

Diversification of Foreign Policy, From Peacekeeping to Strategic Presence: The Case of Pakistan in Africa

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Abstract

Pakistan began its participation in UN peacekeeping in 1960 and became one of the top Troop Contributing Countries (TCC) during 1990s. Barely two decades following its creation, Pakistan demonstrated a unique sense of shared responsibility and humanity by contributing troops to bringing about peace and harmony in war ridden zones, this unique propensity has been on display amidst all odds and limited resources. However, it puzzles a rational mind, why Pakistan would choose to commit, deploy, and labor its troops to such perilous venture regardless of all odds and limited resources. Most of the peacekeeping missions are concentrated in Africa and Pakistan has significantly participated in these missions to bring peace and harmony to the continent. But the question is what strategic dividend and goodwill Pakistan gets from these missions, particularly the African peacekeeping missions. To articulate these issues more vividly, the paper is divided into two sections.

The first section of the paper takes a theoretical lens to understand peacekeeping and is followed by an attempt to understand why Pakistan has been an adherent peacekeeping nation. In addition to peacekeeping as a tool of foreign policy, the second section of the paper argues that there are numerous strategic ‘untapped’ areas, wherein Pakistan can equally strengthen her foreign policy in Africa, if policymakers would consider diversifying into these areas. Therefore, this paper posits that an amalgam of peacekeeping and exploitation of these untapped areas can add to the meaningful presence of Pakistan in Africa and by extension the fulfillment of her foreign policy objectives.

Keywords

Peacekeeping, foreign policy, Pakistan, Africa

Introduction

The Second World War did not just strip the world of the fundamental principle and sense of humanity, it exposed the extent to which the intoxication of power and selfish national fraternity can anchor and lead mankind towards abysmal juncture. At

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the dawn of sanity and the realisation for collective security rather than collective destruction, the international community embraced and promoted peacekeeping as an integral part of the international norms. Interestingly, this norm gained tremendous reception overtime within the global north and south respectively.

Foreign policy is the traditional enabling mechanism of state crafted for the fulfilment of state's national interest. Traditionally, states have always activated diplomacy as political tool "to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resorting to force" (Berridge, 2010, p.1). The manner with which a state positions itself and relates within the comity of nations also comes under the ambit of diplomacy. With the increasing acceptance of peacekeeping as an essential foreign policy element, the question is, does it amount to diplomacy? Several studies have tried to equate peacekeeping with public diplomacy (Armstrong, 2010; Coulon, 1998). Nonetheless, the two should cease to be conflated, even though there is a growing intersection of the two.

The notion and practice of peacekeeping has no fundamental equation with traditional diplomacy, because the latter is not mere negotiation, bargaining process between two or more states, but an action premised to achieving certain outcomes that might be inimical to the ideal of the parties involved, yet the best of alternative to adhere with (Schelling, 1970, pp. 64-84). Diplomacy as an instrument of statecraft is always between states, never predicated by the resolution to enforce military intervention by a larger multinational body (like the UN) for the sake of ensuring global peace and security. Unlike other forms of military intervention, peacekeeping mission is always a secondary activity following the exhaustion of warring parties and often subject to the consent of the disputants (James, 1990, p.1). The consent of disputants though is an essential feature of diplomacy and an important commonality between peacekeeping and diplomacy, yet unlike the former; the latter often precedes war and not to mention exhaustion of warring parties.

Similarly, peacekeeping cannot be likened to the popular concept of disarmament, which "includes the limitation, control, and reduction of the human and material instrumentalities of warfare" (Claude-Jr, 1970, p. 123). In as much as peacekeeping carries some of the essentiality of disarmament, such as enabling warring parties to disarm in order to create room for negotiation and ultimately return to peaceful coexistence. It is indeed not the conventional disarmament conduct amongst states, geared at non-militarization or elimination of arms race, rather peacekeeping is "a whole new dimension in the use of military forces" for restorative peace (Bidwell, 1978, p. 635).

