



Received Date: 2024/01/21 Accept Date: 2024/3/18

 10.27834/CSIW.2311.1315.4.31.6

Pakistan Army and Foreign Policy **(Case Study: Kashmir Crisis, Durand Crisis and Terrorism)**

Mahdi Mohammad Nia¹ 
Naser Pourhassan² 

1- Introduction

This article analyzes the military intervention of the army (praetorianism) in Pakistan's foreign policy. The military has played a significant role in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy due to its historical involvement in politics and governance. This has sometimes led to tensions with civilian governments and has shaped the country's foreign policy orientation towards certain countries. The military's influence in Pakistan's foreign policy has also been reflected in its approach towards regional issues, such as Afghanistan and Kashmir. The military's strategic interests and objectives have often guided Pakistan's stance on these contentious matters, leading to complex dynamics in the region and affecting the country's diplomatic engagements. The hypothesis presented in the article suggests that the Pakistani army has exerted significant influence over the country's foreign policy by controlling key strategies related to internal and external balancing against India, addressing the Durand problem, managing government dynamics in Afghanistan, and combating terrorism. This control over crucial foreign policy areas has allowed the military to maintain a prominent position within Pakistan's political structure and emerge as a key actor in shaping the nation's foreign relations.

2- Theoretical Framework

The term 'Praetorianism' originates from the Praetorian Guard of ancient Rome, known for its significant political influence and involvement in appointing Roman emperors. Praetorianism is deeply embedded in a country's military and political frameworks. Modern praetorian regimes employ diverse methods of intervention and influence that may not necessarily entail a coup

¹ Assistant Professor,, Department of Political Science, Ayatollah Borujerdi University (Corresponding Author). mahdi.mnia@yahoo.com

² Associate Professor , Department of Political Science, Ayatollah Borujerdi University n.pourhassan1303@gmail.com



or direct military governance. These regimes often arise when civilian institutions lack legitimacy or are dominated by the military.

Praetorianism often appears in countries that are in the early or middle stages of economic development and political mobilization. In those countries, if civilian groups fail to establish legitimacy, the military may step into political affairs. In countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh and Thailand, when civilian political structures and institutions failed and governance weakened, the military turned to political interference under the pretext of "protecting the constitution".

3- Methodology

In this descriptive-analytical paper, desk studies (review of textbooks and online databases) were used for data collection. This method is usually employed to examine events and phenomena in addition to explaining and analyzing a particular issue. The analysis focuses on the role of Pakistan's army in shaping foreign policy. Firstly, the theoretical framework of Praetorianism is outlined, followed by a detailed explanation of the army's involvement in three key areas: the Kashmir crisis, the Durand crisis and terrorism.

4- Discussion

Pakistan is a classic example of a unique combination of direct military rule and praetorianism.

Due to its unique security situation, the Pakistan army has effectively seized control of crucial foreign policy affairs and has maintained its authority, dynamism, and interests within the country's political structure. While in the country the military sometimes transferred power to civilian governments, the transfer was never complete. In Pakistan, the return of "civilians" to power, even after free elections, did not mean "civilianization" of power, as the military had always maintained its hegemony over politics.

This analysis provides a comprehensive overview of the role of the military in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy, particularly in relation to key issues of foreign policy such as India, Afghanistan, and terrorism.

The historical context of Pakistan's lack of coherent and democratic governance since independence has allowed the military to maintain its hegemony over politics. The Kashmir crisis and the necessity to internal and external balancing against India have been one of the key drivers for military intervention in politics. In this regard, Pakistan's attempt to increase its military and nuclear power and development of its military and security

cooperation with America and China can be analyzed respectively in the context of internal and external balancing against India.

The Durand crisis is another challenge of Pakistan's foreign policy, which has become the basis for strengthening the influence of the army in the political structure of this country. Pakistan looks at Afghanistan as its strategic depth, thus, it has always sought weak government in the country. A weak government in Afghanistan would be less likely to challenge the Durand Line, which is backed by the Pakistan army. Also, a weak government in Afghanistan provide Pakistan an opportunity to enhance its influence within the country. The fight against terrorism serves as another significant motivation for military involvement in politics. Pakistan's military consistently receives financial and military assistance from the United States under the pretext of its counterterrorism efforts. During the peak years of the fight against terrorism, particularly between 2001 and 2010, the United States allocated nearly \$19 billion, averaging over \$2 billion annually, to Pakistan for combating terrorism, So, the army has benefited the most from this money.

