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COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

POLITICAL AND SECURITY ALLIANCES BETWEEN GCC AND PAKISTAN: “SAUDI

ARABIA, OMAN AND QATAR (1970-2019)”

BY

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ABSTRACT

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Pakistan is an Islamic state which is enriched with natural resources and ideal geographical position. These attributes add to its uniqueness in the whole world and it is highly regarded by the Muslim community as they consider Pakistan to be the “Fort of Islam”. It will not be an over statement and exaggeration rather it is a known fact that in spite of all the challenges and crisis after almost five decades of its creation, Pakistan stunned the entire world by announcing itself as a Nuclear Power which triggered change of thoughts and general perceptions about Pakistan. At that time, the western economic giants and super powers like USA, UK, Russia, France, Germany etc. were bossing the world based on their unmatched military capabilities.

For the Ex- British colony full of challenges and facing continuous cross-border threats from India, how did this come true? Since its independence, Pakistan has maintained brotherly bilateral relationship with all the Muslim countries and in this regard, Saudi Arabia has played a key role in the development and prosperity of Pakistan. In return, Pakistan offered its unprecedented military services in the form of combined military trainings besides deployment of its veteran military officers across Saudi Arabia, Oman and Qatar.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and husband whose support and efforts enabled me to complete the research successfully

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Geostrategic aspects of any country play a vital role in its trade and development progress especially the cross-border relations with other countries are based on its geographical position. As we know that, Gulf countries are the members of Gulf Cooperation Council and Pakistan is located at the entrance of Gulf region. Hence, Pakistan may be considered as the courtyard of Gulf. Here the point worth mentioning is that Pakistan's coast is 180 miles from the coast of Oman and it takes only a few hours to fly from Muscat to Karachi, and all the way to the capital Islamabad.



Figure 1. Geographical proximity of Gulf countries with Pakistan.

On the other hand, Gulf (oil and gas producers) countries are considered to be the Economic center of the world. There is a plethora of entertainment and recreational activities inside shopping malls, sacred monuments (even for minorities) to fulfil the religious obligations, decent employment opportunities, healthy sports activities, film festivals and cultural events to name a few. Moreover, the discovery of oil and other minerals in the last four decades has totally changed the complexion of Gulf region as now the entire world is greatly influenced by this exhibition of speedy development and prosperity in this region. Gulf's importance lies in the fact that it can be counted as among the six great waterways of the world apart from the Suez Canal and Red Sea,

Gibraltar, the Bosphorus, Malacca and Panama. So, Gulf is one of the six waterways of the world. (Amin, 1998)

Throughout the history of Gulf region, the unstable dynamic political situation had been the main reason of wars, abrupt break-out of violence leading to collapse of the state, rapid shift of allies, Intra-Arab and regional conflicts, intervention of super powers and societal issues since the discovery of oil (Kamran, 2013). After the discovery of oil, the Gulf countries have struggled in the field of political and military alliance. They started to develop new alliances outside of the Arab world in order to gain some support to preserve the production and security of their oil. In 1971, Pakistan offered military and skilled labor assistance to Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman which helped in securing the boundaries of these countries besides protection of oil wells and improve the production of oil fields (Kamran, 2013).

Another important reason for this alliance is that Pakistan and Saudi Arabia share common Islamic values which helped to establish and strengthen the political and security relations. This relationship was established in 1954 during the visit of Saudi King Saud bin Abdul Aziz to Islamabad. The meeting took place in the small township of Karachi, which was later renamed to “Saud Abad” because King Saud invested money to establish the town (Ahmad, Faisal, 2015). The political relationship continued to improve because both countries agreed to support each other in internal and external affairs. King Saud had signed long term political agreement with Pakistan which stated that “Saudi Arabia and Pakistan will support each other and work towards maintaining peace in the region” (Pak Embassy KSA, 2014). He gradually shifted and aligned Pakistan’s foreign policy focused on bilateralism in its relationship with Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries (Ahmad, Faisal, 2015). The loss of East Pakistan and threats from India created a security dilemma for Pakistan. In 1980, the situation between

Pakistan and India became tense when Pakistan was trying to address the rising issues from both India and Bangladesh. To deal with these unwanted events, Pakistan created strong ties with Saudi Arabia for the development of nuclear weapons, against the challenges from India and to maintain its position in the region against threats from East Pakistan (CIDOB, 2012). Saudi Arabia supplied oil to Pakistan for producing Nuclear weapons which also helped Saudi Arabia to consolidate its position in the region against Iran. After all these conflicts and challenges, the “Arab Spring” in 2011 opened the new doors of revolution which brought a new change in the Gulf region. During this new wave of revolution, the ruling elite of Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman realized the significance of strong support from outside of the Middle East. The Gulf states needed better political and security systems which was possible only if they had trustworthy and brotherly relations with other Muslim countries, and as a result they established cordial alliance with Pakistan by signing long term agreement in security politics (Kamran, 2013).

Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan has always expressed the main aim and objective of its foreign policy is to establish and maintain cordial relations with the Islamic world (Malik, 2012). Moreover, it is also explained in the 1973 constitution that Pakistan supports all Muslims countries in their internal and external affairs (Mehtora, 2009). Since the core ideology of Pakistan is based on Islam so it has close relationship with its Muslim brothers. The president of Pakistan General Zia ul Haq in 1970s, introduced the concept of “Islamization” to strengthen Islamic society and secure the Pakistani land from India, and to stop the hindu dominance in Kashmir. In an attempt to maintain the integrity of Islamic base within the country and protection from external threats, General Zia ul Haq took productive steps for developing strong association with Saudi Arabia (Waterman, 2014, p. 38). He stated on the state television of Pakistan,

“We are not interested in power any more, actually we are interested to make peaceful alliance” (Pakistan Television News, 12 July, 1980). One of the main objectives behind these alliances was the political relations based on religious ideology in order to stop the spread of Iranian influence in Pakistan. Iran follows the Shia sect while Pakistan and Saudi Arabia follow the Sunni sect of Islam (Sial, 2015). Both countries tried to maintain friendly relations, but the Iranian factor played an imbalanced role between the two countries.

From the past several decades, Pakistan Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman have shown increasing interest in each other’s security concerns. Furthermore, three of these countries i.e. Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman are beneficial to Pakistan from the economic perspective because they offered employment opportunities to Pakistani expatriates. Those expats have played a significant role in the development of these Gulf countries. Therefore, Pakistan requires vigorous and devoting attempts to manage its relationship with Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman with an objective of “giving” security and “receiving” financial aid in maintaining military structure of Pakistan (Kamran, 2013, p. 12). Although these countries have deployed US Security Agencies to ensure their security yet it cannot substitute for the security services provided by Pakistan in the past as well as the ongoing security deals with these countries.

The U.S. is allowed to use Omani bases with reference to the Oman Facilities Access Agreement, originally signed in 1980, and most recently renewed in 2010. (Kamran, 2013, p. 55). This accord made Oman the first country among the Persian Gulf States to explicitly partner militarily with U.S.(Kamran, 2013, p.56). According to the agreement, U.S. can request for access to these facilities in advance to fulfil a specified purpose. Some of the bases listed in this section are those which U.S. may access, but not allowed to stay for a longer period. Oman has allowed 5,000 aircraft

overflights, 600 landings, and 80 port calls annually (Kamran, 2013. P.57). During the early stages of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan (in late 2001), U.S. relied heavily on Omani air bases however, in the subsequent years, U.S. presence in Oman has dwindled significantly.

Qatar hosts approximately 10,000 U.S. service personnel, mostly at Al Udeid Air Base (Malik, 2012, p. 73) Since the 1990s, Qatari base construction strategy has been deliberately intended to attract United States to its facilities. As U.S. withdrew the majority of its forces from Saudi Arabia in 2003 following the initial invasion of Iraq, these bases in Qatar allowed for the permanent redeployment of those assets. U.S. has relied heavily on its bases in Qatar to conduct the counter-ISIS military mission, Operation Inherent Resolve.

United states withdrew the vast majority of its forces in 2003, as the invasion of Iraq eliminated the need of troops in Saudi Arabia. Today, many american military personnel currently in Saudi Arabia are part of the U.S. Military Training Mission, and do not provide an operational combat capability. Undoubtedly, USMTM personnel travel and work at different Saudi bases to complete their mission, but the primary “basing” point is Eskan Village near Riyadh.

Now let us discuss about security cooperation between Pakistan and Gulf countries of Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman. In February 2019, Mohammad Bin Suleiman, the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, visited Pakistan and offered \$30billion of investments and loans for the development of the underdeveloped cities, hospitals, schools and roads in Pakistan. The officials from Pakistan accepted this offer from the Crown Prince and showed their willingness to work with Saudi Arabia. (Hamir, 2019). The agreement between both the countries focused on empowering the poor people in Pakistan through the provision of better jobs and creation of the welfare state. Saudi

Arabia has funded Pakistan many times to support the poor political and financial structure of Pakistan. During another similar meeting between the officials, both countries agreed to support and empower the Pakistani people. This time the plan included a \$10 billion Saudi investment to build an oil refinery and petrochemicals complex—a move taken to control the Saudi rival Iran, a neighbor of Pakistan who had once hoped to become a major energy supplier. Also, in the mix is Qatar, who is looking to trade its liquefied natural gas (LNG) to Pakistan along with big investments (Hamir, 2019, p. 55). Saudi Arabia refused to visit Qatar rather tried to isolate it in the region however, H/E Mr. Imran Khan, the president of Pakistan, accepted the invitation to visit Qatar. During the official meeting between H/E Sheikh Tamim Bin Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, the Emir of Qatar, and the president of Pakistan, H/E Mr. Imran Khan, they discussed several aspects of supporting each other in the production of LNG (Hamir, 2019). Moreover, Saudi Arabia is set to provide immediate loans of up to \$12 billion for the production of military equipment and the development of infrastructure in Pakistan (Pakistan Television, November 09, 2019). This development in Pakistan would definitely help Saudi Arabia to consolidate power and dominate the region as depicted from the below picture:



Figure 2. Development of political ties between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia

Pakistan has been renowned for strong military force which grabbed the attention of Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman. These countries faced extreme security challenges for their oil wells and weak borders because local people were not skillful enough to contribute in the security sector. However, Pakistan performed a chief role in providing assistance to face those challenges by mobilizing well-trained military officers to Gulf countries, who not only trained the local security forces but they also taught how to utilize the advanced military tools and equipment such as radars and weapons etc. (Kamran, 2013). The contribution of Pakistan in resolving internal security issues of these three gulf countries, which includes the regional security and safety for oil revenue—the most important resource for Oman, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia in remarkable in security alliance. The geography between Pakistan and the Gulf countries provides the strategic significance which is hardly discerned. The geographical distance between Pakistan and the Arabian Sea merging with Sultanate of Oman and other parts of Gulf is approximately 500 miles long. Furthermore, Pakistan has a common border stretching over 350 miles with Iran which emphasizes the significance of topographical position of Pakistan in the Arab world (Qamar, 1991). The below picture demonstrates the ongoing development of military ties between the two countries.

Pakistan was also willing to provide armed forces to the three Gulf States, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman to stabilize the security relations. During the Iraq-Iran war of 1980-1988, Pakistan played an active role to maintain peace in Muslim countries. High officials from Pakistan visited Saudi Arabia and Qatar to support them in maintaining peace in the region (Qamar, 1991). Pakistan showed a neutral stance during the conflict between Muslim countries and aimed to resolve the issue with peace. Many diplomatic proposals were presented by Pakistan on this conflict in the international conference of

Organization of Islamic Cooperation (Qamar, 1991). In addition, Arabia, Qatar and Oman in case of sudden attacks during this war. Pakistan's interaction with these Gulf States revolves around its multidimensional ties with Gulf core state. Saudi Arabia has signed long term strategic alliance with Pakistan and it is considered as the backbone for Islam in the region. The religious sentiments of Pakistani community have been attached to this country due to the holy cities of Makah and Medina (Cordeir, 2013). Moreover, KSA is the largest member of all Gulf States which holds geographical, demographical and economic importance for Pakistan so its desire of building strong ties with KSA is inevitable. Saudi Arabia was the first and largest oil producing country in 1970s, which took the attention of Pakistan in producing weapons against India. Between 1970-80, Saudi Arabia provided financial support to Pakistan in its nuclear program including oil supplies and loans to assist Pakistan in managing expenses of nuclear test (Cordeir, pg. 2, 2013). Their extended support enabled Pakistan to successfully conduct the nuclear tests which eventually introduced Pakistan as the first Muslim country with a nuclear program in 1991. In this era, tension in the Gulf region was rising due to the Gulf war and it was becoming challenging for Saudi Arabia to keep a strong hold in the region. Therefore, Saudi Arabia asked for Pakistan's military support to secure its boundaries from external threats (Cordeir, 2013) and to achieve its primary goal of retaining dominancy in the Muslim World.

The second important country which will be examined here is Oman because it is another important country with strong bilateral relations with Pakistan. One of the main reasons of this alliance is the geographical location, which provides dependable access to travel from Pakistan to Oman and other Gulf countries for jobs, education, business and medical treatment etc. Furthermore, there are some Pakistani families who have been residing and doing businesses in Oman from many decades. Also, people

from the Baluchistan province of Pakistan moved to Oman to settle in the region. They were recruited for different job placements which prompted the notion to maintain a peaceful alliance (Malik, 2012). These factors led to the development of mutual ties in military and political sectors between the two countries. Oman holds importance for Pakistan because it serves as a connection point to the other parts of the Arabian Peninsula (Malik, 2012). In 1980, General Zia-ul-Haq visited Muscat and met with King Sultan Qaboos to discuss various methods for establishing a peaceful alliance and high level of contacts continued throughout the 1980s. Both countries met on several occasions including during the Iraq-Iran war and Soviet Afghan war (Kechichian, 1995). During the reign of General Zia, Pakistan faced many external and internal challenges which prompted these meetings in order to find solutions for the issues at hand. The meetings between General Zia-ul-Haq and King Sultan Qaboos had played a vital role in security alliances. The meeting was held to resolve the Iraq-Iran war and address the impact on the region from the invasion of Soviet Union on Afghanistan.

These countries share interesting and historic ties of security and defense, connected with geographical proximity (Kamran, 2013, p.15). In the 1960s and 1970s, Oman Army was made up largely by the Pakistani Baloch community. As Oman was facing insurgence from southern region in the early years of independence, Pakistan was willing to offer resources for security to improve mutual ties. Later in 2010, Oman was lacking defense capabilities and was interested to build strategic alliances with Pakistan under the influence of the security alliance between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, which urged Oman to protect its territories from the external attacks i.e. Iranian influence and U.S. domination on oil wells. Currently, more than 1,75,000 Pakistanis are residing and working in Oman (Pakistan Today News, 14 January, 2020). The inter-military relationship of both countries became stronger than before due to the Pakistani

residents and their contribution in Oman (Malik, 2012).

The third important Gulf country is Qatar, which is discussed in terms of its alliance with Pakistan. In the previous studies, little attention has been given to this area. In the early years of its independence after 1971, Qatar needed security for its country. The newly formed state of Qatar had some main factors of interest, among which security was the main concern that played an important role in the country's regime. The lack of capable workforce compelled Qatar to recruit armed forces from outside the country. This is when approximately 15,000 Pakistani troops agreed to serve Qatar and provide security. Furthermore, highly organized and well-trained Pakistani officers were hired in Qatar to train the Qatari force. Some key advisors and technical assistants were also appointed (Kamran, 2013, p.11). During the Gulf war in 1991, the Qatari Tank Battalion which was positioned on Saudi-Iraqi borders, was provided by Pakistan. Those battalions worked hard and did a great job both during war and protection of land from being occupied on Saudi-Iraq border (Kamran, 2013, p.11). In the 2000s, many security and defense agreements were signed by both Pakistan and Qatar as they were satisfied and willing to cooperate with each other in the field of security. The below picture illustrates the progressive development of military ties between the two countries.



Figure 3. Development of military alliance between Pakistan and Qatar.

Furthermore, political connections played a pivotal role in the relationship of Qatar and Pakistan. During the time of crisis, both countries supported each other such as Iraq-Iran war (1990-1991), Arab Spring 2011 and Gulf crisis 2017. In 1971, senior officials from Qatar and Pakistan discussed about the possibility of a peaceful alliance but ongoing hostile relations with India created several challenges in the internal affairs. Due to these, Pakistan could not get enough financial aid from Qatar's oil production, which was supposed to be used for making weapons and as a result, they could not secure their border from India (Qamar, 1991, p. 35). After the war in 1971, Pakistan became increasingly concerned about its land and focused on introducing its nuclear strategy involving all Gulf countries, including Qatar (Akhtar, 2015). Both Pakistan and India have nuclear power with a common ownership claim for the territory of Kashmir. Pakistan has never self-proclaimed to own the land of Kashmir infact they have always demanded for an unbiased plebiscite under the supervision of United nations (UN) in order to know the free will of Kashmiris, which could set them free from illegal Indian domination. Qatar took a prominent stand in resolving the dispute

and stood in favor of Pakistan since majority of people in Kashmir are Muslims, and Qatar wanted freedom for this nation (Khan, 1990). Furthermore, in 2017 the Gulf crisis became the major political issue between Saudi Arabia and Qatar. Saudi Arabia shut down its alliance with Qatar, stopped its exports, seized its border and implemented illegal blockade (Al Jazeera Studies, 2017). During this blockade, Pakistan strived to maintain its ties with both the countries and it was important for Pakistan to continue receiving the uninterrupted financial aid needed to support its handicapped economic condition. Initially, Pakistan's stance was more tilted towards Qatar but later repositioned itself towards neutrality.