The "Chapter VI (Pacific Settlement of Disputes) of the UN Charter, which stipulates that there can be no use of force except in self-defense, and which requires the consent of the host government and a ceasefire for deployment" (United Nations, 2012, p. 12) underpins the uniqueness of peacekeeping. In the light of the UN Charter, peacekeeping is traditionally classified, because it focuses "on the containment of conflicts between countries through border demarcation and the separation of forces after inter-state wars" (*Ibid*).

Even though the world has not witnessed the scourge of a world war in decades, yet peacekeeping has gained greater relevance given the proliferation of scattered wars the world over. Most of the war-concentrated regions are being shaped by the invisible hands of international actors bent at protecting and promoting their own interests in the war regions. The outbreak of conflict also

stems from the inability of domestic stakeholders to compress their incompatibility region into agreeable frontier (Galtung, 1958). While some powerful reference elements have instrumentally made conflict possible because of their self-centeredness, the question remains why other nations should contribute their own armed forces, when the harbingers of the conflict are not ready to solely sacrifice their own armed forces to extinguish the flame they had selfishly ignited. Therefore, peacekeeping is irrelevant and needless if the selfish interest had not prevailed over careful rumination of political fallout of conflict.

Contemporary conflicts might be incomparable to the two World Wars, yet they have their unique dynamics and complexities. Moxon-Browne (1998) argues that contemporary conflict is increasingly dynamic with lesser predictability and whether or not the structure and content of current peacekeepers are capable enough to combat the dynamic challenges. Though more important, does this dynamic provoke the need for reinvention and redefinition, reformation of how we construe peacekeeping in the larger canvass of conflict resolution.

Theorizing Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping mission is part of the international project of shared responsibility, upon which the constituent members of the UN contribute national troops (as shared responsibility) in resolving conflict in conflict-ridden zones. In as much as peacekeeping is a practical venture, it is imperative to have a theoretical perspective of it.

In his seminal work on peacekeeping, Zhou (1984, p.1) opines that “the theoretical concept of international peace-keeping is that the control of violence in interstate and intrastate conflict is possible without the use of force or enforcement measures”. From a broader perspective, the former UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali argues that peacebuilding is a “mission that seeks to identify and support structures, which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict” (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, p. 32). As one of the eminent practitioners and writers on peacekeeping, Indar (1984) argues that it is utopian to think that peacekeeping could actually resolve political disputes, when governments hold back their full commitment towards the fruition of peacekeeping. Without the serious engagement of mediators, peacekeeping will have ceased to be an instrument of averting global conflict and violence and maintaining peace.

Interestingly, the adoption of peacekeeping as a popular idea by the UN was championed by diplomats and leaders from countries having little or no credential for aggression against other country. Canadian politician Lester Pearson and UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld were believed to have been instrumental in formalizing and ensuing peacekeeping becomes part of the UN (Ryan, 1998, pp. 26-39).

The legitimacy of peacekeeping has been a discursive piece amongst intellectuals and policymakers. If the UN is largely the assembly of democratic nations, constituted to democratically bring peace to the world, the question is, how well the institution has lived to the spirit of democracy, rather than being clouded by the tyranny of the small oligarchy—great powers (Bhutto, 1967). Hence, the undemocratic characterization of the UN undermines the legitimacy of peacekeeping (Simons, 1995), it is also indicative that authoritarian regime within the UN often becomes selective about peacekeeping.

Keeping in view the nexus of peacekeeping and foreign policy, scholars have been grappling whether or not peacekeeping should be considered an ethical dimension or rebranding foreign policy through an ethical and moralist approach. This is suggestive of the fact that nations have graduated from the traditional realist paradigm of selfish foreign policy, morally unobligated to the problem of other states. Presumably, the ethical consideration is a transformation of state from the Hobbesian beastly propensity to a moral actor, knowing the worth of helping others in distress.

It is understandable that politics and ethics do not intersect and conflate; politics is intrinsically unethical; invariably politics cannot be moralised (Machiavelli, 1970). Thus labelling peacekeeping as moral politics will be a novel idea, particularly to the realist school that would rather want disengagement of the two. Moral theorists of International Relations would argue that efforts like peacekeeping underscore the maturity of state and the emancipation from realist prism of anarchy and self-centeredness. This implies the graduation from self-interested entity to a political community that is no more bounded by territorial boundaries and parochial statist notion of self (Heins & Chandler, 2007, pp. 3-4).

