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# Pakistan's Strategic Diplomacy with Central Asia under Afghan Security Challenges Dr. Syed Munib Ali Bukhari

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This study investigates Pakistan's strategic diplomacy with Central Asia in the context of ongoing Afghan security challenges. It explores how Pakistan navigates regional instability, security threats, and geopolitical competition to maintain influence and pursue its national interests. Using neoclassical realism as the theoretical foundation, the research examines the interaction between systemic pressures, domestic factors, and regional perceptions in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy. The analysis highlights Afghanistan's role as a critical variable affecting transit, security, and connectivity, while also considering the impact of major powers and Central Asian threat perceptions. Findings reveal that Pakistan adopts an adaptive, incremental, and cautious approach, focusing on security cooperation, confidence building, and pragmatic engagement, rather than rapid or large-scale regional integration. The study emphasizes the importance of strategic patience and flexibility, illustrating how middle powers can sustain relevance and navigate complex regional environments under conditions of uncertainty.

**Keywords:** Pakistan, Central Asia, Afghan Security, Strategic Diplomacy, Neoclassical Realism, Regional Cooperation

#### Introduction

Pakistan's strategic position at the crossroads of South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East has historically made it a critical actor in regional geopolitics. The country shares a long and porous border with Afghanistan, whose internal political instability and security challenges have had a direct influence on Pakistan's domestic security and foreign policy orientation. Afghanistan has functioned as both a strategic gateway and a source of persistent security threats, shaping Pakistan's approach to regional diplomacy, particularly with Central Asian states. The combination of geographic proximity, shared historical ties, and emerging economic interests renders Pakistan's engagement with Central Asia both essential and complex (Haider, 2022).

Central Asia, comprising Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan, is increasingly recognized as a region of strategic significance. The region possesses vast energy resources, critical transport corridors, and a unique geopolitical position linking East, South, and West Asia. For Pakistan, Central Asia offers opportunities for trade, energy security, and enhanced diplomatic leverage in a rapidly shifting regional landscape. However, access to these opportunities is heavily dependent on a secure and stable Afghanistan, as the majority of connectivity routes linking Pakistan to Central Asia pass through Afghan territory. The instability in Afghanistan, including the resurgence of militant groups and political

fragmentation, imposes structural constraints on Pakistan's diplomatic ambitions and necessitates a careful balancing of security and economic priorities (Rashid, 2021).

Over the past two decades, Pakistan has actively pursued regional connectivity and strategic engagement initiatives to strengthen ties with Central Asia. Projects such as the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the proposed CASA 1000 electricity transmission project, and plans for railway and road linkages highlight Pakistan's efforts to position itself as a central hub connecting South Asia with Central Asian markets. These initiatives are not purely economic; they are deeply intertwined with Pakistan's security calculus, as a stable Afghanistan is crucial for the successful implementation of these projects (Sial, 2021). The post-2021 developments in Afghanistan have added urgency and complexity to Pakistan's strategic calculus. The Taliban takeover of Kabul and the subsequent international disengagement created both opportunities and challenges for Pakistan. While the political transition offered Pakistan potential leverage over Afghan affairs and a chance to stabilize its western border, it also heightened security risks, including the proliferation of extremist groups and refugee flows. These developments have forced Pakistan to recalibrate its diplomatic approach toward Central Asia, emphasizing security cooperation, intelligence sharing, and confidence-building measures alongside traditional economic and trade diplomacy (Fair, 2022).

Pakistan's engagement with Central Asia is further complicated by the presence of other influential actors in the region. China, through its Belt and Road Initiative, has significantly increased its influence in Central Asia, particularly in infrastructure and energy projects. Russia maintains historical and security influence, especially in military and counterterrorism matters. The United States and the European Union also play indirect roles through economic assistance and security cooperation with Central Asian states. Navigating this complex geopolitical environment requires Pakistan to adopt a nuanced diplomatic strategy that balances its national interests with regional security concerns and the priorities of major powers (Cooley, 2020).

From a theoretical perspective, Pakistan's foreign policy behavior can be analyzed through the lens of Neoclassical Realism, which posits that state behavior is influenced by both external systemic pressures and internal domestic variables. Afghan instability represents a systemic external pressure that shapes Pakistan's strategic decisions, while domestic economic constraints, political instability, and institutional capacities mediate the manner in which Pakistan responds to these pressures. This dual focus provides a framework for understanding Pakistan's pragmatic, security-oriented, and incremental approach to diplomacy in Central Asia (Lobell, 2016).

This study seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of Pakistan's strategic diplomacy with Central Asia under Afghan security challenges. By examining historical context, current strategic priorities, bilateral and multilateral engagements, and the challenges and opportunities posed by Afghan instability, the study highlights the interplay of systemic pressures and domestic constraints in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy. The following sections of the paper will elaborate on the historical trajectory of Pakistan-Central Asia relations, the theoretical framework guiding analysis, and the contemporary diplomatic and strategic situation, culminating in an assessment of bilateral, multilateral, and multilevel diplomatic initiatives.

