

ปาเกีสถานกับเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้: มุมมองจากนโยบายต่างประเทศ

บทคัดย่อ

ทุกประเทศพยายามที่จะใช้ช่องทางทางการทูตเพื่อดำเนินการด้านนโยบายต่างประเทศหรือพยายามที่จะรักษาผลประโยชน์ของชาติด้วยการแข่งขันกับชาติอื่น การจัดลำดับความสำคัญของผลประโยชน์ของชาติที่มีอย่างหลากหลายมีความสำคัญ ทั้งนี้ เพื่อสร้างการตัดสินใจและการก้าวไปข้างหน้าในทิศทางที่ถูกต้อง มุมมองจากนโยบายต่างประเทศของปาเกีสถานและเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ออกนำเสนอสิ่งที่น่าสนใจ

คำสำคัญ: นโยบายต่างประเทศ ประเทศไทย ปาเกีสถาน เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้

REVIEW ARTICLE

Pakistan and Southeast Asia: Foreign Policy Perspective

Aisha Shahzad

M.A. (International Relations), Assistant Professor

Political Science Department,

Lahore College For Women University,

Jail Road, Lahore, Pakistan

E-mail: aishashahzad@hotmail.com

Abstract

Every state tries to operationalize its diplomatic channels to pursue and implement the objectives of foreign policy in the international arena. Here rationality of the state becomes very important with the view of making right decisions and stepping ahead towards the right direction. In this connection foreign policy perspective of Pakistan and South East Asia provides us an interesting insight.

Keywords: foreign policy, Pakistan, Southeast Asia, Thailand

Introduction

This research paper envisages the economic, trade, security and cultural relations between Pakistan and South East Asian countries regarding the recent visits of President Musharaf and Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz to South East Asia in (April - May 2005). South East Asia is comprised of ten states: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Vietnam, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. It is a region of contrasts for almost every unifying feature that can be identified as contributing to a sense of regional identity. The present day South East Asia assumed its regional identity as a theatre of operations during the Second World War as the South East Asia Command (SEAC). Following decolonization in the region, the indigenous states tried to forge a common sense of political identity through a series of initiatives which resulted initially in the "Association of Southeast Asia" (ASA), in 1961 which later on enlarged into the "Association of Southeast Asian Nations" in 1967. So this article would highlight the impacts of the visits of Pakistani leadership to this region upon the relations between Pakistan and South East Asia.

Pakistan and ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)

As we know that foreign policy is the content or a substance of a nation's efforts to promote its interests viz-a-viz other nations. A country may have a number of interests and the leaders have to accord priority to various interests according to their importance. Similarly "Look East" remained an integral part of Pakistan's foreign policy objectives in order to enhance economic, trade and investment ties with South East Asian Countries. On the other hand

the ASEAN move to include Pakistan in the ARF, in the tenth ministers meeting at Phnom Penh in June 2003, was led by Malaysia and received instant support from other Muslim nations Indonesia and Brunei, as well as ASEAN members Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. The rationale for Pakistan's inclusion in the ARF was reflected in a statement of the ASEAN's head of external relations, Sundram Pushpanathan, said, by bringing in Pakistan, the ARF will provide an important forum for Pakistan and India to discuss a regional flash point, Kashmir. He further said the move will give a higher profile to the ARF as a mechanism to resolve the India Pakistan dispute, but more importantly we must see Pakistan's inclusion as an initiative by ASEAN to bring counter-terrorism to the fore. Pakistan can play a significant role to fight against terrorism.

Before going into the details of Pakistan's relations with South East Asian countries it is necessary to have an overview of the process of economic development in these countries. How these states faced different challenges in the way to economic development? What is their economic growth rate? How these states expanded their trade in the age of globalization through the policies of liberalization? Whether there is any compatibility between Pakistan and South East Asian countries regarding global issues?