The role of Jihad one of the major concerns for these countries. In the 1980s, Afghan mujahedeen supported by U.S, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and many other Arab donors, decided to fight against the Soviet troops from their hideouts in the rocky areas located in Afghanistan. Since the 9/11 attack on New York, Pentagon and other targets in U.S, the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (the Afghan Taliban, especially its Haqqani Network) has been fighting against American and NATO soldiers from their shelters in Afghanistan and Pakistani cities such as Abbottabad, Rawalpindi, Karachi and Quetta (Yusufzai, Jang News, 2011). A conference was conducted in Qatar where it was mutually agreed to allow the leaders of Afghan Taliban to stay in Doha, the capital of Qatar. The high officials from U.S, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Qatar participated in that conference. Pakistan stood firm with Qatar to overcome the ongoing issue between U.S. and Taliban commanders. Actually, Pakistan's primary goal was to liberate Afghanistan from U.S. dominance because Afghanistan shares its border with Pakistan so from the security perspective, it is imperative for the peace and prosperity in Pakistan. On the other hand, Qatar maintains cordial alliance with Afghanistan government as they had signed several security agreements in the past during US

suppression in Afghanistan. Pakistan and Qatar both supported Afghanistan in order to improve the regional peace and somehow control the U.S. dominance in the region (Yusufzai, Jang News, 2011).

RESEARCH PROBLEM

In 1970s, most of the Gulf States were newly formed and sought balanced power in the region but due to unsecure borders they were not able to protect their land from external threats or potential Iranian dominance. The 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran posed serious challenges for these states. They had conflicting relations with Iran and its interference in the region influenced the infrastructure of Qatar, Oman and Saudi Arabia. Iran's regime is based on Shi'ism and Gulf States promote the Sunni sect of Islam which created challenges for Gulf countries. The thesis identifies the problems faced by three Gulf countries: Saudi Arabia, Oman and Qatar due to the intervention of Iran in the Gulf region and the role of Pakistan in providing security to Gulf countries in order to protect them from Iran's dominance. Pakistan looked for secure political structure which would have a positive impact on its financial and social structure. In addition to this, the intervention of India was the prevalent problem for Pakistan over the last several decades. India's aim was to invade the border areas of Pakistan to enforce its dominance, which was simply not acceptable to Pakistan (Cordier,2013). The thesis highlights the problems faced by Pakistan from India and the role of three important Gulf countries: Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Oman, and analyses the main causes of their alliance with Pakistan.

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The purpose of this research is to study and identify the relationship of Pakistan with three Gulf countries - Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Oman. The thesis aims to highlight

their political, religious, cultural and economic collaboration. Although since the day of its creation, Pakistan is religiously affiliated with these countries yet the discovery of oil in these lands have posed great challenges. Moreover, the presence of Iran and Israel in this region cannot be ignored. To tackle these challenges, Pakistan's state of the art military power is more than a blessing for these countries and Pakistani nation is always ready to help their Arab muslim brothers at the time of distress.

Any country cannot rely solely upon its own resources rather it has to interact globally for survival through imports and exports. Hence, the same formula was utilized by Pakistan and three Gulf countries to strengthen their mutual relationship. In this regard, Pakistan supplied military equipment and armed forces to Qatar, which helped to abolish the external threats. Moreover, the geographic location of Oman has great strategic importance for Pakistan as it is the closest Arab neighbor in terms of physical distance and links Arabian Peninsula to Pakistan. In addition, Gwadar was formerly a part of Oman but later it was sold to Pakistan in 1958, which resulted in the development of its cordial alliances with Pakistan. In return, Pakistan supported Oman during the battle of Dhofar. The contribution and efforts of Balochi Tribe in supporting Oman is discussed in this thesis. Moreover, the thesis discusses about Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Oman as the major energy producers of oil and LNG. They export big quantities of oil to Pakistan which not only helps the government of Pakistan to resolve their basic fuel shortage issues but it is also helpful in manufacturing advanced weapons for protection against consistent threats from Afghanistan and India.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

Keeping in mind the relationship of Pakistan and Gulf countries, this thesis is significant in many aspects as it provides appropriate and extensive body of knowledge

which contributes to understand the historical and contemporary political and security issues of these countries. The thesis confirms that Pakistan and Gulf countries are glued together like a single body and their sincere mutual cooperation is the need of the hour to cope with the evolving challenges across the world. Moreover, it illustrates how these countries pull themselves out of danger zones by mutual coordination and collaboration, and in doing so, can also provide a framework for policy makers to understand how to protect themselves from threats in present or in future. Additionally, this thesis enhances the knowledge of the readers in terms of political and armed forces security in Pakistan and Gulf countries. The security and foreign policies of any country can be developed as a result of the changing geo-political environment. Furthermore, this thesis offers a chance to explore long term alliances based on deep-rooted mutual trust. The thesis aims to focus and enhance the knowledge regarding mutual collaboration for common benefits.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question of this thesis are as below:

- What were the prime reasons which forced Pakistan and three Gulf countries i.e. Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman to establish security alliance?
- To what extent Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Oman and Pakistan have been able to develop and sustain their political alliance in terms of religious matters, economical condition and the external threats from Iran, India and Afghanistan?

LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis is based on political and security relations between Pakistan and Gulf countries including Saudi Arabia, Oman and Qatar. This research reviews the relevant

literature on emerging dynamics of Pakistan with Gulf countries. Firstly, I will explain the factors behind the relationship, which the previous research did not give attention to sufficiently explore the political and security alliance of Pakistan with Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman. Moreover, there is very less information about this alliance which will be covered and analyzed in this thesis using authentic resources. Secondly, I will review the literature of previous researches and lastly, will compare the relationship of these countries with Pakistan. In early years of independence for the Gulf States, they were seeking support from outside the region. At that time, Pakistan was well established and capable to support these states. According to Kamran (2013), the main reason for the Gulf countries to develop strong ties was based on military needs. These newly formed Gulf states were striving to provide safety and security for their people and territory. In this context, Pakistan agreed to provide military support to these states. The second reason for this alliance between Pakistan and three Gulf countries was to support the poor economic situation of Pakistan. Pakistan was economically weak whereas Gulf countries had rich source of oil reserves which supported Pakistan to attain financial stability (Mehtora, 2009). Another important reason of these alliances was to stabilize social values and religious concerns for which they established cordial ties in the political sector. Aziz (2014), explains that these three Gulf countries and Pakistan have similar culture and religion, that is why these countries share common memberships of many organization including Economic Cooperation Organization, South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation and Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

Referring to the first research question: Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman had security issues in the early years of independence. Pakistan was the first Muslim country who agreed to sign security pact with these three Gulf States (Kamran, 2013). After the independence in 1947, Pakistan tried to maintain cordial ties with Gulf

countries on the basis of religion and ethnicity. At that time, Saudi Arabia was the only independent state; secured freedom from British colonies in 1932. Both these countries aimed to make ties and support each other. Later on, when Pakistan established its strong army, they supported Saudi Arabia from their military sustenance. Kamran (2013) explained in his research that Pakistan was always ready to provide its military to Gulf countries to ensure safety and security of people in these countries. Cordier (2016) investigated that in early years of 1970s, these states sought security from outside the region, and Pakistan was the first Muslim country who offered them its military support as plenty of resources were sent to Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman because the local population was not capable to join military forces. Bokhari (2017) described that in 1979, Pakistan played an important role in protecting Saudi Arabia because of its religious affiliation with Makkah, which is considered to be the center of attention for the muslims in Pakistan. At that time, unfortunately Saudi Arabia was unable to secure Makkah because of its weak military capabilities. In 1979, The Salafist militants attacked aggressively and seized Makkah, aimed to introduce their religious government. At that time, Pakistan sent its troops to protect the holy land of Muslims from the rebellion of Salafist. Mudassir (2012) argued the alliance of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan can help each other for their own personal benefits. He mentioned in his article that during 1991, Pakistan sent 20,000 military personnel to Saudi Arabia while in return, Pakistan received oil for producing military weapons. Saddiqa (2016) expressed her view that in the past, Israel was keenly interested to invade the Gulf region but due to the common religious ethnicity, Pakistan wanted to protect Saudi Arabia and other areas of the region. Saddiqa (2016) further analyzed that the historical and ideological implications compelled Pakistan to support and protect Islamic countries from Israel. Kamran (2013) investigated in his article that in 2012, Emir of Qatar and president of

Pakistan met in Islamabad to sign an agreement in the defense sector and Pakistan agreed to send its best army officers to protect the boundaries and training of Qatari soldiers. In addition, advanced military equipment was also provided by Pakistan including military weapons, machines, accessories like military boots etc.

According to Kechichian (1995), Oman and Pakistan share the cultural ethnicity and religion because the people of Baluchistan (Pakistan) are settled in the Omani territory from the last couple of decades. Kechichian (1995) further discussed that the newly formed sultanate of Oman was not in a condition to provide security to its people. Hence, Pakistan sent its army divided into two separate groups, one group was deployed to secure the borders of Oman and the other group was held responsible to ensure the internal security of the country. Both these countries mutually agreed to protect Oman from the external and internal threats i.e. rebellious attitude of the local people, Iranian influence and U.S. impact on Omani government. Qamar (1991) analyzed that Pakistan was facing security challenges in the region due to its inconsistent ties with India which forced Pakistan to strengthen its alliance with Oman against India. Oman is the nearest country which helps to connect and serves as a gateway to receive the security and financial aid from the other Gulf countries. In order to maintain the internal security, it was important for Pakistan to establish strong relationship with Oman and other Gulf countries because they are the biggest oil producers which helped Pakistan to produce nuclear weapons against India.

Pakistan provided security to the Gulf countries and in return they seized oil for manufacturing weapons and other reliable equipment to protect its land from external threats. Moreover, during the Indo-Pak war in 1971, Gulf countries supported Pakistan against India by offering oil to be utilized in producing nuclear weapons. Ahmed (2010), argued that the Gulf region acts as a buffer between India and Pakistan because

Gulf countries too have alliance with India which is not acceptable to Pakistan. Actually, Pakistan was not in a condition to lose ties with Gulf countries so they continued to provide military resources to the Gulf region. Abbas (2016) claimed that the major reason for this continuous military support from Pakistan was intended to help in strengthening its economy. From the last few decades, Pakistan faced severe economic crisis and the situation of the country was negatively affected due to the increasing poverty. So, these alliances with three Gulf countries provided resources and financial aid to Pakistan for maintaining its economy. Mudassir (2012), supported the argument in his research that Pakistan was financially weak and Gulf countries encouraged Pakistan by making financial contributions to overcome poverty resulting in the improvement of its economy. Unemployment, poverty and financial crisis were the major challenges for Pakistan. Moreover, many Pakistanis migrated to Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman for better lifestyle. These three Gulf States signed long term agreements with Pakistan to provide jobs and services to the Pakistani people. Malik (2010), investigated that the financial support from Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Oman towards Pakistan is increasing every year due to the ever-increasing unemployment rate in Pakistan. He further added that Qatar allowed multiple kind of jobs for Pakistani residents in different categories including Doctors, Engineers and Labors etc. and many other small business opportunities i.e. restaurants, shops and companies in which they can work together with Qatari citizens.

Accordingly, Pakistan is neither completely nor typically peripheral in this regard. Indeed, it possesses greater military strength and experience as well as has more diverse industries than GCC countries. In addition, it also produces military hardware and provides defense expertise to Saudi Arabia and other GCC states as well as has the distinction of being the world's only Islamic nuclear power so far. Though its potential

may well be limited due to setbacks such as natural disasters and political instability but it is not a fully-fledged or completely passive periphery. (Bruno, 2013)

Pakistan has maintained long-lasting relations with all the Gulf states from the time of its independence, however during the Gulf crisis in 2017, these relations fluctuated and as a result, the political ties between these countries were slightly amended. According to Saddiqa (2017), the political impact of blockade between Qatar and Saudi Arabia had also affected Pakistan to some extent. As always, Pakistan has voiced its strong desire to stabilize its position with both these countries because they have been its major source of financial aid from so many years. So, Pakistan was not in a position to take any stand under pressure from both Qatar and Saudi Arabia. Zulfiqar (2017), concluded in his study that during this blockade, Pakistan decided to take stance in favor of Qatar. The high officials from both the countries met and signed MOUs to support each other in internal and external affairs. Furthermore, due to this blockade, a large number of Pakistanis left Saudi Arabia and Qatar because of lost jobs, which forced Pakistan to secure its economic condition by strengthening its political ties. Aleem (2017) analyzed that Qatar is one of the wealthiest countries so it was the right decision from Pakistan to keep balanced relations with Qatar as its economy was not in a position to sustain hostile relations with any Gulf country. On the other hand, Shahid (2017) argued that Pakistan tried to strike a balance between KSA and Qatar because both these countries were the big suppliers of monetary aid to Pakistan in order to stabilize its financial condition. Fisk (2017) observed that Pakistan's diplomatic ties during the time of crisis was beneficial to its own situation as the security threats from India and political challenges from Afghanistan encouraged Pakistan to stabilize its alliance with Saudi Arabia and Qatar. Zuberi (2018), analyzed that Pakistan was trapped during the blockade as Saudi Arabia pushed Pakistan to make a decision. Pakistan's main aim was to resolve this issue by keeping itself neutral, but the relentless pressure from Saudi Arabia forced Pakistan for actions. The neutral

stance of Pakistan was not acceptable to Saudi Arabia because they needed Pakistan's military aid for the protection of their land. On the other hand, Qatar aimed to stabilize the situation when Pakistan supported Qatar's view on the settlement of mutual relations. Pakistan and Qatar shared the same view in the Gulf crisis and aimed to work for normalizing the situation but the careless attitude of Saudi Arabia produced crisis in the region. Hussain (2018) investigated that Qatar had invested more than \$15 billion dollars in many new projects in Pakistan, so it was imperative for Pakistan to maintain strong political ties with Qatar.

The most important factor which played a key role in the relations between Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Qatar was the role of Mujahedeen. Roznama Ummat (2019) reported that the highly effective Afghan terror organization, the Haqqani Network, was founded by late jihadi commander Jalaluddin Haqqani whose affairs are now handled by his son, Sirajuddin Haqqani. The Haqqani Network consists of 20,000 members. Mullen (2011) affirmed that they had hostile relations with U.S. because U.S. wanted to invade Afghanistan but at the same time, Haqqani Mujahedeen had a strong hold in Afghan politics. U.S. claimed that Haqqani group had secretive areas where they used to run their organizational affairs and provided training of terrorism. Mullen (2011) further expressed that those hidden places were also present in Pakistan where Haqqani network used to train the militants. Moreover, Roznama Ummat (2019) observed that Pakistan aimed to detach itself from the Haqqani Network because its position was unclear to U.S. which could have created an alarming situation for Pakistan. Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Pakistan intended to relocate Taliban leaders due to the ongoing situation in Afghanistan because U.S. interference in the Muslim countries caused problems in the region as Pakistan and Afghanistan share common borders while Qatar has a cordial alliance with Afghanistan. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia's objective was to maintain its supremacy and dominance upon the Muslim countries. All these

factors had serious impact on the relations of Pakistan with Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman. As it is clear from the academic literature, many authors focused on strong bilateral security and political ties between Pakistan and individual Gulf states. Although my thesis is an extension of their research work, but it also offers a significant contribution by examining relationships between Pakistan and three major Gulf States, utilizing a wide variety of sources and methodologies that will be addressed in the next chapter.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design indicates the plan in a proper structural form and implements a particular research. Research design is a central part of a research which includes four important components: the strategy, conceptual framework, identification of the study and how the tools are being used for collecting and analyzing data (Punch, 1998). The present research used Qualitative Research Methodology which is based on analysis, descriptive, and argumentative research. The purpose of using this methodology is to investigate the meaning that attributes to the behavior, actions and interaction between the Gulf countries and Pakistan based on political and security ties. Furthermore, this research chose the qualitative method because it is the best way to answer the research questions as it is based on primary and secondary resources. All those resources are extracted from authentic institutes from Pakistan and Qatar. Research papers from the library of International Islamic University and articles from Embassy and Gulf Studies center in Pakistan provided the authentic resources for the thesis. Qualitative research is designed in a manner that helps my research to reveal and analyze the behavior and perception of the target area with reference to the particular topic. There are different types of qualitative research methods which I have used in my study which includes: record keeping, content analysis, previous case study, historical research and analytical

research.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

In this type of research, qualitative research methods are used. These are highly recommended methods in the social sciences which enable the researchers in understanding the ongoing challenges of society. The examples of qualitative research include case study, theory, previous articles of researchers. Qualitative data sources include observation, texts and documents (Babu, 2008).

