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ОТНОШЕНИЯ ПАКИСТАНА С СОВЕТСКИМ СОЮЗОМ ВО ВРЕМЯ ХОЛОДНОЙ ВОЙНЫ: СРАВНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ

В настоящее время ни одна страна в мире не может жить в изоляции. После длительного периода враждебных отношений и несмотря на свои негативные внешнеполитические позиции Пакистан и Россия признали необходимость поддержания прагматичных, но дружеских отношений с разными государствами, в целом на глобальном уровне и в частности на региональном уровне. Исследование основано на нескольких вторичных источниках, таких как научные журналы, исторические документы и официальные правительственные документы, и использует качественный сравнительный анализ. Результаты показывают весьма существенную разницу в политических, военных и экономических отношениях Советского Союза с этими двумя странами Южной Азии. Незначительные преимущества, которые Пакистан получил в своих экономических и военных отношениях с Советским Союзом, в конечном итоге были ограничены из-за его союза с западными странами. Намеки на выравнивание и заигрывания с советской идеологией, оплаченные в форме эффективной военной поддержки и существенной экономической помощи, которые помогли Индии повысить свой промышленный и оборонный потенциал для ее политики неприсоединения. Как эти различные отношения повлияли на региональный баланс сил, где относительные военные и экономические выгоды Индии склонили баланс в ее пользу, является предметом этого анализа. Это сравнительное исследование подчеркивает, как альянсы холодной войны определили геополитическую обстановку Южной Азии в долгосрочной перспективе. Получение знаний об этих прошлых процессах очень важно для понимания современной геополитической тактики и региональной стабильности. Исследование добавляет нюансированную перспективу стратегических выборов, сделанных во время холодной войны, и их

долгосрочных последствий для путей роста Пакистана и Индии. Оно также продвигает дебаты о глобальной политике того времени.

Ключевые слова: отношения времен холодной войны, геополитика, отношения Пакистана и Советского Союза, альянсы Индии и Советского Союза, региональный баланс сил.

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PAKISTAN RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION DURING THE COLD WAR: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

At present, no country in the glob can live in isolation. After a long period of hostile relations and despite their negative foreign policy positions, Pakistan and Russia have recognized the need to maintain pragmatic but friendly relations with different states, globally in general and regionally in particular. The research draws from a few secondary sources like scholarly journals, historical documents, and official government documents and uses a qualitative comparative analysis. The results show a very distinctive difference in the political, military, and economic relations of the Soviet Union with these two South Asian countries. The meager advantages that Pakistan gained in its economic and army relations with the Soviet Union were ultimately constrained due to its alliance with the western nations. The innuendos of alignment and flirtations with Soviet ideology paid through in the form of effective military support and substantial economic aid that helped India to enhance its industrial and defense potential for its policy of nonalignment. How these different relationships impacted the regional balance of power, where India's relative military and economic gains tilted the balance in its favor, is the subject of this analysis. This comparative study underlines how the Cold War alliances have set the geopolitical environment of South Asia in the long run. Gaining knowledge of these past processes is very instrumental in understanding the contemporary geopolitical tactics and regional stability. The study adds a nuanced perspective on the strategic choices made during the Cold War and their long-term implications for the growth paths of Pakistan and India. It also advances the debate about global politics at that time.

Key words: Cold War Relations, Geopolitical Dynamics, Pakistan-Soviet Union Relations, India-Soviet Union Alliances, Regional Balance of Power.