#### **Theoretical Framework**

This study is grounded in Neoclassical Realism as the guiding theoretical framework to analyze Pakistan's strategic diplomacy with Central Asia under Afghan security challenges. Neoclassical realism provides a comprehensive lens by integrating systemic pressures with domestic level

variables, making it particularly suitable for examining foreign policy behavior in complex and unstable regional environments such as South and Central Asia. At the systemic level, neoclassical realism recognizes the influence of the international structure, particularly the distribution of power and regional security dynamics. Afghanistan's prolonged instability acts as a structural constraint that reshapes regional interactions by generating security externalities, cross border militancy, and uncertainty for neighboring states. For Pakistan, these external pressures limit diplomatic maneuverability while simultaneously compelling engagement with Central Asia to diversify strategic options and reduce dependence on volatile western borders.

Pakistan's diplomatic engagement with Central Asia cannot be fully understood through systemic power dynamics alone. While regional security structures, major power competition, and Afghan instability exert significant influence, Pakistan's foreign policy choices are also mediated by domestic political priorities, economic limitations, and civil military coordination. Neoclassical realism is particularly suited to this study as it explains why states facing similar external environments often adopt different foreign policy strategies based on internal variables (Lobell, 2016). From a systemic perspective, Pakistan operates within a complex regional security environment characterized by great power competition, regional instability, and shifting alliances. Central Asia lies at the intersection of Russian strategic influence, Chinese economic expansion, and Western security interests. For Pakistan, engagement with Central Asia is driven by the need to diversify diplomatic partnerships, secure energy resources, and enhance regional connectivity. However, these systemic incentives are filtered through Pakistan's domestic strategic calculations and threat perceptions shaped largely by instability in Afghanistan (Taliaferro, 2019).

Afghanistan functions as a critical intervening variable within Pakistan's strategic environment. Persistent insecurity, cross border militancy, and political volatility in Afghanistan create structural constraints on Pakistan's diplomacy with Central Asia. Neoclassical realism explains how these external threats are interpreted by Pakistan's decision-making elites and translated into cautious, security focused diplomatic strategies. Rather than pursuing aggressive economic integration, Pakistan has often prioritized risk management, border security, and diplomatic reassurance to Central Asian states (Ripsman, Taliaferro, & Lobell, 2016). Domestic political and institutional factors further shape Pakistan's diplomatic behavior. Civil military relations, bureaucratic capacity, and economic constraints play a decisive role in determining the scope and pace of Pakistan's engagement with Central Asia. Strategic decisions related to regional connectivity projects, security cooperation, and transit diplomacy are influenced by internal consensus building processes and institutional coordination. Neoclassical realism emphasizes that foreign policy outcomes reflect the state's ability to mobilize domestic resources in response to external pressures, a dynamic clearly visible in Pakistan's regional diplomacy (Kitchen, 2018). Leadership perceptions are another central component of neoclassical realism relevant to this study. Pakistani policymakers have historically perceived Afghanistan both as a strategic buffer and a security liability. These perceptions influence Pakistan's diplomatic messaging toward Central Asian states, emphasizing shared security concerns and the need for cooperative approaches to regional stability. Central Asian states, in turn, assess Pakistan's reliability through the lens of Afghan security developments, reinforcing cautious engagement patterns (Schweller, 2006).

While Pakistan seeks to position itself as a gateway to South Asia and a partner in regional connectivity, it simultaneously recognizes the constraints imposed by geography and security. This duality aligns with neoclassical realist assumptions that states pursue power and influence

incrementally when faced with domestic and external constraints (Dueck, 2009). In the contemporary context, Pakistan's strategic diplomacy demonstrates adaptive behavior consistent with neoclassical realist expectations. Pakistan has intensified diplomatic engagement, promoted regional forums, and supported multilateral security mechanisms while avoiding policies that could provoke regional resistance or overstretch domestic capacity. Afghan security challenges continue to shape threat perceptions, but Pakistan's response reflects a calculated effort to preserve strategic flexibility rather than pursue maximalist goals (Zakaria, 1998).

## **Afghan Security Environment and Regional Spillover Effects**

The security environment in Afghanistan has remained the most decisive external factor shaping Pakistan's strategic diplomacy with Central Asia. Decades of conflict, political instability, and weak state institutions have transformed Afghanistan into a persistent source of regional insecurity. For Pakistan, Afghanistan is not only a neighboring state but a strategic corridor whose stability directly determines the feasibility of regional connectivity, trade integration, and diplomatic outreach toward Central Asia. Afghan insecurity therefore functions as a structural constraint within Pakistan's foreign policy calculus (Barfield, 2019).