For this research, the method of observation was designed in a systematic order by watching news, reading updated articles and collection of old newspapers from the Embassy of “Islamic Republic of Pakistan” in Doha, Qatar. Noticing the political and security relations of Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman with Pakistan is the major component of the qualitative research which strengthens the research. This observation is important as it may help to find out what others think about the situation and how they understand and evaluate the objects (Frankel, 2009). The aim of this research is to think critically and gather information from primary resources.

This thesis refers to the previous researchers’ content and their analysis about the relations between Gulf countries and Pakistan. However, this research makes use of different techniques for collecting primary data i.e. watching and reading documentaries, case studies and observation for analyzing the main factors. The research is dealing with human interaction and perspectives; hence it is highly encouraged to use qualitative method.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is basically a process that helps to conduct a research by providing different types of tools and techniques. Walliman (2001), explains about

variety of tools that can help in conducting a research. Therefore, it is important to select the best and reliable method useful for thesis writing. The study focuses on two major components of research methodology i.e. data collection and data analysis. After data collection, the study will critically analysis the data to come up with latest information.

ARGUMENTATIVE RESEARCH

The purpose of choosing this research design is to identify the problem and add analytical and critical information with evidence to support my arguments. This research design is argumentative because it makes claim about arguments which are debatable and arguable. This is specifically relevant in the political relations between Pakistan and the Gulf countries, characterized by fluctuating alliances which took the attention and discussed arguments on the previous researchers' study. Argumentative research is beneficial to my thesis in many ways. Firstly, it will provide detailed information related to the ongoing issues between Pakistan and Gulf countries. Secondly, it will be helpful to perform the critical analysis of available data with valid arguments and thirdly, it will support the conclusion by using reliable resources.

INSTRUMENTS FOR DATA COLLECTION

There are different types of instruments used for data collection. I have used the most common instruments which helped me to gather accurate and reliable information. These fall under the qualitative research type which comprises books, newspapers, previous researches and findings, articles and case study to be utilized for precise analysis.

LIBRARY RESEARCH

According to Togia & Malliari (2017), library research is the best way to keep

the evidence of thesis such as historical records and documents. In addition to this, other sources for data collection from library includes books, articles, journals, published and unpublished dissertations etc. Library research is also helpful in finding data from the internet due to authentic websites accessible from library. In this research, the data collected from library is categorized as Secondary data such as articles, journals, published and unpublished dissertation and newspapers.

In this research, both the primary and secondary data is used for data collection. Secondary data includes literature review, discussion and conclusion. The literature review contains different types of data collected from various resources, including journals regarding Pakistan and Gulf relations. Secondary data is also used in the discussion and conclusion part for descriptive and argumentative research. Moreover, the available secondary data is collected from Qatar University Library, Qatar National Library, International Islamic University Library Islamabad, Gulf Research Centre in Qatar and Centre for Security Studies in Pakistan.

CASE STUDY

The case study method has evolved over the past few years and developed into valuable qualitative research method (Adi, 2012). This method is more appropriate in my research area which involves a case specific deep dive with thorough understanding of data collection and inferring data. During the stage of relationship building between Gulf countries and Pakistan, the case studies of Oman, Qatar and Saudi Arabia will help me to comprehend and enhance the arguments.

RECORD KEEPING

It is a new type of research method which makes use of existing reliable resources and documents as a source of data. For my research, I will use library

resources because it provides authentic research articles. Moreover, for record keeping, I will use books, reference material and online data to collect the relevant data supporting my thesis. Online data is an advance and reliable source for my study as a number of records are being archived on authentic websites which could help me to give relevant information with strong arguments.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the theoretical approach utilized to explain the Gulf relations with Pakistan. It focuses on realism, highlights the critiques of this approach and draws the attention to the reasons that why this approach is important to discuss the analysis of Pakistan and Gulf relations. Moreover, the theory describes the news, society, political and military relations of the countries and how it contributes to the efforts of building strong alliances for political benefits.

The study of international relations adopts a wide range of theoretical approaches. Some emerged from within the discipline itself while others were imported totally or partially from disciplines such as economics or sociology. In fact, few social scientific theories have been applied to the study of relations between nations. Many theories of international relations are disputed internally and externally so a few scholars believe only in one or the other. Despite this diversity, several important schools of thought are recognizable, mainly differentiated by the variables they underline. For example, military power, material interests or ideological beliefs. Under Realism for realists (sometimes called "structural realists" or "neorealist", unlike the previous "classic realists"), anarchy defines the international system as the absence of a central authority (Waltz, 1979). The states are sovereign and therefore autonomous from each other. There is no intrinsic structure or society that can arise or even exist to

organize the relations between them. They are bound only by forced coercion or by their own consent. In such an anarchist system, state power is really the key and the only variable of interest because states can defend themselves and hope to survive only through power. Realism can understand power in several ways, e.g. military, economic and diplomatically but ultimately emphasizes the distribution of coercive material capacity as a determinant of international politics. This worldview is based on four hypotheses (Mearsheimer, 1994). First, the realists claim that survival is the main objective of each state. Invasion and foreign occupation are the most common threats which all states must face. Even if the internal interests and strategic culture or commitment to a series of national ideals dictate more benevolent or cooperative international goals. The anarchy of the international system requires the states to guarantee constantly that they have sufficient power to defend themselves and promote their material interests necessary for survival. Second, the realists believe that states are rational artists which means that given the objective of survival, states will act in the best possible way to maximize their likelihood of continuing to exist. Third, the realists assume that all states possess a certain military capacity and they do not know what exactly their neighbors imply. In other words, the world is dangerous and uncertain. Fourth, there are great powers across the globe and those are the states with greatest economic, military might in particular.

In the International relations, the main theories are decisive. With this perspective, international relations are basically the history of politics of Great powers. Realists also diverge in some problems. The so-called offensive realists argue that to ensure the survival of states, they will try to maximize their power over others (Mearsheimer, 2001). If rival countries have enough power to threaten a state, then they cannot be safe. Therefore, if possible, domination is the best strategy for a country. On

the other hand, defensive realists believe that domination is a reckless strategy for the state survival (Waltz, 1979). They point out that the competition for power/control can lead a state to disastrous conflicts with peers. Defensive realists emphasize upon the system of stability to maintain the balance of power in which every state has an equal distribution of energy, which ensures that no one risks attacking another. "Polarity" or the distribution of power among the Great Powers is the key concept in realistic theory. The predominant emphasis by realists on anarchy and power leads them to a weak vision of international law and international institutions (Mearsheimer 1994). In fact, realists believe that these aspects of international politics are simply epiphenomenal i.e. it reflects the balance of power but does not link or influence the behavior of the state. In an anarchist system without hierarchical authority, the realists claim that the law can only be applied through state power. But why should a state choose to spend its precious power on execution if it does not have a direct material interest in the outcome? And if the application is impossible and fraud is likely, then why should a state agree to cooperate through a treaty or institution in the first place? Therefore, states can create international laws and international institutions and can apply the coding rules.

The theory supports the current thesis in analyzing the realist approach of the countries under consideration. According to theory, countries setup the international law and alliances to support each other's external and internal issues. Pakistan developed strong alliances with three Gulf States to secure its political and economic structure, because it was facing economic crisis from last many decades and it needed assistance from these countries well equipped to support its financial sector. To achieve this goal, Pakistan looked to create relations outside the region. On the other side, Qatar and Oman were newly formed states and Saudi Arabia had external issues with Iran, so they needed security in the region. Pakistan agree to support in protecting their lands

and in return, these gulf countries offered their financial aid. By analyzing the interest of these countries, it is quite clear that they have applied power balancing with reference to the realistic theory. In addition, these countries signed mutual security and political alliances which resulted in the exchange of armed forces and financial aid. In 1980s, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman signed the agreement and a permanent law was enforced to support Pakistan by sending economic aid to stabilize the political situation and build the country's infrastructure. Accordingly, realism is a useful and appropriate theoretical framework utilized to consider the issues at stake under the research questions.

CHAPTER TWO: POLITICAL AND SECURITY RELATIONS OF SAUDI ARABIA AND PAKISTAN

The civilization, religion, geographic proximity and common interests in military and political affairs are the main factors that allowed Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to establish their relationship (Shabbir, 2014). Pakistan considered Saudi Arabia as its strategic partner because both these countries usually supported each other for their strategic interests such as in early 1960s (Sial, 2015). During the era of King Faisal in 1970, the ties became clearer due to the strong military alliance and in return, Saudi Arabia affirmed its interest to support Pakistan by sending financial aid for strengthening military sector. During that period, both these countries had agreed upon bilateral agreement and decided to support each other (Woemer, 2013. P.15). However, due to Iran's diplomatic relations with Pakistan, Saudi Arabia revisited its strategy towards Pakistan and pressurized it to support in military affairs. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia signed the "Defense agreement" in 1971 and according to this agreement, Pakistan should coordinate with Saudi Arabia in securing internal and external affairs (Woemer, 2013, p.20). While analyzing the relations of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, it is also important to discuss the Iranian influence over the defense ties between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Iran had a strong religious alliance with the Shi'a community in Pakistan which had an impact on the political condition of Pakistan. Consequently, its security alliance with Saudi Arabia was affected (Ahmed, Faisal, 2015).

SECURITY ALLIANCE BETWEEN SAUDI ARABIA AND

PAKISTAN

The people of Pakistan have always expressed special sentiments for Saudi Arabia because of two sacred places i.e. Makkah and Medina where they perform Umrah and Hajj every year. Since they had religious affiliation with Makkah and Medina so they aimed to secure these holy lands. The policy of Pakistan stated that: Pakistan will provide security if the holy places get attacked (Kamran, 2013). Several agreements were signed between the two countries under the “Mutual Cooperation Program”. This program basically focuses on cooperation with each other in the internal and external affairs for instance, Saudi Arabia had signed Defense agreement with Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 in which it was agreed that both these countries should support each other in their matters. In 1965, India attacked Pakistan and Saudi Arabia supported Pakistan by signing “security pact” (Kamran, 2013, p. 58). In 1971, both these countries signed an emergency agreement due to the sudden attack of India on East Pakistan (Bangladesh). Moreover, they signed financial agreement in the early 1980s and as a result, Saudi Arabia supported Pakistan financially in strengthening military sector by sending financial aid and in return, Pakistan agreed to send its manpower and military aid to Saudi Arabia for military assistance. In 1967 and 1979, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan exchanged correspondence admitting the ability of Pakistan to supply personnel in order to deliver training for Saudi military (Shay, 2018). Associated Press of Pakistan (1991) reported that the “Mutual Cooperation Program” between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia allowed Pakistan to send 13,000 troops and 6,000 advisors in the Gulf war and 20,000 personal troops for Saudi Arabia, who supported and provided training to the local Saudi troops. Bokhari (2017) analyzed that it was the first time for Pakistan when troops were assigned not just for the sake of war but for other specific objectives as well. Those objectives were military training to the local

Saudi troops, provide assistance to the Saudi military, internal protection of Saudi Arabia i.e. holy places of Makkah and Medina, and provide security for oil wells (Blank, 2015). In 1982 and 2009, the Saudi army visited Pakistan to participate in the joint military exercises as a part of military trainings. Saudi troops were trained in different military sectors that included air force, army and navy. They were also trained for handling military equipment such as war equipment and technical equipment (Kamran, 2013).

In 2012, both countries met in Karachi, Pakistan to enhance the defense and security cooperation. The meeting was held under the supervision of Pakistan's Army Chief General Raheel Shareef and the Defense minister of Saudi Arabia Major General Talal Abdullah Al-Otaibi. The agenda of the meeting was mutual interest, regional security, enhance bilateral defense cooperation (Dawn News, 2012). Chief General Raheel Shareef stated that "Visiting dignitary from Saudi Arabia assist Pakistan army's in the contribution of regional peace and stability" (Dawn News, 2018). They signed the mutual agreement to enhance defense and security cooperation and agreed to support each other in regional peace and stability but in 2015, during the Yemen war, their relationship fluctuated because Saudi monarchs pressurized Pakistan to send its troops and equipment in war. The war in Yemen driven tension between the Saudi regime and Pakistan's neighbor Iran (Shay, 2018). The Pakistani Parliament decided to turn down the request of Saudi Arabia to join its alliance fighting the takeover of Yemen by the Houthis (Shay, 2018) On this issue the Federal Minister for Defense Pervaiz Khatak said during the press conference in Islamabad that "we are acting as a peacemaker between the two countries to end the war" (Roznama Ummat, 2019). Blank (2015) analyzed that Pakistan was not in a condition to join Saudi Arabia in the war because of the internal economic crisis which affected the military sector and external

issues with India and Iranian regime in the region. It was not possible for Pakistan to take stand with Saudi Arabia in Yemen war. Pakistan was in favor that they should take neutral stance on the Yemen conflict because their step of neutrality may balance the relationship with Saudi Arabia and Iran. Bokhari (2017) analyzed that Pakistan was already facing external issues with India and Afghanistan which is threat for Pakistan's security. During those crisis Pakistan is not able to participate in Yemen war and aimed to maintain peace with the Muslim countries so that its territory should be protected. Ayesha (2016), analyzed that the Pakistan's neutral stance had consolidated its position in the region, but had fluctuated its security relations with Saudi Arabia. In that case, Saudi Arabia had stopped its financial aid towards Pakistan and sent troops back to Pakistan who were working in the Saudi military. The immediate visits took place between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia to talk about regional peace. In that case Pakistan had signed "Mutual Cooperation Program" and under this program Pakistan contracted "defense and security agreement" with Saudi Arabia (Centre of Security Studies, 2016). According the agreement, Pakistan is only responsible for the protection of Saudi Arabia and will not involve in any external issues of Saudi Arabia. Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff General Qamar Javed Bajwa met with Saudi Ambassador to Pakistan Nawaf Saeed Al-Maliki at the Army's General Headquarters in Rawalpindi. After their meeting, the Pakistani military's Inter-Services Public Relations put out a short statement in the Associate Press of Pakistan (2018), noting that a "Pakistan Army contingent is being sent to KSA on training and advise mission". Doubtless to underline that any Pakistani troops would be deployed for border and internal security purposes in Saudi Arabia, not for combat missions in Yemen because Pakistan claimed that they had long term security alliance with Saudi Arabia and any attack on Saudi Arabia, Pakistan will interfere for protecting Saudi territory. In Article 29 of constitution of

Pakistan has mentioned that “the duty of Pakistan’s government is to act for strengthening ties with Muslim world and promote peace and stability” (Center of Security Studies, 13 June, 2016). On the basis of constitution Ghouri (2018), argued that Pakistan aimed to promote peace in Muslim world, and secondly, Pakistan was not in a position of war due to internal economic and political crisis. Asia Times (2018) claimed that, the prospect of a Pakistani deployment to Saudi Arabia has been under discussion for some time between Saudi Arabia’s Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, who met with General Bajwa in Riyadh on February 2015. Pakistan’s objective was to stay away from the war and send the troops towards Saudi Arabia during the crisis in Saudi territory, but ultimately wanted to make peace in the region.

Under the light of theory of realism, the countries are in favor of securing their land and region from the external attacks by maintaining peace and stability. Saudi’s involvement in the Yemen conflict created tension in the foreign policy of Pakistan. Pakistan’s stance with Saudi Arabia depicted realism because the government of Pakistan attempted to balance its position in the region and stabilize rising issues. Pakistan had a stable relationship with Iran so supporting Saudi Arabia could have negatively affected their relations. However, we must admit that supporting Saudi Arabia over Iran benefitted Pakistan in securing its territory from India. Meashmier (2001) explained by using the theory of realism that security of a country is the major goal even if a country gets engaged in disruption and war with another country in order to protect its land. This shows that countries are quite keen to secure their borders by developing different policies and strategies to protect each other whenever it’s needed. During the Yemen crisis in 2014 and 2015, Pakistan’s neutral stance for Saudi Arabia and Iran was in line with realism because Pakistan was not in a position to unsettle its relations with the Arab countries. Secondly, participation in the war could have

imbalanced its position in the region. The theory of realism supported Pakistan's situation and its neutral stance to maintain itself in the region. The Leader of Pakistan People's Party, Naveed Choudhary, stated in the Express Tribune Pakistan (2017) that "Historically, Pakistan has always stood by Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and will continue to protect it in case of external threats but cannot afford to enter any power games. In fact, Pakistan's goal is to promote peace in Yemen".

