

INTERNAL IDENTITY ISSUES AFFECTING PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY.

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Abstract: The article describes the influence of the internal problems of Pakistan's national identity on the state's foreign policy. Also, the importance of economic and terrorism-related problems in the country is revealed.

Keywords: Pakistan, Kashmir, identity, domestic policy, foreign policy, Islam, economic crisis, education, terrorism.

During the bipolar world era, i.e. "The Cold War" (1947-1991), international politics was mainly based on the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. During this period, Pakistan's foreign policy was focused on close cooperation with the United States, one of the two power centers. In the multipolar world, countries face new realities and difficulties in developing their foreign policies. Since many countries and organizations have become different power centers in world politics, foreign policy needs to be more pragmatic and diversified. At the same time, there are a number of problems and difficulties in developing a new foreign policy identity for Pakistan in the context of a multipolar world. These problems depend on various geopolitical, economic, security and internal factors. The main challenges are maintaining a balance between major powers such as the USA, China, and Russia, ensuring regional security, and fighting terrorism.

After the Second World War, the countries of the world were divided into two groups - supporters of the market economy led by the USA and supporters of the idea of communism led by the USSR. During this period, every country tried to conduct its internal and, at the same time, foreign policy relying on these two polar states. Although organizations such as the Non-Aligned Movement were formed to challenge the policies of the two major ideologies, this did not make the politics of small and medium powers fully independent. The members of this organization and even the founders of such organizations as India and Yugoslavia relied on one or another power center to determine their external political agents.

In the second half of the 20th century, Pakistan also sought to establish close relations with Western countries led by the United States in its foreign policy. First of all, the basis of the national identity of the communist idea was against Islam. The second reason was the warm relations between the USSR and Pakistan's main rival and enemy country, India. By the last decade of the 20th century, in the struggle between two ideas, the bipolar system formed in the world as a result of the defeat of communism and the fall of the USSR collapsed and a unipolar world order emerged. From the 90s of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century, the world was under the influence of the US hegemony. However, a multipolar world order is being formed today. Multipolarity refers to a shift in the distribution of power between several major powers in the international system. Now there are large and regional power centers in the world, and these power centers have a great role in determining the regional policy.

Pakistan needs to pay attention to several factors in developing a new foreign policy identity in the multipolar world.

First, the elimination of economic difficulties. Pakistan's economic instability, high debt and lack of foreign currency reserves are an obstacle to independent foreign policy. The country is economically very dependent on aid from China and Saudi Arabia. This economic weakness limits Pakistan's opportunities in international negotiations and makes it dependent on major powers. Also, economic stability is necessary not only for domestic prosperity, but also for increasing the country's international status. Leveraging key relationships with international stakeholders, particularly the United States and China, is critical to securing the necessary support for economic recovery.

Pakistan's economy is currently facing one of the worst crises in its history. Incorrect economic policies and a series of shocks - the COVID-19 pandemic, the devastating floods of 2022 and unfavorable global conditions - have led to a slowdown in economic growth in the country, an increase in poverty and brought the country to the brink of debt default. Jahon Banki Pokistondagi mazkur iqtisodiy inqiroz sharoitida amalga oshirishi zarur bo'lgan bir qancha tavsiyalarni ishlab chiqqan ¹:

1. Pakistan needs to address its human capital crisis. Seven percent of children in the country die before the age of 5, which is several times higher than in comparable

¹ N. Benhassine, M Raiser. "Could 2024 mark Pakistan's economic turnaround moment?" – Washington, 2024. World Bank – Report.

countries. 40 percent of children under 5 suffer from stunting, and this is more than 50 percent in poor districts.

2. Pakistan needs to create more fiscal space to finance improvements in service delivery and human capital development. Tax collection has been 10 percent of GDP for decades. Eliminating expensive tax breaks and reducing compliance costs could quickly generate about 3 percent of GDP in added revenue.

More funding could be drawn at the provincial and local levels from non-taxable sectors such as real estate, agriculture and retail — adding another 3 percent to GDP. Cost savings can be achieved through more efficient management of public resources. Most of the loss-making state-owned enterprises should be privatized. Subsidies in agriculture and energy should be cut, while protecting the poorest. The overlap between federal and provincial spending should also be reduced. These measures will save another 3 percent of GDP per year.

3. Pakistan should strive for a more dynamic and open economy. Current policies distort markets for the benefit of the few while inhibiting productivity growth. Frequent overvaluation of the currency and high tariffs lead firms to focus on domestic markets while encouraging exports.

A difficult business environment deters investment, as does a strong state presence in contested markets. Tax breaks also discourage productive investment and support non-tradable industries such as real estate. Accelerating the sale of productive assets or selectively attracting foreign investment deals may generate much-needed foreign exchange reserves in the short term, but the lasting impact requires an immediate response to the underlying problems behind low investment and declining productivity growth. Yin rules equalize and promote competition, reduce red tape, etc. The agricultural sector needs to be transformed to ensure food security in the face of climate change and increasing water scarcity. Current subsidies, public procurement and price restrictions force farmers to plant low-value, non-diversified farming systems and water-intensive crops.

Disruptions in the power sector need to be addressed quickly and consistently, as they have been draining public resources for a long time. Recent tariff hikes have helped limit losses while protecting poor consumers, but large distribution and transmission losses coupled with high generation costs need to be reduced to stabilize the grid. Fortunately, Pakistan has the cheapest hydropower and solar resources. Their use requires investment,

which can only be solved by long-standing problems in electricity distribution and transmission systems, particularly through a greater private sector.