The post 2021 political transition in Afghanistan marked a critical turning point in the regional security landscape. While large scale conventional conflict declined, uncertainty surrounding governance capacity, economic collapse, and militant resurgence created new security dilemmas for neighboring states. Pakistan faced heightened concerns related to cross border militancy, refugee flows, and border management. These challenges reinforced threat perceptions among Pakistani policymakers and directly influenced Pakistan's diplomatic posture toward Central Asian states, emphasizing security assurances and controlled engagement (Giustozzi, 2022). Militant spillover remains one of the most destabilizing dimensions of Afghan insecurity. Armed groups operating within Afghan territory have historically exploited porous borders and governance gaps, creating direct security challenges for Pakistan. The resurgence of militant networks has increased Pakistan's focus on counterterrorism diplomacy, border fencing, and intelligence coordination. Central Asian states share similar concerns, particularly regarding extremist movements with transnational ambitions. This convergence of threat perceptions has shaped Pakistan's diplomatic messaging, framing Afghan stability as a collective regional security imperative rather than a unilateral concern (Weitz, 2020). The refugee dimension further complicates the Afghan security environment. Pakistan has hosted millions of Afghan refugees over several decades, placing sustained pressure on its economic resources and internal security apparatus. Renewed instability in Afghanistan risks triggering additional displacement, which Pakistan views as both a humanitarian and strategic challenge. These dynamics influence Pakistan's engagement with Central Asia by reinforcing caution in promoting open transit regimes and highlighting the need for coordinated regional responses to displacement and humanitarian crises (Betts, 2017).

Economic insecurity in Afghanistan also produces indirect spillover effects. The collapse of financial systems, restrictions on international aid, and limited economic governance capacity undermine Afghanistan's role as a viable transit state. For Pakistan, this severely constrains the realization of trade corridors and energy pipelines linking Central Asia to South Asia. Central Asian states remain hesitant to rely on Afghan routes, preferring alternative pathways despite higher costs. This economic uncertainty reduces the credibility of Pakistan's connectivity diplomacy and forces Pakistan to adopt a gradual, risk sensitive approach (Laruelle, 2021).

From a neoclassical realist perspective, these spillover effects shape Pakistan's strategic behavior through elite threat perception and policy prioritization. Afghan insecurity amplifies

Pakistan's defensive orientation and encourages diplomatic restraint. Rather than pursuing assertive regional leadership, Pakistan has focused on confidence building measures, multilateral engagement, and security focused cooperation with Central Asian states. This behavior reflects an effort to align diplomatic ambition with domestic capacity and external risk assessment (Ripsman et al., 2016). Regional responses to Afghan instability further influence Pakistan's diplomatic space. Central Asian states have adopted security centric policies, strengthening border controls and engaging selectively with Kabul. Russia and China have increased their diplomatic and security involvement, framing Afghan stability as essential to regional order. Pakistan's diplomacy operates within this broader strategic environment, seeking alignment with major regional actors while avoiding unilateral initiatives that could exacerbate insecurity or diplomatic isolation (Kassenova, 2021).

The Afghan security environment thus functions as both a constraint and a catalyst in Pakistan's regional diplomacy. While instability limits economic integration and connectivity, it also creates opportunities for security cooperation and diplomatic engagement based on shared concerns. Pakistan has leveraged this convergence to promote dialogue on counterterrorism, border security, and regional stability with Central Asian partners. However, progress remains incremental and contingent on developments within Afghanistan itself (Rashid, 2021).

# Pakistan's Strategic Interests in Central Asia

Pakistan's strategic interests in Central Asia are shaped by a combination of geopolitical, economic, security, and diplomatic considerations. Central Asia occupies a critical position in Eurasia, linking South Asia with Europe, Russia, and East Asia. For Pakistan, engagement with this region is not merely an extension of foreign policy but a strategic necessity aimed at overcoming geographic constraints, diversifying diplomatic partnerships, and enhancing national security. These interests are pursued within the broader context of Afghan instability, which continues to influence both opportunity and limitation in Pakistan's regional strategy (Husain, 2018). One of Pakistan's primary strategic interests in Central Asia is access to energy resources. Central Asian states possess significant reserves of natural gas, oil, and hydropower potential, which are vital for addressing Pakistan's chronic energy shortages. Pakistan has long viewed Central Asia as a potential supplier of affordable and diversified energy, reducing reliance on volatile international markets. Energy cooperation initiatives reflect Pakistan's desire to link its domestic economic stability with regional resource availability, although their realization remains contingent on secure transit routes through Afghanistan (Stobdan, 2017).

Trade and economic connectivity constitute another core strategic interest. Pakistan seeks to transform its geographic location into a strategic asset by serving as a transit hub connecting Central Asia with South Asian and maritime markets. Access to warm water ports offers Central Asian states an alternative to traditional northern routes, enhancing Pakistan's diplomatic leverage. However, security concerns and infrastructure limitations have constrained trade volumes, compelling Pakistan to pursue incremental engagement rather than rapid integration (Pomfret, 2019). From a security perspective, Pakistan's interest in Central Asia is closely linked to regional stability and counterterrorism cooperation. The presence of transnational militant networks poses a shared threat to both Pakistan and Central Asian states. Pakistan views security cooperation as a means to build trust, enhance intelligence sharing, and prevent the spread of extremism. This security driven engagement aligns with Pakistan's broader regional objective of preventing Afghan instability from spilling further into its own territory and neighboring regions (Weitz, 2020).