THE IMPACT OF MUJAHEDDEEN'S NETWORK ON SAUDI ARABIA AND PAKISTAN'S SECURITY RELATIONS

The Mujahedeen's network played an important role in the security alliance between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. In the early years of 2000s, young Mujahedeen were appointed from Afghanistan, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. They were given military training in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia played its role by financing them for its benefits. It is estimated that \$100 million was spent for recruiting and financing jihadi network in Punjab province of Pakistan (Dawn news, 2015). Zia (2018) argued that Saudi Arabia's aim of recruiting Mujahedeen was to push western powers i.e. U.S and Soviet Union out from Afghanistan to attain dominance in the Afghan territory. In 2008, Bryan Hunt, the principal officer at U.S. consulate in Lahore, discussed this issue during his trip to Punjab province of Pakistan. He added that "financial aid from Saudi Arabia is coming from "missionary" and "Islamic Charity" organizations with the direct support of those countries which are involved in it" (The Express News Pakistan, 17 October, 2011). Hunt's statement raised issues between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan's alliance with U.S. The Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia Osama Nugali claimed that "Saudi Arabia is not responsible for any imbalanced situation and wanted to maintain stability in Afghanistan". Saudi Arabia took support from Mujahedeen in Pakistan to

remove Soviet Army from Afghanistan. Moreover, Saudi Arabia, United States and Pakistan actively supported Afghan mujahedeen against Soviet troops. Militancy was subsequently growing in the South Asian countries including Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. These militants started moving to other regions of Pakistan such as Waziristan, Baluchistan, and some areas of Punjab, including Punjerab and Jhelum. These places were the hub for Afghan militants (Hussain, 2017). Many militants moved to northwest tribal areas of Pakistan through the border with Afghanistan because those areas have strong tribal hold and no state laws were applicable over there. They had their own set of rules which they follow in their respective areas. These tribal communities supported Afghan militants because of their close ties and common cultural values (Hussain 2017). In 2010, there was a growing connection between the militant groups there in Punjab and they were observed for carrying suicide bombings in Pakistan (Hussain, 2017). Saudi Arabia was playing an active role by training those militant groups with the aid of U.S. and Pakistan in order to demolish the Russian power in Afghanistan. Jadoon, (2018), observed that Russia had a strong hold on Afghanistan which was not acceptable for Saudi Arabia so they supported Pakistan to give training to the Mujahedeen against Russia. They were well trained young men qualified to work as a militant. Hamid Gul, the Director General of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), mentioned in his interview with Pakistan Television News of Karachi in 2011 that “Mujahedeen are not like common people, they are called as Mujahedeen but they are actually working for United States and Saudi Arabia. They are highly paid, well trained and are not easily accessible because they do not mingle with common people” (Ismail, 2015). Mujahedeen were working under proper instructions from their masters i.e. Saudi Arabia and U.S, and Pakistan deployed people who worked for U.S. and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan aimed to support Saudi Arabia in the Afghan war so that Pakistan

could secure its western border shared with Afghanistan. Khatak (2012) analysed that the territory of Pakistan was used by Saudi Arabia for its own benefits. Saudi Arabia wanted to consolidate its power in the region with the help of U.S. and Pakistan. U.S. had conflicting ties with Russia and its objective was to withdraw Russia's administration from Afghanistan. For this purpose, in 2011, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and U.S. met in Islamabad to discuss the issue of Afghanistan and the role of Mujahedeen in this matter. The Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif stated in the meeting that "Any threat to the Saudi Arabia's sovereignty would provoke a strong response from Pakistan". Rashid (2017) argued that Pakistan was in support of Saudi Arabia because it was facing its own security issues in the region.

CHILDREN'S TRAINING CAMPS IN PAKISTAN

The Mujahedeen's network in Punjab reportedly exploited worsening poverty to brainwash children and ultimately send them to training camps (Yusufzai, Jang News, 2011). Besides, Saudi Arabia is considered as a home of fundamentalists, where they use Wahhabi sect of Islam for those activities. They provided funds to Pakistan's religious seminaries (also known as madrassas) which were sometimes used in radicalization efforts; practitioners in madrassas became more aggressive when it comes to religion and there begins the holy war which was a serious threat to the stability of religion (Yusufzai, Jang News, 2011). In these madrassas, around 18,000 children were offered training by the Afghan refugees and they were disconnected from the outside world. In addition, they only indulged with the activities and knowledge which was given inside madrassas and they were taught sectarian extremism, hatred for non-Muslims and anti-Western/anti-Pakistan government philosophy. Roznama Ummat (2019), reported an investigation that the recruitment agencies of Saudi Arabia

and Pakistan in seminaries were depended upon the age of children, with young children aging between 8-12 being favoured the most. Teachers in seminaries assessed and monitored the preference and capabilities of children and then decided to engage them in adopting the extreme jihadi culture by conducting violent acts in the name of of holy war. This kind of training and brainwashing triggered the spread of terrorism and extremism in Pakistan. As a result, a number of innocent children and even families of Afghan refugees were brutally exploited (BBC Urdu, 24 April, 2014). At this time, Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan, the Special Assistant of Prime minister for Information and Broadcasting stated on ARY News (2019) that “the situation in Pakistan is due to these Madrassas, the source of extremism where they work and fulfil their propagandas” (Meer, September 2019, ARY News). Zia (2018) argued that terrorism spread vis children is because of financial difficulties for the refugees in Pakistan; families cannot afford a lifestyle where children are educated properly and as a result, the recruitment agencies compel them to send their children in these seminaries where they are exploited. Jadoon (2018), claimed that these recruiters abused and took full advantage of financial crisis and poverty in Pakistan. They gave confidence and trapped families for free religious education. The former Director of National Directorate of the Security Afghanistan Muhammad Masoom stated in 2017 that, “There is no doubt that children are recruited in the Afghan refugee Camps in Pakistan where they are exploited” (refworld, December, 2016). Gul (2019) analysed that these children were asked to work for securing Saudi territory against Soviet and Iranian attacks. Saudi Arabia was working secretly with Pakistan on this project of terrorism by using children of Afghan refugees. Zabiullah Mujahid, the leader of Taliban, stated on the Apna News Pakistan in 2018 that “Pakistan is actively involved in giving training for terrorism to the Afghan Refugee children. Around 1.5 million of Afghan families have migrated and Pakistan

is very active in these refugee camps.” (Apna News, 16 Dec, 2018). After this statement, the Prime Minister of Pakistan; Imran Khan, called for an immediate meeting with Saudi Prince Muhammad Bin Salman in Islamabad. The two countries decided to establish “Joint Supreme Coordination Council” between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. Prime Minister Imran Khan mentioned in the meeting that “Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are working together to produce peace in the Muslim countries and fight against the terrorism.” Abdul Hamid (2019) argued that Pakistan’s motive to support Saudi Arabia in training Afghan Refugees was to get financial aid in military and economic sector in order to develop the infrastructure of Pakistan, secure its border with Afghanistan, and maintain stability in the country.

INVOLVEMENT OF U.S. AND IRAN BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND SAUDI ARABIA.

Since the 1970s, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan have collaborated over numerous issues in the region. i.e. security for oil wells, Iranian influence in the Gulf region but the U.S. involvement in their alliance was always challenging. The strategic location of Pakistan was the centre of attention for U.S. because Pakistan has a close border with Gulf countries and also shares its northern border with China. Whenever Saudi Arabia faced some difficulty, Pakistan has always showed its willingness to support Saudi regime (Kamren, 2013). During the Iraq invasion of Kuwait in 1990, Pakistan sent its army to secure Saudi territory from the rising issues (Kamran, 2013). At this time, U.S. supported the Pakistan army in strengthening the Saudi borders. The relationship among these Muslim countries was stable in the early years of 2000s and the US involvement in these countries was clearly observed, which was not acceptable to Pakistan because this involvement threatened the security of Pakistan. The leader of

Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan Siraj ul Haq mentioned on ARY News (2016), that “the security of Muslim countries is important to every citizen of Pakistan and the US policies with Muslim countries trigger political issues between them” (ARY News, 21 September, 2016). U.S. relations with Afghanistan was an important concern for Pakistan’s security due to its shared border. On the other side, Pakistan’s security relations with Gulf countries were playing an important role in the defence sector but the U.S. involvement created issues in the economic alliance with Gulf countries. Saudi Arabia sent the financial aid to Pakistan for strengthening the military and in return Pakistan supplied military aid to Saudi Arabia, however due to the presence of U.S, there were serious challenges for Pakistan in the supply of military aid and getting financial support from Saudi Arabia (Raja, 2017). General Pervez Musharraf, the former President of Pakistan and the high officials from Saudi Arabia met in Islamabad for security agreement because U.S. involvement was becoming problematic for Pakistan’s alliance with Saudi Arabia (Shahid, 2016). At that time, Pakistan was in a critical condition because the regional issues with India and Afghanistan were threatening Pakistani regime. Saudi Arabia sent economic aid and oil to strengthen the military equipment against the external threats from Iran and stabilize its borders. Both Saudi Arabia and Pakistan were always in a position to stabilize their relations and maintain the foreign policy but the involvement from U.S. presented a great challenge for their alliances. The U.S. presence affected Pakistan’s internal administration rigorously because Pakistan was financially weak and it was looking for more countries to involve by providing security aid (Shahid, 2016). In 2007 during the era of Asif Ali Zardari, the aim was to strengthen alliance with Iran rather than Saudi Arabia because Zardari belonged to the Shi’a sect of Islam and he had strong ethnic affiliations with Iranian Shi’a administration. Allama Sajid Naqvi, the head of Tehri-e-Islami, said that

“the election in Iran shows that Mahmoud Ahmadinejad gain trust from the Iranian People and conveyed hope that Pakistan and Iran will have better relations in the future” (MSNBC,2009). On the other hand, the long-term relations between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan were increasingly dented from instability because Saudi Arabia was interested in pursuing a stable alliance with U.S. in the security sector. The U.S. aim was to strengthen its army and maintain ties with Saudi Arabia but on the other side, Pakistan’s aim was to secure its country in the South Asian region by maintaining an alliance with Iran. In 2017, U.S. and Saudi officials expressed that Pakistan should mediate between Iran and U.S. but Pakistani officials said that “We immediately spoke to Iranian government during the meeting, but right now we cannot say more than this, we are trying to be a mediator” (VOA News, 2017). Pakistan has taken loans from Saudi Arabia and signed long term bilateral alliances, but the diplomatic alliance with Iran does not allow Pakistan to demonstrate a preference for one country or stabilize the alliance with both countries (AbdulHamid, 2016). The Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan added that “We realize that it is a complex issue, but we believe that this can be resolved with dialogue which should not encourage the war between Saudi Arabia and Iran” (Al Jazeera News, 2019). This statement investigated that Pakistan was trying to resolve the conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran but due to Pakistan’s internal crisis like weak political structures and poverty, Pakistan cannot afford to lose its alliance with both countries. Hussain (2016), argued that Pakistan was in a position to resolve its internal issues such as poverty and aimed to maintain its alliance with Saudi Arabia and Iran, but the involvement of U.S. in the region was not acceptable for Pakistan because U.S. aimed to secure Saudi oil revenues and get benefits for its own country. The Pakistan Tribune (2016), argued that Pakistan was not able to maintain itself in the region because they had signed security cooperation with Saudi Arabia, but

their alliance with Iran instead of Saudi Arabia had increased tension in the region. Pakistani Journalist, Hamid Mir (2017), argued that due to the increased corruption in the country, the tension between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan was increased because of U.S. influence in the region. He further argued that U.S. involvement between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan had played a diplomatic role in the region which is the cause of instability in the military sector. Javed (2010), investigated that Pakistan's major concern in maintaining stability and peace in the country is due to many external crisis such as ethnic issues with Iran and security issues with Afghanistan and India. Pakistan aimed to control these challenges and stabilize the country by developing peaceful alliance with both Saudi Arabia and Iran.

POLITICAL RELATIONS OF SAUDI ARABIA WITH PAKISTAN

The political ties between both the countries are based on religious ethnicity; shared religion, culture, and civilization. The Prime minister of Pakistan Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto decided to establish political relationship with Saudi Arabia in the early 1970s on the basis of religious affiliation and cultural values. The summit took place in Lahore to promote Islamic unity, acknowledging that "Saudi Arabia is the key player of oil embargo", during the summit Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto stated that "We are on the road of developing close relations with Saudi Arabia" (Hoodboy, 2017). Prime Minister agreed to provide help in the development of Saudi Arabia including underdeveloped cities i.e. Taif, Al Qatif, Damam, Riyadh and Grand Mosque in Makkah. Around 1200 laborers were sent to Saudi Arabia; also, free equipment was offered for the establishment of cities (Guzansky, 2016). Similarly, Saudi government build mosques and Islamic schools in Pakistan. One of the well-known mosques was established by King Faisal and named as "Faisal Mosque" because it was developed during his reign (Javed, 2010). The import and export of products was also increased during his time. Oil was important

commodity for Pakistan and as it is well known that Saudi Arabia is the oil producing country, which helped Pakistan to develop its weaponry to strengthen its position against India. The political relationship between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia is based on religion which supported Pakistan to maintain itself in the two wars against India, 1965 and 1971 (Amin, 2017). Hoodbhoy (2017) argued that their religious ties are basically a political strategy i.e. by highlighting the support from the strongest oil producing country in order to show his supremacy over India, and it was expected that all the important Arab countries will support Pakistan in making nuclear bombs. In contrast, Blank (2015), says that after the independence of Pakistan, its position was not clear to the Islamic world because of increasing religious issues. Pakistan was hoping to improve its credibility in the Islamic world and that was only possible by strengthening relations with Saudi Arabia. Hussain (2016) argued that Pakistan devised a political strategy in terms of religion so that they could maintain cordial relations with Saudi Arabia and could easily get oil supplies to strengthen its position in the South Asia.

AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN: A FACTOR BETWEEN SAUDI ARABIA AND PAKISTAN'S SECURITY ALLIANCE

Pakistan and Saudi Arabia have always kept good relations in terms of politics but the involvement of Iran created suspicion between the two countries (Hooper (2015). On one side, Pakistan shares its border with Iran and on the other side,

Pakistan has a long-standing alliance with Saudi Arabia. Pakistan tried to prolong its relations with both the countries which was too tricky (Sial, 2015). When General Zia-ul-Haq took over the power in 1977, firstly he tried to stabilize its position with both these countries. Secondly, he tried the development of “Islamization” with the help of Saudi Arabia, because he believed that the implementation of Islamic laws in Pakistan would strengthen the state and its position among the people. He declared to the public that “Islamic laws should be compulsory and solemn attention is needed to establish the Islamic culture in Pakistan with the support of Saudi Arabia” (Story of Pakistan, Pakistani Tribune, 2016). Thirdly, the Iranian revolution and Soviet-Afghan war in 1979 were the major factors due to which Pakistan adopted the strategic role to stabilize its position (Noref, 2015). The war in Afghanistan brought Saudi Arabia and Pakistan closer for the reason that they both agreed to support Afghanistan. On the other side, the Islamic revolution in Iran brought huge change in Pakistan and its foreign policy. General Zia openly announced that “Pakistan is in support of revolution because Iran was the first country who recognized Pakistan in 1950” (Alam, 2004). This statement shows that he wanted to stabilize the country by maintaining good relations with Iran as well. Tadjbakhsh (2013) observed that the policy of Iran in Afghanistan was up to Soviet withdrawal in 1989. Saudi Arabia was also involved with the provision of financial support to the Taliban group which they channeled through Pakistan till 2010. Milani (2015), argued that the support to Taliban group created a twisted dilemma in the foreign relations of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan because Iran was also playing an important role in this issue. Blank (2015) analyzed that Saudi Arabia and Pakistan may face ups and downs due to the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979. General Zia-ul-Haq’s aim was that Pakistan should not be involved in the Islamic revolution of Iran, which was introduced by Shi’a community in Iran. He introduced the concept of

“Islamization” in 1979 with the help of Saudi Arabia to maintain Sunni religious concepts in Pakistan. The role of introducing “Islamization” was to maintain political alliance with Saudi Arabia because Saudi Arabia was the biggest hub of oil production and Pakistan was getting financial support to build its infrastructure and nuclear weapons. The politics of Zia reflected the Realistic approach because he was more interested in stabilizing the state and government against any conflict. His political approach of “Islamization” fits well under the theory of realism which supported Pakistan to maintain stable relations with Saudi Arabia.