Peacekeeping missions indicate the relevance of institutionalism, a vital component of liberalism. Peacekeeping reinforces the holistic, interconnected, and interdependence of sub-system within the system. The interdependence of peacekeeping resonates with the cosmopolitan/Kantian school that sees state's moral duties transcending territorial boundary and hence the ethical policymaking meant to promote the interest of humanity. Interestingly, realists consider such supposed ethical policymaking as "act of manipulation of duplicity or ideological disguise" because whatever maybe the action of a state, it is nonetheless aimed at achieving its selfish (realist) national interest as stated by Richard Nixon in 1968 "the main purpose of American aid is not to help other nations, but to help ourselves" (Hancock, 1989, p. 71).

Through the light of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), one might begin to inquire which schools of thought of foreign policy lend explanation for peacekeeping. Is the decision of a nation to become a peacekeeping nation premised on national wisdom of ethicality—part of state's religiosity, sense of humanity, or is it simply the discretion of the leadership or the collective wisdom of the bureaucracy or an action guided by external incentives (structuralism and financial gain). Finding a quick answer to these questions would mean understanding the dynamics of domestic politics in a given peacekeeping nation. Yet, a generalisation of states' reasons might be inappropriate; instead a contextual analysis will always be useful for better comprehension.

The end of the Cold War ushered in a new thinking that crisscrossed International Law and Human Rights Law (HRL). Traditionally, both laws operate in different arenas and address different entities. But the post-Cold War era blurred the distinction between the two and rather created an enabling space for the marriage of both laws. The nuptial bore the internationalisation of HRL and hence the new 'interventionist' world politics in the form of peacekeeping (Cunliffe, 2007, p. 72). The transformation from 'sovereign as authority to sovereignty as responsibility', coupled with the need of redefining matters that could be considered as 'threat to international peace and security' explains the birth of 'sanctioned interventions' by the UN. The redefinition of security and threat reaffirms the position of the English School that the international community would disagree on justice, but coalesced on

order (Linklater, 2005, p. 58), therefore security threats stemming from humanitarian crises have come to be regarded as issue of international concern.

It is true that peacekeeping has become complementary to the regionalized security institutionalism that inundated global politics in the post-Cold War era. Upon the emancipation from the ideological over layer during the Cold War, most developing regions realized the necessity to regionalize their security concerns, hence the third wave of regionalism and formation of regional security organizations (Fawcett, 1996, pp. 16-18). Rather than placing all their security concerns on the shoulders of their former benefactors (superpowers), the end of the Cold War engendered introspective disposition, by which nations formerly aligned to the two superpowers created their own regional peacekeeping forces like Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Understanding Pakistan as a Peacekeeping Nation

In the light of FPA, certain questions require answers to understand Pakistan's decision in become a peacekeeping nation. What moral incentive(s) propel Pakistan towards peacekeeping missions? Does it have bearing with ethical foreign policy? Could it be due to the notion of humanity embedded in the Islamic tradition/faith? or was Pakistan prompted to become a major peacekeeping nation due to the cultural sympathy engrained in her culture or it is mere fulfilment of Jinnah's foreign policy mission of "Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world? We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world, and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter" (MOFA, n.d.)².

Barely two decades into her creation as a nation-state, Pakistan embraced a pragmatic foreign policy which was least expected of a newly crafted state that had to be grappling on how best to settle as a new member of the international community. Pakistan's foreign policy of intervention and interference in other states through peacekeeping missions went beyond the noble peaceful neighbourhood enunciated by the founding father. In consonance with Jinnah's groundbreaking foreign policy, Pakistan made its first peacekeeping deployment in the 1960 Congo crisis; few years following the first use of peacekeeping mission by the UN to resolving the Suez Canal crisis in 1956. Since 1960, and following the end of the Cold War, Pakistan remains consistent and among top prominent non-Western countries contributing troops to UN missions (Meiske & Ruggeri, n.d.). Over the last five decades, Pakistan has participated in peacekeeping activities in twenty-six (26) countries; forty-three (43) UN missions, and contributed more than 180,000 troops,³ among which some have sacrificed their lives for the cause of bringing peace to the world. The following picture graphically shows, where Pakistan stands as part of the troop

² See, Guiding Principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan (MOFA) <http://www.mofa.gov.pk/content.php?pageID=guidingpri>

³ Based on the data gathered from the Department of Peacekeeping Training, Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS), National University of Science & Technology, Islamabad (www.cips.nust.edu.pk).

contributing countries (TCC) (see figure 1 & 2); an indelible and courageous effort toward global peace.

