

Naveeda Yousaf\*  
Manzoor Ahmad \*\*  
Zahir Shah \*\*\*

## **SAARC SUMMIT AND PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY: AN ANALYSIS**

### **Abstract**

*Pakistan's foreign policy machinery has come under direct fire for its inefficiency to perform well on multiple fronts. Among various challenges that Pakistan's foreign policy apparatus is facing today, an important one is the cancellation of SAARC Summit. India's attempt to sabotage the Summit Conference of SAARC, which was planned to be held in Pakistan in November, 2016 is a clear deviation from her own professed goals of peace, prosperity and stability in the region. The cancellation of SAARC Summit is considered as Pakistan's diplomatic defeat and foreign policy failure. On the other hand the organization's activities have also been remained sluggish and frustratingly slow in the last 30 years of its existence. Since its establishment, lots of government level meeting of SAARC have been held and plenty of agreements have been signed but produced hardly any remarkable outcome. This study is focusing on the strength and weaknesses of SAARC and will try to address the questions. What factors are responsible for the cancellation of SAARC Summit in Pakistan? Is SAARC is going towards its dissolution?*

**Key Words:** Success and failure of SAARC, Indian pre-dominant role, trust deficit, Pakistan's foreign policy failure,

### **Introduction**

South Asia is regarded as the world poorest region, with heavy population, relatively scarcely educated but with huge resources and potentials. Societies of this region have numerous historical commonalities and dissimilarities. The people of this poorly maintained, mismanaged but resourceful region realized the need to have a forum of mutual cooperation and mutual assistance, where there is acceptance, tolerance and cordial relation among the states. The idea of having a regional organization that coordinate economic relations among the small countries of South Asia and to diminished the dominance of India, was given by president of Bangladesh Zia Ur Rehman (Khan, 2015). The South Asian Organization for Regional Cooperation was established by Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Maldives, India, Nepal and Pakistan in 1985 with the intention to promote

---

\* Naveeda Yousaf, PhD Scholar, Department of Political Science, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan.

\*\* Manzoor Ahmad, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan.

\*\*\* Zahir Shah, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan.

economic, cultural and social development and combined self-reliance among the member countries. Afghanistan was given membership of the organization in 2007. The countries with Observer status include United States, European Union, China, Japan, Australia, South Korea, Iran, Myanmar and Mauritius (kaler, 2016).

Commonly regional as well as international organizations are formed for the promotion of peace and prosperity, advancement of social and economic fields and also facilitating friendly and harmonized relationship among the member countries. Particularly regional organizations work for facilitating the member countries to curb their animosities and to focus their attention on economic progress and improvement in all fields of life. In the words of Kheffens, “A regional arrangement is a voluntary association of sovereign states within a certain area or having common interest in that area for a joint purpose which should not be of an offensive nature in relation to that area” (Kheffens, 1988). The main goal of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation was to strengthen the economies of the member countries and to promote collaboration in various areas of mutual significance.

Presently the region is facing certain discouraging issues including insecurities, economic crisis and social problems etc. These issues can be effectively solved through mutual efforts of SAARC member nations. The organization of SAARC can realize the goals of achieving economic, cultural, and social growth as well as collective self-sufficiency by mutual efforts. Both the domestic and regional issues of SAARC member countries can be resolved if its leadership is serious in this regard and if there exist mutual trust among the member countries (kaler, 2016). Pakistan is an active member of SAARC which provide suitable frameworks to its member states to collectively stimulate cooperation and progress and to promote peace and stability in South Asia. At all gathering of the organization, Pakistan has advanced its belief that a secure and peaceful environment in South Asia is crucial for the advancement of social welfare, economic development and prosperity in the field of collective interests. Pakistan believes that the resolution of core issues among the member states would give a remarkable boost to the organization.

Pakistan and India which are principle participants of the SAARC remained involved in unending rivalry with each other. Confrontation between the nuclear armed India and Pakistan has caused apprehension and tension among the SAARC members. Although these countries want cooperation with each other but the unresolved problems restrict these states to establish trustworthy relationship and enhance cooperation. SAARC could not developed into a successful organization due to the authoritative position of India in the region and Pakistan’s apprehensive attitude. Pakistan is not agree to accept Indian supremacy and conversely India is not ready to negotiate on equal basis with Pakistan. This hostile attitude of both countries led to the cancellation of the SAARC summit that was planned to be held in Pakistan in November, 2016. SAARC summit was cancelled after India and other member states refused to participate in the conference. According to some diplomatic and political sources, it is uncertain whether the summit would be held in Pakistan even in 2017 or not. India wanted to emasculate SAARC by projecting BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation) of which Pakistan is not a member. India has successfully