Another issue for Pakistan and Saudi Arabia’s alliance was the terrorism threats from Afghanistan. Zia had the information that Soviet planned to attack Afghanistan in 1979. This attack caused difficulties for Pakistan because at that time, Pakistan was already facing the external crisis from India, Iranian revolution and the Soviet attack on Afghanistan triggered another challenge for Pakistan. Saudi Arabia’s aim was to control the terror against Afghanistan. Moreover, the tribal area of Pakistan started revolt against government to support Afghanistan (Weinbum, 1991). Pakistan decided to support Saudi Arabia to end this war because the increasing external conflicts in the region caused instability in Pakistani territory. Pakistan introduced its new foreign policy in 1980 about the creation of a stable alliance with Afghanistan. According to this policy, Pakistan supported Afghanistan to achieve stability in the country and it included the restoration of a permanent peace, and providing space to the Afghan refugees in Pakistan (Hassan, 2014). Before this, Pakistan has never signed any cordial alliance with Afghanistan but the new policy facilitated Pakistan to stabilize the internal issues. The attack on Afghanistan by U.S in 2001 generated rebellion in the tribal area of Pakistan. Tribes in Baluchistan and Waziristan has strong ethnic relations with Afghani tribal areas. To overcome these challenges, Pakistan introduced a new policy

in support of Afghanistan (Hassan,2014). It is argued that the policy of Pakistan opened the terror attacks from Afghanistan because of its internal crisis including financial issues, controversies between the religious sectors and unstable political structure, which negatively affected the country's position (Tadjbakhsh, 2013). Moreover, due to the internal crisis in Pakistan, the tribal area sent financial and security weapons to Afghanistan (Bishku,1992). Milani (2012),examines that the collaborative support of Saudi Arabia Intelligence agency, Inter-Service Intelligence and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) encouraged Afghanis to fight the proxy war against Soviet Union. In this difficult situation, the religious groups in Pakistan from tribal area including Baluchistan, prompted a revolt against the Pakistani government (Hassan, 2014). The war in Afghanistan brought Saudi Arabia and Pakistan closer so much so that they agreed to support Afghanistan. Saudi's major objective in supporting Afghanistan was to introduce their Islamic policy which was already introduced in Pakistan (Beehner, 2006). The actual aim of Saudi Arabia was to consolidate its power in the Muslim countries and for this purpose, Saudi Arabia took support from Pakistan to stabilize its dominance in Afghanistan (Beehner, 2006). Ahmed (2017) argued that the main reason of Pakistan's support for Saudi Arabia in Afghan- Soviet war was its nuclear project as its political alliance with Saudi Arabia encouraged Pakistan to get oil and military aid from Saudi Arabia. Khurshid Mahmud Kusri, the Minister of Foreign Affairs stated on the Pakistan Television News in 2002 that "Alliance with Saudi Arabia helped Pakistan to improve its military sector and enhanced the internal stability" (Pakistan Television News, 12 March, 2002). From the afore-mentioned arguments, I can argue that Saudi Arabia was more influential in Afghanistan as they were showing more interest towards Afghanistan.

DYNAMICS OF WAHHABISM IN POLITICAL RELATIONS OF

SAUDI ARABIA AND PAKISTAN

The Wahhabi sect was stated indifferently after 9/11 attack, which was intolerable and unacceptable. A report published by Freedom House on a revised edition (2010) stated that one must continue the ideology of hate towards disbelievers which included Jews, Christians, Sufis, Shiites, Sunni. This edition was not only taught domestically but also actively spread abroad (Abid, 2019, BBC news). Initially in 2001, this ideology was favored by Pakistan and U.S. to counter the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In addition to this fundamental brainwashing mechanism, thousands of jihadis voluntarily decided to fight against mujahedeen in Afghanistan (Abid, 2019, BBC news). These jihadis were mostly from Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries. The ongoing situation remained complicated as the concerned authorities and politicians in poor countries were getting aid and funds from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries, which gave rise to the ongoing process of these extremist madrassas. (Abid, 2019, BBC news). The situation of poverty got worst in these areas where people recruit children to Deobandi and Ahl-e-Hadith madrassa network from where they were brainwashed for revised jihadi philosophy. Initially, children were sent to regional training centers and then ultimately sent to terrorist training camps in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Zia (2018) argues that the major reason behind children going to madrassas is that they have a choice of either going to madrassas or getting no education at all due to severe financial crisis and poverty. So, for the sake of getting education, families preferred to send their children to madrassas. Dr. Safi ullah Khan Marwat, Professor of Freedom Movement in Pakistan, stated in 2012 that “The original and acceptable versions of Islam cannot invest in promoting Wahhabism” (Dawn News, 16 December, 2012). Yusufzai (2011), claimed that the deeply ironic fight against ISIS and Al-Qaeda was prevailing since its creation and sustainability.

Saudi Arabia and Gulf Arab nations have strong power as they were rich in oil and poor countries continue to rely on their oil. In some cases, Saudi Arabia was even sending oil for free to boost military sector and creation of weapons. For Example, Pakistan was working for Saudi Arabia's goals from many decades. Inam-ul-Haq added during the "Conference of Foreign Ministers" in Islamabad in 2007, that "Pakistan produced military and nuclear weapons in an effort to secure brotherly relations with Saudi Arabia". It is argued that religion based political relations spread negativity among the people and cause economic crisis and instability in Pakistan (Fatimi, 2018, p. 20). The acting chairperson of International Islamic University, Dr. Rafia Riaz stated that "the People of Pakistan have emotional affiliation with Saudi Arabia due to the Holy Places of Makkah and Madina and these political relations based on religion helped Pakistan to maintain peaceful alliance with Saudi Arabia in order to stabilize its country's economic condition" (Riaz, 2017, p.17).

CHAPTER THREE: POLITICAL AND SECURITY ALLIANCE OF OMAN AND PAKISTAN

Pakistan made countless efforts to establish cordial ties and to unite the Muslim countries as a single political and economic entity through its security ties. According to 1973 constitution of Pakistan, there is an imposed obligation in Article 226 which states that “Pakistan has to develop closer alliance with all Muslim countries” (National Assembly of Pakistan, 28 February, 2012). Pakistan continued to develop its alliances with the Gulf countries on the basis of religion and economic interdependence. Moreover, the unique geostrategic location of Pakistan is linked to several key concerns of the Gulf countries, which includes numerous foreign policy and security issues (Kamran, 2013). Geographically, Oman is the closest country to Pakistan as compared to other Gulf countries. The interaction between both the countries was not new as the relationship started in the early 8th century with the arrival of Mohammad Bin Qassim in Sindh (presently in Pakistan) from Iraq in 712 A.D. Later, people of Pakistan started migrating to Arab countries through Oman as there was an opportunity for Pakistan to make strong relations with Oman in order to strengthen its foreign policy and security (Habib, 2017). In 1971, the president of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto met Sultan Qaboos in Oman to sign “Memorandum of Understanding”. During this meeting the president, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, stated: “The MoU between the two countries will strengthen mutual cooperation and will set a new direction in the bilateral relations”. Article 5 of this memorandum stated: “The Sultanate of Oman and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan recognize and acknowledge the rights of their states over the seabed including the subsoil and water, within the limits established in accordance to the agreement” (Delimitation Treaties Infobase, 12 December, 2002).

CONTRIBUTION OF AL-BALOCH TRIBE IN SECURITY OF

OMAN

Balochi Tribes were settled in Oman, in the region of Al-Dhahirah from many decades but they were not recognized by the government of Oman, owing to the fact that local tribes were given more rights than Balochi tribes. They had proper homes, public transport and jobs as compared to Balochis. Consequently, those tribes started revolt against the government against lack of facilities (Etrich, 2018). Soon, this Balochi movement was acknowledged by Omani government who settled the matter with remittance and offered some other allowances, beneficial for the Balochi tribes (Peterson, 2004). This was the time when Pakistan sent its first batch of military personnel to Gulf. Most of them were hired as personal security officers who protected the important places and VIPs in Oman i.e. security for the ruling family, secret institutes and boundaries of Oman (Habib, 2017). After Oman's independence, security officers were recruited from Gawadar to join the Omani military with the help of British government. From the beginning and till date, they are settled in Oman working in military and other public and private sectors. They are known as "Al-Balochi Tribe" because of their settlement in Arab world, as they have been there from many decades so their life style, traditions and culture is quite similar to the original Omanis (Peterson, 2013). Traditionally, they are serving Oman's military from generations and they believe that providing security to Oman is their duty (Kechichian, 1995). Asfandyar Wali Khan, the leader of Baluchistan Awami Party in Baluchistan, added that "Security of Omani territory is important for people of Baluchistan due to brotherly alliance with Oman from the last many decades" (The Nation, 12 April, 2002). Some scholars argue that local people were not capable enough to work in the security and defence sector, therefore it was necessary to source the army from outside the country. In 1972, the Ministry of Defence Pakistan sent a group of people from Balochistan to Oman for

security purpose. In the same year, the president of Pakistan General Ayub Khan and the leader of Baluchistan Awami Party Dabbirurddin Khan met officials from Oman in Islamabad to sign a long term agreement called “Joint military Program” in which Pakistan agreed to send Balochi military to Oman because the Balochi community was already there working for Omani military (Delimitation Treaties Infobase, 12 December, 2002). Erich (2018) argued that many times in the history of Oman, Balochi community who were already settled in Oman, had fought bravely against the enemies and they had strong affiliations with the Omani land, that is why the government hired Balochi people in the security and defence sector. Rahim (2017), analysed that the Balochi tribe in Oman was the most trustworthy tribe, more than all other local tribes. There are several reasons why Balochi tribes were given more attention than local Omanis. Firstly, Balochis were skilful and well-trained by Pakistan military. Secondly, Oman had signed long term agreement of “Joint Military Program” and accordingly, Pakistan sent its Balochi community to Oman. Thirdly, Balochi tribes in Oman are stable and they have their onset of laws which benefitted Oman in protecting its boundaries (Niolini, 2007).

INVOLVEMENT OF AL-BALLOCHI TRIBE IN THE BATTLE OF DHOFAR

During the era of 1965-1975, the Omani government faced threats from the province of Dhofar, which increased tension in the Sultanate of Oman and Muscat. The ruler of Dhofar was Said Bin Taimur under the British rule. Basically, Dhofar was culturally and linguistically different than the rest of Oman. Moreover, the western area

of Dhofar is rocky and it is called “Jebel Dhofar”¹ (Monick, 1982). It is located in the southern part of Oman, along the border of Yemeni territory. In the early 1960s, Oman was governed by British rulers due to which Yemeni people viewed Omani government as the “Puppet of British rulers” and it was not acceptable for Omani public (Monick, 1982). Oman had set up the rules according to the British rulers as many reforms were introduced by British government, showing British interest in the country. Due to this reason, the rebellion in Dhofar required a build-up of “Sultan’s Armed Forces” (SAF), the capable and dexterous force of Oman in which a large number was recruited from Gwadar (Peterson, 2013). It is estimated that around 13,000 of the total army was developed with the help of British army in which 5000 to 7000 soldiers were hired from Baluchistan (Niolini, 2007). The Rebellion was very tough to handle because they extended revolt against the government across the whole country. Some of the Balochis received full training from SAF as a member of SAF, while others were hired as “*askari*” soldiers to hold small position in SAF. Dr. Amanullah Khan, the Head of History Department in the International Islamic University Islamabad analyzed that “Soldiers who were hired in Askari seemed as more hard-working and capable for security purposes because they were well-trained and organized for military position” (Center of Security and Defense, 20 November, 2019). After 1970s, the SAF was transformed as they hired local Arabs as well and skillful officers were hired from Pakistan who gave them military training. This led to some hostility between Baloch and Arabs because Balochi people were taking over the charge in almost all sectors of Omani Army and Balochis were given more attention than Omani people (Peterson, 2013). These indifferences between the two communities brought aggression against

¹ In Arabic, Jebel means mountains. Due to the mountains and hills this region is famous to call Jebel Dhofar.

each other. Dr. Amanullah Khan hypothesized that “Balochi influence in the region is another factor that caused revolt against the government in Dhofar” (Center of Security and Defense, 20 November. 2019). In addition to this, in the 1970s there was no development in the province of Dhofar despite an agreement was signed between British rulers and Sai’d of Oman which stated that political and economic conditions should be taken seriously, however the other cities of Oman were considered to be more important for the development process than Dhofar. Even after the beginning of oil production in Oman, it had subsistence economy, few roads, primary schools and hospitals. This was one of the main reasons for the rebellion in Dhofar (Hughes, 2009). The rebellion continued for many years which created issues in the Omani territory. People of Oman felt threatened and the government was not able to secure its land however, the Balochi tribe in Oman was willing to protect the region. Rahim (2017) argued that Balochi influence in the Omani territory was given more importance than local Omani people. They were given high ranks in army with other amenities including houses, medical and equality against Omani people. Guzansky, (2016) argued that local tribes in Oman were not capable to take any charge so the Omani government appointed employees from Gwadar and provided them the opportunity to fight for their country. Dawn News (2019) reported that both Oman and Pakistan decided to conduct Joint Military exercise which included “Joint Planning and coordination”. The senior officials from both these countries participated in Joint Military exercises to enhance the security alliance and maintain stability among their relations. Commander Asif Khaliq expressed his contentment on the successful coordination (Akhtar, 2016). The ex-president of Baluchistan Awami Party stated that “Pakistan’s vision is to promote peaceful alliance and support Omani government”. The article 4 of Delimitation Treatise of Oman and Pakistan (1982), illustrated that “The Government of Pakistan

and Sultanate of Oman should support each other's territory and strive to develop cordial ties permanently" (Delimitation Treaties InfoBase, 2002).

AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN: A FACTOR BETWEEN OMAN AND PAKISTAN'S SECURITY ALLIANCE

In December 1979, Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan intending to attain stability against depleting political and military situation in the newest client state. At that time, Pakistan opened its border for Afghan refugees and provided shelter camps, food and many other facilities to support them in their defence. Due to the opened border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, Pakistan was in a critical condition because of terror attacks and Soviet invasion. All the Gulf States including Oman were ready to support Pakistan to strengthen the border and provide money to make military equipment (Dudik, 2009). On the other hand, the Iranian revolution created apprehension in Persian Gulf and it became challenging for Pakistan to maintain its ties with Gulf States, including Oman. Pakistan witnessed weak government structure and an assertive military became convinced that a strategy of external alliance was necessary to face the challenges (Alam, 2004). Geographically, Oman is the nearest country from all the Gulf States which favoured Oman to support Pakistan and secure its borders against Afghanistan and Iran. Oman had sent military equipment and money; around \$2 million was provided to Pakistan to strengthen its armed forces (Alam, 2004). This shows that Oman was also interested to maintain alliance with Pakistan in terms of security and defence (Malik, 2012). It is investigated that Oman was the neighbour of Pakistan since the era of maritime and had cordial relationship. Before the independence of Oman, Pakistan facilitated Oman by means of labour, military forces and officers who gave trainings to local Omanis (Habib, 2017).

It is further argued that the sense of ethnicity between Pakistan and Oman allowed them to make cordial ties and protect each other's territory against any external attack (Habib, 2017). In addition to this, during the Afghan invasion and Iranian revolution, Pakistan was in a serious position when it had to take a stand by making alliances with other countries. For this purpose, Oman had already signed a peace agreement in terms of security and defence. Setas (2013), examined that Pakistan and Afghanistan never had clear ties from the beginning and Pakistan's national security was always threatened from Afghanistan on the basis of socio-political issues. In 2009, the refugees from Afghanistan started the rebellion due to ethnic issues between Pakistani and Afghan community in the small area of "Jilani Town" of Karachi, which disrupted the political rules of the area. Sherry Rehman added in the ARY News that "Refugees from Afghanistan are taken seriously by the Government of Pakistan and we will take care of their rights" (ARY News, 16 March, 2009). Around 400,000 refugees had migrated to Pakistan between 2000-2010 (Malik, 2012). Oman supported Pakistan to provide Afghan refugees a secure land in Pakistan where they could stay for a longer period of time. Pakistan aimed to end the hostility with Afghanistan and as a result, Oman supported Pakistan because Oman had a sight of peaceful alliance with Muslim countries. Another major security threat for Pakistan was the Iranian revolution which was based on sectarianism. By criticizing Iranian policy, they wanted to make political ties with Pakistan based on religion and promote Shi'a sect however, Pakistan couldn't make ties with Iran as they were following Sunni sect. (Nader, Scotten, Rahmani, Stewart, Mahnad, 2014). Pakistan aimed to establish relations with Oman because it followed the Sunni Sect of Islam but the Iranian influence created challenges to maintain stability with Oman. Pakistan's objective was to get support from Oman to withstand the consistent threats in the South Asian region due to its unstable alliance

with Afghanistan and Iranian interference in the Pakistani territory. At that time, Oman agreed to support Pakistan and sent its armed forces including the Balochi people who had already contributed and supported the Oman's military (Nader, Scotten, Rahmani, Stewart, Mahnad, 2014). Upon analysing the security ties between Oman and Pakistan, it was demonstrated that the Balochi people supported their affiliations with Oman who agreed to support Pakistan against Iran. According to Dr. Ammaullah Khan (2016), "Oman was dependent on Pakistan as the man power supply and military support was coming from Pakistan and Oman aimed to continue supporting Pakistan to maintain peaceful alliance with Pakistan" (Dawn News, 2016). Pakistan and Oman relations examine Realism theory towards defence and security relation. Pakistan's objective was to secure its land with peace and discontinue the external interference in its territory while Oman had the same agenda to maintain cordial and peaceful ties with the other countries in the region. Oman wanted to stay away from the uprising issues while Pakistan was surrounded by a series of external crisis. In this situation, the support of Oman for Pakistan was observed to fit within the parameters of Realism theory. Mearsheimer (1994) explains that countries are weak or strong but if they have cordial relations, they can build a stable environment in the region. This statement of realism can be applied to Oman and Pakistan because Oman was a strong country while Pakistan was weak, but their support for each other provided them a secure and safe land.

POLITICAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN OMAN AND PAKISTAN

The ties became stronger when Balochi people travelled to Oman and became Omani citizens in the 20th century. It is estimated that around 318,000 Balochi people travelled to Oman in 1973 (Ahmed, pg.21, 2010). The Omani government recruited large number of people from Balochi community and facilitated their immigration by

providing jobs and homes. The jobs that were provided to them were mostly in military and government sector. The growing population of Balochis allowed Omani government to maintain political ties with Pakistan. High officials met several times in Muscat and Islamabad to strengthen the foreign policy of the countries. On the other hand, Pakistan was surrounded by internal and external issues from India and Afghanistan. India was the biggest challenge for the alliance with Oman. India cooperated with Oman during the maritime issues since Oman was the first Gulf country who established political ties with India. In 1996, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma and Vice President Shri Krishna Kant visited Oman to meet Sultan Qaboos Said Al Said and Deputy Prime Minister for the Council of Minister H.H. Asa'd bin Al Tariq Al Said. During this visit both these countries signed an agreement covering bilateral cooperation in terms of stabilizing the political structure in both the countries (Indian Embassy in Oman, 2019). India and Pakistan had hostile relations since the independence. Millat (2003), argued that Oman was facing difficulties in the development of political structure inside the country and to overcome these challenges, India supported Oman so that India could promote itself in the Gulf region and benefit from the financial aid which was given to Pakistan for development of the country (Millat, 2013). Oman had sent around \$4 million to Pakistan in 1980 when Pakistan was trying to settle the political structure and strengthening armed forces to secure its borders with India (Millat, pg.22, 2013). Ahmed (2010) examines that historical, traditional, cultural and strategic ties between Oman and sub-continent allowed Oman to sign and maintain ties with both Pakistan and India. While Akhtar (2015) argued that Pakistan wanted to get oil from Gulf countries so that it can produce nuclear weapons which wasn't acceptable to India. India continued to compete with Pakistan in an armed race by making ties with Oman, and sending labour, security and military weapons.

Pakistan's objective was to make peaceful alliance with India in order to keep building a stable political alliance with Oman (Sial, 2015). The theory of Realism reinforces how one can view Pakistan and Oman's political stance for each other. Their interdependence on each other and stability in the region analysed that they were motivated towards Realism. Both countries aimed to develop peaceful alliance with India to maintain stability in the region.

SECURITY ALLIANCE BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND QATAR

In the brief history of Pakistan, it was preoccupied by a lot of unresolved issues and it was trying to stabilize its political situation and security matters to rise as a national identity. When Pakistan came into existence in 1947, the biggest challenge was to ascertain the country and formulate new political regime. To some extent, Pakistan successfully controlled its country's issues because of the strong political and military structure. (Bishku, 1992). However later on, due to incapable leadership and unskilful authoritarian, the country suffered greatly after 1990s. Pakistan lost its balanced position in South Asia and was striving to regain it by establishing alliances outside the region especially with Gulf countries (Bishku, 1992). Fortunately, before independence, Pakistan had already developed good ties with Gulf countries. Qatar was one of the most important countries for Pakistan through whom Pakistan could re-stabilize itself in the South Asian region. After the independence of Qatar in 1971, Pakistan was one of the initial countries who supported Qatar to normalize the instability of its internal affairs. The relation between both the countries was based on politics, security, religion, trade and commerce (Qamar, 1991). Therefore, Pakistan was trying to stabilize its situation by creating a political and military alliance with Qatar to strengthen its political and financial condition. On the other hand, Qatar was also looking forward to strong and compassionate countries which could help Qatar in establishing strong political structure and secure its territory.

SECURITY RELATIONS OF QATAR AND PAKISTAN

After the independence in 1971, Qatar was trying to improve its overall condition in all sectors but due to the lack of sufficient human resource capacity, technology and military equipment, Qatari government struggled to attain stability in the country (Kamran, pg.5, 2013). So, in order to develop the strong structure of the country, Qatar looked for resources from outside the region. Qatari land forces were composed of mostly expat recruits from other countries (Kamran, 2013). Pakistan was the first country who offered military force to Qatar and signed long term agreement of security cooperation with Qatar (Kamran, 2013, p. 20). Pakistan possess strong military forces and it is considered to be the one of the strongest military forces in the region. (Qatar Embassy in Pakistan, 2000). 70 Pakistan army officers and 20,000 soldiers started to serve in Qatari combat units. They worked round the clock to establish the Qatari military force (Wasty, 2017, p. 33). They provided military training to the Qatari soldiers and officers for the development of organized military force. Pakistan was interested to develop long term military alliances with Qatar and for this purpose, Pakistan signed “Agreement for Security Cooperation” with Qatar in 1985 (Ahmed, 2010, pp.60). They began mutual cooperation by supporting each other in the military sector. Apart from the combat duties, Pakistani officers were also appointed as key advisors and technical support. Those officers guided Qatari troops in using military equipment and weapons. Pakistan sent weapons and military tools to Qatar boost their security and establishment of their military. During the Gulf war in 1990, Qatari Tanks deployed on Saudi-Iraqi borders were mostly composed of troops sourced from Pakistan Army. Qamar (1991) investigated that those troops worked day and night on the border to fight for Qatar as they were appointed to protect Qatar during the war. The Former Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Shareef stated: “The protection of Qatar is essential for Pakistan Army and we are ready to secure Qatar’s sovereignty” (Dawn

News, 4 August, 1990). During that war, Pakistan sent its labour force to all Gulf countries including Qatar, who worked on the reconstruction of destroyed areas due to war and were assigned on oil wells to improve production. During that time, Pakistan was interested to make nuclear weapons to secure its land from India. Pakistan geographical position is surrounded by rivals so it was facing issues such as terrorism in Afghanistan and consistent threats from India. Due to this complex situation, nuclear energy was the biggest aim for Pakistan to survive in the region against Afghanistan and India. Therefore, Pakistan looked for support from Qatar to combat these challenges and the high officials from both countries discussed to stabilize the situation. The Former Prime minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif and Qatari high officials signed long term agreement of “Cooperation in the field of energy and the Importation of oil” in early 1990s (Dawn News, 1999). While signing this agreement, Pakistan officials stated: “This is a significant achievement because it will change the shape of Pakistan’s energy sector”, Officials added that: “This is the largest profitable transaction that Pakistan has entered into” (South Asian News, 1991). Qatar signed the long term agreement with Pakistan stating that: “In 1990-1991, from the support of Qatar, Pakistan introduced itself as the first Muslim nuclear power in the world.” (Roznama Akhbar, 12 July, 1994). Article 370 of the constitution of 1973 states that “Pakistan supports Gulf States in the security sector including Qatar” (Embassy of Pakistan, Doha Qatar, 2003). The ties between Pakistan and Qatar improved twofold after the huge development of nuclear sector in Pakistan. Qatar was interested to establish ties with Pakistan to acquire its support in nuclear power. Wasty, (2017) argued that oil is the major need of Pakistan which pushed the country towards Qatar for making alliance. The Qatari military was supported by Pakistan for establishing a strong and reliable army. Karim (2017), evaluated that both the countries showed their own interest to

develop each other's regime. Pakistan's strategy was to send its army to Qatar and in return, acquire oil to boost its economy and military capabilities. Hamir (2019), argued that Pakistan's recognition of Qatar was intended to build its own country because Qatar was the oil producing country and Pakistan was far sighted about Qatar's support to develop its financial sector. Ahmed and Bhatnagar (2010), claimed Pakistan was facing financial crisis from many years, the major causes were poor leadership, ever-increasing terrorism and growing population etc. To tackle these challenges, Pakistan played a pivotal role in the security sector by supporting Qatar's military and getting financial security in return. The theory of Realism reflects in the relationship between Qatar and Pakistan because both these countries decided to improve their welfare without interference and attacks on each other. Moravcsik, 2010 argued that security is the most important feature for countries to achieve their goals. This shows that Qatar and Pakistan were interested to maintain peace and security in their countries by exchanging military support. The mutual understanding between these countries and promotion of peace explains the Realism between their relations.

IMPACT OF IRAN ON QATAR AND PAKISTAN'S SECURITY RELATIONS

Iran is one of the most important countries in the Persian Gulf. It has a vast history and has a prodigious and active role in the region. The decade of 1990s was the era of development for Pakistan in the nuclear sector and the infrastructure for Qatar. During this time, Iran wanted to pressurize and threaten Qatar and other Gulf countries, however due to Pakistan's involvement in the security and defence of Qatar, Iran was provided with less chances to attack Qatar as Pakistan's skilful army supported Qatar in securing its border. It is mentioned in the Agreement of "Security Cooperation"

between Pakistan and Qatar that “Pakistan will protect Qatar’s sovereignty in case of any external attack” (Embassy of State of Qatar, Islamabad-Pakistan, 2010). At that time, Pakistan agreed to provide nuclear weapons to Qatar in order to secure its boundaries against Iran. This act of kindness from Pakistan satisfied Qatar to make cordial relations with Pakistan; which was more flexible than making ties with Iran as an unpleasant alternative in building anticipation (Pollack, 2012). On the other hand, Iran was trying to establish relations with Pakistan and consolidate its power. Iran’s policy was to establish its Shi’a administration in Pakistan and in the other parts of South Asia. However, Pakistan was following the Sunni sect of Islam in its political affairs and wanted to maintain alliance with Qatar over Iran. During this time, General Asif Nawaz, the chief of Army staff stated that “We support Qatar and other Gulf countries more than any other country because we share the same cultural and religious values” (Apna News, 12 March, 2000). His statement emphasized that Pakistan was interested to establish its relations with Qatar than Iran. Qatar had better financial structure and they were interested to support Pakistan financially by developing the unprivileged cities of Pakistan and in return, Pakistan supported Qatar in the military sector. To stabilize the security alliance, the president of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif met high officials of Qatar in Islamabad in 1995 and extended the agreement of “Defence cooperation” (Sehar, 2013, P.40). According to this agreement, both Qatar and Pakistan will provide military and security support in case of external attacks i.e. threats from Iran as it was considered as a big threat for Qatar and Pakistan’s security alliance. Iran wanted to dominate its policy on Pakistan while Pakistan was interested to settle relations with Qatar because Qatar agreed to support Pakistan financially (Ahmed, 2017). Iran continued its dominance on Pakistan but failed to achieve its objective because of strong support for Pakistan from both Qatar and Saudi Arabia. It is argued

that Iran was interested in dominating Pakistan and control its administration but the alliance of Pakistan with Qatar and other Gulf countries proved as a barrier for Iran to achieve their objectives. Sehar (2013), analysed that Pakistan was the strong ally of Qatar and other Gulf countries due to which Iran failed to impose its influence in Pakistan. In 2013, Shehbaz Sharif, the former Chief Minister of Punjab stated during the interview on Geo News channel that “Pakistan has long term relations with Qatar and whenever Qatar will look for security, Pakistan will definitely support them and interference of Iran will never be tolerated by Pakistani government” (Capital Talk, October 14, 2013). This shows that Pakistan stood with Qatar and protected its territory from external attacks. Moreover, Shireen Mazari, the current Federal Minister of Human Rights stated in the interview with Geo News (2015) that, “Pakistan respect all muslim countries including Iran and Afghanistan but intervention in Pakistan’s relation with Qatar will not be accepted” (Mery Mutabiq, January 10, 2015). The relations between Pakistan and Qatar have always been stable but Iranian influence in Pakistan’s territory created difficulties in maintaining this relationship. Iran’s aim was to establish Shi’a administration which was a big threat for Pakistan’s security and its influence in the Gulf region including Qatar was an alarming situation for both Pakistan and Qatar. However, Pakistan provided security resources to protect Qatar against Iran and in return, they agreed to provide financial aid to Pakistan in order to develop its military sector.

POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN QATAR AND PAKISTAN

Political relations between the two countries played a crucial role in their progress. The

foreign ministries of both these countries had signed MoU for “Joint cooperation” in 1999 to maintain the affable relations and endow with services when it is needed (Bukhari, 2018). Shaikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani visited Pakistan and met Former Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif to enhance the political alliance by making cordial relation. According to this agreement, both countries prolonged ties and assisted each other in different sectors including Health care, Education, organizing exhibition and job opportunities (Bukhari, 2018). Qatar spent money on hospitals in Pakistan to create better public hospitals. In 2010, the two Pakistani Pharmaceutical companies, including Martin Dow Pharmaceuticals was introduced for manufacturing drugs in Qatar. This leading drug manufacturing company in Pakistan also owns two Plants in France (Pollack, 2012). During the visits it was clear that Qatar was willing to provide jobs to Pakistani people and in addition, Qatar is a place where more than 100, 000 Pakistanis are working in various infrastructure and development projects including Towers, Malls and Commercial buildings (Gulf Research Centre, 2008). Qatar is interested to increase the number of Pakistanis working in different projects and also those who are planned to be undertaken for hosting FIFA 2022 (Raja, 2017). Also, the man power was supplied from Pakistan to accomplish the iconic projects of Qatar such as Doha Metro, Mall of Qatar and Doha Festival City etc. A Pakistani construction Company “REDCO” was involved in Doha Metro project (Business Standard News, 2019). In order to develop better political relations, Pakistan and Qatar signed an agreement of “Free Trade Agreement” (FTA). Under this agreement, Pakistan has contracted with Qatar for producing footballs for FIFA World cup in 2022 (The express Tribune, 2019). Furthermore, Qatar has invested in the energy sector for developing power plants in the different areas of Pakistan mainly in Bahadur Shah Colony and Balloki (The express Tribune, 2019). Qatar and Pakistan both are interested to maintain

peaceful political alliance by supporting each other for internal matters. The FTA aimed to provide more opportunities for both the countries. Pakistan is financially weak but has resources and Qatar is interested to invest in those resources which could help both these countries in future. According to the Al Jazeera News 2018, the foreign reserves of both these countries reached up to 9.5 billion Qatari Riyal (\$2.6 billion) in 2018 after signing “Free Trade Agreement” and improved 63% of their growth. The officials of both countries tried to develop strong political relations through investing money in their countries however, the Pakistani expats settled in Qatar have observed less job opportunities for their people as compared to the other nationalities. Mostly Arabs and Indians are preferred for these opportunities. Admittedly, this agreement would need some time to be implemented regardless of uprising annual unemployment in Pakistan, which shows that this MOU is currently inactive between the two countries. It is investigated that every year, around half of the population in Pakistan face job crisis as the unemployment is increasing on consistent basis. Due to these issues, Pakistan is trying to maintain its position in the region and taking steps to normalize the relations with Qatar.