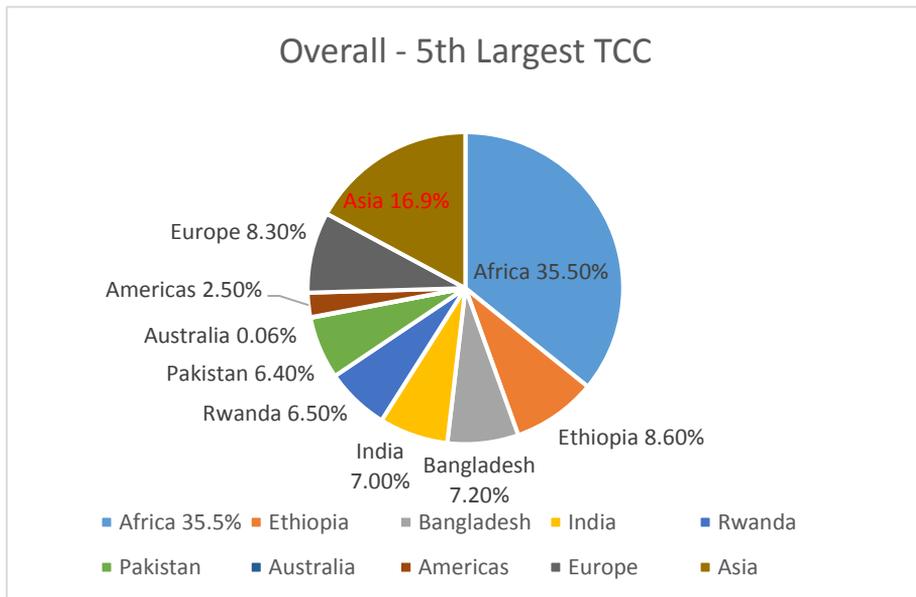


Figure 1: Pakistan overall fifth largest troop contributing country. UN Peacekeepers Deployed Worldwide

Source: Department of Peacekeeping Training, Centre for Peace and Stability (CIPS), National University of Science & Technology, Islamabad.

There is paucity of academic piece on the imperative reasons for Pakistan’s choice of becoming a peacekeeping nation. Although, Malik (2013, p. 207) suggested that “Pakistan’s senior officers often decide the scope and scale, logistics and operational details of the Pakistani contingent, though within the larger of military-bureaucratic nexus and a final shot by the foreign ministry.” Other scholars argue that Pakistan’s choice of becoming a peacekeeping nation is geared at identifying itself as a responsible member of the international community and despite grappling with her own domestic issues; she remains committed to UN peacekeeping missions to evade being labeled a failed state (see e.g., Abiola et al., p. 154).