Diplomatically, Pakistan seeks to diversify its foreign relations by strengthening ties with Central Asian states. Engagement with Central Asia allows Pakistan to reduce overdependence on traditional partners and expand its diplomatic footprint in Eurasia. Multilateral forums and regional organizations provide platforms for Pakistan to articulate its regional vision and promote cooperative approaches to shared challenges. This diplomatic diversification reflects a neoclassical realist calculation aimed at maximizing strategic flexibility under conditions of uncertainty (Rose, 1998). Cultural and historical affinities also play a role in shaping Pakistan's strategic interests. Shared religious traditions, linguistic connections, and historical exchanges provide a soft power foundation for diplomatic engagement. Pakistan has leveraged these affinities through educational exchanges, cultural diplomacy, and people to people contacts. While soft power alone cannot overcome structural constraints, it complements Pakistan's broader strategic objectives by fostering goodwill and long-term engagement (Nye, 2004). Economic development and regional integration further underpin Pakistan's strategic calculus. Improved connectivity with Central Asia offers prospects for industrial growth, export diversification, and regional value chain participation. These economic benefits are closely tied to domestic political priorities and development planning.

Central Asia also holds strategic significance for Pakistan in terms of balancing regional power dynamics. Engagement with Central Asian states enables Pakistan to navigate great power competition by maintaining constructive relations with multiple actors. Pakistan's diplomacy seeks complementarity rather than competition, aligning with regional stability objectives while safeguarding national interests. This balanced approach reflects an awareness of power asymmetries and the need for strategic restraint (Cooley, 2020). Overall, Pakistan's strategic interests in Central Asia are multidimensional and interdependent. Energy security, economic connectivity, security cooperation, diplomatic diversification, and soft power engagement collectively shape Pakistan's regional strategy. However, these interests are continuously filtered through Afghan security challenges, domestic constraints, and regional power dynamics. Understanding these strategic motivations is essential for assessing Pakistan's diplomatic behavior and its cautious yet persistent engagement with Central Asia.

## Pakistan's Diplomatic Instruments and Policy Approaches

Pakistan employs a range of diplomatic instruments and policy approaches to advance its strategic interests in Central Asia under persistent Afghan security challenges. These instruments reflect a combination of traditional state diplomacy, multilateral engagement, economic initiatives, and security cooperation. Bilateral diplomacy remains the cornerstone of Pakistan's engagement with Central Asian states. Pakistan has established formal diplomatic missions in all five Central Asian republics and regularly conducts high level political exchanges. These interactions focus on confidence building, political dialogue, and the identification of mutually beneficial areas of cooperation. However, the depth of bilateral engagement varies across countries, reflecting differing national priorities and threat perceptions within Central Asia (Husain, 2018). Multilateral diplomacy plays an increasingly important role in Pakistan's regional strategy. Participation in regional and international forums allows Pakistan to engage Central Asian states within broader cooperative frameworks. Multilateral platforms provide opportunities to discuss shared security concerns, economic integration, and regional stability without the pressure of bilateral asymmetries. This approach aligns with Pakistan's preference for collective engagement under conditions of uncertainty, reducing diplomatic risk while enhancing legitimacy (Acharya, 2014).

Economic diplomacy constitutes a central policy approach in Pakistan's engagement with Central Asia. Pakistan emphasizes trade facilitation, investment promotion, and transport

connectivity as instruments of diplomatic influence. Economic engagement is framed as mutually beneficial, highlighting Pakistan's ports and markets as gateways for Central Asian exports. However, the effectiveness of economic diplomacy remains constrained by security risks, limited infrastructure, and regulatory challenges, reinforcing Pakistan's gradualist strategy (Pomfret, 2019). Security diplomacy has gained prominence in response to Afghan instability. Pakistan actively promotes counterterrorism cooperation, border management dialogue, and intelligence sharing with Central Asian partners. These efforts aim to address shared threats and build trust through practical collaboration. Security focused engagement also serves as a reassurance mechanism, signaling Pakistan's commitment to regional stability and responsible behavior in a volatile environment (Weitz, 2020).

Pakistan's use of soft power represents another important diplomatic instrument. Cultural exchanges, educational cooperation, and religious diplomacy are employed to strengthen people to people ties and enhance mutual understanding. Pakistan positions itself as a culturally connected and politically empathetic partner, particularly in engagements emphasizing shared historical and religious heritage. While soft power cannot substitute for hard security guarantees, it supports long term relationship building and diplomatic goodwill (Nye, 2004). Institutional coordination within Pakistan significantly shapes the effectiveness of its diplomatic instruments. Civil military relations, bureaucratic coherence, and policy continuity influence the consistency of engagement with Central Asia. Public diplomacy and narrative framing also play a role in Pakistan's regional engagement. Pakistan emphasizes narratives of connectivity, regional cooperation, and shared security to counter perceptions of instability associated with Afghanistan. This strategic communication seeks to reassure Central Asian states and position Pakistan as a constructive regional actor rather than a source of risk. Narrative diplomacy thus complements traditional diplomatic efforts by shaping perceptions and expectations (Cooley, 2020).

# Role of Afghanistan as a Transit and Strategic Variable

Afghanistan occupies a central position in Pakistan's strategic diplomacy with Central Asia, functioning simultaneously as a transit corridor and a strategic variable that shapes regional engagement. Pakistan's geographic access to Central Asia is fundamentally mediated by Afghan territory, making Afghanistan's stability a prerequisite for effective regional connectivity. As a result, developments within Afghanistan exert a disproportionate influence on Pakistan's diplomatic behavior, policy prioritization, and strategic calculations toward Central Asian states (Barfield, 2019). From a transit perspective, Afghanistan represents the most direct and cost-effective route linking Pakistan with Central Asia. Overland transport corridors passing through Afghan territory have the potential to significantly reduce transit time and costs for trade and energy flows. Pakistan has long advocated the development of road, rail, and pipeline infrastructure traversing Afghanistan as part of its broader connectivity vision. However, persistent insecurity, weak governance, and infrastructural underdevelopment have limited Afghanistan's viability as a reliable transit state, constraining Pakistan's regional integration efforts (Pomfret, 2019).

