

Q: Discuss all the external determinants that are affecting Pakistan's foreign policy 2023. Also discuss what tools Pakistan should opt to make its foreign policy effective. What would be the impact of these tools on Pakistan's Foreign Policy?

## I Introduction

### Foreign Policy:

“Foreign policy is a combination of different policies, policy makers, strategies, rules, objectives and actions that one state performs to establish the relation and to secure interest with other states.”

### Foreign Policy is an Umbrella Policy:

It is a policy that is not only defined by the PM of the state but the external as well as internal determinants have influence on the design of foreign policy. All these determinants shape the foreign policy of a state. Following

# External Determinants of Foreign Policy

## (i) World Public Opinion

Now it is the age of "Climate change" and world public opinion is surrounded by the narrative of "Climate change".

For instance after Second World War the World Public opinion was that the atomic bomb is against humanity.

Then NPT was introduced, according to which no state could use "Uranium" for making nuclear weapons.

South Korea wants guidance from Pakistan regarding Nuclear bombs in exchange of huge amount of money. But Pakistan cannot go against world security and it cannot compromise World Public opinion regarding security of humanity.

## ⇒ Climate Change and National Security

Due to Climate Change, following non-traditional security priorities have become the key concern of National Interest of Pakistan's Foreign Policy:-

- i- Food security (Floods)
- ii- Health security (Covid-19)
- iii- Environment security (Kyoto Protocol has restricted Pakistan to extract coal from Balochistan)

This clearly shows how the world narrative of "Climate change" has influenced the National Security of Pakistan due to which Pakistan has to shape its foreign policy accordingly.

## (2) Reaction of the States

The foreign policy of a country is badly affected by the reaction of the states. America has strongest Foreign Policy but if the majority of the world start taking reaction against it, it will have to step back.

In Russia - Ukrain War; America wants to create anti-Russian reactions of most of the countries. It has tried to create an anti-Russian narrative in G20, BRICS, SCO, ASEAN but most of the countries of the world are not interfering in this issue.

- Turkey is doing arbitration between Russia and Ukrain.
- Belarus is supporting Russia.
- Poland and Hungary, even though, they share their borders with Ukrain they have not condemned Russia.
- OIC did not condemn Russia.
- Arab League did not condemn Russia.

- India's foreign Minister J. Shankar has given a neutral statement on this issue.

### • Pakistan's stance:

Imran Khan had given a neutral statement about this issue. Moreover he also visited Russia to normalize Pak-Russia relations that was heavily criticised by Western media. He did so because Imran Khan wanted to take Pakistan into "Russia, China" block and he wanted to align foreign policy accordingly.

Foreign Minister Bilawal Bhutto statement :- Recently, our foreign minister Bilawal Bhutto gave Anti-Russian statement and he called Russia an aggressor in this war.

This clearly shows how the reactions of states impact foreign policy of country. America is trying to create anti-Russian narrative and is trying to force other countries to align

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their foreign policies against Russia. It also clearly depicts that "Reaction of State" is important as it will impact the foreign of the state itself.

### (3) Non-State Actors :-

Non-state actors include organizations, different business tycoons and heavy industries that are not owned by any state like NGOs, multi-national companies (MNCs), violence non-state actors VNSAs (terrorist organizations, military organizations i.e. Jaishe-e-Muhammed, Daish, TTP). Business magnets like Elon Musk, Billgates, Ambani etc.

Pak-Afghan Relations are adversely influenced by TTP; Pakistan has not yet recognized Taliban until they take severe actions against TTP and show their sincerity towards Pakistan. That's why Pak-Afghan relations have been hangovered. So, it is impossible for Pakistan to sustain friendly relations with Afghanistan in the existance of TTP.

Remarks of Chief of Army Staff regarding TTP and Afghanistan:

• "Afghanistan provides a safe haven to TTP"

Moreover, our Defence Minister had given strict remarks against TTP and Afghanistan relations. This clearly depicts that TTP is impacting Pak-Afghan relations and Pakistan's foreign policy as a "non-state actor."

## Tools of Foreign Policy

### (1) International law

When Pakistan aligns its foreign policy according to international law, it is actually endorsing its foreign policy in the <sup>whole</sup> World. So international law is a very important tool to create force into your foreign policy. If the foreign policy of a country is in alignment of International law it is actually complementing international law and definitely gives an edge to your foreign policy.