South East Asian and Pacific Countries - Regional Overview of Economic Development

In 1995, the developing countries in Asia and the Pacific outperformed again all other regions with an economic growth of 7.9 percent, down slightly from 8.2 percent in 1994. Economic expansion in the

People's Republic of China slowed to a still-high 10.2 percent, and in India declined slightly to 6.2 percent. The newly industrializing countries, Taiwan, the Republic of Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong, continued to restructure their economies and upgrade industrial technologies in the face of rising labour costs and as a group achieved slightly better growth than in 1994. All countries in Southeast Asia registered accelerated output expansion with the sub regional average rising from 7.8 percent in 1994 to 7.9 percent in 1995, largely on the strength of economic activity in Malaysia, Viet Nam and Thailand. Overall growth in South Asia remained steady, slowing down in Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka but accelerated in Pakistan. The regional growth is expected to continue to be strong. (Javeid, 2005)

However greater market integration and trade liberalization facilitate technology transfer, specialization based on comparative advantage and improved resource pricing and management. (Anees, 2005.) Liberalization of foreign investment regimes has contributed to large increases in foreign direct investment flows, particularly to East Asia. Together with domestic investment, these liberalization efforts and the resulting foreign investment inflows continued to support sturdy export-led growth. The trend towards greater trade and in particular greater intra-Asian trade, is likely to continue to drive economic growth in the region. (Chander, 1990) Over the past 15 years the economy of *China* has been booming, with average annual GDP growth of 9.4 percent and a declining incidence of poverty. The economy has opened up and attracted a large amount of foreign direct investment. Merchandise exports have grown rapidly as a share of GDP. The gradual deceleration of economic growth in China which began in 1994 continued through 1995 and is expected to increase from

average GDP growth of 9.4 percent in 2005. Investment remained high, at 39.5 percent of GDP in 1995, merchandise exports grew by 23 percent and inflation declined significantly but, at 14.8 percent, remains the highest among the major economies of the region. Reform of the state-owned enterprise sector remains a crucial priority. (Meer, 2005.)

On the strength of substantial exports and massive government expenditure on infrastructure, *Hong Kong* grew at 4.6 percent in 1995 and is expected to continue at roughly the same pace in 2005. *The Republic of Korea* extended its economic rebound from 1994 to 1995 with 9.2 percent growth led by the industrial sector. Agricultural output grew at 6.1 percent in 1995. In Singapore, growth slowed from the double-digit rates of 1993 and 1994 to 8.9 percent in 1995. (Muggeridge, 2005)

The Southeast Asian economies share similar macroeconomic challenges, as well as rapid growth and high investment rates, but show a greater diversity in living standards and levels of development. Economic growth in *Indonesia* increased marginally to 7.6 percent in 1995, based on rapid growth in the industrial and services sectors and strong private investment growth supported by continued substantial foreign direct investments. The range of Indonesian exports has widened considerably in recent years and the share of manufactured exports in total exports has risen from 14.8 percent in 1980 to 78.3 percent in 1995, as the shares for agriculture and oil and gas declined. The economy of *Malaysia* grew at 9.3 percent with improved agricultural performance and strong industrial growth. The recovery of the *Philippines* economy, which began in 1992, continued in 1995 with 4.8 percent growth, as political stability, prudent macroeconomic management, the easing of

Trade Balances (As Percent of GDP)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
China	2.3600	2.1500	1.0700	-1.7700	1.3500	2.5300	2.3400	3.2900	3.0500	1.5800	1.9000	1.5000	2.8600	3.2600	1.9900	1.9900
India	-1.6800	-1.1000	-0.7700	-0.2000		-1.9500	-2.6200	-1.3100	-0.9600	-1.0400	-0.7700	0.1600	0.8100	3.4100	3.5000	3.4000
Indonesia	5.0400	4.1200	5.4800	5.2100	4.4700	2.2400	2.6200	4.6700	14.7200	14.6400	16.3400	15.5500	13.5600	11.3700	8.4400	7.4000
Malaysia	5.9000	0.8300	5.4300	4.7800	2.2400	-0.1100	-0.2200	3.9600	24.1500	28.7600	23.2600	16.1600	19.0600	24.8700	24.0100	24.0100
Philippines	-9.0700	-7.0700	-8.8600	-11.4400	-12.2500	-12.0600	-13.6900	-13.5400	-0.0400	5.6200	5.1000	-1.0400	0.5400	-7.0200	-7.0200	-7.0100
Singapore	-4.3600	-0.2500	-3.6700	-4.6700	1.9100	1.1500	2.4000	1.7070	17.6500	5.4000	4.7500	6.7200	22.8800	31.9500	20.1200	20.0000
South Korea	-0.7900	-2.3700	-0.7000	0.5600	-0.8300	-0.9700	-3.0900	0.6700	13.1300	6.2500	3.3800	2.2100	3.1400	4.0300	1.3800	1.3000
Sri Lanka	-5.8800	-8.9400	-7.3700	-7.1700	-9.2600	-7.5600	-5.7500	8.1200	-6.9500	-9.6900	-12.3000	-8.2500	-5.4300	-0.0600	22.1400	22.0000
Taiwan	9.3200	8.7800	6.0200	5.2000	4.9700	5.0900	6.4500	4.7800	3.8600	5.2800	4.5300	9.5300	6.3700	8.7500	5.3000	5.3000
Thailand	-7.8800	-6.0700	-3.7300	-3.4200	-2.6000	-4.7300	-5.1300	-3.1000	10.9900	11.0100	4.4600	0.7500	7.5300	7.8400	7.0500	7.0000