Energy connectivity highlights the strategic importance of Afghanistan as a transit variable. Proposed energy transmission projects linking Central Asian producers with South Asian consumers depend heavily on secure Afghan transit. Pakistan views these initiatives as essential for addressing domestic energy deficits and strengthening economic interdependence with Central Asia. Nevertheless, security risks and political uncertainty in Afghanistan have repeatedly delayed or undermined these efforts, reinforcing cautious policy planning and risk mitigation strategies (Stobdan, 2017). Beyond transit considerations, Afghanistan functions as a

strategic variable influencing regional threat perceptions. Instability within Afghanistan amplifies concerns related to militancy, narcotics trafficking, and organized crime, all of which pose security risks to Pakistan and Central Asian states alike. These shared vulnerabilities shape diplomatic narratives and encourage security focused engagement. Pakistan frames its diplomacy with Central Asia around collective risk management, emphasizing cooperation to mitigate threats emanating from Afghan territory (Weitz, 2020).

External threats originating from Afghan instability are interpreted by Pakistani decision-making elites and translated into cautious diplomatic strategies. Rather than pursuing maximal connectivity ambitions, Pakistan emphasizes phased engagement, security assurances, and diplomatic reassurance. This reflects a rational adaptation to uncertainty, consistent with neoclassical realist expectations (Ripsman et al., 2016). Afghanistan's internal political dynamics further complicate its role in regional diplomacy. Governance challenges, economic isolation, and limited international recognition affect Afghanistan's ability to function as a credible regional partner. Pakistan must therefore balance engagement with Afghan authorities while managing international expectations and regional sensitivities. This balancing act influences Pakistan's credibility in the eyes of Central Asian states, which assess Pakistan's capacity to facilitate stable transit through Afghanistan (Laruelle, 2021).

Regional actors' responses to Afghanistan also shape its strategic role. Central Asian states have adopted security first approaches, strengthened border controls and limited dependence on Afghan transit routes. Major powers have increased diplomatic engagement to prevent instability from spreading northward. Pakistan's diplomacy operates within this complex environment, seeking alignment with broader regional stability efforts while advancing its own strategic interests (Kassenova, 2021). Despite these challenges, Afghanistan remains central to Pakistan's long term regional vision. Pakistan continues to emphasize the importance of Afghan stabilization for regional connectivity and economic integration. Diplomatic efforts focus on promoting dialogue, humanitarian engagement, and regional cooperation frameworks that include Afghanistan as a stakeholder. This long-term perspective reflects Pakistan's recognition that sustainable engagement with Central Asia ultimately depends on improvements in Afghan security and governance (Rashid, 2021) Afghanistan's role as a transit and strategic variable fundamentally shapes Pakistan's diplomacy with Central Asia. Its geographic position, security dynamics, and political uncertainty create both constraints and incentives for regional engagement. Pakistan's diplomatic behavior reflects a careful balancing of ambition and caution, shaped by evolving threat perceptions and domestic capacity. Understanding Afghanistan's central role is essential for analyzing Pakistan's strategic diplomacy under ongoing security challenges.

#### Central Asian States' Security Perceptions and Policy Responses

Central Asian states approach regional diplomacy through a security centric lens shaped by historical experiences, internal vulnerabilities, and proximity to Afghanistan. Since gaining independence, these states have prioritized regime stability, territorial integrity, and the containment of transnational threats. Afghan instability has reinforced these priorities, influencing how Central Asian governments perceive external partners, including Pakistan. Understanding these security perceptions is essential for analyzing Pakistan's diplomatic engagement with the region (Bohr, 2019).

The primary security concern for Central Asian states relates to the potential spillover of militancy from Afghanistan. Extremist networks operating across borders pose risks to domestic stability, particularly in states with socio economic vulnerabilities and porous frontiers. These concerns have intensified following shifts in Afghanistan's political landscape,

leading Central Asian governments to adopt defensive policies emphasizing border security, surveillance, and counterterrorism cooperation. Pakistan's diplomacy must therefore address these apprehensions to be viewed as a credible and responsible partner (Weitz, 2020). Another significant concern is the threat of narcotics trafficking and organized crime originating from Afghanistan. Drug smuggling networks undermine governance, fuel corruption, and contribute to social instability in Central Asia. Central Asian states view narcotics trafficking as both a criminal and security challenge, prompting cooperation with regional and international actors. Pakistan's engagement acknowledges these shared threats, incorporating counternarcotics dialogue into broader security discussions to build trust and mutual understanding (Laruelle, 2021).