Introduction. The Cold War was a conflict that followed World War II between the United States and the Soviet Union. The two superpowers never fought each other, but supported opposing sides in «hot wars» by offering assistance to influence neutral and competitive countries in a dangerous nuclear arsenal career. The Cold War played a galvanizing role in Third World conflicts rather than making them causal. «However, Third World actors were not mere pawns in a superpower game. They failed to combat protect political ideologies supported with the aid of the superpowers however enhance their very own strategic pastimes [16]. The historian Patrick Iber whose described in his books that the novel propaganda played a important role in Cold War between the two great powers, that pointed out the narrative of a two-party Cold War is too simplistic and ignores the way in which nations outside the two blocs benefited from and were influenced by artistic interests in weapons of the Soviet Union and USA, the three factors that changed the way texts circulated after World War II, so that novels and other cultural works were linked to propaganda. As the international trade in novels grew, governments came to view reading as an important means of shaping the attitudes of citizens and non-citizens and winning the encounter for hearts and minds. Security agencies used the novels to define the superiority of the two superpowers, as well as the ways in which novelists have relied on the tools of propaganda to satirize, question, and recast these tools [8]. The end of World War II saw the emergence of two superpowers, the United States and the USSR, engaged in a struggle that lasted 45 years. This was called the Cold War. The term Cold War was first used in 1947 to describe the conflict. It was a war of words, propaganda, and threats between the United States and the USSR, but it did not involve a direct confrontation between the two superpowers. They both fought proxy wars – that is, they helped their allies fight the other superpower or allies, but did not directly involve themselves in the conflict. When did it start and when did it end? If we are to believe the use of the term by the actors in the play, it began in 1947 and ended shortly after the Cuban missile of 1962. The Cold War is understood as the open or latent antagonism that existed between the Soviet Union and the United States between the United States and the Soviet Union. The political scientist Raymond Aron perfectly defined the Cold War system with a catchy phrase: «for peace is impossible, war is improbable» [3]. The cold conflict turned into one of the most afflicted durations in international history. Two massive, rich, active and innovative societies had been competing in every discipline. For the duration of these many years of electrical alternate and development, they have got encountered guns of ever-growing lethality [19]. During the bloodless struggle, the main orbit became the Cuban Missile disaster and how can it promote the notion of hot war/nuclear war. Hence Newton's third law according to which every action results in an opposite reaction. The aim of this article is to provide valuable insights into the historical and geopolitical factors that shaped Russia's relationship with India and Pakistan for the duration of the bloodless struggle. The results of this observe can make a contribution to a higher know-how of international relations in South Asia and shed mild on the lasting legacy of Russia's foreign policy toward the region. Additionally, this research can inform current debates about Russia's role in contemporary South Asian geopolitics. Second, it analyzes the

historical context of the Soviet Union's associations with Pakistan and India at some stage in the bloodless struggle duration and also become aware of the primary factors that stimulated the foreign policy of the Soviet Union toward Pakistan and India. In April 1945, Roosevelt died and Harry Truman, the American vice president, became president. In July, the American and British leaders met with Stalin again, this time in Potsdam, Germany. Stalin wanted to permanently weaken Germany to ensure that it would never again invade the Soviet Union. The three leaders agreed to divide Germany and Berlin into two countries: American, British, French, and Soviet. Occupation zones President Harry S. Truman broke with the policies of his predecessor Franklin D. Roosevelt and redefined the direction of the country's foreign policy [5]. On March 12, 1947, in a speech earlier than the American Congress, the president supplied his doctrine of containment, which aimed to provide economic and army useful resource to nations threatened with the aid of manner of Soviet enlargement. manifestly alleged to prevent the unfold of communism, the Truman Doctrine located the United States as defenders of a free global in the face of Soviet aggression. Approximately \$400 million in aid modified into provided to Greece and Turkey intended as a warning to the USSR, these phrases unlocked the access to viable USA interference in slightly civil conflict around the arena, and the effects of the. The Truman Doctrine seeks a more comprehensive US foreign policy had been consequently of super significance scope in truth, the Truman Doctrine had a more effect on American coverage than on Soviet insurance [16].

Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Russia during Cold War. In April 1945, Roosevelt died and Harry Truman, the American vice president, became president. In July, the American and British leaders met with Stalin again, this time in Potsdam, Germany. Stalin wanted to permanently weaken Germany to ensure that it would never again invade the Soviet Union. The three leaders agreed to divide Germany and Berlin into two countries: American, British, French, and Soviet. Occupation zones President Harry S. Truman broke with the policies of his predecessor Franklin D. Roosevelt and redefined the direction of the country's foreign policy [5]. On March 12, 1947, in a speech earlier than the American Congress, the president supplied his doctrine of containment, which aimed to provide economic and army useful resource to nations threatened with the aid of manner of Soviet enlargement. manifestly alleged to prevent the unfold of communism, the Truman Doctrine located the United States as defenders of a free global in the face of Soviet aggression. approximately \$400 million in aid modified into provided to Greece and Turkey intended as a warning to the USSR, these phrases unlocked the access to viable USA interference in slightly civil conflict around the arena, and the effects of the. The Truman Doctrine seeks a more comprehensive US foreign policy had been consequently of super significance scope in truth, the Truman Doctrine had a more effect on American coverage than on Soviet insurance [16]. Pakistani optimism about the present time potentialities of Russian-Pakistani members of the family is frequently accompanied by regrets approximately the beyond [2]. Pakistan appeared on the sector map in a worldwide device marked via the bloodless battle and bipolarity. After Pakistan's independence, Afghanistan additionally

commenced out to reveal hostility or maybe tried to block Pakistan's get entry to into the UN [13]. Pakistan decided on to join the Western bloc as it ideologically in the route of the USA than the Soviet Union (its Marxist principles and atheistic beyond ran counter to Pakistan's Islamic standards), the Pakistani elite became beneath Western have an effect on and was hoping to gather monetary aid, sizeable protection resource and army technology (due to the fact technology can make conquest tough) by using becoming a member of the Western machine. Bilateral family members among Pakistan and the United States have remained vulnerable due to the fact the former's independence in 1947. In July 1959 that Z.A. Bhutto and President Mohammad Ayub Khan, In August 1960, Pakistan deviated significantly from its in advance position and regularly going on the repeated Soviet offer of assist within the exploration of mineral belongings, especially an awful lot-wanted oil, and so forth. the ones measures were in line with the persevering with thinking at the Pakistani Ministry of distant places Affairs concerning the want for diversification of Pakistan's financial system, which until then depended almost completely at the West on beneficial useful resource and change [1].

The Era of President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister, Z.A. Bhutto. Since its inception as an independent nation-state in 1947, Pakistan has made great strides in many areas. Over the years, it has improved a number of key social and economic sectors and created a number of institutions from scratch. Rapid improvements and developments are visible in areas such as finance, defense, industry, media, etc. [15]. The Pakistani alternate with jap Europe modified into excellent 2.5 percentage of its sizeable exchange. The 1965 trade agreement marked a turning point in Pakistan's trade relations with the Soviet Union. In the first financial year after the signing of the agreement, i.e., 1966, Pakistan's exports to the Soviet Union increased from Rs. 11.7 million to over Rs. 80 million. This was a seven-fold increase. Earlier, in 1960, Bhutto had requested the Soviet Union to establish a joint Pakistani-Soviet oil field in Pakistan in search of oil assets in Pakistan. From 1973 to 1979, the Soviet Union and Pakistan maintained close relations, which also benefited the Soviet Union [10]. In 1990s, there had been a huge quantity of senior officers' visits among vice-presidents, ministers and ministers of kingdom and authorities' secretaries from Islamabad and Moscow, however now not countrywide leaders.

Perception of an India-centric foreign policy. The slowdown in the growth of Pakistan-Russia relations was due to Russia's endocentric policy in South Asia. However, a major shift in Russian policy towards South Asia is beginning to emerge, which does not diminish Russia's bonhomie with India but, at the same time, forges better ties with other countries in the region such as Pakistan, China, Afghanistan and Iran. This involves a careful balancing act that keeps Russia and India at peace with and it also gives Russia the opportunity to consider other potential markets for its massive defense exports [6]. Pakistan's foreign policy has changed around India's orbit for most of its life. The main limiting factor lies in relations between India and Russia. India is particularly cautious about military cooperation between Pakistan and Russia and has expressed war of words with Russia at exceptional stages, even if its relations with Pakistan are growing, those family members remain tons much less critical for Russia

than its family members with its conventional partner, India, mainly with regard to the fingers exchange, which can be considered the most important factor of India-Russia members of the family, India remained Russia's largest arms export by value between 2013 and 2017 [14].