5- Conclusion and Suggestions

The article concludes that the military has significant influence over Pakistan's foreign policy and often thwarts the efforts of politicians who are far from military interests.

Military intervention in Pakistan typically occurs when political and civil institutions prove ineffective in resolving political crises due to escalating factional conflicts. In such circumstances, the army steps in to assume political control and preserve order and stability. Weaknesses within civil parties and institutions, along with the lack of unity among political elites, have further contributed to politicians' acquiescence to military authority in Pakistan. The army has asserted control over political affairs through various methods such as influence, replacement, and coup, solidifying its position as an unchallenged power. This has been facilitated by the passivity of politicians opposite to military dominance.

6-References

Acemoglu, Daron and et.al. (2010). A Theory of Military Dictatorships. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, at: <https://economics.mit.edu/sites/default/files/publications/a%20theory%20of%20military%20dictatorships.pdf>

Ahmed, A. (2023). The rise of military capital in Pakistan: Military neoliberalism, authoritarianism and urbanization. *Geoforum*, Vol.146, No.1.

Crisis Studies of the Islamic World

- Ahmadi, J. Obedience, I. (2014). Geopolitical analysis of relations between Pakistan and its neighbors: tensions and threats. *Political and International Studies*, 7(24), 1-24 (In Persian)
- Aqil Sh. (2014). Constraining consolidation: military politics and democracy in Pakistan (2007–2013). *Democratization*, 2014 Vol. 21, No. 6, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2013.781586>
- Britannica*. (2023). Praetorian Guard. Mar 21, at: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Roman-Empire>
- Bahmani Qajar, M.A. (2003). Territorial disputes between Afghanistan and Pakistan according to the historical documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran. Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Research Service Documentation Center (In Persian)
- Clapham, Christopher & Philip, George. (1985). *The Political Dilemmas of Military Regimes*, London: Crooin Helm.
- Congressional Research Service. (2023). *Terrorist and Other Militant Groups in Pakistan*. Dec 01, available at: <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/pakmil.pdf>
- Davodundi, N., Zargar, A., Shirzadi, R. (2019). An analytical introduction to the Iranian Islamic Revolution from the perspective of the comprehensive model of nation-building. *Islamic Revolution Studies*, 17(61), 59-90(In Persian)
- El-Shimy, Yasser. (2016). A Model of Praetorian States, *Middle East Initiative, Belfer Center*, at: https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/files/publication/2016-01-MEI_RFWP_ElShimy_0.pdf
- Esposito, J.L. (2016). State and contemporary Islamic movements. Translated by Alireza Samii and Mohammad Hajipour, Tehran: Contemporary view (In Persian)
- Farzana, Sh. (2009). *Making Sense of Pakistan*, London: Foundation Books, Hurst & Company.
- Finer, S.E. (1962). *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*. London: Pall Mall.
- Harris, G. (2017). U.S. Gives Military Assistance to Pakistan, With Strings Attached. *New York Times*, Aug 30, available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/30/us/politics/us-aid-pakistan-terror.html>
- Huntington, S.P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Huntington, S.P. (1957). *The Soldier and the State. The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press.
- Hussain, E. (2022). *The Military and Foreign Policy in Pakistan: An Analysis*. In Ghulam Ali (ed) Pakistan's Foreign Policy, London: Routledge, Doi: [10.4324/9781003250920-5](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003250920-5)
- Jalal, A. (2014). *The Struggle for Pakistan: a Muslim homeland and global politics*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Khan, Sh. (2009). The Military and the Praetorian Regimes in Pakistan Politics: Political Usurpers or Protectors of an Incipient Democracy?. *Journal of International Studies*, Vol.5, No.1, available at: <https://e-journal.uum.edu.my/index.php/jis/article/view/7890/943>

Pakistan Army and Foreign Policy (Case study: Kashmir crisis, Durand crisis and terrorism)