In 2017, the Gulf crisis arose which pushed Pakistan to support Qatar (Shahid, 2017). At that time, Nawaz Sharif, the former president of Pakistan, was persuasive in establishing Pakistan’s political relations with Qatar. He met Qatari high officials to resolve the ongoing crisis (Shahid, 2017). It is observed that Pakistan seeks an enhanced political situation with the support from Qatar. Pakistan tried to sustain its politically by helping Qatar during the crisis in 2017 while in return, Qatar agreed to support Pakistan in the Kashmir dispute. On the solidarity day of Kashmir, the high officials of Qatar stated that “We will continue our political, diplomatic and moral support for Kashmir and will join the struggles of Pakistan to achieve the right of self-determination

for Kashmiris” (The Peninsula news, 2017). Qatar’s open-hearted support towards the Kashmir issue was quite welcoming for Pakistan who reciprocated this gesture by supporting Qatar during the Gulf crisis in 2017. During this crisis, Saudi Arabia had stopped its food supply and stepped back from its political long-term agreements with Qatar. On the other hand, Pakistan had cordial relations with Saudi Arabia since 1947 after the independence of Pakistan (Shahid, 2017). During the crisis, Saudi Arabia pressurized Pakistan for support and Qatar too demanded from Pakistan to decide and take a stand for Qatar. Since they provided Pakistan the financial aid for the development of country and military weapons however, Pakistan wanted to stay back from internal Gulf issues. After analysis it was observed that the reason for Pakistan’s policy to stay back from war was the financial economic concern because Saudi Arabia and Qatar both were supporting Pakistan to strengthen its financial condition. This economic issue went beyond the imagination which then forced Pakistan to choose a country. Pakistan chose to stand with Qatar for food supplies which was stopped from Saudi Arabia and decided not to indulge itself in the war in case it happens. The Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif mentioned in his interview that “Pakistan aimed to maintain peace with Muslim countries and we are not in a position to become a part of any war as they are already facing the regional crisis” (Sama New, July 10, 2017). Shehbaz Sharif, the former Minister of Punjab reported on the ARY News channel that “Qatar had supported Pakistan many times especially in the Kashmir issue and in return, Pakistan has to stand with Qatar however, Pakistan will not promote war in the Gulf countries” (ARY News, July 17, 2017). Pakistan Foreign office Spokesperson Nafees Zakaria stated that “Pakistan believes in the unity between all Muslim countries and had tried serious efforts for its promotion (Al Jazeera News, 9 June, 2017). Pakistan’s peace policy with the Muslim countries was argued as it was unstable from many years

so it was a wrong time for Pakistan to face-off any other challenges. Also, both Qatar and Saudi Arabia were supporting Pakistan in the economic sector and Pakistan simply cannot afford to lose those benefits. Qatar invested \$2.5 billion in Pakistan's development process and also strengthened the political relations (Asad, 2017, Pp 70). At this time, Pakistan could ill-afford to disturb its peaceful alliance with Qatar. In addition to this, Qatar also supported Pakistan in the Kashmir issue which is another important challenge for Pakistan from many decades. Qatar wanted to develop peaceful alliance with Pakistan and wanted support from Pakistan in the regional matters of Gulf countries (Asad, 2017). It is analysed that Pakistan had strong military structure while in comparison, Qatar had more stable political and financial structure due to which, Qatar needed the military support from Pakistan and in return, Qatar provided financial support to Pakistan. In 2017 during the Gulf crisis, Pakistani high official visited Qatar to attend the 3rd session of "Pakistan-Qatar Joint Ministerial Commission" and discussed about strengthening their trade relationship during the crisis (The Express Tribune, 2 July, 2017). Earlier, Saudi Arabia had suddenly stopped the food supplies so Qatar signed an agreement with Pakistan during the session for the food supply (Dawn News, 3 August, 2017). By examining the political relations of the two countries, it reflects realism theory. In the first assumption stated by Mearsheimer (1994) that a country's major goal is to secure its land from the other countries. Once the land is secured, then it will be able to reflect better economy and organized political structure. Both Pakistan and Qatar tried to take steps to secure their boundaries in order to maintain their political structure.

ROLE OF U.S. BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND QATAR'S POLITICAL ALLIANCE

The United States has strong political ties with Qatar because it is one of the biggest foreign direct investor and largest producer of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG). U.S. has developed a vigorous political relation with Qatar in the trade sector. i.e. over 120 companies are operated by U.S. in Qatar. For instance, U.S. is the major instrument supplier for Qatari industries to produce oil, Gas and petrochemicals (Raja, 2017). Moreover, U.S. supported Qatar in the development of new political reforms in the country to help U.S. citizens in getting jobs and other positions. According to those reforms, U.S. citizens are recruited for higher positions and for a longer period of time, and they are allowed to keep their families with them. On the other hand, Qatar has a strong alliance with Pakistan from the last few decades. In the past, Pakistan's relations with U.S. had been disrupted many times due to the involvement from India due to its cordial ties with U.S (Pollack, 2012). Historically, the hostile relations between India and Pakistan has affected U.S-Pakistan relationship several times. Consequently, Pakistan's position in the South Asia has been negatively affected many times. The position of U.S in South Asia made it difficult for Pakistan to establish strong ties outside the region. Pakistan wanted to strengthen its alliance with Qatar but the involvement of U.S in Gulf region and in South Asia created new challenges for Pakistan. During the blockade in 2017, U.S supported Saudi Arabia while Pakistan supported Qatar. U.S. argued that Pakistan should not be involved in this matter however, Pakistan was in favour of supplying food and other appliances to Qatar (Shahid, 2017, p. 42). The political strategy of U.S. is argued in many ways; it wanted to dominate itself in the Muslim region as Qatar is the world's largest LNG producer so the aim of U.S. was to maintain political relation with Qatar to acquire its oil and gas reserves (Ahmad, 2017). In the same way, Pakistan also aimed to strengthen its ties with Qatar to get some oil for its atomic weapons (Shahid, 2017). It is argued that U.S

did not let Pakistan to continue any political reforms because it was the first Muslim country to make atomic bomb in 1990 with the support of Qatar and other Gulf countries. The continued support of Qatar for Pakistan caused challenges for U.S. in the nuclear sector (Bukhari, 2018). The Pakistani government has maintained a close alliance with Qatar since 1970s and any obstacle in the region affects Pakistan's nuclear and economic sector. In 1972, after the independence of Qatar, U.S. aimed to send its security forces towards Qatar for the protection of its oil reserves in order to strengthen their armed forces. Due to this reason, Pakistan wanted to maintain its political ties with Qatar against U.S. so that it can secure its atomic and economy (Millat, 2003). Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif signed a long term political agreement with Qatar in 2017 against the uprising crisis. Usman Bin Javed, an Islamabad-based Middle East expert, told Deutche Welle that Shareef mentioned in his statement that "Pakistani government has close alliance with Doha and any problem in the region may cause challenges for both the countries" (AP News, 15 January, 2019). This statement emphasizes that Pakistan was interested to maintain political relations with Qatar against the strategies of U.S. and it was trying to stabilize itself in the Gulf region by getting support from Qatar to boost its economy. It is further argued that political relations between both the countries were based on financial support for Pakistan and oil production from Qatar. Also, U.S. showed good interest in the oil industry from last many years (Bukhari, 2018, p. 73). Because of this, the Former President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari visited Qatar in 2011 to discuss about the oil protection from Pakistan. Pakistan feared losing its strong political alliance with Qatar due to the interference of U.S. and its military base in Qatar. Pakistan signed an agreement with Qatar against U.S. and called for providing "personal guards" who protected the Amir and his cabinet Ministers (WikiLeaks, 27 February, 2012). The agreement was named as "Deputation

of Army personnel of Pakistan to serve as Qatar Emiri Guards” (Embassy of the State of Qatar, 2016). Those personal guards were highly trained soldiers from the Pakistan Army. They were also appointed for giving trainings to the Emiri Guards. Pakistan’s objective was to maintain political alliance with Qatar and supporting the local armed forces could secure their relations because Pakistan possesses a strong army which could help them in strengthening the political ties with Qatar (Bukhari, 2018, p.52).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN QATAR, PAKISTAN, AND TALIBAN

Pakistan and Qatar are working hard to make a cordial alliance with each other, but the network with Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan created difficulties in the region. Qatar wanted to make peaceful alliance with Pakistan and Taliban. For this purpose Qatar had invited Taliban leaders to discuss about stability (Roznama Ummat, 2019). This discussion can benefit Pakistan who have been under inspection by international community for supporting Taliban because the Afghan refugees in Pakistan have affiliations for Taliban, which casts doubt to international communities, like U.S. for supporting Taliban internally. Haqqani Network was strong to help Pakistan and Qatar for stable their alliance and remove the international laws on Pakistan for providing terror activities. Mullen (2019) argued that the members of Haqqani Network were executed with the multiple aids provided by Pakistani military’s inter-services intelligence (ISI). The support is given by ISI agency to Haqqani network which provokes them in several attacks. Military generals of America argued that they have a strong evidence which depicts that Haqqani Network is behind the attack on 28th June 2018 on Intercontinental Hotel in Kabul and other small but active operations

(Mullen, 2019, p. 35). After 9/11, Qatar was preferred by the Haqqani Network for their residency. In 2016, they existed a report that “in a western district (in Doha, Qatar), close to the branches of American universities, Taliban official can be found in various malls”. Recently on 29 February 2020, there was a news conference in Sheraton Hotel Doha. The conference aimed to set up laws and make peace in the region (Al Jazeera News, 29 February, 2020). The role of Taliban in the region created problems between Pakistan and Qatar alliance, for such purpose, Qatar invited Taliban officials for set up rules and maintain in the region. The U.S. stated about this conference that says that “Doha supports terrorism not battle”, but to overcome such issues Qatari officials took a stand and stopped making further policies with U.S (Roznama Ummat, 2019).

Taliban said that they will meet the diplomats from U.S. for certain beneficial talks in Pakistan. Moreover, Qatar appreciated this act of peace in a way that next negotiation meeting has been scheduled in the March 2020 in Qatar. Besides, the statement provided by U.S. State Department spokesperson is that “Washington had heard the announcement but had not received any formal invitation for any talks” (Pk news, 2019). The actual step for development was taken by U.S. chief negotiator Zalmay Khalilzad by taking a globe tour to support peace development for ending his country’s longest war. The reason of inviting high officials in Qatar was to promote peace among the countries. Pakistan shares a border with Afghanistan and any attack in Afghanistan made challenges for Pakistan. Additionally, U.S. officials claimed that “Pakistan supported Taliban in terrorism” which affected the image of Pakistan worldwide (PK news, 2 December, 2019). On the other side, Qatar has a cordial alliance with Pakistan which will affect the political relation of both countries. Taliban spokesman Zabihullah Mujahid stated “that they would also meet Imran Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, to talk on development relations of Pakistan and

Afghanistan”. Mujahid (2019) argued that Taliban delegation would meet US team but meanwhile he did not specify any meeting with Khalilzad. Khalilzad also decided to visit Pakistan as he put Pakistan in the list of countries which he have decided to visit including countries of Europe and Middle East for building a support to end 18 years war in Afghanistan and promote peace relations. Pakistan is considered as one of the country who recognized the Taliban government before its removal by US led forces in 2001. Mullen (2019) claimed that Taliban and U.S. had progressive talks concerning peace which might have turned out as a successful meeting that was held in Qatar. But Taliban officials still made a hurdle by saying that they want all foreign troops out before successful negotiation is agreed and announced. Ilm Kundiya (2019), analyzed that the US was trying to make the Taliban agree to talk to Afghan government for the sake of peace and end the war. This is due to the fact that after the Trump administration, U.S. have faced trouble in maintaining authority over Afghanistan and due to this issue, U.S. soldiers were killed in Afghan war. So far Taliban has refused to engage in such matter by stating “it is not reliable and have support for Washington only” (Express News, February 2020). Pakistan Television News (2019), reported that US President Donald Trump stated that a “progress in negotiation with Taliban can reduce approximately 14,000 US troops who are currently in Afghanistan”. This statement tends to realize Qatar and Pakistan to take a stand for ending 18 years of conflict in Afghanistan. There are few reasons for Pakistan and Qatar benefitting from ending the war in Afghanistan. For instance, Firstly, Pakistan shares the border with Afghanistan and faced security threats from U.S. Secondly, Afghan refugees claimed that Pakistan is supporting terrorism by providing training to the refugees in Pakistan, Thirdly, Pakistan and Qatar had cordial alliance which may be affected due to doubtful position of Pakistan in front of international community and also effect the agreement

of “Cooperation in the field of politics and culture” which was signed in 2017 (Kundiya, 2019, p. 70). Karim (2017), investigated that Qatar had invested in building strong allies with Pakistan in political and military sector but the failure of political relations may cause weakened the social and financial relations. Additionally, Pakistani public has strong affiliation with Gulf countries including Qatar and any instability in the relations could result in strong opposition from the public. Furthermore, the Afghan refugee who are settled in Pakistan may cause unresolved issue and Pakistan is not in a situation to face more political and security challenges. During the visit in Doha the TRT world (2019) stated that “Pakistan is a main actor in ongoing Taliban talk because important people have participated under the influence of Pakistan” (Alam, 2019). Pakistan and Afghanistan share borders and during the Afghan war, Pakistan opened the borders for Afghan refugees that is why Pakistan had better awareness of the ongoing situation in the region. Sattar (2019) argued that Pakistan was involved in secretive terrorism but the investigation from international community encouraged Pakistan to end war with Afghanistan so that it can clear its image in front of the International community. Pakistan was already in a state of weak political and financial structure and such challenges caused more external and internal problems for Pakistan including poverty, Health care, threats from India, Iranian Shi’a influence. To overcome all such challenges, Pakistan aimed to support Qatar in maintaining peace in Afghanistan and in return, Qatar provided funds to stabilize Pakistan’s internal and external issues. The important objective of Pakistan and Qatar was to maintain peace and stability in the political relations. Moreover, the member of Taliban Suhail Shaheen added his tweet that “Afghanistan was under war of terror from last many decades but today with the support of our brothers Qatar and Pakistan, the war is ending” (suhailshaheen, 01 March 2019). The statement helped these three countries to maintain peaceful alliance. It also

encouraged that Pakistan and Qatar should take steps to support settlement in Afghanistan.

CHAPTER FIVE: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

SIMILARITIES IN RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND SAUDI ARABIA, OMAN, QATAR

The three important Gulf countries i.e., Saudi Arabia, Oman and Qatar share some common interests to strengthen military and political relations with Pakistan.

- The most important is the military assistance provided by Pakistan from many

decades. Whenever there had been security threats from the external powers i.e. Iranian influence and U.S. impact on Gulf sovereignty, Pakistan had always supported proactively by sending its armed forces towards Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman, and in return these three states had provided financial aid to Pakistan for its development. Many times throughout the history, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman had financially supported Pakistan which helped to develop the infrastructure of the country. Additionally, the city of Balochistan i.e., Gawadar and some villages in Sindh including Bahro, Butta Kalhora are still under development with the aid of these three Gulf States (Geo news, 2019).

- Oil reserves is another important factor which played a significant role for the relationship between Pakistan with these three countries. Pakistan had been keenly interested in the oil production of all three Gulf countries i.e., Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman. In addition, Pakistan had arranged several bilateral meetings to discuss and enhance its relationship for the development of oil sector. Historically, Pakistan has been receiving oil from these Gulf countries in exchange of its armed forces who secure the oil wells.
- Since Pakistan has the abundance of skilled manpower so Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman were expected to maintain a stable alliance with Pakistan in order to acquire its manpower whenever its needed. From independence till date, Pakistan has supplied its workforce to these gulf countries who work for both government and private sectors in the occupations of teachers, doctors, engineers and labours etc. in order to develop the main structure of these countries.

DIFFERENCES IN RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND KSA, OMAN, QATAR

On the other hand, there are some differences of relationship too among Pakistan and three Gulf countries which demonstrates that Pakistan has maintained a customized foreign policy with these three gulf states.

- Pakistan had maintained the oldest alliance with Saudi Arabia due to its religious affiliation with the holy cities of Makkah and Madinah. During the reign of General Zia-ul-Haq, the law of “Islamization” was implemented with the support of Saudi Arabia. According to this law, Pakistan would follow the same religious laws being implemented in Saudi Arabia. As a result, this law helped Pakistan to strengthen the ties with Saudi Arabia and develop the country’s economic condition. The religious affiliation between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia has a unique strategy being implemented from many years. When Prime Minister Imran Khan came into power in 2018, he visited Saudi Arabia to strengthen this religious alliance which helped to develop a stable political and security structure (Malik, 2012).
- Oman is an important country for Pakistan due to its geostrategic location and the Balochi tribe residing in Oman from decades. They came via Gawadar sea-port and started to live with their families. Their generations are settled in Oman and they are serving different sectors; government and private. In addition, the geographic location of Oman plays a significant role in its relationship with Pakistan. It facilitates in bilateral trading and availability of quick services such as military services and manpower to cater the urgent requirements. Moreover, it serves as a gateway to access the other Gulf countries for trading purpose.
- Historically, Pakistan and Qatar had maintained a dynamic relationship with a

flexible foreign policy. It was largely affected due to the blockade in 2017 when Saudi Arabia cut-off its ties with Qatar. However, Pakistan agreed to maintain its alliance with Qatar and continued providing security and basic necessities as Saudi Arabia had stopped all kinds of trading with Qatar. Pakistan reviewed its alliance with Qatar after the blockade and did not continue the same policy as it was before 2017 (Shahid, 2017). Pakistan supported Qatar to face the internal conflicts with Saudi Arabia and provided its military facilities. Moreover, Taliban issue was the major concern for Pakistan where Qatar agreed to maintain its ties with Afghanistan. In this regard, Qatar invited delegates from Pakistan and Taliban to sign a peace agreement needed to bolster mutual political and security relationship. This agreement is the major difference as it adds uniqueness in the relationship of Qatar with Pakistan which is not the case with Saudi Arabia and Oman.