Unit: In Percent

Last Update: August 26, 2005

Source: Bankho Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP)

Trade Exports

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
China	51519	58919	69568	75659	102561	128110	151077	182670	183529	194716	249131	266075	325651	438370	593646	693646
India	18286	18095	20019	22016	22680	26003	33663	35702	34076	36877	43132	43610	49262	55676	61482	71480
Indonesia	26807	29635	33796	36607	40223	45479	50188	56298	50371	51242	65406	57364	58776	61023	71750	81750
Malaysia	28806	33712	39823	46238	56897	72053	77663	77538	71883	84098	98429	88010	21564	99391	126599	127599
Philippines	8186	8840	9824	11375	13483	17447	20543	25228	29496	34211	37295	31243	34377	35342	38728	48728
Singapore	54678	61333	66565	77858	97918	119019	126010	125732	110591	115514	139054	123478	128507	145806	195767	205765
South Korea	63123	69581	75169	80950	93676	123203	129968	135619	132122	145164	175948	151370	162554	196522	257487	287487
Sri Lanka	1853	2003	2301	2785	3208	3798	4095	4639	4798	4640	5522	4817	4699	5131	5757	5800
Taiwan	66823	75535	80723	84329	92242	110690	115462	121725	110178	121119	147548	122079	130597	143434	173153	183153
Thailand	22811	28232	32100	36398	44478	55447	54416	56656	52753	56775	67894	63202	64314	78397	96064	98900

Unit: In Millions of (US) Dollars

Last Update: April 20, 2005

Source: Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP)

some infrastructural constraints (especially power) and structural reforms helped to improve private-sector confidence and investment. *Thailand* grew by 8.6 percent in 1995, only slightly less than in 1994. In *Viet Nam*, GDP growth reached 9.5 percent in 1995, following growth of 8.8 percent in 1994, which was led by the industrial sector. (Doxey, 2005) While analyzing the pace of economic development in ASEAN countries, the “**Plasa Accord**” and the Asian financial crises 1997 are very important. These crises were the sequence of Plasa Accord (1985, initiated by USA to restore American economy by increasing interest rates on loans which intensified the debt problems on the part of third world countries). These economic problems were overcome by the South East Asian Countries through the policies of “**export-led**” and “**import substitution**”.

Moreover ASEAN countries also agreed to negotiate **Free Trade Agreements** (FTA). These agreements cover liberalization of trade in goods and services, investment and economic co-operation. In this connection it was affirmed in the 9th ASEAN summit on October 9th 2003: -

- To support regional stability and fight against terrorism.
- To promote human rights, good governance and the principles of democracy.
- To continue to support the development of less prosperous countries.
- To intensify dialogue and co-operation in specific policy areas.
- To make bilateral agreements with other interested nations.

Pakistan - Economic Developments: -

The political environment has been a continuing major influence in Pakistan’s economic and social development. Lengthy periods of martial law have been interspersed with fragile elected coalitions since Pakistan’s creation in 1947 when it split off from India. The country has borne a heavy financial and political burden from external and internal strife that continues today. Events which have greatly affected the ability to govern include the separation of the country in 1971 that created Bangladesh from East Pakistan, the influx of up to 3 million Afghan refugees seeking protection from the war with the former USSR, smuggling of drugs and other goods across borders, continuing disputes with India over Kashmiri allegiance and tensions among political factions, most recently in and around Karachi, Pakistan’s major city and only port. The need to spend more than one-quarter of the government budget on defence in order to respond to these situations plagues Pakistan as it attempts to build much-needed public infrastructure, comply with lenders’ demands for macroeconomic reform and address festering social and environmental issues. (Clarendon, 2005)