used its influence to undermine SAARC Summit which was scheduled to be held in Pakistan. Though such Indian efforts are aimed at hitting Pakistan but in fact damaging her own interests as such acts are against its economic advancement and poverty alleviation. However, Pakistan has to tackle the circumstances and should try to reach out SAARC member countries to clarify its just and rightful stand on Kashmir issue, its legal stand on water dispute, its sacrifices for the eradication of all forms of violence and terrorism as well as to highlight the significance of unhindered cooperation which is essential for a balanced order of South Asia.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Foreign policy had its beginning from the time of earliest human existence on the surface of the globe. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) institutionalized modern nation-state system which led to the formal commencement of foreign policy. Foreign policy of a country is always based on its vital national interests and all diplomatic activities are always centered on materializing its national interests. All the same national interests of a nation-state are the driving force in the formulation of foreign policy. National interests are shaped by a country geography and history (Amin, 2009). A wise and prudent foreign policy is nothing more than a measure of constructive plan for better future (Sattar , 2010). Throughout its history Pakistan's strategic position in South Asia has remained focal to the strategic dynamics of the world. Pakistan remained a close US ally in the era of cold war, a key participant in dismantling the Soviet Union, a main facilitator of US-China re-approachment, a frontline state against Taliban and presently playing crucial role in eradicating the evils of terrorism and militancy and thus it continued to perform the role of fall guy (Ahmed, 2009).

Foreign Policy is the “sum-total of the values that must guide its conduct in the comity of nations and of its national interests that it must protect and maintain. It is a set of political, economic and strategic objectives that a country seeks to follow, bilaterally or multilaterally, in its relations with other countries of the world”(Ahmad, 2007). Foreign policy is the plan or approach which the national government choose for achieving its objectives while conducting its relations with the outside world (Hudson, 2008).

### **The Success and failure of SAARC**

South Asian region faces perpetual security threats from external powers seeking predominant position over the region as well as from regional major powers trying to acquire hegemonic status. Moreover, the region of South Asia is densely populated mainly with uneducated people living in severe poverty and miserable health condition. Through the forum of SAARC all these evils could be served successfully. Over the last three decades, SAARC has effectively managed to form institutions, situations and forums for coordinating the activities of the countries of South Asia. Despite extremely tough political conditions, the organization has undertook various significant topics such as development agreements, food and development bank, and agreements on energy and transportation, agriculture as well as fighting terrorism. Moreover, interactions in science and civil society have become important pillar of integration efforts in the region (kaler, 2016). The organization of SAARC put great emphasis on economic and social development and friendly relations among regional states. However, the organization remained

unsuccessful in achieving most of its objectives due the persistent Pak-India rivalry(Khan, 2015). Some of its efforts for trade and economic interaction are discussed below.

### **SAPTA**

SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA), which was contracted in 1993 in the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Summit at Dhaka and enforced in 1995, aimed at stimulating sustained cooperation in trade and economic fields by exchanging concessions among SAARC countries(kaler, 2016). SAPTA was signed with the purpose to increase regional economic integration as there was limited trade among the member nations. The agreement unlocked various prospects for future progress however, the agreement remained ineffective in increasing trade among the SAARC nations(Delnic, 2011).

### **SAFTA**

Another important arrangement was South Asian Free Trade Area established in 2004 in order to make SAARC a free trade area. The agreement came into force in 2006, its basic aim was to decrease custom duties to zero on all traded goods. SAFTA was envisioned as a move towards the establishment of Regional Economic Union(Ahmad, Kelegama, & Ghani, 2010).By adopting the agreement, the governments of SAARC showed their commitment to follow an effective road map to facilitate movement of goods across the region(Delnic, 2011). Important instruments of this agreement include Trade Liberalization Program, Institutional Arrangements, Rules of Origin, and Safeguard Measures, Consultation and Dispute Settlement Mechanism and special provision for Least Developing Countries. However, these arrangements have not improve trade relations between India and Pakistan, which are the major member countries of SAARC (kaler, 2016).Since the establishment of SAFTA the overall volume of exports among the regional countries is roughly estimated at \$ 3 billion which is less than potential. According to the reports of World Bank 2010, regional conflicts are primarily responsible for the dubious distinction of South Asia as the least integrated region of the world(Ahmad, Kelegama, & Ghani, 2010). The full promises of SAFTA in unlikely to achieve unless both Pakistan and India willingly engage in trade liberalization.

