

# The Analysis of the Formation Mechanism of Pakistan's Strategic Culture

**Jiao Nie** Yunnan University, China

**Huazhong Tu** Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, China

**Ruijing Qin** Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, China

**Xiang Ma** Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, China

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## 논문요약

국가가 자주권을 행사하는 것은 전략문화와 강한 상관관계가 있지만 국가의 전략문화의 분류에 대해서는 학자마다 견해가 다르다. 중국 서부의 가장 중요한 인접국가 중 하나인 파키스탄은 중국의 든든한 파트너로서 파키스탄의 전략문화를 이해하는 것은 파키스탄의 국가정책과 국가가 자주권을 행사하는 행위를 이해하는 데 도움이 될 뿐만 아니라 중국과 파키스탄 양국의 협력관계를 심화시키는 데도 도움이 된다. 저자는 지리, 사회, 경제, 문화, 역사, 군사 등의 관점에서 볼 때 파키스탄의 전략적 문화 형성의 메커니즘은 주로 지정학적 환경, 생산방식, 생활방식, 문화적 전통, 역사적 경험과 대외 관계 등 네 가지 요인의 영향을 받는다. 분석 결과로 파키스탄의 전략 문화는 이슬람에 의해 형성되어 왔고, 대외 지향적인 전략 문화로 분류될 수 있으며 국가가 자주권을 행사하는 거도 이슬람적인 색채가 강하다.

**주제어** : 이슬람, 파키스탄, 전략 문화, 국가정책, 국가 행위

## I. Introduction

Located in Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent, Pakistan is a country with Islam as its main religion. Pakistan has been established for a short time, from 1947 to 2019, with a history of only 72 years. However, if we count the period since the Muslim army began to enter the South Asian subcontinent at the end of the 9th century, northwest of the South Asian subcontinent has been influenced by Islam for more than one thousand years. The independence of Pakistan has also been influenced by Islam in this region, and it is closely related to the separation of the main ethnic groups and religious beliefs in the South Asian subcontinent.<sup>1)</sup> Therefore, analyzing Pakistan's strategic culture cannot be done without considering the historical influence of Islam in this region, and it is necessary to bring the history of this region into the scope of research. For a long time, scholars domestic and abroad have debated whether Pakistan's strategic culture is an inward-oriented or a outward-oriented strategic culture. Therefore, the classification of Pakistan's strategic culture will help deepen China-Pakistan relations and strengthen the strategic cooperation between the two countries. In this paper, the author analyzes the four main forming factors of Pakistan's strategic culture and classifies Pakistan's strategic culture.

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1) The above information is the record of the author's exchanges with some scholars during the stay in Pakistan.

## II. Thoughts on the Strategic Culture, National Policy and State Behavior

Most scholars, domestic and abroad agree that the strategic cultural environment will have influence on state behavior. Regarding the formation of the strategic culture, it is universally believed that the sources of the strategic culture are really diverse and closely related to a nation's historical tradition, geographical location and political culture (Booth, 1990). A representative scholar in the study of strategic culture is Alastair Iain Johnston, a professor of government at Harvard University. In his research, many references to strategic culture have strong influence on state behavior. According to Alastair Iain Johnston, in the same circumstance, decision makers with different strategic cultural backgrounds will show differences in the process of making decisions so that the different strategic choices are made (Johnston, 1995). Joseph S. Nye, a scholar at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, holds the same view. He points out those different countries will accept different information and knowledge in the state behavior because of differences in political, military and cultural backgrounds in these countries (Nye, 1987). According to Peter R. Lavoy, Pakistan's strategic culture has five general characteristics: opposition to Indian hegemony; primacy of defense requirements; nuclear deterrence; acceptance, but not reliance, on outside assistance; identification with conservative Islamic causes (Peter R. Lavoy, 2005). Kha Ijaz sums up Pakistan's strategic culture as a perception of India as a major threat, Islam as a policy tool, and the military as a guardian of Pakistan's survival (Ijaz Khan, 2007). When analyzing Pakistan and India, we have

found that the two countries share common historical origins, national memories, and the same language heritage. However, why did the two countries finally split? Why do their national policies and state behaviors also differ greatly? Tracing back to their roots, we can only seek answers from the source of the formation of the national strategic culture.