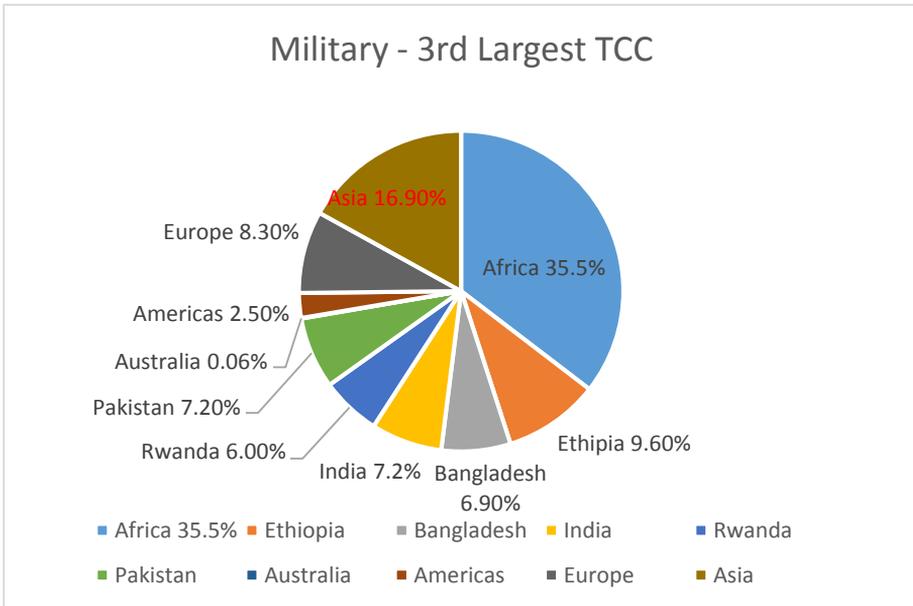


Figure 2: Pakistan as third largest troop contributing country. UN peacekeepers deployed worldwide

Source: Department of Peacekeeping Training, Centre for Peace and Stability (CIPS), National University of Science & Technology, Islamabad.

Methodologically, unlike other researches on the subject, this study deemed it insightful and instructive to understand the motivation for peacekeeping through the lens of past Pakistani peacekeepers, particularly the ranking officers, who led deployed mission in different part of war-ridden areas. Although getting in contact with large amount of ranking officers was one of the limitations of the study; nevertheless, the research was able to gather qualitative information from the accessible officers, who had once led Pakistani deployment abroad. Most of the officers concurred that peacekeeping is an integral part of Pakistan’s foreign policy and it is clearly a manifestation of how Jinnah envisioned Pakistan’s relations with the rest of the world. To the officers, Pakistan’s peacekeeping engagements symbolize ethical foreign policy, rooted in humanity. Surprisingly, they all are agreed that peacekeeping has not delivered much expected prestige to Pakistan. For them, foreign policy objective is measured by state’s capacity hence Pakistan is a peacekeeping nation because of her military capacity, strong military establishment and blessing of the parliament. Since peacekeeping efforts are not just arduous, it requires the services of soldiers with families, hence the financial matter – incentives.

Diversification of Foreign Policy: From Peacekeeping to Strategic Presence

Peacekeeping is considered tool of foreign policy and Pakistani troops are largely committed and present in Africa given the latter’s profile as the most conflict ridden zone, then it suffices to assert that Pakistan pays considerably attention regarding its foreign policy towards Africa. It is equally apposite that Pakistan’s foreign

policy towards Africa is largely limited in scope due to reasons such as dearth of strong political will to deeply engage Africans, the pretext of distance, cultural factor, news media sentimentality of Africa as 'good for nothing' save poverty and conflict. While these factors might have held back the optimal manifestation of Pakistan in many African states, other Asians, such as the Arabs, Chinese, Koreans, and even Indians continue to make meaningful headways on the richest continent – resource wise. Pakistan might not be financially buoyant as these Asians, but it is not incapacitated to diversify her foreign policy and engagement in areas other than peacekeeping in Africa.

If peacekeeping is a tool of foreign policy and expectantly should yield certain dividends, the question is, has Pakistan been reaping the dividends of peacekeeping, particularly from the African continent, where most of the peacekeeping takes place. Pakistan's peacekeeping missions in Congo, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Western Sahara, Chad, Darfur, South Sudan, Mali, and Central African Republic might have given Pakistan certain degree of diplomatic prestige. The goodwill of Pakistani peacekeepers would probably be retained and impact the consciousness of these African nations that have witnessed intractable conflict, but such impact can be unlearned and faltered by time.

Complementarily, diversification of Pakistan's foreign policy into unexploited areas will profoundly add up to any form of peacekeeping effort in Africa. Other than peacekeeping, Pakistan requires more pragmatic, enduring, and strategically impactful foreign relations with Africa. The amalgam of peacekeeping and the exploitation of these untapped areas would eventually led to the fulfillment of foreign policy objectives.

To start with, in the area of peacekeeping, Pakistan should strengthen her diplomatic ties by working with peacekeeping nations in Africa. For instance, Ethiopia and Nigeria are foremost African peacekeeping nations; the fact that they share common value of peacekeeping can be better premise and platform to foster strategic partnership through the sharing of professional skills on peacekeeping and collaboration in many other areas of shared interest.

