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Subject : Political Science (II)

⇒ Q1 Write down the major determinants of the foreign policy of Pakistan. (20) mark

=: Definition:-

Pattern of relationship which consists of certain objectives to be achieved by the state, while entering into relationship with foreign world.

⇒

Foreign world = foreign state + foreign organizations

⇒ Objective of Foreign Policies:-

Objectives of foreign policies are based on the interest of nations which could be:

1. Protection of national interest.
2. Fulfillment of national interest.
3. Enhancement of national interest.

⇒ Basic Aspects of National Interest:-

National interest generally encompasses the following two basic aspects:

1. Survival / defense of state (Protection from both internal and external threats)

2. The socio-economic well-being of a state.

National interest is always more focused on defense than socioeconomic state; ideally for our foreign policy there should be a balance between both. Pakistan has been focusing on the defense factor more than its economic well-being since day one of its coming into being.

### ⇒ Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Key objectives:-

- 1). Strengthening the security and preservation of the territorial integrity of Pakistan.
- 2). A just settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.
- 3). Preservation of the Pakistan's nuclear deterrence which is essential for its security.
- 4). Development, economic growth and promotion of Pakistan's economic and commercial interests abroad.
- 5). Promotion of Pakistan's image as strong dynamic and progressive state.
- 6). Close friendship and cooperation with the Islamic world.
- 7). Strong friendly cooperation with China.



8). Mutually beneficial and strong ties with all major powers especially the United States.

9). Durable Peace and Stability in Afghanistan.

10). Promotion of nuclear nonproliferation, objectives and combating international terrorism, crime, and drug trafficking.

11). Promotion of the interests and welfare of the overseas Pakistanis.

### ⇒ Foreign Remittances:-

Pakistanis settled abroad make the state a profit of 12.4 billion dollars annually when they send money to Pakistan via banks. Which is why it is desirable for them to transfer money through banks rather than private money exchangers.

### ⇒ Foreign Direct Investment:-

CPEC is direct example of Foreign Direct investment in Pakistan.

### ⇒ Social Well-Being

Forms of social well-being are:

1. Educational well-being.

2. Cultural well-being.

3. Foreign investors' expertise coming to Pakistan.

4. Technological advancement.

### → Educational Well-Being:-

This can be achieved by sending Pakistani students for higher education abroad.

They would learn new techniques and syllabi that can bring a change in the air of the educational system when those students return with their gained knowledge.

### → Cultural Exchange Programs:-

They occur between commonwealth states as well as china. The exchange programs allow learning of new things that would prove beneficial for the mother state.

### → Investors / Expertise from Abroad:-

During the reign of President General Pervez Musharraf, the Pakistani diaspora was summoned and requested to elevate the educational standards and were given leverages for that purpose.

### → Technological Advancement:-

These include:

1. Enhancement and exploration of resources such as oil and gas.
2. Effective mining of copper and coal reservoirs in that.



3. Road development (China has been increasing in investments)

4. Afghanistan Pakistan Road construction

5. Peshawar Kabul 6-Lane Motorway is being built

## → Determination of Foreign Policy (Factors)

1. National interest.

2. Geography.

i) Neighbors. ii) Geographic location of country.

3. The Ideology.

4. The internal situation of a country.

5. Leadership

6. Global powers.

7. Regional / international organization.

8. Regional / international environment.

## → 1. National Interest:

- Encompasses security
- Socioeconomic well-being.

## → 2. Geography:

Neighbors: Socioeconomic development of a country is not possible without peace and stability, which is dependent upon:

- Peace and stability of neighbors.
- Friendly and peaceful ties with neighbors.

As is well said:

"Friends are by choice; neighbors are by destiny" and,

"You can change your friends, but you cannot change your neighbors."

### → Geostrategic Factor:-

The geostrategic factor influences the foreign policy of a nation. In the case of Pakistan

- Pakistan's foreign policy was always defense dominated because of India.
- It was heavily influenced by the conflicts of global powers.
- Instability of Afghanistan drastically deteriorated the internal security of Pakistan.