Moreover, while a more dynamic economy will create opportunities for the majority of Pakistanis, the fight against poverty will need to be coordinated through federal and provincial approaches to ensure that no one is left behind by social safety nets.

Second, Internal political instability. In general, the foreign policy of the states is inextricably linked with the internal policy of the country. At the same time, political instability in Pakistan has had a negative impact on the country's foreign policy. A large number of cases of military coups in the state - the overthrow of democratic governments, as a result of which there are regular changes in the state administration and legislation, have had a negative impact on the state's reputation and the country has lost its attractiveness for investors.

Even today, Pakistan's internal political instability has a major impact on its foreign policy. The issue of political dominance in the country is volatile and the role of the military in the governance of the government remains significant. The ban on former prime minister Imran Khan's participation ahead of the 2024 elections is creating political instability, which will make it difficult to deal with the challenges of the economic crisis and growing terrorism. Political instability also limits access to international credit and complicates negotiations with foreign political partners, which directly affects Pakistan's foreign policy strategy.

Third, the fight against regional and global terrorism. The fight against terrorism has a great impact on the image of Pakistan in the international arena. The United States and the international community expect Pakistan to take firm measures against terrorism, especially in the case of the Taliban and other radical groups. Pakistan is also facing instability in Afghanistan and regional security problems. In the new foreign policy, it is necessary to develop effective strategies for the fight against terrorism and strengthen cooperation with the international community.

The fight against terrorism occupies an important place in Pakistan's foreign policy. The country is struggling not only with terrorists within itself, but also with regional threats, particularly Afghanistan. After the Taliban took power in 2021, support for the Tehreek-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) group complicated Pakistan's fight against the group and increased instability in the region. The TTP intensified its operations and increased its attacks against Pakistan from Afghanistan, which negatively affected Pakistan's relations with the Taliban.

Today, Pakistan, like Afghanistan, has the headquarters of terrorist groups and thus has a negative image on the battlefield. At the same time, there are cases where the location of terrorist groups in Pakistan worsens relations with its allied countries. These are countries such as Afghanistan (the reason is given above) and Iran, China, Central Asian countries, and the United States, which sees itself in the position of the international anti-terrorist police.

Terrorist attacks by Baloch separatists in Pakistan are also a problem for Iran, home to a large Baloch ethnic group. Because the rise of the Baloch separatist movement fighting for an independent Balochistan is sure to inspire the Baloch living in Iran. Also, the fact that representatives of the Khorasan group of ISIS have recently carried out several attacks in Iran will not change the attitude towards the countries of the region where this group is believed to be located, Afghanistan and partially Pakistan. For example, in January 2024, ISIS-Khorasan carried out twin bombings in Iran, killing scores of people and injuring hundreds at a memorial service for former Iranian top general Qassem Soleimani, who was targeted by US drones four years earlier people were injured ².

The presence of the ISIS-Khorasan terrorist group in Afghanistan and Pakistan has been a cause of concern for Central Asian countries. The group's goal is to establish an Islamic state governed by strict sharia rules in the old Khorasan territories - present-day Afghanistan, Iran, and a large area of Central Asia. This is causing the Central Asian republics to worry. Although the countries of the region have a great experience in the fight against terrorism since the 1990s when they gained independence, the terrorist attack by ISIS-Khorasan in March 2024 in the capital of Russia, Moscow, which caused the death of more than 130 people, caused the tension in the Central Asian republics to increase even more. it has been.

The fact that Pakistan is one of the hotbeds of terrorism does not affect relations with China. Because China, like the United States, tried to rely on the help and experience of Pakistan, which has a lot of experience in these operations, in the fight against terrorism. As part of this support, in October 2003, as a result of a military operation carried out by the Pakistani army against a camp suspected of belonging to al-Qaeda on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (an armed group that aims to turn the Xinjiang-Uighur region of China into an independent region) by China. Hasan Makhsum,

² "ISIS Affiliate Linked to Moscow Attack Has Global Ambitions." The New York Times. (05.08.2024)
<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/25/us/politics/moscow-attack-isis.html>

who is known as the leader of the terrorist group known as “Terrorist Group”, was killed and other captured members of the group were extradited to China ³.

However, terrorist groups such as Tehriki Taliban, Baloch insurgents and Lal Masjid Brigade have started targeting Chinese citizens in Pakistan in response to the escalation of anti-terrorist operations led by the Chinese government against their Uyghur brothers. Several people were killed and some were injured in such attacks. One of these was the Lal Masjid brigade's invasion of a Chinese massage parlor and the abduction of workers, which would lead to a diplomatic disaster between China and Pakistan ⁴.

The fight against terrorism is also important in Pakistan's relations with the United States. This is why the US has been funding Pakistan's defense sector. Between 2002 and 2007 alone, the first five years of the US global war on terror, the US spent nearly \$6 billion on Pakistan's military and defense capabilities ⁵. These numbers alone show the importance of Pakistan in the fight against global terrorism for the United States.

³ S. Mamatqulov. “Xitoy bilan strategik hamkorlik Pokiston mustaqillik omili sifatida.” // “Xorijiy Sharq mamlakatlaridagi tarixiy jarayonlar va ularni o’rganishning dolzarb masalalari.” Tashkent, 2024. Vol.11. – P. 356.

⁴ Syed Irfan Raza. “Chinese hostages freed.” (27.08.2024) <https://www.dawn.com/news/253217/chinese-hostages-freed>

⁵ “U.S. Aid to Pakistan by the Numbers.” – American Progress. (27.08.2024) <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/u-s-aid-to-pakistan-by-the-numbers/>