Military Cooperation

In addition to procuring military hardware from major powers, with her ingenuity, Pakistan military establishment has created a *niche* for itself in areas of military industry. The strength of Pakistan's military is not restricted to being one of the major and reckonable militaries in the world or her contribution in the UN Peacekeeping missions; today Pakistan is one of the world's powerful and largest military economies (Schumpeter, 2011). Pakistan's defence industry is increasingly growing in high technology (Haq, 2011), the sophistication of her world class indigenous production, estimated around \$1.5 billion per annum and the adoption of partial import substitute policy is a lesson to learn from this South Asian country. Pakistan "has achieved self-sufficiency in several areas of defence production. We cannot lower our guard against the threat from our adversaries" (Syed, 2014, n.d.).

African military cooperation with Islamabad is largely confined to training of African officers in Pakistan and occasional procurement of military hardware. Within the South-South and military cooperation, Pakistan's foreign policymakers should be awakened that it is long overdue to reach a strategic partnership and

collaborate in the production of military tools and hardware with African countries. Instead of mere procurement of hardware, Pakistan should invest professionally in such venture. Islamabad should reach an understanding, signing a memorandum of understanding (MoU) (through diplomatic channel) with many of the African countries, to see such venture attain a constructive conclusion. To the benefit of the partnership, Islamabad should show the willingness to share with African countries her military potential, particularly rendering out F-16. The addition of such military hardware will not only be a remarkable addition to Africa's military hardware inventory, but will further strengthen diplomatic cooperation. Pakistani military will attain greater height in the event of joint collaboration in production of military tools and hardware. Besides, Islamabad can enter a strategic partnership with African countries to acquire the technical know-how for submarine-launched cruise missile. Of recent, Pakistan demonstrated a "submarine-launched cruise missile capable of delivering various types of payloads and useful for credible second strike capability, augmenting and deterrence" (Zahra, 2017, n.d.).

With the facilitation of the peacekeepers, who have served in Africa, Pakistan should develop strategies for cooperating and working with African nations on counter-terrorism and counter-insurgencies. Over the years, Pakistan has been grappling with similar issues confronting most African nations, while Islamabad has recorded degree of success in certain areas, for instance in SWAT and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), such success stories should be shared and pragmatic facilitation should be rendered to African nations encountering similar issues. Pakistan will always be remembered in these countries for being instrumental.

The recent clampdown on Boko Haram by the Nigerian Army came to fruition due to the sophisticated military hardware procured from Pakistani military. Having struggled with terrorism and extremism over almost two decades, Pakistan and Nigeria and many other African nations can further emasculate this global menace through intelligence sharing. Becoming a strategic partner means a deeper military cooperation with African countries, invariably such a status would earn Pakistan military officers a degree of concession when dealing with their African counterparts, facilitate diplomatic support on international issues, and perhaps broadened and enrich Pakistan-Africa military training and exercise.

Agricultural Cooperation

The abundance of farmlands all over Africa makes the continent a potential world food basket. With an increasingly growing population, natural disaster and incessant conflicts, Africa cannot afford to deny the exigency of food and agricultural self-sufficiency. African economies are wearing the burden of the massive importation of food and the dearth of proportionate production for domestic consumption. As the fifth world producer of dairy produce (Pakistan Today, 2013), the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) ranked Pakistan as the thirteen (13th) rice producer and standing among the world's top ten producers of wheat, cotton, sugarcane, mango, dates and oranges (FAO). Pakistan should not simply make her world class (Sella & Basmati) rice, sugar and dairy produce exportable to Africa; but should be enthusiastic to share agricultural techniques and strategies. Foreign policy objectives and national interests can well be fulfilled if agricultural energy and know-how is shared with African brothers. More importantly, Pakistan can become instrumental for nations such as Congo, Central African Republic (CAR), and many

other affected by protracted war to resuscitate their agricultural economy. Doing this will be an enormous advantage for Pakistan without men in boots.