The strategic culture plays a significant role as an ideological source of the state behavior. Most scholars in the world believe that the ultimate goal of researching the strategic culture is to explore the logical relationship between the culture (or say, concept) in strategic culture and the state behavior, by researching the target country. Of course, different countries have different strategic cultures. Therefore, when dealing with the specific themes on international issues, especially the way to understand war and peace and the way to recognize conflict and cooperation, the strategic choices between different countries will part ways, which ultimately shape the country's strategic state (Li, 2006). The author believes that the strategic culture is mainly influenced by four factors: geographic and geopolitical circumstance (geographical perspective), production mode and lifestyle (social economic perspective), cultural tradition (cultural perspective), historical experience (historical perspective) and diplomatic relations (military perspective). From the perspectives of geography, social economy, culture, history, military, etc., it basically covers the conditions for the formation of the strategic culture. Judging whether a country is an outward-oriented strategic culture or an inward-oriented strategic culture can be based on the four factors: geographic and geopolitical circumstance, production mode and lifestyle, cultural

tradition, historical experience and diplomatic relations. As mentioned above, if the cultural and geographical environment of a country is relatively open, the way of production and life belongs to nomadic civilization / marine civilization; Culture has traditionally been dominated by foreign cultural traditions. In terms of historical experience and foreign relations, it has not resisted the transformation of external forces. In reality, it has maintained a long-term and stable substantive alliance. Then the strategic culture of this country can be classified as export-oriented strategic culture. On the contrary, if the geographical environment of a country is relatively closed, the way of production and life belongs to agricultural civilization, and the cultural tradition is still dominated by self-cultural tradition. In historical experience and foreign relations, history has resisted the transformation of external forces, and there is no substantive military alliance in reality, then the strategic culture of this country can be classified as introverted strategic culture. The national policy and behavior of a country also have a strong logical relationship with its strategic culture.. A country's national policies and state behaviors also have a strong logical relationship with the country's strategic culture.

### **III. Geographical and Geopolitical Circumstance of Pakistan: Open or Closed?**

In history, there was no such country called Pakistan. Today, Pakistan is mainly located Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent. This area has been the main channel for the nomadic civilization of Central Asia to enter the South Asian

subcontinent. Compared with other parts of the South Asian subcontinent, it is the geographical feature that makes this region a higher degree of openness and easier to be influenced by external forces. Pakistan gained independence in 1947. The reason for its independence can be traced back to the fact that this region has gradually been divided with the main body of the South Asian subcontinent due to the long-term influence of foreign culture. With a land area of approximately 790,000 square kilometers, Pakistan is a country with a narrow land area. Except for the steep mountains in the northern Karakorum Mountain Range that makes it more difficult to travel between Pakistan and China, Pakistan has numerous channels with India, Afghanistan, Iran and other three neighbors, which make Pakistan a relatively open area. Historically, this area was also a battleground for entering the South Asian subcontinent. Pakistani Lieutenant General, Khalid Masood Khan (خانمسعود خالد) believes that the core area of Pakistan is in the Forward Defended Localities or from the front areas to the center areas. The distance between the core population areas, major cities or industrial facilities is short. In the case of war, Pakistan is more difficult to deal with the impact of the enemy, and is frailty and easily influenced by the external forces. This shows that, historically, Pakistan had a weak power to prevent the enemy from attacking, fight back and restore the balance in the territory. In the military, this area is difficult to resist the invasion of external forces. The geographical openness of this region makes it difficult for Pakistan to rely on its own strength to resist the external forces. It cannot be ignored that Pakistan's narrow and long geographic area makes it difficult for Pakistan to organize effective defense capabilities. Contrarily,

compared with India that has a large geographical area, Pakistan has less room for maneuvering and it is in a channel zone which becomes the only way that the foreign force passes. This has brought enormous challenges to the survival of the people in this region. However, India has a wide geographical position, thus India does not have the characteristics of being a channel. From the perspective of defenders, it has strengthened to absorb the natural ability for military attacks and increased the long-term logistical support of the enemy. Therefore, the geographic area of a country is directly proportional to its national security, especially in the case of a competitive game with hostile neighbors (Khan, 2015). Pakistani scholar, Mohammad Jamil (جمیل محمد) agrees with this view that from a military perspective, the geographical area is vast, which helps to organize defenses and thus avoid being completely transformed by the external forces (Jamil, 2017). The analysis universally believes that the larger the geographical area of the country, the stronger the ability to adjust national resources to fight back after a sudden attack, and the difficulty of being completely transformed by the external forces also increase. However, due to the narrow and vast land area, Pakistan has no ability to defend itself from danger that may come from its neighbors such as India, Afghanistan and Iran. It is relatively open and easy to become a channel for the external forces. Pakistan's major cities, such as Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi, etc., are not far from India. These major cities are within the reach of conventional artillery fires from India, which gives Pakistan an awareness of the need to keep enemies out of the country.