### → Afghan Jihad:-

The impacts that Afghan jihad has had on Pakistan are:

- Increased weaponization (Kalashnikov culture)
- Increase in influx of refugees.
- The drug culture (in 1980s)
- **Spawn for Taliban:** the tribal belt of Pakistan was the base camp area of Taliban. They were against NATO and caused a great deal



of unrest for a long period in the history of Pakistan

⇒ Pakistan's ties with Iran have been unstable due to:

- Growing ties of Iran and India.
- The traditional tilt of Pakistan towards KSA (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia)
- Seaports (Gwadar-Chag Bahar) rivalry.
- The sectarian violence in Pakistan which has its roots in Middle East and Iran.
- The issue of Jundullah (terrorist group)
- The cross-border infiltration.
- Repeated scuffles on borders.

In All Parties conference 2013, PM Nawaz Sharif addressed:

'Pakistan has stable ties only with China and has security tensions with three of its key neighbors so how can there be peace and stability inside the state when its ties with three neighbors are unstable'

⇒ Geographic Location:

The geographic location of a country from a transit point of view carries great importance.

## → Importance of Location of Pakistan:-

1. China holds great interest- china's plan is to import hydrocarbon compounds worth \$400 billion annually under CPEC Project which would let Pakistan earn \$20 billion each year.
2. Pakistan offers the shortcut route, i.e. 8000km to China for trade in the world.
3. It also offers the shortest possible route for central Asian republic (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan etc) to approach Arabian Sea.
4. Pakistan provides a variety of ground routes to India for approaching Afghanistan and central Asian republics and India wants to make its presence there.
5. Pakistan also allows Russia to approach the sea. Between the two routes through Iran and Pakistan, Pakistan offers less than 700km shorter route which is more suitable for Russia to use.
6. The best route for the SAARC world to reach central Asia is through Pakistan.
7. Middle East can approach China and Central Asian countries through Pakistan.



8. The cardinal location of Gwadar port makes it the world's third deepest seaport and the deepest of Asia Pacific.

It is well said:

"On one hand the geography of Pakistan has confronted the country with a number of secondary threats, on the other hand it has provided multiple socioeconomic opportunities."

### (3) → Ideology:

Every state has an ideology, and a state cannot develop in a real sense and proficient way unless it has a strong ideology.

Ideology could be:

- |                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (i) Religion-oriented   | (ii) Economics-oriented |
| (iii) Language-oriented | (iv) Culture-oriented   |

e.g. the U.S was able to subdue USSR just because of their stronger and more comprehensive ideology.

The ideology of Pakistan was religion oriented from the very beginning.

- The Two Nation Theory was heavily religion based.
- Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan were of the view that

## "Islam has the least compatibility with Communism."

This was a clear sign that the new state would be tilting towards a capitalist block.

- In a speech given on 11th August 1947, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah clearly expressed the importance of religious ideology:

"The new state coming into being will tie friendly ties to all the Muslim brethren states."

- Pakistan has not ~~not~~ recognized Israel as a new sovereign state because of religious differences.
- Pakistan has been a supporter of the Palestinian cause on all international forums.

### 4. Leadership:-

- Leadership plays a major role in foreign policy formation.
  - Departments of government are tasked with formulating policies.
  - Executives run the foreign ministry.
- Leading representatives of the foreign of a country are:
- Prime minister



- Foreign Ministry (Foreign office, foreign minister)
- Permanent representatives of a country in United Nations (UN)

### → Examples of Strong Leadership:-

- Malika Lodhi revived the Kashmir issue in the UN and reaffirmed Pakistan's standing on UN platform
- Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar handle the foreign policy of Pakistan in a robust way.
- Similarly, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan, upheld a bold and aggressive stance of country on international platforms.
- It can be seen that the Government of PPP there is a tilt towards Iran and a distance from Saudi, the vice versa occurs during the reign of N-League which has its separate pros and cons.

### → Examples of Weak Leadership:-

- The OFA meeting between Modi and Nawaz Sharif comprised of five-point agenda but the Kashmir issue was missing from it, maintaining it as the biggest unsolved problem between <sup>two</sup> nations.