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⇒ **Kashmir Issue**: Since 1948, Pak-Indias are in a state of war over this territory. In such cases the people of the land (Kashmiris) are the real stake holders and they decide the fate of their land. Initially Pakistan claimed that Kashmir is the part of Pakistan. But there has been a **policy shift** in its foreign policy.

**Pakistan's Stance**: Pakistan wants a **Plebiscite** in Kashmir. This demand is according to UN organization Resolution and according to International law.

**Statement of Recent Army Chief**:  
"We want Kashmir issue to be resolved by the will of Kashmiris"

**India's stance on Kashmir issue**: India wants Pakistan to have a **bilateral dialogue** over this issue and does not want to push UN organization or any third party into this issue. (They) India does not want to have **Plebiscite** in Kashmir because it knows Kashmir would never become part of

Important



India.

This Kashmir issue is still alive because of Pakistan's foreign policy strong stance that is alligned with International law. Kashmir issue is the golden opportunity for Pakistan that gives dominance to Pakistan's foreign policy over Indian foreign policy. In this way, Pakistan can use International law as a tool of foreign policy. Because India are constantly "violating human Rights" in Kashmir.

Revoking Article -370 is a clear example of this violation.

## (2) Balance of Power :-

When the (economy) military of a country is strong enough to counter attacks on the sovereignty of country, this gives dominance to the foreign policy of that country because that country is strong enough to protect itself against any sort of sovereignty or integrity breach keeping its foreign policy alligned

with international law. Following are the instances that show how Pak Army had defended the sovereignty of country and made its foreign policy effective in various situations of sovereignty breach :-

### i) Usama bin Ladin Operation 2011

US NATO forces carried out this operation and in response to this sovereignty breach Pakistan took back Shamsi Air base and Jacobabad Air base from US.

### ii) Salala Incident 2011

Pakistan closed NATO supply route into Afghanistan and "Federal Minister" announced that no lethal NATO cargo will be allowed.

### iii) Kulbushan Jadhav arrest in Pakistan

Pakistan arrested Kulbushan Jadhav from Iranian soil who was engaged in "Baloch Separatist Movement".

### iv) Swift Retort Operation

Pakistan Military carried out this operation against India's so called "Balakot Air strike". India was threatening to throw Nuclear Bomb and it

was slammed by the whole world as it was about to challenge the world peace and took the world to nuclear flashpoint. Pakistan PM released Kulbushan and the whole world appreciated this step.

### (3) Economy

Economy is another tool that can be used by any country to create force in its foreign policy. Pakistan can also use this tool for strengthening its foreign policy.

⇒ **CPEC** : A \$63 billion investment of China in Pakistan is a clear example that shows how Pakistan is using economy as a tool. With this investment, China has taken Pakistan into its block and Pakistan has formed an alliance with it because both countries have **geo-economic** advantages in this deal. A donor country always invests in a poor country to make it bound so that the latter one would have **coordinated**

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foreign policy with the donor country.

#### (4) Publicity and Propaganda

Most of the times, India remains busy against Pakistan in false flag operation to damage image and prestige of Pakistan in International Forums. The clear example of this propaganda is Uri Attack.

Other examples of such propaganda done by India are:

(i) "Pakistani" are "terrorist nation".

(ii) Pakistan has categories of Taliban i.e.

(TTA) are Good Taliban

(TTP) are Bad Taliban

(iii) Pakistan has close ties with Haqani network.

(iv) Blames Pakistan to have close nexus with Quetta Shura.

(v) India damages Pakistan's image on making fun of number of loans that it has taken and is calling Pakistan Default Country, to damage our respect

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in front of World Bank.

### Publicity:

On contrary to run propaganda against Pakistan, India is promoting itself as

- largest pro-democratic country
- largest IT hub
- Announcement about signature on "India-Middle East-Europe Corridor" in G20.

### Hybrid War and Pakistan Counter Measures:

Unfortunately, Pakistan is taking counter measures against their own people in this war. Its clear example is Social media Crack down.

## CONCLUSION

Pakistan is facing numerous challenges in its foreign policy and the main loophole is in the counter-measures that have been taken by the government and military of Pakistan to counter the proxy-war that is the best tool that all the countries are

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using to make their foreign policy strong especially India but unfortunately Pakistan is busy in a war against its own people that are even more weakening its foreign policy.