Most Pakistani scholars believe that the position of Pakistan in

history was an important channel for various forces to enter and exit the South Asian subcontinent, and the birth of Pakistan was also closely related to the influence of external forces. Pakistan is a country with a small land area and is a major paradise for the Afghan jihadists and various extremist forces. Due to territorial disputes with India, if India and Pakistan fight against each other again, the Pakistani armies are very likely to flee to Afghanistan (Shafi, 2010). In order to avoid the invasion of foreign enemies and enhance Pakistan's sense of security, Pakistan has participated in the competitive game with the world's great powers in Afghanistan. In the 1950s, Pakistan's first military ruler, Ayub Khan (آغا یوب), paid close attention to Afghanistan, a country with the same religion as Pakistan, and looked forward to working with Afghanistan to establish a Confederate state. Ayub Khan's vision was later expanded to appeal to all Islamic nations in the region to establish a like-minded, geographically adjacent Muslim United States, which even included the countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. Ayub Khan's view was that, such a Confederate state would help Pakistan stand up and provide Pakistan with more resources and strength to defend against more powerful enemies, thus to avoid the influence and transformation of the enemy. During the Soviet Union's invasion in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union fostered a puppet regime in Afghanistan and eventually opened the Indian Ocean through Afghanistan. The Soviet Union's actions in Afghanistan triggered Pakistan's extreme uneasiness. In order to prevent Pakistan from being influenced and transformed by the Soviet Union, Pakistan chose to turn to the United States to support the jihadists in Afghanistan to resist the Soviet Union's invasion. The support of the Pakistani army for the Afghan jihadists was also



based on the understanding mentioned above. Pakistan's actions were aimed at preventing itself from falling into the siege of India and the Soviet-backed Afghanistan (Anand & Abhimanyu 2014).

Pakistani scholar Kamran Shafi (شفیع کامران) also acknowledged that Pakistan's land area is very limited. Due to the narrow territory, the land area may be cut by half rapidly under the attack of India (Shafi, 2010). In the 1950s, Pakistan joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and the Central Treaty Organization. The purpose was to break the threat of the Soviet Union. This behavior undoubtedly obtained a large amount of advanced military equipment from the United States and the United Kingdom. In the case of the war with India, it also received some allies' support from the Southeast Asian treaty organizations and the Central Treaty Organization. Even though Pakistan lacked the concept of keeping the enemy out of the country at that time, Pakistani policy makers thought they would benefit from the defense treaty with the West. In reality, the surrounding international environment of Pakistan is not ideal. Apart from its good relations with China, the relations with India, Iran, Afghanistan and other countries are not harmonious, which has also led to little room for maneuver in neighboring countries if there is a large-scale military conflict with India. In the confrontation with India for more than 70 years, Pakistan has gradually realized the narrow limits of its own land area. It believes that only by destroying the enemy's offensive at the border can it avoid the enemy's attack on the core of Pakistan and avoid further losses. The analysis has found that Pakistan's geographical location is very open and has a significant influence on the formation of its strategic culture.

The analysis shows that Pakistan is located in the main channel of various forces such as the Middle East, Central Asia etc. that enter the South Asian subcontinent, and Pakistan's independence is also inseparable from the influence of external forces. In reality, Pakistan is a country with a very narrow territory. The main cities such as Islamabad, Lahore and Karachi are very close to India, especially the second largest city, Lahore, which is located on the border between India and Pakistan and also under the cover of conventional artillery fire from India. Since Pakistan's main industrial bases are located almost in East Pakistan, these areas have been in the first wave of attacks by the Indian army for many years. On the other hand, Pakistan's domestic land area is narrow and the room for maneuver is small, which has shaped Pakistan's security thoughts to keeping the enemy out of the country. Pakistan's geographical and geopolitical circumstance means that Pakistan is simply unable to withstand the risk of proceeding to a decisive battle after the enemy's main force enters the territory. Pakistan has also been involved in the neighbor Afghan internal affairs for a long time to seek more space (Huang, 2019). Given the above analysis, it can be contended that Pakistan is in an open state in the geographical and geopolitical location.