- In 2010 Shum-ul-Sheikh meeting of Chillian and Manmohan Singh took place, that too lacked discussion on the Kashmir issue.
- Thus, the leadership/government is responsible for the weaker or stronger foreign policy.
- It is the focus of leadership right decides the orientation and strength of weakness of a foreign policy.

### 5) Internal Situation:-

Internal situation primarily defines the external front. Foreign policy is the reflection of the internal situation.

**"Stronger the internal situation, stronger is the foreign policy of a state".**

Because only an internally strong nation can afford to have a vibrant and aggressive foreign policy and vice versa for a weak nation. Pakistan is an economically weak country. Being heavily aid dependent, it faces a huge deficit in its budget, trade, and sectors like industry and agriculture.

⇒ Factors weakening Pakistan's ~~Foreign Policy~~

Economy:-

Violent extremists, Terrorists, Sectarianists, Separatists, Electricity shortfalls, Floods.



Hence Pakistan has been dependent on loans and aids along with conditions applied by IMF (dos and don'ts on various matters and conditions like MFN status to India.

### → Inability to take a clear Stance.

Pakistan has been unable to take a clear stance between Iran and Saudi Arabia because of:

- Sectarianism.
- Weak economic situation, Saudi Arabia is a huge contributor of aid to Pakistan.

### ⇒ Institutions Versus Personalities:-

The real strength of a country is when its institutions are stronger than personalities, unfortunately opposite is the case with Pakistan. For example,

- Foreign policies have been decided on one phone call. When Colin Powell is 2nd had called to ask if Pakistan stood with them in the war against terror and one personality decided and concluded on the behalf of all.
- Recently, in the case of Yemen however, Parliament played a key role in decision making, showing that institutions have finally started proving themselves stronger now.

## → 6. Global Powers/Geo-strategic Environment:

The cold war between two superpowers had the legitimacy to influence the policies of the world countries hence all the countries aligned with US for war against terror policies of two global powers hence influence policies of the whole world.

### ⇒ CPEC - Policy of China:-

- Pakistan has been inviting china since 1962 to use the route from Gwadar bank from ~~to~~ Muscat.
- Since 2001 the work on the part lingered on because it was not the priority of China.
- Today China has included it in its **one-belt-one-road** plan which is an inevitable part of CPEC.

## → 7. Strategic Environment:-

- India's hegemonic designs have influenced Pakistan.
- US-NATO countries (US + European countries) withdrawal from Afghanistan meant a decrease in their activities and a subsequent decrease in the relevancy of Pakistan. This is how a strategic environment is created and influenced.



## → Regional / International Organizations:

Regional or international organizations are an important factor in framing the course of foreign policy e.g. ASEA, EU, SCO, UN,

## → United Nations (UN):

- No country in the world has the right to violate the UN charter
- Certain countries, however, have been doing it, either when it is in their interest or an inevitable option.

## ⇒ Violation of UN charter has been committed by:

Israel, North Korea, USA, Russia.

## ⇒ Weak Points of Foreign Policy of Pakistan:

Pakistan's foreign policy has been primarily reactive, rather than pro-active.

- Reactive:- Formulation of policies in response to several factors (e.g. external threats, asserting global dominance, being a smaller/weaker state, etc) Pakistan's unique geo-strategic location has forced its policies to go reactive.
- Pro-active:- Comprehensive approach covering all sorts of aspects.

⇒ Our foreign policy is full of U-turns, through backed by a number of reasons, some examples are:

Date \_\_\_\_\_

- Kashmir issue, Taliban, Afghanistan

Two main causes of U-turns have been:

- Geo-strategic location.
  - Weak leadership / bad governance.
  - The role of the military establishment
- is also very notable in our Foreign Policy

### ⇒ Challenges to the Foreign Policy of Pakistan:

Rising challenge at the moment is Iran-Saudia conflict. What steps should Pakistan take?

What image would that portray to Iran

with whom Pakistan wants friendly relations?

Other present challenges include:

1. PS + 1 deal
2. Yemen issue
3. Successful manifestation of CPEC.
4. US-India growing ties and options with Pakistan
5. Kashmir dispute.
6. Iran-India nexus.
7. The allegations on Pakistan to have supported the Afghan Taliban.
8. A country that does not have a Foreign Minister - how can it have a strong foreign policy?