Pakistan remains among the world’s poorest countries, particularly in the rural areas where 70 percent of the population live. Real per capita income stands at US\$430 (1993) and approximately US \$ 500 in 2005 despite having expanded at a healthy rate of 3.1 percent per year between 1980 and 1993. No official census of population has been performed since 1980, but the population is estimated at about 127 million in 1995 and 150 million in 2005. The positive growth in per capita income has been achieved despite high population growth rates, but has not prevented the absolute number of poor in Pakistan from increasing. (Kaplans, 2005)

Combating population growth has proved to be more difficult for Pakistan than for nearby developing countries because of the limited economic role and educational opportunities for women. At 6.2 percent, the fertility rate is the highest in the developing world outside Africa and the Near East. The female literacy rate is 20 percent nationwide, but much lower in some rural areas. One-third of girls enroll in primary school, but only 13 percent continue into secondary school. Pakistan is ranked 132 out of 173 countries in the UN Human Development Index and is particularly low in educational and health measures. Physical conditions are also poor: 20 percent of the population has access to sanitation (10 percent in rural areas); 80 percent has access to clean water (45 percent in rural areas); and only about 10 percent of villages have electricity. In all of these measures, Pakistan is substantially behind other Asian countries identified by the World Bank as having similar circumstances.

Pakistan achieved high economic growth rates throughout the 1950s and early 1960s caused by an influx of foreign aid following the separation from India, a low base of output in both industry and agriculture and agricultural sector growth spurred by green revolution innovations. Overall GDP growth was 6.1 percent annually during the 1960s. During the 1970s, the government aimed at creating conditions for the development of domestic industry and, in the process, changing Pakistan from a primarily poor, agrarian nation to a rapidly growing, industrial economy using modern technology. The government intervened heavily in the economy to transfer resources from agriculture to the nascent industrial sector, which was expected to have higher overall growth potential. During this period, agricultural output grew by 3 percent per year, while industrial output grew by 5 percent and overall GDP by 4.9 percent.

The government's emphasis was on import-substituting production in an effort to achieve self-sufficiency. Policies included nationalizing most major industries, imposing high tariffs and other barriers to trade to provide absolute protection from foreign competition, controlling input flows, establishing price controls and subsidies on consumer goods, increasing wages and deficit spending on a large scale for public investment projects.

As in many other developing countries, Pakistan faced deteriorating macroeconomic conditions after the oil price rises and global recession of the 1970s. At the start of the 1980s, the government deficit was 5 percent of GDP, the current account deficit was 3.5 percent and debt as a share of GDP was 40 percent. A structural adjustment plan was devised with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1982 to correct these problems and begin to orient Pakistan's economy towards exports and more liberalized markets. Specific progress was made in liberalizing trade and foreign payments, privatizing banks and industry, relaxing restrictions on investment (both domestic and foreign) and strengthening the financial system. (Waltz, 2005)

Now we discuss in detail the important factors regarding relations between Pakistan and South East Asian Countries.

1) Economic Cooperation

Pakistan has also succeeded in creating a market for its workers in the ASEAN nations. Malaysia is said to accept as many as 100,000 workers from Pakistan as a result of the agreement signed in May 2005, notwithstanding the implications of Pakistani nationals in the London bombings. Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz's personal diplomacy with Thai

premier Thaksin Shinawatra has also opened new avenues of co-operation and mutual benefit between Pakistan and Thailand in tourism as well as trade and investment. (Meer, 2005)

Thailand and Pakistan has decided to start a comprehensive economic partnership to increase bilateral trade in all economic sectors. Both countries have also decided to start talking about an FTA. And to form a joint study group that will start technical talks on the FTA. Shaukat Aziz said both countries would try to sign the Early Harvest Program by the end of 2005, keeping in view the recommendation of the Joint Study Group. He said both countries had also decided to increase bilateral trade to about \$ 1 billion a year. (Ali, 2005) He said that Pakistan and Thailand would sign a bilateral investment Treaty.

Trade Volume between the two countries is quite negligible last year both countries traded goods worth US \$ 37 million compared to US \$ 34 million to preceding year. Nevertheless trade volume is titled in favor of Pakistan over the past several years. Bilateral trade has also downward trend. There is a need that bilateral trade must be strengthened and traders must explore markets in both countries. (World Bank Discussion Paper, 173-194) The present demand of Pakistani's products worth US \$ 26 million per annum should be doubled within an increased in the subsequent years.