#### **IV. Production Mode and Lifestyle: Nomadic Civilization, Farming Civilization or Marine Civilization?**

It is universally believed that from the perspective of world history, human beings have three forms of civilization: nomadic civilization, agricultural civilization and marine civilization (navigation

culture) (Zhao, 2008). Pakistan is located in Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent. Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent is a relatively arid area. Historically, it was the main channel for the nomads such as the Aryans to enter the South Asian subcontinent. In the 9th–10th centuries, with the massive communication of Islam, this region also accepted Islam and Arab nomadic civilization (Jalal, 2012). The nomadic civilization is characterized by the family as the unit and the blood as the link to establish a habitat-based community, which maintains a high degree of openness to foreign-related issues. This feature of nomadic civilization also has strong similarities among Mongolian and other nomadic peoples. Especially after the rise of the Mongol Empire, the proportion of Mongolians who received the different religions/believers in different ruling regions was much higher than that of other ethnic groups. As the large-scale Islamization emerged in this region, the local residents not only fully accepted Islam from their beliefs, but also were mainly influenced by Arab nomadic civilization in the production mode and lifestyle.

Historically, Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent was a region dominated by Hinduism and Buddhism. The local production mode and lifestyle was mainly based on farming. However, with the continuous attack of the Islamic Turkic army, the large-scale Islamization started in this region. whether they were Arabs, Persians or Turks who invaded the local, there was a very strong nomadic production mode and lifestyle. Under the continuous rule of Delhi Sultanates and the Mughal Empire, the local production mode and lifestyle underwent major changes. Pakistan is a country established by the influence of Islamic production mode

and lifestyle, and Islam has the characteristics of a nomadic production mode and lifestyle. The major ethnic groups in Pakistan have almost completely accepted the features of the Arab nomadic production mode and lifestyle. The local residents in Pakistan have experienced the baptism of nomadic civilization for more than one thousand years in terms of living habits, working methods, festival etiquette and marriage system, and finally they have been marked with the profound brand as the nomads. Despite the fact that it has been 72 years since the establishment of Pakistan, the Pakistani society is still a clan society with the family as the unit and the blood as the link. The society not only advocates marriage within the clan, but also has the nomadic cultural characteristics of strong openness (Jalal 2012).

The analysis has found that Pakistan is mainly based on the production mode and lifestyle of the nomadic civilization. Compared with farming civilization that has been settled in one place for generations, nomadic civilization lives by water, and are on the way to migration in most times of the year. The nomadic civilization society is usually more adapted to the social culture in the new migrating area, and it can also avoid the exclusion of the social culture in the new migrating area in the nomadic process. Historically, after most nomads migrated to a different place, they were affected by the religious culture in that place. This is an obvious evidence in the Mongols. During the migration of the Mongols, different tribes were influenced by local Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and other religions in different degrees, and were then separated into new ethnics by these religious cultures. The people who are good at farming are not easy to accept foreign

cultures because they have lived in a fixed place for a long time. From the above analysis, it is known that nomadic civilization is more susceptible to foreign cultures than farming civilization. For instance, Pakistani local minorities such as Punjab, Sindhi, Pashtun, Baluchi, etc. are also ethnic groups formed by the nomadic production mode and lifestyle under the influence of nomadic civilization.

## V. Culture Tradition: Native Tradition? Imported Tradition?

The religions/beliefs in the South Asian subcontinent are mainly focused on Hindu religions such as Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism. Islam is a foreign religion that originated in the Arabian Peninsula. After the rise of the Arab Empire in the 7th century with the attack of the Arab army, Islam gradually began to spread on a large scale. From the perspective of the spread of Islam to the east, after the Arabs conquered Persia and Central Asia, Persians and Turks underwent large-scale Islamization. With the large-scale Islamization of the Turks in Central Asia, Turks showed a higher enthusiasm for Islam, and Islam was introduced to the South Asian subcontinent in the 9th-10th centuries. North-west of the South Asian subcontinent was constantly attacked by the Turks, and the locals were also under the rule of the Turks, then the large-scale Islamization emerged again. From the perspective of the religion/belief, there was a situation in which the foreign religion, Islam and native religion, Hinduism coexisted. Later, the South Asian subcontinent established and ruled the two Muslim dynasties, Delhi Sultanate and Mughal