Economic vulnerability also shapes Central Asian security perceptions. Limited diversification, dependence on external markets, and infrastructure constraints increase sensitivity to regional instability. Afghan insecurity exacerbates these vulnerabilities by undermining trade routes and investment confidence. As a result, Central Asian states prefer stable and predictable partnerships, assessing Pakistan's proposals through a risk averse framework. This cautious approach influences the pace and depth of diplomatic engagement (Pomfret, 2019). Central Asian policy responses to Afghan insecurity emphasize multilateralism and external balancing. Regional governments engage with major powers and international organizations to enhance security capacity and reduce reliance on any single partner. Russia's security role and China's economic presence provide structural reassurance, while regional mechanisms offer platforms for collective risk management. Pakistan's diplomacy operates within this environment, requiring alignment with broader regional security frameworks (Cooley, 2020).

While systemic pressures push toward cooperation, internal constraints often result in conservative foreign policy choices. Pakistan's engagement must therefore navigate not only regional threats but also domestic sensitivities within Central Asian states (Schweller, 2006). Perceptions of Pakistan are also shaped by its historical association with Afghan affairs. Central Asian states closely observe Pakistan's policies toward Afghanistan, assessing their implications for regional security. Pakistan's efforts to emphasize dialogue, stability, and noninterference aim to counter skepticism and reassure partners. These perception management strategies are integral to Pakistan's diplomatic approach (Rashid, 2021).

Despite security driven caution, Central Asian states recognize the strategic value of engaging Pakistan. Access to southern markets, diversification of trade routes, and participation in regional connectivity initiatives offer long term benefits. However, these opportunities are pursued selectively and incrementally, reflecting the primacy of security considerations. Pakistan's diplomacy must therefore balance ambition with sensitivity to Central Asian threat perceptions (Husain, 2018).

# Major Power Influence in Pakistan Central Asia Engagement

Major power involvement plays a decisive role in shaping the strategic environment within which Pakistan engages Central Asia. The region lies at the intersection of Eurasian geopolitics, where Russia, China, and Western actors pursue overlapping yet distinct interests. Pakistan's diplomacy with Central Asian states is therefore influenced not only by bilateral considerations but also by the preferences, constraints, and strategic calculations of these major powers. Afghan security challenges further intensify this complexity by elevating Central Asia's significance within broader regional security frameworks (Cooley, 2020). Russia remains a central security actor in Central Asia due to historical ties, military cooperation, and institutional linkages. Central Asian states continue to rely on Russia for security guarantees, training, and defense coordination. Moscow views stability in Afghanistan as essential to

preventing insecurity from spreading northward, shaping its engagement with regional actors. Pakistan's diplomacy must therefore operate within parameters acceptable to Russian strategic interests, emphasizing complementarity rather than competition in regional security initiatives (Bohr, 2019).

China's growing economic and strategic presence has transformed Central Asia's geopolitical landscape. Beijing prioritizes regional stability to protect trade routes, investments, and domestic security concerns. Economic engagement, infrastructure development, and connectivity initiatives have strengthened China's influence across Central Asia. Pakistan's strategic partnership with China enhances its relevance as a regional actor, yet Pakistan must ensure that its engagement aligns with Chinese preferences for stability and non-disruption. Afghan insecurity reinforces China's emphasis on cautious, security focused regional engagement (Laruelle, 2021). Western influence in Central Asia has fluctuated over time, shaped largely by developments in Afghanistan. While direct military engagement has declined, Western actors remain involved through diplomatic, economic, and development initiatives. Central Asian states maintain selective engagement with Western partners to diversify external relations and avoid overdependence. Pakistan's diplomacy is indirectly affected by Western perceptions of Afghan stability and regional security, necessitating careful positioning to avoid diplomatic friction (Rubin, 2019).

Systemic pressures created by great power competition shape Pakistan's options, while domestic capacity and leadership perceptions mediate responses. Pakistan avoids policies that could provoke resistance from dominant regional actors, instead emphasizing cooperative narratives and multilateral engagement. This behavior reflects rational restraint in an environment characterized by power asymmetry and uncertainty (Rose, 1998). Major power rivalry also affects Central Asian receptivity to Pakistan's initiatives. Regional states assess Pakistan's proposals through the lens of existing strategic partnerships, ensuring compatibility with Russian security frameworks and Chinese economic interests. Afghan instability heightens sensitivity to external influence, reinforcing cautious diplomacy. Pakistan's ability to advance regional cooperation depends on aligning its objectives with broader stability-oriented agendas promoted by major powers (Kassenova, 2021).

Pakistan's engagement in regional forums provides a mechanism to navigate major power influence. Multilateral platforms enable Pakistan to interact with Central Asian states within structured settings that include dominant actors. This approach reduces bilateral asymmetry and enhances legitimacy, allowing Pakistan to contribute to discussions on security, connectivity, and development without challenging established power hierarchies (Acharya, 2014). The Afghan security situation amplifies the role of major powers by increasing demand for coordination and risk management. Russia and China, in particular, have intensified diplomatic efforts to prevent instability from affecting Central Asia. Pakistan's participation in these efforts reinforces its image as a stakeholder in regional stability. However, Pakistan must balance cooperation with autonomy, ensuring that engagement supports national interests without undermining strategic flexibility (Rashid, 2021). Major power influence significantly shapes Pakistan's strategic diplomacy with Central Asia. Russian security dominance, Chinese economic leadership, and Western engagement collectively define the regional environment. Pakistan's diplomatic behavior reflects careful adaptation to these dynamics, emphasizing cooperation, restraint, and alignment with stability-oriented agendas. Afghan security challenges intensify the importance of major power considerations, underscoring the need for nuanced and calibrated diplomacy.