SAARC has failed to materialize its objectives due to conflicts as well as distrust among the grouping, political difficulties, and economically poor countries of the region. Most of its programs are confined to documents only and its activities to workshops, seminars and short training courses etc. During thirty years of its existence, Food Security Reserve of SAARC has not been able to fulfill the needs of affected people in case of natural calamity in any member country. Due to some political reasons the organization remained unsuccessful to get done its primary goals. It has even failed to materialize its free trade agreement(kaler, 2016). In the same way declarations on improving understanding, mutual trust and political cooperation repeated in each summit conference have recorded slight success.

Though SAARC was formed for promoting cooperation in social, cultural, economic and commercial fields in the region but it accomplished few real results. The objective of promoting self-reliance was not institutionalized. Since its

creation, lots of high-level meetings have been held and dozens of agreements have been signed but it hardly achieved few concrete successes due to the mistrust and suspicion among the member nations of SAARC. Most of the agreements signed by the organization are focusing on promoting interaction among the member state in socio-economic sectors. Unfortunately, discussion on political problems, promoting trust and confidence and resolving disputes are excluded from the scope of the organization. Moreover, “SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism” was nothing more than endorsing and executing the resolutions and conventions of UNO (Khan, 2015). The following table provide details about the Saarc summits and its outcomes.

### **SAARC Summit Conferences and its Outcomes**

<b>Number of Summit Meeting</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Agenda</b>	<b>Outcome</b>
1 <sup>st</sup>	December, 1985	Bangladesh	South Asian states should join together to form a tighter union	Representative of the member states signed its charter.
2 <sup>nd</sup>	November, 1986	Bangalore (India)	New ideas for expanding cooperative plans under the SAARC	New ideas and plans were discussed but no definite progress.
3 <sup>rd</sup>	November, 1987	Katmandu (Nepal)	Normal procedure	Regional Convention on the elimination of Terrorism and an arrangement to launch a South Asian Food Reserve
4 <sup>th</sup>	December, 1988	Islamabad (Pakistan)	Optimistic assessment of trends and development in region	Both Pakistan and India showed positive behavior towards each other.
5 <sup>th</sup>	November, 1990	Male (Maldives)	Usual process	Convention Drugs, Narcotic and Psychotropic Substances, agreement on exchange of information with ASEAN and EU.
6 <sup>th</sup>	December, 1991	Colombo (Sri-Lanka)	Usual Business of the group	No major progress
7 <sup>th</sup>	April, 1993	Dhaka (Bangladesh)	Normal Business of the body	No substantial advancement
8 <sup>th</sup>	May, 1995	New Delhi (India)	Expression of gratification on the successes of the first decade of SAARC	No noteworthy development
9 <sup>th</sup>	May, 1997	Male (Maldives)	Decision to resume Pak-India meetings at secretary level	The talks remained fruitless
10 <sup>th</sup>	July 1998	Colombo (Sri Lanka)	the summit went ahead through its normal business	No significant move
11 <sup>th</sup>	January, 2002	Katmandu (Nepal)	Security and political considerations could not be overlooked in the course of regional integration	No fruitful outcome
12 <sup>th</sup>	January,	Islamabad	Economic stability	Islamabad Declaration

	2004	(Pakistan)	in the region. four-fold strategy as the basis for Pak-India dialogue was outlined	along with the social charter, SAFTA and Additional Protocol on obstructing the funding of terrorism
13 <sup>th</sup>	November, 2005	Dhaka (Bangladesh)	Commitment to resolve territorial differences through peaceful means	Renewal of Pak-India composite dialogue
14 <sup>th</sup>	April, 2007	New Delhi (India)	Commitment to realize genuine cooperation	Attempts to be made to resolve Pak-India problems.
15 <sup>th</sup>	August, 2008	Colombo (Sri Lanka)	Deliberation on various issues of mutual importance	Australia and Myanmar were admitted as observer states.
16 <sup>th</sup>	April, 2010	Thimpu (Bhutan)	"Towards a Green and Happy South Asia"	Climate Change
17 <sup>th</sup>	November, 2011	Addu (Maldives)	Cooperation should be made in three areas i.e. transport, trade, and economic integration;	Four agreements were signed 1. Rapid Response to Natural Disasters 2. Multilateral Arrangement on Recognition of Conformity Assessment 3. Implementation of Regional Standards 4. Seed Bank Agreement
18 <sup>th</sup>	November, 2014	Kathmandu (Nepal)	"Deeper Integration for Peace and Prosperity"	"The legal peemission on SAARC Satellite Scheme"
19 <sup>th</sup>	November, 2016	Scheduled to be held in Islamabad (Pakistan) but was not materialized.		