Empire. During the period, tension between the two major religious groups occurred occasionally. Since then, during the British colonial rulers' domination of the South Asian subcontinent, the contradictions between the two ethnic groups have not been alleviated, but intensified. In particular, the British colonial rulers adopted the rule of "divide and rule", which made the contradictions between the two ethnic groups intensified and reached an irreconcilable point. Under the continuous promotion of the two major ethnic groups in India, the British colonial rulers had to eventually give up their colonial rule in India. They passed the "Partition of India" in 1947 and established two countries based on the original British India: one is India and the other one is Pakistan. From the perspective of the religion/belief, India is still a country dominated by Indian native religions/beliefs, while Pakistan is mainly a country that has been established by accepting foreign religions/believers and a country that has designated Islam as the state religion (Jalal, 2012).

In terms of language, the people in Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent mainly use Hindi (हिन्दी), Punjabi (ਪੰਜਾਬੀ) and Sindhi (سنڌي), etc. Historically, the writing symbol is also the devanāgarī (देवनागरी) based on Sanskrit (संस्कृतावाक्). After the large-scale introduction of Islam into Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent in the 9th-10th centuries, there was a writing symbol in Arabic (العربية) and Farsi (فارسی), which gradually developed into a new language Urdu (اردو). After the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, Urdu was designated as the national language, giving the official status of Urdu in the legal sense. Therefore, from the perspective of the language system, the local people in Pakistan

completely abandoned the native language (letter) of the devanāgarī as the writing symbol, and instead accepted the Urdu language (letter) as the writing symbol, which was newly created after combining Arabic and Persian (Jabeen & Chandio & Qasim, 2010).

From the above data analysis of the historical experience in this region, it is found that in history, Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent did not resist the transformation of foreign forces, and this area was eventually changed from the one where the Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism were the main religions to the one where Islam was the main religion. This has also become the basis of the religious belief in Pakistan's independence and establishment since then. In other words, Pakistan's independence was the result of local religious transformation by foreign religious beliefs. The locals did not resist the transformation of foreign religions. In terms of name, marriage system, dietary habits, etiquette and festivals, they almost completely accepted the transformation of Islam and eventually became a new country in the South Asian subcontinent. Pakistan's independence and foreign religion/belief were closely related to the long-term effects of Northwest of the South Asia subcontinent. The large-scale Islamization of this region made it completely different from the main religion/belief system in the South Asian subcontinent. Especially with the birth of Urdu, the local residents completely abandoned the writing habits of using the native language (letter), devanāgarī. They not only created a new writing system similar to Arabic (letter), but also fully accepted the cultural traditions including Arab Islamic culture such as name, marriage system,

dietary habits, etiquette and festivals, which separated the main residents of the South Asian subcontinent that were dominated by indigenous religions such as Hinduism. Then Pakistan became a new country. The analysis has found that foreign cultural traditions dominate Pakistan's traditional culture.

## **VI. Historical Experience and Diplomatic Relations : Alignment or Non-Alignment?**

Historically, northwest of the South Asian subcontinent was repeatedly contested by many ethnic groups, becoming the most fiercely competitive place between foreign and native peoples. Earlier than 2,000 BC, after the Aryans entered the South Asian subcontinent, many foreign nationalities from the west and the north such as Persian, Alexander, Tokhgra, Sekka dynasty, etc. passed through Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent and continually conflicted with local native residents. Some nationalities even established effective dominion in the local areas. In the 6th century AD, after the rise of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula, Islam quickly conquered the entire Arabian Peninsula and gradually began to spread. From the west, Islam not only conquered Persia, but also conquered Turks. The Turkic after Islamization became a pioneer in the spread of Islam and eventually entered the South Asian subcontinent from the Hindu Kush mountain range. As Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent links the South Asian subcontinent with Central Asia and the Middle East, it naturally became a land that the Muslims, such as the Arabs, Persians, and Turks, repeatedly competed with the local religious Kings' army. Afterwards, with the establishment



of Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Empire by Muslim rulers such as Arabs, Persians and Turks, the large-scale Islamization began to appear in Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent (Jalal, 2012). The analysis has found that under the military transformation of foreign Muslim rulers, this area did not resist the baptism of foreign Islam, and finally are thoroughly Islamized with abandonment of the native Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Eventually, it became the main habitat-base area of Muslims in South Asia. In the later period of British colonial rule, due to the implementation of the “divide and rule” policy, the thoughts of two ethnic groups among the Muslim community in South Asia gradually came into being, and they demanded that the Muslims of the South Asian subcontinent and the Hindus who mainly believed in Hinduism should establish their own countries, which ultimately contributed to the “The Partition of India and Creation of Pakistan” (Stewart, 1951).