**Constraints on Pakistan's Strategic Diplomacy** 

Pakistan's strategic diplomacy with Central Asia operates under multiple structural and domestic constraints that limit the scope and pace of engagement. While Pakistan possesses clear strategic intent and diplomatic ambition, its ability to translate objectives into outcomes is shaped by geographic, security, economic, and institutional limitations. These constraints are magnified by persistent Afghan instability, which remains the most significant intervening variable affecting Pakistan's regional diplomacy (Husain, 2018).

Geographic constraints represent a fundamental limitation. Pakistan lacks direct territorial contiguity with Central Asia, making access dependent on transit through Afghanistan. This geographic reality increases vulnerability to disruptions caused by conflict, political uncertainty, and infrastructural weaknesses. Unlike other regional actors with alternative routes, Pakistan's reliance on Afghan transit reduces strategic flexibility and increases the costs associated with regional engagement (Pomfret, 2019). Security challenges further constrain Pakistan's diplomatic options. Cross border militancy, border management issues, and internal security pressures consume significant state resources and policy attention. These challenges limit Pakistan's capacity to prioritize economic and diplomatic initiatives in Central Asia. From a neoclassical realist perspective, security threats elevate defensive priorities and encourage caution in external engagement, shaping Pakistan's restrained diplomatic posture (Ripsman et al., 2016).

Economic limitations also affect Pakistan's regional diplomacy. Fiscal constraints, trade imbalances, and infrastructure deficits reduce Pakistan's ability to offer large scale economic incentives or investment packages to Central Asian partners. Compared to major economic actors, Pakistan's economic leverage remains limited. This reduces its attractiveness as an economic partner and necessitates reliance on multilateral cooperation and incremental engagement strategies (Cooley, 2020). Institutional and bureaucratic challenges further constrain diplomatic effectiveness. Coordination between civilian and military institutions, policy continuity across political transitions, and administrative capacity influence the implementation of regional initiatives. While strategic objectives remain broadly consistent, variations in institutional coherence affect execution.

Perception related constraints also shape Pakistan's diplomatic environment. Historical associations with Afghan conflict have influenced regional perceptions, creating skepticism among Central Asian states. Despite Pakistan's efforts to emphasize stability and cooperation, lingering concerns affect trust levels and slow the deepening of engagement. Managing these perceptions requires sustained diplomatic effort and consistent policy behavior (Rashid, 2021). Regional competition presents additional constraints. Central Asian states maintain diversified foreign relations and prioritize engagement with actors offering greater economic or security guarantees. Pakistan must compete for attention within a crowded diplomatic space dominated by major powers. Afghan insecurity further increases risk aversion among Central Asian governments, limiting receptivity to new initiatives (Bohr, 2019). International political dynamics also influence Pakistan's diplomatic space. Sanctions regimes, financial regulations, and geopolitical tensions affect regional projects involving Afghanistan. Pakistan's diplomacy must navigate these external constraints while maintaining compliance with international norms. This complexity reinforces cautious policy planning and incremental implementation (Rubin, 2019).

#### **Emerging Opportunities and Adaptive Strategies**

Despite persistent constraints, Pakistan's strategic diplomacy with Central Asia is not static. Shifting regional dynamics, evolving security perceptions, and adaptive policy learning have created emerging opportunities that Pakistan seeks to leverage through calibrated strategies.

These opportunities do not eliminate structural limitations, but they provide space for incremental diplomatic gains and long-term positioning under conditions of uncertainty (Cooley, 2020). One emerging opportunity lies in the growing regional recognition of connectivity as a driver of economic resilience. Central Asian states increasingly seek diversified trade routes to reduce dependence on traditional corridors. Pakistan's geographic position offers access to maritime trade and southern markets, making it a potentially valuable partner. Pakistan's diplomacy emphasizes complementarity rather than substitution, framing connectivity through Pakistan as an additional option rather than a replacement for existing routes (Pomfret, 2019).

Regional convergence on security concerns presents another opportunity for engagement. Afghan instability has generated shared threat perceptions related to militancy, border insecurity, and transnational crime. Pakistan leverages this convergence to promote dialogue and cooperation, positioning itself as a stakeholder in collective security. This approach aligns with neoclassical realist expectations that states exploit overlapping interests to mitigate external threats while managing domestic constraints (Ripsman et al., 2016). Economic pragmatism within Central Asia also creates space for engagement. Faced with global economic uncertainty, Central Asian governments show interest in cost effective trade and investment opportunities. Pakistan's emphasis on trade facilitation, regulatory cooperation, and small-scale investment projects reflects an adaptive strategy tailored to limited resources. Rather than pursuing large scale initiatives, Pakistan focuses on achievable outcomes that build confidence over time (Husain, 2018).