Source: various sources consulted for this paper.

### **Pak-India Rivalry in the Context of SAARC**

Many SAARC member countries have hostile relations with each other so any act of interaction and cooperation is viewed with doubts and suspicious by other member states. In this situation of deep trust deficit the role of India cannot be ignored. India has acquired a central position in South Asia. (Kumar, 2014). Though India has had conflicts with several small countries of South Asia, but with the passage of time it has reconcile its relations with these countries and now Indian position is more dominant over the small nations of South Asia except Pakistan. Pak-India relations remained hostile since the division of united India into two parts in 1947, and still there exist serious tension between the two.

One of the main causes of ineffective SAARC is the persistent rivalry between India and Pakistan, which has greatly hovered the organization and

restrict it from working as a sub-regional body. In the words of Tomislav Delinic “the smoldering conflict between the two regional nuclear powers hangs like the Sword of Damocles over South Asia’s efforts to promote stability in the region and to bring its players closer together” (Delinic, 2011). India is a dominant nation of SAARC region in terms of its economy, influence, population, strategic location and size. Due to India’s ambitions, the neighboring countries sensed insecurity, as any endeavor for free trade area raised the concerns of Indian business community thereby upsetting the indigenous business of the members. India’s foreign policy and Indo-Sri Lanka Accord remain wearisome for the neighboring countries (Kaler, 2016).

Moreover the region of South Asia is beset with several unsettled border disputes and maritime problems. These unresolved problems have not only created a number of evils such as terrorism, smuggling and refugee crisis but also impede cooperation among the SAARC countries. There are crisscrossing ambitions of India and China in the region which led to negative consequences for the grouping. China has strengthened its ties with Sri Lanka and Bangladesh which has created trust deficit among SAARC countries. Furthermore, Article X (2) of SAARC charter provide for decisions on multilateral issues, thus limit the scope for resolution of bilateral disputes (Kaler, 2016). Given to these facts, one might predict that the organization is going towards its dissolution. However, in order to remain dynamic and active, the organization should discuss the root causes of disputes among the South Asian countries and work for reasonable solution of regional disputes. In this respect resolution of core issues and normalization of Pak-India relations should be given first priority.

### **Predominant of Role of India**

India is dominant country of the region in terms of its economic and demographic potential, geographical size and political weight. India’s neighboring countries view it as a protector as well as part of the region’s distress. Conversely, India also fears that an alliance of neighboring countries particularly, Pak-Sino partnership will threaten its interests in the region (Delinic, 2011). However, Rajiv Kumar opines that “SAARC can hardly be used by its smaller neighbors as a forum for India baiting or even for achieving a better strategic balance vis-à-vis India... coalition formation by neighboring countries is not likely to be successful because of the dynamics between these countries themselves and their inevitable need to deal with India directly given the geographic and economic realities” (Kumar, 2014). Moreover, geographical factor places India in a more significant position than any other member country. India borders almost all countries of the organization and most of these countries have geographical access to other members of SAARC through India. So trade, energy agreements, border crossing and other initiative are impossible without the cooperation of New Delhi (Delinic, 2011).

Moreover, India’s dominant position in the region has been accepted by major powers of the world except China. India’s economic strength, military might, vast territory and strategic position in the region has made South Asia India’s centric. “India is both literally and otherwise central to South Asia” (Kumar, 2014). These factors allow India to play predominant role in the region. However, this create an

acute sense of insecurity among the SAARC countries and adversely affect the performance of the organization. Most members of SAARC have conflicts with each other, so any act of dealing and collaboration is viewed with doubts by all members. In this scenario of mutual mistrust, no one can ignore the central role of India. (Khan, 2015).

### **Growing Interest of External Powers in SAARC**

In contemporary era, the interest of external powers is increasing in SAARC. Since 2005 European Union, China, Australia, Iran, South Korea, Japan, USA, Myanmar and Mauritius have been allowed as observer states in the organization. This permit these countries to provide suggestions for the expansion and improvement of SAARC and to illustrate their own interests for potential cooperation in future. The observer states often send high-ranking officials to the organization's Summit conferences and even Beijing is showing a keen interest in full membership of SAARC. In this regard Nepal put forward a proposal in 2010 for converting observer status of China into full membership which was not permitted by India. Some analysts view that China's entry as a full member would balance out the growing strength of India within SAARC. More importantly China's economic growth would give impetus to the process of economic integration and would raise the credibility of the organization in the world, however, this is unlikely to happen in coming decade (Delinic, 2011).