- Khatoon, H. (2023). Guardians and Governors: The Multifaceted Role of the Pakistan Army in National Development and Islamic Ethics. *Al-Nasr*, Vol.2, No.3.
- Kumar lambah, S. (2011). The Durand Line. (Issue 4 of Policy paper). Aspen Institute India. Kumar, Sanjay. (2020). Military Intervention in Pakistani-Politics and Indo-Pak Relations. *International Journal of Trade and Commerce*, Volume 9, No. 2 pp. 319-336.
- Mir, A., Salikuddi, T. (2022). Five Key Issues Facing Pakistan's New Army Chief. *United States Institute of Peace*, November 30, available at: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/11/five-key-issues-facing-pakistans-new-army-chief>
- Mohammadnia, M., Saifi, A.M. (2023). The position of ACOS alliance in the foreign policy of the United States towards China and its consequences. *Foreign Policy Quarterly*, 37(2), 109-134 (In Persian)
- Molazhi, PM. (2005). Security opportunities and threats beyond the Islamic Republic of Iran in the perspective of Afghanistan. In the book of international security, Tehran: Abrar Mazazer (In Persian)
- Needler, Martin C. 1987. *The Problem of Democracy in Latin America*. Lexington, MA: Lexington
- Nordlinger**, A. (1977). *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*, Publisher: Prentice-Hall.
- Nikunahad, A., Biuck, M., & Ramezani, M. (2023). Future Scenarios of the Kashmir Crisis based on Actors' Interests. *Crisis Studies of the Islamic World*, 10(2), 48-81. doi: 10.27834/CSIW.2312.1321.2.29.1 (In Persian)
- Parent, J., Rosato, S. (2015). Balancing in Neorealism. *International Security*, Vol.40, No.2, pp. 51-86. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43828295>
- Perlmutter, A. (1974). *Egypt: The Praetorian State*. New York: Routledge.
- Pourhassan, N., & Mohammadnia, M. (2023). Territorial Disputes Between Afghanistan and Pakistan and Their Impact on the National Security of the Islamic Republic of Iran. *Journal of Political Sociology of Islamic World*, 11(22), 29-60 (In Persian)
- Rizvi, H.A. (2015). The Military and Pakistan's Political and Security Disposition. *Asia Policy*, No.19, pp. 147-151.
- Rizvi, H.A. (2004). *Pakistan: Civil-military Relations in a Praetorian State*. in R.J. May and Viberto Selochan (eds.), *The Military and Democracy in Asia and the Pacific*, Australian National University Press.
- Simbar, R., & salehiyan, T. (2017). The evolutions of international system after the cold war and the new variations of force balanc. *Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 1(1), 33-51. doi: 10.22080/jpir.2017.1691 (In Persian)
- The Diplomat*. (2022). Taliban-Pakistan Ties Run Into Trouble. Jan 11, available at: <https://thediplomat.com/2022/01/taliban-pakistan-ties-run-into-trouble/>
- Tim Willasey-Wilsey CMG. (2023). The Paradox of the Pakistan Army. *Rusi*, 20 September, available at: <https://www.rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/paradox-pakistan-army>

Crisis Studies of the Islamic World

- Time*. (2018). Why Real Regional Power Lies With Pakistan's Military, Not Its New Prime Minister". Jul 27, available at: <https://time.com/5351080/pakistan-military-imran-khan>
- Tasnim (11/08/2013). Musharraf: Pakistan's foreign policy proceeds with the intervention of the Chief of Army Staff. Online: <https://www.tasnimnews.com/fa/news/1393/11/08/635759> (In Persian)
- Washington Post*. (2023). Imran Khan increasingly isolated as Pakistan's army pressures allies. May 28, available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/05/28/imran-khan-pakistan-army/>
- Weinbaum, M.G. (2023). Afghan refugees as victims of Pakistan and Afghanistan's clashing security interests. *Middle East Institute*, November 7, available at: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/afghan-refugees-victims-pakistan-and-afghanistans-clashing-security-interests>
- World Bank*. (2023). Military expenditure (current USD) – Pakistan. available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.CD?locations=PK>
- Zaidi, S.A. (2011). Who Benefits From U.S. Aid to Pakistan?. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, September 21, available at: https://carnegieendowment.org/files/pakistan_aid2011.pdf