Multilateral diplomacy remains a key adaptive strategy. Regional and international forums allow Pakistan to engage Central Asian states within structured environments that reduce bilateral risk. Multilateral engagement also enables Pakistan to align its initiatives with broader regional agendas supported by major powers. This strategy enhances legitimacy and mitigates asymmetry, consistent with neoclassical realist insights on coalition building under power constraints (Acharya, 2014). Pakistan has also adapted its diplomatic narrative to emphasize stability, responsibility, and long-term commitment. Strategic communication highlights Pakistan's support for regional peace and noninterference, addressing concerns associated with Afghan instability. Narrative adaptation plays a critical role in perception management, helping Pakistan gradually reshape its image among Central Asian partners (Rashid, 2021).

## **Assessment of Pakistan's Strategic Diplomacy Effectiveness**

Evaluating the effectiveness of Pakistan's strategic diplomacy with Central Asia requires analyzing both qualitative and quantitative dimensions. Effectiveness can be measured in terms of diplomatic influence, security cooperation, economic engagement, and regional perception management. While Pakistan has faced significant constraints, its diplomacy exhibits adaptive strategies and incremental gains, consistent with neoclassical realist expectations of state behavior under structural and domestic limitations (Rose, 1998). From a diplomatic standpoint, Pakistan has successfully established formal relations with all Central Asian states and maintained regular high level political exchanges. These engagements provide platforms for dialogue, negotiation, and confidence building. While bilateral relations have not achieved transformative outcomes, the sustained diplomatic presence ensures that Pakistan remains a relevant actor in Central Asia, preserving strategic options for future engagement (Husain, 2018).

Security cooperation demonstrates moderate effectiveness. Pakistan has engaged Central Asian states on counterterrorism initiatives, border management, and intelligence sharing. These efforts address shared concerns arising from Afghan instability and provide a basis for

trust building. However, the absence of institutionalized regional security mechanisms limits the depth and consistency of cooperation, reflecting constraints imposed by Afghan insecurity and regional power dynamics (Weitz, 2020). Economic engagement has yielded mixed results. While trade volumes remain modest compared to Pakistan's potential, incremental progress in connectivity initiatives and small-scale investment projects illustrates adaptive policy implementation. Pakistan's focus on achievable, low risk economic collaboration aligns with its capacity and reflects pragmatic engagement. Nevertheless, limited infrastructure, regulatory challenges, and reliance on Afghan transit continue to constrain economic outcomes (Pomfret, 2019). Perception management constitutes another dimension of effectiveness. Pakistan has actively employed narrative diplomacy, emphasizing stability, connectivity, and shared security objectives. These efforts have partially countered skepticism stemming from historical associations with Afghan affairs. Central Asian states increasingly recognize Pakistan as a constructive regional partner, although trust remains conditional on Afghan stability and broader regional developments (Rashid, 2021).

Institutional coordination within Pakistan has improved over time, enhancing the coherence of strategic diplomacy. Better alignment between diplomatic, security, and economic institutions contributes to more consistent policy execution. However, domestic political fluctuations and civil military dynamics continue to affect long term policy continuity, limiting sustained impact (Kitchen, 2018). Pakistan's diplomacy demonstrates adaptability to structural constraints imposed by Afghan instability, major power influence, and regional security concerns. Success is therefore measured not solely by immediate results, but by the maintenance of strategic relevance and gradual advancement of national interests under challenging conditions (Ripsman et al., 2016).

#### Conclusion

Pakistan's strategic diplomacy with Central Asia under Afghan security challenges represents a complex interplay of systemic pressures, domestic constraints, and adaptive state behavior. The study demonstrates that Pakistan's foreign policy is shaped by multiple interrelated factors, including Afghan instability, major power influence, Central Asian threat perceptions, domestic institutional capacity, and economic limitations. Afghanistan remains the most critical variable in Pakistan's regional strategy. Its role as a transit corridor and source of instability constrains Pakistan's ability to fully realize strategic objectives. Security spillovers, refugee movements, and economic uncertainty originating from Afghanistan shape both threat perceptions and diplomatic behavior. Pakistan's approach reflects calculated restraint, emphasizing multilateral engagement, confidence building, and incremental progress rather than aggressive or unilateral initiatives. Pakistan's strategic interests in Central Asia are multifaceted, encompassing energy security, trade and connectivity, security cooperation, diplomatic diversification, and soft power engagement. While progress has been gradual, Pakistan has leveraged shared regional concerns to promote dialogue and cooperation. Emerging opportunities in connectivity, security convergence, and adaptive policy learning allow Pakistan to maintain relevance despite structural and domestic limitations. Major power influence shapes the operational environment for Pakistan's diplomacy. Russia's security presence, China's economic leadership, and Western engagement impose constraints and define the parameters of acceptable behavior. Pakistan's strategy demonstrates careful alignment with these actors, avoiding confrontation while promoting cooperative regional frameworks. Domestic institutional coordination and perception management further mediate the effectiveness of Pakistan's foreign policy. The application of neoclassical realism provides explanatory power for understanding Pakistan's behavior. It clarifies why states facing similar external pressures adopt distinct strategies based on domestic variables and leadership perceptions. Pakistan's cautious, adaptive, and incremental diplomacy reflects a rational response to structural limitations while preserving strategic flexibility.

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