Infrastructural Cooperation

Blessed with the black gold and many other natural resources, Africa stands to be one of the wealthiest continents, but the dividend of the resources remains a distant reality for many Africans. Undoubtedly, Pakistan is a developing nation with her own issues, but her strength as resilient country keeps the country alive and animated. Infrastructural wise, certain African nations can benefit from Pakistan.

Couple of years before becoming Pakistani premier, Prime Minister Shahid Kazaqani Abbasi as the petroleum minister visited Nigeria, to his astonishment and shock; he was alarmed by the extent to which Nigeria squander her Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) a vital energy for both domestic and industrial utility. According to the World Bank, Nigeria wastefully flares her gas without adequate and proportional utility (Asikhia & Orugboh, 2011).

Despite not being an oil producing economy, same gas (Compressed Natural Gas-CNG and LNG) is affordably and comfortably circulated and used in many homes across Pakistan. This South Asia country has one of the largest networks of gas connecting households, for the purpose of cooking and heating. In the light of south-south cooperation and further indulgence in Africa beyond peacekeeping, Pakistan can facilitate a robust energy utility, though glaringly, Pakistan is equally fighting her own energy crisis, yet Pakistan can facilitate Nigeria on how best to utilize LNG and CNG, employ Pakistan's professionalism for the successful circulation of the product to every home across Nigeria. During the last 9th (ninth) D8 summit held in Istanbul, Turkey, the Pakistani PM reiterated Pakistan's commitment to work with Nigeria in many areas, which does not exclude the energy sector (DNA, 2017).

Easy and smooth mobility of goods and people is existential for any economy. Any economic system will be a failure, when all sectors or segments of the economy are either not functional or lack connectivity. The potentials of African GDP is long undermined, not because they lack industrious mind, but all due to the dearth of distributive infrastructural facility. Understanding the role of distributive infrastructural facility, the four provinces of Pakistan are well connected by motorways and highways, well-constructed by local construction companies and meaningfully maintained at least in accordance to Islamabad's capacity. Pakistan has one of the best of motorways in the whole of South Asia, an infrastructural development that belies the stigma of a failed state (Scrutton, 2009). These motorways and highways have been constructed by local construction companies (not foreign companies) with patriotism. The motorways and highways is an evidence of sustainable development. Billions of rupees were expended on this country-wide project.

Most peacekeepers who had served in Africa would not be ignorant of the dearth of this infrastructure in certain areas. The professionalism of Pakistani construction companies (civil and military) can be shared with nations, where Pakistan has had a peacekeeping footprint and those free from war. Pakistan can be relevant, not as a nation ready to provide Africans the money for infrastructural development, but helping through her professionalism to contain the inadequate and depreciated infrastructural facility impeding trade connectivity. The huge commercial

transaction around the countries in most African nations is sabotaged by the calamitous infrastructures. The loss of lives, time, money and property epitomises the calamitous situation. A fact known to many Africans that lack of good roads does not only endanger lives, it engenders criminals to cause travellers and motorists dreadful menace. Instead of solely promoting the worth of her *khaki boys*, Pakistan can bring forth her professionalism in this respect. Pakistan can equally be a good competitor among existing foreign companies that have satisfactorily benefited from the wealth of Africa in the area of distributive infrastructural facility. Pakistan and African nations can collaborate in the area of construction at the managerial and technical level. Material and human resources necessary for the infrastructural construction will exclusively be African.

Conclusion

It is long overdue for Pakistan's foreign policy makers to come to the realization of policy diversification. The country is long entrapped and yoked in the Cold War alignment. For quite too long, Islamabad has cultivated a fundamental attachment with Washington; less engagement towards Europe and lesser towards Latin America and Africa. Though of recent, the country has started looking more eastward. Regardless of all the media sentimentality towards Pakistan, the international community cannot relegate the relevance of Pakistan in the area of peacekeeping. Its presence in conflict ridden areas makes in one of the most persistent troop contributors to UN peacekeeping missions. Most of these missions might be in Africa and Pakistan is always there, but Pakistan needs to translate and transform its presence in Africa into more strategic and pragmatic ventures. Premised on the knowledge of the peacekeepers, policymakers in Islamabad should effectively use the knowledge to open new chapter in Africa-Pakistan relations beyond the realm of peacekeeping.

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