Both countries also agreed to promote defense and security cooperation. There is also a proposal that both countries also should sign extradition treaty. Promote investment and trade, including direct trade and in this context form a joint study group to establish comprehensive economic partnership and launching of negotiations on the free trade agreement in 2005. Establish joint business and investment council comprising the private sector of the two countries. Agree, in principle, to promote the establishment of

joint ventures in the public sector projects with the participation of the private sectors of both countries. (Shah, 2005) Encourage joint ventures and promote closer cooperation between the private sectors. In particular Malaysia would like Pakistan to facilitate downstream activities of palm oil and palm products in Pakistan. Promote cooperation in Agriculture, agro based industries Halal food industry and tradition medicines. Encourage Malaysia companies to invest in infrastructure, construction and housing sector in Pakistan. Explore, develop and conclude arrangements for mutually beneficial cooperation in the fields of information Technology and telecommunications. Increase cooperation in the field of defense through interactions and exchanges between the relevant between the relevant ministries. Develop and promote activities ad program to enhance people to people contacts. Agree to designate Pakistan as a source country for export of manpower to Malaysia. Agree to increase frequency of flights between Pakistan and Malaysia. Agree to have further discussions on the establishment of a joint investment company.

2) Anti Terror Stance

Pakistan was invited to participate in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in July last year in spite of the fact that it hasn't received full dialogue partner (FDP) in the ASEAN. Considering the imperatives of the international situation, which waged a war on Terror with Pakistan as a frontline state and an ally of the USA. Pakistan's president General Pervez Musharaf has committed his country to fight terrorism. Thus winning the approval and support of the nations in South East Asia, who have them selves been victims of various kinds of homegrown (although reportedly Islamiya and Abu Sayaff to name a couple. It is the cherished hope of nations like Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines etc that have been plagued by

terrorism, the terrorism in their nations will be weakened and can be rooted out. This hope has been the primary reason for deepening tie between Pakistan and the Southeast Asian nations. It has Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) on Combating Terrorism and transnational crimes in place with Australia Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos and Singapore, while free trade negotiations and early Harvest Programs are in place with nations like Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia. (Laterza, 2005; Regional Organizations, 2005). President Musharaf's visit to Indonesia and Philippines following the New Zealand in mid-June and Shaukat Aziz's tour of Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Thailand in early May is highly strategic. The facts that its economy has stabilized and its GDP growing at a phenomenal rate of 7% (2004) has made it seem a favorable investment destination for investors from the ASEAN nation.

The president's visit in April 2005 is an important milestone because it will be the fourth visit by a Pakistani head of government to the Philippines ever since the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries in 1949. Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy in 1957, Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo in 1985 and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1995, made earlier visits. President of the Philippines Diosdado Macapagal, father of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo was the first head of state to visit Pakistan in 1962. (Braga, C.A.P. (1992) Moreover Musharaf's visit is a lasting symbol of Pakistan's affinity with East Asian countries and Afro-Asian collaboration initiated some five decades ago in Bandung, Indonesia. Pakistan and Philippines are enjoying cordial diplomatic relations. The Philippines is an important country in Southeast Asia and both Pakistan and the Philippines worked together to combat communism in Southeast Asia in the 1950s and 1960s as partners in US global strategy

in collaboration with Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand and Thailand, under the Manila pact that latter turned to become South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). (World Bank, 1993; Pakistan: Country Economic Memorandum, FY, 1993)

Though the treaty was phased out in 1977 as a result of regional and global changes, common understanding developed at that time still bounds together both countries now to fight against global terror under US led war.

The present visit is the first direct encounter between President Musharraf and President Arroyo particularly under the changed world atmosphere. From this point of view this will be crucial development between two countries that are also important players in the US led war against global terror. On the top of their mutual discussion was their renewed commitment to fight against terrorism. (Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1995) Both leaders discussed measures and their cooperation to counterterrorism. Pakistan has been assuming a vital role in combating global terrorism since 9/11 realizing the significance of Pakistan's role in combating terrorism; President Arroyo discussed the guerrilla separatist movement in Mindanao, Southern Philippines, with Musharraf.