From the perspective of the foreign relations, the construction of the Pakistani state is achieved and maintained through Islam as a cohesive force. As the establishment of Pakistan faces greater external security pressures, the issues on how to protect the national security has become the most concerned topic in Pakistan’s strategic academic community. In 1947, after the independence of Pakistan that was dominated by Muslims, there was great concern about the fate of the country. Among Pakistan’s neighbors, except for the good relations with China, there are territorial disputes with Afghanistan and sectarian disputes with Iran. In particular, the religious and territorial conflicts with India have dominated the vast majority of the

security policies after Pakistan's establishment. In order to cope with the huge security pressure from India, Pakistan has to seek the support of the international community on a long-term basis, especially the support of big countries such as the United States and China. After Pakistan was established in 1947, its attitude was to join multiple treaties and international organizations to ensure its own security through the collective security. In 1954, Pakistan joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. In 1955, Pakistan joined the Central Treaty Organization. After East Pakistan was dismembered by India in 1971, Pakistan lost confidence in the collective security and announced its withdrawal from the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in 1973. In 1979, Pakistan once again announced its withdrawal from Baghdad Pact (Akins, 2018).

After the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the Soviet Union's pressure became another important threat to Pakistan. Pakistan once again formed an alliance with the United States and became an important ally of the United States against the Soviet Union. Pakistan began to open some border cities and military bases to the United States, Afghanistan, etc. for their struggle against the Soviet Union in Pakistan. The activities of Pakistan and the United States, Afghanistan, etc. continued until the late Cold War. In 1989, after the Soviet Union announced its withdrawal from Afghanistan, the foreign military bases in Pakistan's territory were gradually closed. However, the alliance with the United States continued until Pakistan's nuclear test in 1998, and Pakistan was subjected to US sanctions, which eventually led to the breakdown of the alliance between the two

countries. In 2001, after the “9/11 terror attack”, the United States launched the war in Afghanistan. Pakistan opened a supply route and part of its military base to the US-led NATO to assist NATO’s military operations in Afghanistan. Pakistan once again opted to join the anti-terrorist alliance with the US and became a significant ally of the United States outside of NATO. In 2011, the US military launched the air attack on a checkpoint in Pakistan, causing some injuries and deaths of the Pakistani soldiers. Pakistan closed NATO’s supply line, which caused the stagnation of bilateral relations. In 2012, after bilateral negotiations, Pakistan gradually resumed its NATO supply route.

The analysis has found that following the establishment of Pakistan, three large-scale wars with India broke out in 1947, 1965 and 1971 due to the Kashmir issue. It is worth noting that Pakistan and India still had more interactions in the early days of the establishment of the country and both sides sought measures to build trust. After East Pakistan was dismembered by India and became independent as Bangladesh in 1971, the Pakistani strategic academic community gradually realized that the dispute between Pakistan and India in the Kashmir territory was a zero-sum game, and it was difficult to resolve the dispute through negotiations; The Pakistani forces and the Indian frontier forces have long been in a state of tension in the Kashmir region. Pakistan’s national security policy relies more on collective security, especially on the security of large countries such as the United States. Since the establishment of the country, Pakistan has faced tremendous security pressures from countries such as India and the Soviet Union. For this purpose, Pakistan has to choose to follow the United States and other