Pakistan's participation in CENTO-SEATO and U-2 spy plane incident. When Pakistan came into existence in August 1947, its government faced a daunting challenge, ensuring its survival and managing power asymmetries in the region while lacking resources, files, equipment or anything necessary to function. This need for economic assistance forced Pakistan to turn to the United States, which then attempted to curb Soviet efforts. By fostering a strategic alliance among Asian states, the United States boosted Pakistan's military profile and provided development aid, while encouraging anti-democratic policies and conservative tendencies in the country, particularly Islamists [18]. In 21 November, 1952 the first public report of the U.S.-Pakistan military alliance appeared in the New York Times [11]. Historically, Pakistan's choice of the United States as an ally has inadvertently harmed, its potential chances of forging mutual ties with Russia. Nevertheless, the two countries maintain such close relations that the survival of one depends on it, while on the other Pakistan has always been disappointed by the United States which does not give much weight to Pakistan's fears in matters of hegemony, while at the similar time, the United States continually expected Pakistan's help in the war against communism. Clandestine discussions among the 2 the nations' navy and political representatives in the end reached a series of agreements signed in 1954 and 1955, with which Pakistan formally deserted its coverage of neutrality and non-involvement inside the global Cold War [9]. In 1959, a cooperation settlement became signed between the 2 states, which stipulated that USA would be required to help Pakistan if it became a victim aggression on the part of any other country (and in particular countries in the region, generally referring to India) [6]. Pakistan joined the Western camp within the Nineteen Fifties and have become a member of anticommunist alliances inclusive of the Southeast Asia Treaty business enterprise (SEATO) and imperative Treaty enterprise (CENTO) (Kurita, 2019). Gradually Pakistan have become the frontline kingdom inside the warfare against communism [10]. U-2 mission over the USSR only two weeks before the Paris summit conference. Eisenhower apparently accepted the need to have as much data as possible on the deployment of Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles before addressing the Soviets at the Paris conference. He also knew of indications that the Soviets were close to developing the capability to shoot down a U2 [7]. The U2 spy plane was shot down on May 1, 1960 but was not disclosed by the Soviets until several days later [4]. The two CIA reconnaissance planes have also been the subject of numerous works, starting with David Wise and Thomas.

Military invasion of the USSR in Afghanistan. The theme of the «Afghan War» of 1979-1989, with the direct participation of the USSR, remains relevant. The conflict in Afghanistan was internal, but since the late 1970s it has become a «test of strength» for the superpowers, and the involvement of the United States and the USSR in this conflict (and, consequently, its internationalization) took place even before the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan [17]. American interests in Pakistan were short-lived

when Russian involvement in Afghanistan became a reality. The United States tested Pakistan as a frontline ally during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Like many Cold War partners, Pakistan successfully negotiated significant aid from Washington in exchange for its help in containing the USSR. Both sides avoided a deeper alignment of interests vis-à-vis Afghanistan [6]. Moreover, it has to be stated that in Soviet troops into Afghanistan, Pakistan located itself «encircled». On the one hand, the neighborhood with India, with which Pakistan has had instead complex members of the family for the reason that early years of its existence as an impartial country. On the other hand, Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan and opposed seasoned-socialist celebration government (which did not want to understand the Durand line). On this tough scenario from the factor of view of shielding his country hobbies, Pakistan has chosen the placement of unity with the Afghan anti-government forces. This decision additionally gave Pakistan (justified) desire of gaining support from the USA – the Soviet antagonist in the Afghan armed conflict that had all started – notwithstanding the fact that inside the 2nd half of the 1970s, members of the family among Pakistan and America were fairly aggravating over the problem of nuclear weapons development in Pakistan [17]. Pakistan played a central role in this great war, which seriously damaged bilateral relations between Pakistan and Russia. The war in Afghanistan in the 1980s was the culmination of the US alliance with Pakistan against the USSR. Pakistan now plunged headlong into the strategic battle between the two world powers. Pakistani policymakers had sold the public a theory that the Soviets were actually a threat to the survival of the state, as they had predicted that they would reach the Arabian Sea after crossing Pakistan; parts of this theory survive to this day. The direct impact of the warm-water theory cannot be assessed for the end of the Cold War as it can be for World War II. This was clearly the vision of the Soviet Union, which wanted to advance into the warm waters of the Indian Ocean through the invasion of Afghanistan and the attempted destabilization of Pakistan in the 1980s and thus combine sea power with land power [12].

