiding Principles and Objectives*. (n.d.). Retrieved from Ministry of Foreign Affairs Government of Pakistan: <https://mofa.gov.pk>

- Grare, F. (2016). India and Pakistan: Improbable War, Impossible Peace. In C. Jaffrelot, *Pakistan At The Crossroads: Domestic Dynamics And External Pressures* (pp. 335-345). Gurgaon, India: Penguin Random House.
- Gul, N. (2004). Post 9/11 Pakistan-India Relations. *Pakistan Horizon*, 57(3), 67-77.
- Hafeez ullah Khan, I. K. (2018). India Cold Start Doctrine: Pakistan Policy Response. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 55(1), 325-339.
- Hafeez, N. (2012). Evolution of National Security structures in Pakistan. *Strategic Studies*, 32, 151-171.
- IISS. (2019). *The Military Balance*. London: Routledge group.
- IISS. (2021). *The Military Balance*. London: Routledge Group.
- Iqbal, P. (1990). *Pakistan's Defense Policy, 1947-58*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Jamal, U. (2020, 11 17). *The Pulse: What explains the timings of Pakistans Anti India Dossier?* Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/11/what-explains-the-timing-of-pakistan-anti-india-dossier/>
- Kanjilal, T. (1997). Improving Pakistan-India relations: The US role. *Pakistan Horizon*, 50(3), 31-49.
- Khalid Shah, K. M. (2020, July). Kashmir after article 370: India's Diplomatic Challenge. *ORF occasional Paper*, 15.
- Khan, R. (2019, 8 11). *Post-370 options?* Retrieved from DAWN: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1499274>
- Khattak, D. (2019, 3 15). *The Pulse: Testing Pakistani PM Imran Khan's independent Mind*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <http://thediplomat.com/2019/testing-pakistani-prime-minister-imran-khan-independent-mind/>
- Kulkani, T. (2019, 11 29). *India and Pakistan relation under Imran Khan and modi 2.0: the lowest in decade*. Retrieved from South Asian Voice: <http://southasianvoices.org/india-pakistan-relations-under-imran-khan-and-modi-2-0-the-lowest-point-in-a-decade/>
- Kumar, S. (2019). Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Trends and Challenges. *IDS*, 4-41.
- Manifesto* . (2018). Retrieved from Insaf.pk: <https://www.insaf.pk/content/manifesto>
- Muhammad Muzaffar, U. I. (2016). Pakistan Foreign Policy: Initial Perspectives and Stages. *Global Regional Review (GRR)*, 1(1), 61-74.
- Naz, S. (2019). Pakistan Military Strategy: Challenges and Response. *Electronic Research Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1(1), 58-68.
- Parameswaran, P. (2019, 9 10). *Interviews: Touqir Hussain on Pakistan Foreign Policy under Imran Khan*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/09/touqir-hussain-on-pakistan-foreign-policy-under-imran-khan/>
- Parminder, B. (1989). Pakistan's India Policy: Shift from Zia to Benazir. *India Quarterly*, 45(1), 35-45.



- Rasool, A. (2019, 3 18). *Featured: Doval doctrine and Covert operations*. Retrieved from Daily Times.
- Sajjad, B. (2017, 7 6). *Nasr Pours Cold Water on India Cold Start doctrine*. Retrieved from Dawn.
- Sajjad, B. (2021, 2 26). *Pakistan and India agree on LOC ceasefire*. Retrieved from Dawn.
- Sarita, S. (2008). India as Dominant Security Concern to Pakistan. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 69(4), 889-896.
- Syed, B. S. (2021, 8 11). *DAWN*. Retrieved from DAWN.com: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1590441>
- Tasleem, S. (2019). *Understanding De-escalation after Balakot Strike*. Nuclear Crises Group.
- Wagner, C. (2010). Pakistan's Foreign Policy between India and Afganistan. *Sicherheit und Frieden*, 28(4), 246-251.
- Warraich, S. (2018, 3 18). *Bajwa Doctrine: From Chauvinism to realism*. Retrieved from The News.
- Yousaf, K. (2019, 6 11). *Defence Budget Jacked up by 4.7%*. Retrieved from The express Tribune.
- Zahid Yaseen, M. M. (2016). Pakistan and India Relations: A political Analysis of Conflicts and Regional Security in South Asia. *Global Political Review*, 1(1), 1-9.
-