Both countries are expected to sign an MOU on countering terrorism. Philippines believes that its assuming of observer status on OIC will send a positive message to the Muslim separatist guerrillas in the southern part of the country and will permanently diffuse this political and military tension in the predominantly Christian country and will greatly contribute to achieve durable peace. (Flick, 1997). So Pakistan can play a great role in ending ethnic conflict in the Philippines and nurture peace. Joint Business Council was also matter of mutual consultations between the two presidents.

In February 2005 during the visit of Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmed Bandani to Pakistan both the countries strengthened their ties. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Malaysia underlined the importance of international cooperation in the fight against terrorism and reaffirm their countries commitment to combating terrorism and other transnational crimes in a comprehensive manner. The two countries agreed to enhance cooperation counter terrorism.

3) Support For Pakistan's ASEANS Bid

Thailand became the first non-Muslim country to support Pakistan's bid to become a full dialogue partner of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and agreed to start talks on a free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the South Asian Country. On 11th May 2005 in a press conference at Government House. Thai Primer said, "Thailand will definitely support and welcome the intentions of Pakistan to further integrate with East Asia and will support Pakistan for full dialogue partner with ASEAN" Pakistan is already in the ASEAN Regional Forum. Shaukat Aziz's visit is being seen as an important step towards consolidating Pakistan's strategic Vision East Asia, which envisages forging multidimensional relations with East Asian economies. (Baig, 2005)

Malaysia appreciated Pakistan's resolve to further enhance its linkages with the Association of South East Asian Nations and expressed support to Pakistan's bid to establish full dialogue partnership with ASEAN. The decision of Pakistan's Dialogue partnership status will be decided by consensus by ASEAN member countries.

Conclusion

In the light of present scenario we can say that Pakistan value highly mutual beneficial co-operation with South East Asian Countries. During

recent visits of president and prime minister of Pakistan to South East Asia in April 2005 it has been reaffirmed that Pakistan would develop relations at political economic and strategic levels. In this regard, mechanism of mutual consultation would be instituted for multidimensional co-operation in a much meaningful manner.

References

- Javeid, Shahid Musharaf. (2005, May 12). Visit to South East Asia, **The News**. [n.p].
- Anees, Ahmed. (2005, June 12). Look East Policy, **Dawn**. [n.p].
- Chander, Parkash. (1990). **International Relations**. Dehli: Cosmos Bookline.
- Meer, Chaudhary. (2005, June 20). Pakistan And South East Asia, **The Nation**. [n.p].
- Muggeridge, Melcom. (2005). (Online). Available: <http://domino.kln.gov.my>. Foreign Policy Perspective, Accessed [20/10/2005].
- Margrate, Doxey. (2005). Visit to South East Asia, (Online). Available: <http://www.manilatimes.net/national/>, Accessed [24/11/2005].
- Clarendon, (2005). Study of International Politics, (Online). Available: <http://www.bilaterals.org/>. Accessed [18/12/2005].
- Kaplans, (2005). Pakistan's Relations With Malaysia, (Online). Available: <http://www.observerindia.com/>. Accessed [15/11/2005].
- Waltz, (2005). Establishment of ASEAN, (Online). Available: <http://domino.kln.gov.my/KLN/press.nsf/0/4dcd870097/>, Accessed [20/10/2005].
- Meer, Qudsia. (2005, January 5). Pakistan and ARF, **Dawn**, [n.p].
- Ali, Ahmed. (2005, March 21). Foreign Policy of Pakistan, **Dawn**, [n.p].

- World Bank. **World Bank Discussion Paper No. 159**, p. 173-194. Washington, D.C.
- Shah, Sara. (2005, April 10). Pakistan's Economic Ties With ASEAN Countries, **The News**. [n.p].
- Laterza, Editori. (2005) **Regional Organizations**, [n.p].
- Braga, C.A.P. (1992). Tropical Forests And Trade Policy: the case of Indonesia and Brazil. In P. Low, ed. **International Trade and the Environment**. [n.p].
- World Bank. (1993). **Pakistan: Country Economic Memorandum, FY 1993**. Washington, D.C.
- Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, (1995). **Economic Review**.
- Flick, Richard. (1997). **Asian Development Outlook 1996-1997**. [n.p].
- Baig, Anwar (2005). **Pakistan's Foreign Policy, An Overview**, [n.p].