### **The Cancellation of SAARC Summit and its Impact on Pakistan's Foreign Policy**

Pakistan's isolation on the regional as well as on the international front is deepening with the passage of time. The latest is the cancellation of SAARC Summit that was planned to be arranged in Pakistan in November 2016. With India's withdrawal from SAARC Summit, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Bhutan have also officiated their withdrawal. The mechanism of SAARC prescribe that non-participation of one member state will lead to its cancellation. The withdrawal of five members from SAARC summit conference planned to be held in Pakistan show the country's isolation in the region. Bangladesh officiated its withdrawal by mentioning Pakistan's discomfort over Bangladesh's policy of hanging the 1971 war convicts. Afghanistan, Sri-Lanka and Bhutan withdrew providing that recent escalation of violence and terrorism has created doubts over the fruitfulness of SAARC Summit (Khasru, 2016).

According to India's foreign ministry, the "increasing cross-border terrorist attacks in the region and growing interference in internal affairs of member states by one country have created an environment that is not conducive to the successful holding of the 19th Saarc summit in Islamabad that is why we have pulled out of the SAARC summit" (Dawn, 2016). Being close allies of India Bangladesh, Afghanistan and other group members withdrew from participation in the Saarc summit. In response to India's decision, Pakistan foreign office said that by impeding Saarc summit in Pakistan India wants to divert attention of the world and human rights organization from its atrocities and ferocity in occupied Kashmir (*Ibid*). Some critics consider the cancellation of Saarc Summit as failure of Pakistan's foreign policy and diplomacy. They argue that if India could involve the regional states and influence them to accomplish its desires then why Pakistan

is incapable to do the same. Moreover, the cancellation of summit also creates doubts regarding the future survivability of Saarc as it remained unsuccessful to justify its existence and still there is not any significant achievement on its credit (Rehman H. , 2016).

In view of Senator Sherry Rehman, Pakistan's former Ambassador to US, Pakistanis passing through critical situation as far as its foreign policy is concerned. Currently the country is caught in the cross locks of a perfect tempest from India, Afghanistan and US (Rehman, 2016). The cancellation of SAARC is another front on which the apparatus of Pakistan's foreign policy failed to win the trust of regional states. One of important foreign policy aims is increasing friendly states and reducing enemies. Instead of winning friends Pakistan has lost friends and increased the number of its enemies. Pakistan's relations with its neighbors except China has been deteriorating with each passing day. India succeeded to win over Bangladesh, Iran and Afghanistan while Pakistan's foreign policy makers failed to maintain smooth bilateral ties with these countries (Editorial, 2016).

Being bypassed by its neighbors, Pakistan faces regional aloofness. India, Iran and Afghanistan are working on Chahbahar Port in order to encounter the significance of Gwadar Port. Moreover the establishment of SAARC sub-regional blocs, namely SASEC (South Asia Sub-Regional Economic Cooperation) which consists of SAARC member states except Pakistan and Afghanistan and Bimstec. SASEC which is performing as a mini-SAARC aims at strengthening trade and transport networks in the region and projects worth \$6 billion has been successfully implemented in this regard. Furthermore, after the cancellation of SAARC Summit, India has invited member states of Bimstec to Brice Summit (Khasru, 2016), which shows the ground realities of regional dynamics and Pakistan's position in that.

Conversely, Sartaj Aziz, Prime Minister's Advisor on foreign affairs, claimed that impartial assessment of the state of affairs discard the view regarding Pakistan's regional isolation and its foreign policy failure. He illustrated Pakistan's foreign policy monumental success by the undertaking of Pak-China strategic partnership particularly CPEC (Aziz, 2016). Besides, enhanced cooperation with Central Asian states in the shape of TAPI Gas Pipeline and Casa-1000 power plan, membership of the most significant regional organization, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, are noteworthy examples of successful foreign policy of Pakistan. Pakistan's foreign policy other accomplishments include strategic partnership with US, enhanced trade and economic ties with Russia and European Union and Middle Eastern states (*Ibid*).