This thesis concludes the outcomes of the security and political alliance of Pakistan with Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman. It draws the results from tangible facts i.e. speeches, statements, meetings, conferences and especially from overall circumstances of these countries. Pakistan deployed troops in Saudi Arabia to fulfil "security duties" in the wake of the 1979 Iranian revolution. Moreover, a protocol was signed between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia on 14 December 1982 following the latter's request for military manpower assistance. Throughout 1970s and 1980s, approximately 15,000 Pakistani troops were stationed in Saudi Arabia, to protect the country. Some of them were part of a brigade combat force positioned near the Israeli-Jordanian Saudi border. As of Gulf War in 1991, up to 13,000 troops and 6,000 advisers from Pakistan were posted in Saudi Arabia. Under the 1982 protocol, cooperation was widened to include military training, defense production and sharing, and joint exercises. Contingents of

Pakistan Armed Forces have frequently participated in joint military exercises inside Saudi Arabia in conjunction with the Saudi Armed Forces. Pakistan's military presence in the Kingdom continues to date, providing Riyadh support against internal and external regional threats.

As the current research is qualitative in nature so it includes opinions, case study, theory, previous articles from researchers, observations, newspapers, texts and documents. The argument of this thesis is based on security and political relations, observed to fluctuate many times in the past which became the reason of exploring the chosen strategies to answer: how these countries build the alliance in presence of internal and external disturbance in the region. According to my analysis, the Gulf countries and Pakistan have been doing alliances from many decades. In 1970 during the reign of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the relations between Pakistan and the three important Gulf countries; Saudi Arabia, Oman and Qatar had improved because he wanted to develop better relations for the sake of Muslim unity. To achieve this, he provided manpower to these three Gulf States to help them build the infrastructure of the country. They were appointed for construction and maintenance of oil wells. During his era, the political and military ties between these countries were resilient. During that time, King Faisal visited Pakistan several times to provide assistance in the form of oil to be used for military weapons and industrial usage. Moreover, in the same era, both Oman and Qatar became interested to develop close ties with Pakistan because at that time, these newly born countries needed security personnel. Both Oman and Pakistan share a common history of strong bonding owing to the long-time settlement of Balochi tribe who moved to Oman from Gwadar, the nearest city from Oman. Gwadar was previously under the control of Oman but later it was sold to Pakistan in the early 1970s.

After going through this thesis it is being observed that in 1950s, Saudi Arabia

was the first Gulf country with whom Pakistan established its alliance. At that time Pakistan was politically and militarily strong which grabbed Saudi Arabia's attention. Pakistan had played a vital role in the development of Saudi Arabia by mobilizing its military for security purposes and its man-power for developing country's infrastructure. In 1970s, the other two Gulf countries i.e. Qatar and Oman were newly formed countries and they were looking for resources outside the region (Shabbir, 2014). In 1980s during the era of General Zia ul Haq, he had a strong affiliation with Gulf States including Saudi Arabia because of Sunni community. Although, Pakistan had cordial relations with Iran but due to his policy of Islamization, he established ties with Gulf countries against Iran. In return, Saudi Arabia supported Pakistan by providing oil to produce weapons (Shabbir, 2014). Pakistan was working for nuclear weapons from long time and Saudi Arabia was interested in it from the beginning so it always supported Pakistan against Iran and India. In 1990-1991 during the Gulf war, Pakistan sent its army to Saudi Arabia for protection against the rising issue and threats of Iran. Saudi Arabia's hostile relations with Iran required vigilant leadership to secure boundaries. It was noted that Saudi Arabia was financially stable while Pakistan had unstable political and economic structure but due to their alliance, Pakistan received financial support from KSA. In return, Pakistan supported Saudi Arabia by providing military assistance for the protection of their oil reserves and border security. Both these countries planned to achieve different objectives from this alliance. Saudi Arabia aimed to dominate in order to receive all time support from Pakistan whenever its needed. The thesis put forward the argument that the political relations between both the countries, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia were based on "Political Islam". They used Islam because people of both the countries have strong affiliation for religion and it was easier for both governments to make peaceful alliance. Additionally, the Pakistani community

believes that Saudi Arabia is important for Muslims due to the Holy cities, Makkah and Medina. Saudi Arabia exploited this belief to stabilize its power in Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistani leaders took advantage from the public's affiliation and stabilized their position in the country by playing upon emotional considerations. During the era of General Zia in 1970s, his policy towards Saudi Arabia stabilized his position among the public which provided an opportunity to Saudi Arabia in acquiring military power from Pakistan to secure its boundaries and oil reserves. Zia's power in Pakistan was considered as a "Puppet Government" of Saudi Arabia who worked for strengthening Saudi dominance in the Muslim World. Zia enjoyed fame and publicity in the region due to his political and security alliance with Saudi monarchs. Saudi Arabia was the important muslim country from the beginning and creation of alliance with it helped Pakistan to enter in the Gulf region. Zia's political strategy maintained Pakistan's position in the region (Alam, 2004).

Another important argument in this thesis is about threats from India to Pakistan throughout modern history. The thesis explains that by doing these alliances with Gulf countries, Pakistan stabilized itself in South Asia and rising challenges were under-controlled. They established stable relations with Saudi Arabia because it was the only Muslim country which had large oil reserves and it helped Pakistan to make weapons and develop nuclear power. Pakistan was the first Muslim country who introduced nuclear power which was in the interest of Saudi Arabia. Pakistan made the correct decision to support Saudi Arabia because it has strong economy and political structure which was helpful for Pakistan to maintain its stable position in South Asia. On the other hand, Iranian government openly expressed their reservations about security issues. In 1979, Pakistan offered its reassurance to Iran to maintain ties and claimed that "alliance is not only for the country but to secure itself from foreign attacks and

enemies” (Ahmad, 2017, p. 83). Though, Iran was a security threat for Saudi Arabia from many years but in 1979, it became religious threat for Pakistan as well however, their close ties with Saudi Arabia helped Pakistan to overcome the issues and secure its political sovereignty. In the same year, the Soviet attack on Afghanistan caused difficulties for Pakistan. In order to tackle this situation, they supported Afghanistan with the help of Saudi Arabia. Pakistani government wanted to gain trust from tribal areas, as they had a strong hold in Baluchistan and Waziristan. This was required because the internal crisis created instability in the country. It is further argued that Saudi Arabia was sending financial aid to the country and in return, Pakistan supported Saudi Arabia in Soviet-Afghan war (Weibaum, 1991). The political condition of Pakistan was weak and government was losing conviction from public. So to re-gain their confidence, the government took a step to support Muslim countries. Moreover, Pakistan and Afghanistan share borders so any attack from Soviet Union was threatening for Pakistan as well (Weibaum, 1991). Pakistan’s policy to open borders for refugees increased problems in the country; controversies between the tribes and the other ethnic groups i.e. extremists and local public augmented. Pakistan faced many economic issues over the last several decades and the country was struggling to financially support the Afghan refugees. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia wanted to resolve the Afghanistan crisis which created tension in Pakistan. To overcome all these obstacles, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia decided to make alliance with Mujahideen in Afghanistan. Those Mujahideen were well-trained young boys from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh (Ilmkundiya, 2018). The aim of this alliance was to ensure Saudi dominance and abolish Russian attack. It is argued that those Mujahideen had fought in the name of Islam but actually they were fighting for Saudi dominance. Pakistan supported Saudi Arabia and provided trained Mujahideen to Saudi Arabia. The training

head quarter was established in Punjab and its location was kept highly confidential, only selected people could reach. U.S. was another major challenge for Pakistan and Saudi Arabia alliance (Zia, 2018). U.S. aimed to intervene in order to attain dominance in the region. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia had close ties since the independence of Pakistan but due to the internal corruption, this relationship kept fluctuating. The U.S. intervention created panic in the foreign policy of Pakistan. It is argued that the instability in Pakistan and the external threats from Iran towards Saudi Arabia produced tension in the relations. Behind these issues, U.S. had plans to achieve its own objectives. The main objective was to acquire oil from Saudi Arabia and nuclear weapons from Pakistan.

In the early 2000s, Pakistan was the only Muslim country with nuclear power and it grabbed the attention from U.S. During his era in 2012, Asif Ali Zardari tried to develop close ties with Iran but it was not acceptable to Saudi Arabia and US because Iran follows Shi'a sect of Islam and Pakistan was getting closely affiliated with Iran's Shi'a administration. These alliances created problems for people of Pakistan because Sunni population had strong attachment with Saudi Arabia while Shi'a community had close ties with Iran. This internal crisis within the country imbalanced Pakistan's position in the South Asian region. Zardari's aim was to encourage Shi'a sect in Pakistan and stay in cordial relations with Iran. According to the Javendarfar report (2011), the purpose of alliance with Iran was "political and regional security cooperation." Zardari's aim was to weaken the Saudi Arabia's dominance in Pakistan and resolve the political issues with Afghanistan and Iran. In 2012, Shiree Rehman, the secretary of Asif Ali Zardari stated on Geo News that "Asif Ali Zardari's policy for regional security and close relations with Iran will help in future" (Gillani, 2 August, 2012). It is argued that Iran too had the same agenda of regional dominance just like Saudi Arabia. Iran wanted to

keep a strong hold in South Asian region and weaken the influence of Saudi Arabia.

Oman is another important country for Pakistan because it has indigenous affiliation with Omani culture and due to the strategic distance and cultural association. Additionally, Al Balochi tribe is settled and running their businesses in Oman from many decades. These tribes had travelled from Gwadar port which was once under Oman's jurisdiction but later it was sold to Pakistan. It is argued that Pakistan took advantage of this geostrategic location to boost its security and defence relations with Oman. Basically, it was a political strategy from Pakistan to support its economic condition with the help of Omani aid. Similarly, Oman hired the Balochi community into its military and in return, Pakistan was supplied oil to produce nuclear weapons against their enemies. Actually, Balochi community in Oman was brave and quite capable to join military forces as compared to the local people (Rahim, 2017). They fought bravely against external and internal issues in Oman which created difficulties for the royal family. The geostrategic location between Oman and Pakistan is favourable to make security ties as military forces could be mobilized from Pakistan within no time in case of emergency. Apart from internal conflicts in Oman, external issues were another issue where both countries protected each other's territory. The Afghan invasion and Iranian revolution in 1979 were the major problems for Pakistan. Pakistan opened its border for Afghan refugees but could not guaranteed against the Soviet attack in its territory. All the Gulf countries including Oman supported Pakistan by spending money to protect its borders from any external attack (Dudik, 2009). On the other hand, Iran wanted to spread Shi'ism in Pakistan as well which was not acceptable to Pakistan. It is investigated that Pakistan wanted to maintain its political and economic structure, thus it was important to establish ties with Oman on the basis of religion ((Nader, Scotten, Rahmani, Stewart, Mahnad, 2014:24). The political and

religious aspects were the major factors that played a vital role between Oman and Pakistan in their security and defence ties. India was the major obstacle between Oman and Pakistan who left political impact on their ties. India and Oman developed their ties based on their historical background. India's policy in the political sector can be debated in many ways. Firstly, India wanted to pressurize Pakistan to showcase its dominance in South Asia (Millat, 2003). Secondly, Oman was in the favour of exporting oil to Pakistan so that it can produce nuclear weapons, which was considered a threat for India. Thirdly, Oman was rich in natural resources and India had developed its defence ties based on security in order to gain control of those resources (Akhtar, 2015). Despite this situation, Pakistan strived to maintain its relation with Oman. The remarkable fact about Oman is that it is a peaceful country, which did not negatively affect its alliance with Pakistan.

After the independence in 1971, Qatar was looking for allies outside the Gulf region because of insecure borders, unstable political structure and lack of technical resources to use military equipment. Both Qatar and Pakistan have maintained close ties with each other. Their relationship started from sending military aid to Qatar and in return, they provided financial aid to Pakistan. With the passage of time, Pakistan had established close relations with Qatar and had adopted some of cultural norms as well including language, behaviour, customs and religious sect. Pakistan wanted to maintain close ties with Qatar and to achieve that purpose, Pakistan agreed to mobilize its security forces towards Qatar in order to support in stabilizing the country's political structure, for the protection of insecure oil wells and borders. The thesis argued that Pakistan did all this for its own benefits. It was unstable because of India in 1971 which encouraged to maintain its alliance with the oil producing countries: Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Oman. In the recent years, both Qatar and Pakistan are cooperating with each

other on large scale through trade, politics, defence and security. Qatar is a rich country which encouraged Pakistan to make political and security alliance with Qatar. Pakistan always provided its military aid whenever it was needed. During the Gulf crisis in 1990s, Pakistan sent its army to support Qatar in addition to 1970s and 80s. Their officers gave training to the Qatari army and this was the time when the relations between both the countries were characterized by the presence of cordial ties. Qatar signed an agreement with Pakistan to supply oil for free to produce nuclear weapons. At this time, Pakistan was working on its nuclear technology under the supervision of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan. Nuclear weaponry was the major interest for Qatar which compelled to maintain friendly relations with Pakistan because at that time, it was the only Muslim country with nuclear power. To collaborate in this sector, Qatar agreed to offer oil and financial aid to Pakistan. Kamran (2013) claimed that Qatar was trying to stabilize itself in the region and for that purpose, it was important to move outside the region and make more alliances. On the other hand, Pakistan sought support in the economic and oil & gas sector for the production of nuclear weapons. Qatar needed to improve its security and defence capabilities while Pakistan required financial stability. In addition, U.S. was the major threat for both Pakistan and Qatar in maintaining their alliance. Its major aim was to occupy the oil reserves in Qatar. Meanwhile, this oil was also needed for Pakistan to manufacture nuclear weapons (Sial, 2015). This thesis has observed that U.S. position was not clear between both these countries because its major aim was to acquire the control of oil reserves. Previously, U.S. had supported Qatar several times but during the Blockade in 2017, they supported Saudi Arabia and forced Pakistan too to support the Saudi Monarchs. However, Pakistan supported Qatar which amplified challenges for U.S. as the supply of military resources was increased by Pakistan. During this era. Pakistan was suffering from the unstable political situation

which badly affected its foreign policy. Pakistan took immediate steps to improve its long term ties with Qatar. In 2017 during the blockade, Pakistan stood firm with Qatar because of huge financial assistance received from Qatar. Furthermore, both these countries signed the agreement of “Joint cooperation in the field of politics and culture,” which stated that Pakistan has to take stand for Qatar. Secondly, Qatar supported Pakistan economically in building the infrastructure for under-developed cities and helped politically against Iran and U.S. interventions in the region. In return, Pakistan supplied the food items proactively when the food supply was interrupted by Saudi Arabia. This was the major shift in the alliance between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia because Pakistan had an alliance with Saudi Arabia for the past several decades, but the support for Qatar disturbed the alliance with Saudi Arabia. This was characterized by stopping financial aid and cancellation of projects for the under-developed cities of Pakistan.

Furthermore, U.S. wanted to dominate the Gulf region however, Pakistan’s security alliance with Qatar was threatening for U.S. because Pakistan was the first Muslim country with the nuclear bomb technology. It was a challenging situation for U.S. because with the support from Qatar, Pakistan was getting ample opportunities to explore and research in the development of nuclear weapons. Pakistan developed its armed forces with Qatar’s support as they provided financial aid to Pakistan. This situation escalated tension in the foreign policy of U.S. because Qatar rejected U.S. intervention and made a close alliance with Pakistan. It is claimed that Qatar has stable foreign policy, economic condition and has maintained stable political structure which grabbed the interest of U.S. Moreover, the involvement of Pakistan during the blockade caused problems in the foreign policy of U.S. Pakistani people were offered jobs and Qatar increased its aid towards Pakistan, causing challenges for U.S. (Dawn New,

2017). It is investigated that Pakistan sent troops to Qatar border against Saudi Arabia which triggered an imbalance in the relations between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia (Aziz, 2017).

Another important point contributed by this thesis is about the impact of Taliban on the relation between the two countries. After the 9/11 attack, the dominance of Taliban became uncomfortable for Pakistan as the internal crisis i.e. terror attacks from Taliban were increasing. To overcome this situation, Qatar organized a conference in which delegates from Taliban and Pakistan were invited. The objective of this conference was to establish peace in the region and set Pakistan free from foreign interventions because Pakistan supported the Haqqani network and signed an agreement to protect its land from external attacks (Mullen,2019). It is claimed that the reason behind this conference was to demolish U.S. supremacy in the region. Pakistan correctly decided to participate in the conference because they received some other benefits too from this conference. Firstly, it cleared U.S. doubts that Pakistan has been involved in terrorism, Secondly, Qatar pledged its support for Pakistan to resolve the internal financial crisis and sent around \$2.4 billion to stabilize its economy. Thirdly, the hostile alliance with Afghanistan transformed into harmony. All these factors supported Qatar and Pakistan in strengthening their peaceful alliance.

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