Pak-Russia Relation After the 9/11. The measurement of the relations between Pakistan and Russia has evolved over the years. Both countries seek to overcome a difficult past that has existed for a long time been an obstacle to progress with the cold looking back, their rivalry, both direct and indirect, has remained etched in the memories of both states, constituting one of the many factors preventing close ties. It's also genuine that India's proximity to the previous Soviet Union and its conflicting relations with Pakistan on the one hand and Pakistan's alignment with the on the other hand, America has also made it tough to establish and maintain friendly members of the family among the former Soviet Union and Pakistan. A process aimed at fostering better relations after the Cold War began in 2003 under President Musharraf, who visited Russia at the invitation of the President Putin [20]. After the 9/11 Pakistan changed its policy against terrorism and its moves towards the Taliban by joining forces with American forces to help them overthrow America after the attacks of 9/11 September, 2001. Pakistan's choice to enroll in inside the international fight in competition to terrorism has led Russia to Pakistan relationships enhance drastically. Russia has pledged

to manual Pakistan in its combat toward Taliban militants. In 2007, relationships among Pakistan and the Russian Federation had been reactivated after the three-day actual visit of Russian top Minister Mikhail Fradkov. In 2010, Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin stated that Russia was opposed to the development of strategic and military ties with Pakistan because of Russia's desire to emphasize strategic ties with India. In 2011, Russia modified its insurance and Putin publicly supported Pakistan's candidacy for the SCO and said that Pakistan modified into a very crucial companion for Russia in South Asia and the Muslim international [10]. In February 2022, Prime Minister Imran Khan visited Moscow. The visit was supposed to be a historic moment for Khan, but the symbolism was overshadowed by the Ukraine crisis and any substantive cooperation – or at least tangible public outcomes or agreements was completely derailed by the invasion of Ukraine that took place when Khan traveled to Ukraine to support Moscow in the Russo-Ukrainian war [2].

Conclusion. Growing relations between Pakistan and Russia seen as a natural consequence response to a thriving Indo-US bond. Furthermore, Pakistan is seeking to manage and improve its ties with the United States. Both States seek to capitalize on all possible bilateral initiatives without breaking its ties with other States and valuing need to improve relations between Pakistan and Russia. In terms of regional security, for both Russia and Pakistan, a peaceful Afghanistan and a peaceful neighborhood with Russia are Primordial importance. The need for a peaceful and safe environment the neighborhood guides its conditions of engagement with Pakistan good. By conducting a comparative analysis of Russia's relations with India and Pakistan during the Cold War, this research aims to contribute to the existing literature on Cold War history, international relations, and South Asian politics. The understanding of Russia's foreign policy towards India and Pakistan and its lasting impact on the region. The history of Pakistan-Russia relations portrays lost prospects. Pakistan knows how to overcome economic crises as well as energy crises and Russia is rich in natural resources, especially oil and gas, so Pakistan has focused its bilateral relations with Russia and formed a triangle with Pakistan-China and Russia, Russia should be a stronger participant in CPEC. Pakistan should reconsider its foreign policy objectives and tools. New the geopolitical and geostrategic surroundings wish new readings and new approaches. An apparent error must no longer be prolonged and perpetrated inside the future. Pakistan-Russia members of the family deserve a rational know-how and a tough start, which can be the most important buying and selling partners, and make contributions positively to the socio-economic development of the United States.

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