Western countries and open up some military facilities and routes to support foreign troops to carry out military activities in its territory. Therefore, it is an indisputable fact the foreign military bases/foreign supply aid routes in Pakistan has existed for a long time. The long-term existence of these foreign military bases and foreign supply aid routes is also a concentrated reflection of Pakistan's domestic factors. Pakistan was an ally of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization and the Central Treaty Organization (1954-1979), an ally of the United States that aided Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion (1979-1989), and an ally during the period of the US anti-terrorism war (2001-2018) (Akins, 2018). Pakistan was more susceptible to external influences such as the United States. Judging from the perspective of the historical experience, there was no such country as Pakistan in history. Nowadays, Pakistan's territory is mainly located in Northwest of the South Asian subcontinent. This area is the main channel for foreign troops to invade the South Asian subcontinent. Historically, this area did not resist the invasion of foreign troops. Looking back at the history of the alliance after the establishment of Pakistan, the period of the alliance was mainly from 1954 to 1979, 1979 to 1998, and 2001 to 2018. In the entire establishing history of Pakistan, the period of alignment was 62 years, and the period of non-alignment was around 10 years, so the alignment occupied the main period, around 86.1%. In the period of alignment with the United States and other countries, not only the Pakistani government opened a large number of military bases to the United States and other countries, but also the Pakistani army cooperated with the United States and other countries to launch military strikes against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Thus, it can be seen that Pakistan maintains a

long-term stable substantive alliance with the US hegemonic power.

## VII. Conclusion

As one of the most significant land neighbors on West China, Pakistan is China's all-weather close strategic cooperative partner. Understanding Pakistan's strategic culture will not only help understand Pakistan's national policies and state behavior, but also help deepen China-Pakistan cooperation. In the overall consideration of the four forming factors of Pakistan's strategic culture, first of all, in terms of the geographical and geopolitical circumstance, Pakistan's geographical and geopolitical circumstance is open and lacks strategic profundity; Secondly, in terms of production mode and lifestyle, Pakistan is a nomadic civilized country instead of a farming civilized country; Thirdly, in terms of cultural traditions, Pakistan belongs to imported tradition, which is mainly influenced by the foreign culture of Arab Islam; Fourthly, in terms of the historical experience and diplomatic relations, Pakistan has passively accepted the transformation of foreign military forces such as Arabs, Persians and Turks, and has maintained a long-term stable substantive alliance with the United States in the actual diplomatic relations. Therefore, through the comprehensive judgment of the strategic culture's four forming factors of geographical and geopolitical circumstance, production mode and lifestyle, cultural traditions, historical experience and diplomatic relations, it can be considered that Pakistan's strategic culture is an outward-oriented strategic culture, and Pakistan's national policies and state behaviors are also deeply marked with the imprint of Islamic culture.

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\* Jiao Nie is a Ph.D candidate in International Relations at the school of International studies, Yunnan University, Kunming, and P.R. China. Her research interest includes International relations, international development.

\* Huazhong Tu is an Associate Professor at the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Kunming, and P.R. China. He received his Ph.D. degree in International Relations at the Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University, Beijing, and P.R. China. His research interest includes South Asian Studies, and international security studies. He has published his contributions in Korea, China, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Singapore, etc. He speaks English, Korean, Japanese, Urdu, Hindi, and Chinese.

\* Ruijing Qin is an Associate Professor at the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Kunming, and P.R. China. She received her Master degree in International Relations at the school of International studies, Yunnan University, Kunming, and P.R. China. Her research interest includes South and Southeast Asian Countries studies, international development.

\* Xiang Ma is an Associate Professor at the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Kunming, and P.R. China.

<Abstract>

## The Analysis of the Formation Mechanism of Pakistan's Strategic Culture

Jiao Nie  
(Yunnan University, China)  
Huazhong Tu  
(Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, China)  
Ruijing Qin  
(Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, China)  
Xiang Ma  
(Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, China)

The state behavior has a strong consequence with the national strategic culture. However, different scholars hold different views on the classification of the national strategic culture. As one of the most significant land neighbors in West China, Pakistan is China's all-weather strategic cooperative partner. Understanding Pakistan's strategic culture will not only help understand Pakistan's national policies and state behavior, but also help deepen China-Pakistan cooperation. Cutting in from the perspectives of geography, social economy, culture, history and military, the author believes that the formation mechanism of Pakistan's strategic culture is mainly affected by the following four factors: geopolitical environment, production mode and lifestyle, cultural tradition, historical experience and diplomatic relations. The analysis has found that Pakistan's strategic culture has been shaped by Islam and can be classified as an outward-oriented strategic culture, the state behavior also shows a strong Islamic identity.

**Keywords** : Islam, Pakistan, Strategic Culture, National Policy, State Behavior