## **Conclusion**

SAARC was established with the hope that purposeful cooperation among the group could help in the eradication of structural insecurities in the region as cooperation would pave the way for the resolution of contentious issues through negotiations. However, the organization did not move away from statements of intents to actual implementation. It remained unsuccessful in implementing its charter or achieving any outstanding outcome in this regard. The organization could not become an effective forum due to the persistent tensions between India and Pakistan. India's hegemonic ambitions and Pak-India rivalry do not let

SAARC to become an active body which can promote close cooperation among the member states. However, the organization remains useful apparatus for small states to promote bilateral cooperation and understanding.

Trust deficit is the one of the major weaknesses of SAARC. Political differences adversely affect the political determination of the member states to realize economic collaboration and integration. In this regard the organization should be used as a useful tool for developing trust and confidence and resolving disputes between Pakistan and India. It should make every effort to fully implement its charter to reach out to the common people of this region. Resolution of political differences, outstanding disputes and enhance mutual understanding and trust could achieve the real motives of SAARC and secure a prosperous and peaceful South Asia.

In contemporary South Asia, where rivalries are turning into pragmatic partnership and economic relationship, Pakistan need to redefine and reassess its current foreign policy priorities and to win over its neighboring states. As pragmatic and flexible foreign policy would certainly restore Pakistan's position and prestige in the region as well as in the world. There is also a crucial need to begin again meaningful dialogue with India in order to reach at a reasonable arrangement on all conflicting issues. Pakistan has to reach out all its neighbors particularly it has to reestablish its relations with Afghanistan, strengthen its ties with Iran and other South Asian countries. Moreover, building new diplomatic and economic partnerships with powerful states should be top most priority of Pakistan's foreign policy makers.

## **References**

- Ahmad, S. (2007, March 17). Pakistan's Foreign Policy. Lahore: Daily Nation.
- Ahmad, S., Kelegama, S., & Ghani, E. (2010). *Promoting Economic Cooperation in South Asia: Beyond SAFTA*. Retrieved from The World Bank: [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)
- Ahmed, S. (2009). Foreign Policy of Pakistan and Policy Making Process. In M. Ahmar, *Foreign Policy Making Process; A Case Study of Pakistan*. Islamabad: University of Karachi: Department of International Relations in Collaboration with Hanns Seidel Foundation.
- Amin, S. (2009). Historical Basis of Pakistan's Foreign Policy Making Process. In M. Ahmar, *Foreign Policy Making Process; A Case Study of Pakistan*. Islamabad: University of Karachi: Department of International Relations in Collaboration with Hanns Seidel Foundation.
- Aziz, S. (2016, August 3). *Aziz rules out Pakistan's foreign policy failure claims*. Retrieved from Daily Times: [www.dailytimes.com.pk](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk)
- Dawn. (2016, September 28). Saarc Summit in Pakistan Postponed after the member states pull out. *Dawn News*. Pakistan: <http://www.dawn.com>.
- Delinic, T. (2011). *SAARC-25 Years of Regional Integration in South Asia*. KAS International Reports .
- Editorial. (2016, August 27). *Govt failure to deal with regional issues*. Retrieved from National Courier : [nationalcourier.pk](http://nationalcourier.pk)
- Hudson, V. (2008). The History and Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis. In S. H. Smith, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford University Press.
- kaler, S. (2016). Successes and Failures Of Saarc:. *INDIAN JOURNAL OF APPLIED RESEARCH*, 212-213.
- Khan, A. (2015, January-June). Impediments to the Success of SAARC. *South Asian Studies: A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, 30(1), 291-302.
- Khasru, S. (2016, October 22). *Cancelled Saarc summit exposes Pakistan's foreign policy failure, whose root cause is its obsession with India*. Retrieved from The Time of India: [timeofindia.indiatime.com](http://timeofindia.indiatime.com)
- Kheffens, G. (1988). Regionalism and Political Pacts. In G. Umar, *SAARC Analytical Survey*. Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs.
- Kumar, R. (2014). *SAARC: Changing Realities, Opportunities and Challenges*. Retrieved from [http://www.die-gdi.de/uploads/media/DP\\_11.2009.pdf](http://www.die-gdi.de/uploads/media/DP_11.2009.pdf)
- Rehman, H. (2016, September 30). Saarc Summit Cancelled, not adjourned. *The News International*. Pakistan: <http://www.thenews.com>.
- Rehman, S. (2016, November 10). *Second opinion-Foreign Policy in Crisis: Can Pakistan Overcome*. Retrieved from Jinnah Institute : [jinnah-institutue.org](http://jinnah-institutue.org)
- Sattar , A. (2010). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy (1947-2009): A Concise History*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.