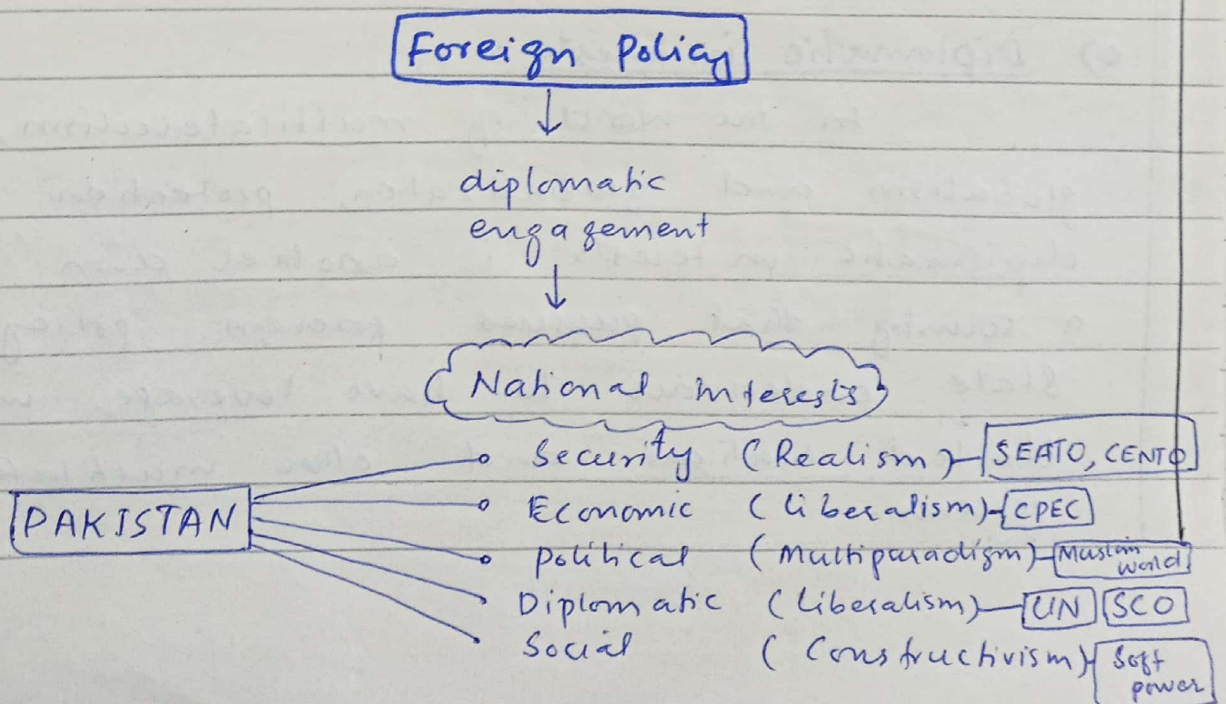


## Q. No. 4

### 1) Introduction:

Foreign policy is external interaction of a state to protect, amplify and achieve its national interests. The core national interests of a state can be security, economic, diplomatic, political and social interests. Besides this, the nature of national interests can be permanent, temporary, general, specific, long-term and short-term. The main objective of a state's foreign policy is to achieve these interests. Therefore, different phases of Pakistan's foreign policy have been based on its core national interests with varying degree of nature.

### 2) Foreign policy of a state is based on national interests:





### a) Security interests :

The core objective of a state is survival. According to Hans J. Morganthau, foreign policy of a state is principally based on its security interests to protect its sovereignty and ensure survival. As realist paradigm focuses on survival, self-help and statism, the core objective of a state is to protect its security interests through acquisition of weapons, creation of alliance and promotion of deterrence. Therefore, security interests trump all interests at foreign policy front.

### b) Economic interests :

Another core objective of a country's external interaction is the protection of its economic interests. According to proponents of liberal paradigm, economic interests have been the primary reasons state interact with each other.

### c) Diplomatic interests :

In the world of multilateralism, globalism and globalization, protection of diplomatic interests is another aim of a country that pursues foreign policy. State endeavour to have leverage in United Nations and other multilateral forums.



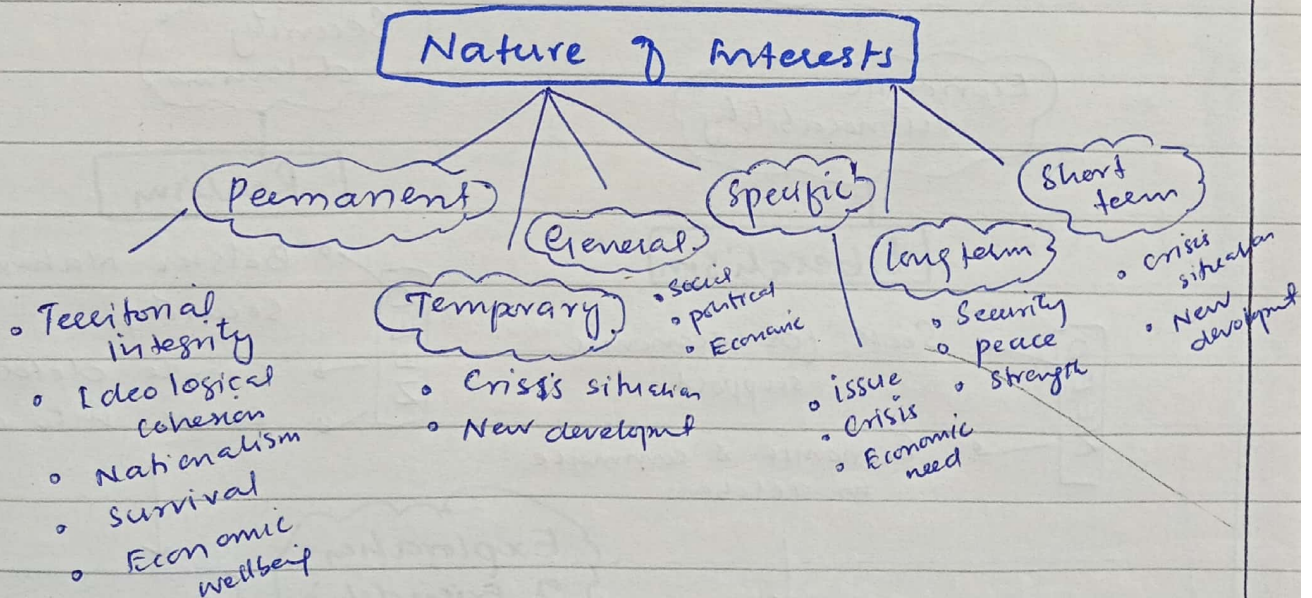
### d) Political interests:

Political interests are also a part of a country's foreign policy. Protection of its ideology, government pattern and nationalism can be seen the central planks of a state's external interaction with the world.

### e) Social interests:

Education, alleviation of poverty, soft power and culture also constitute the foreign policy objective of a state. While interacting with other states, a country tends to amplify, protect and achieve its social interests.

## 3) Nature of a state's national interests at external front

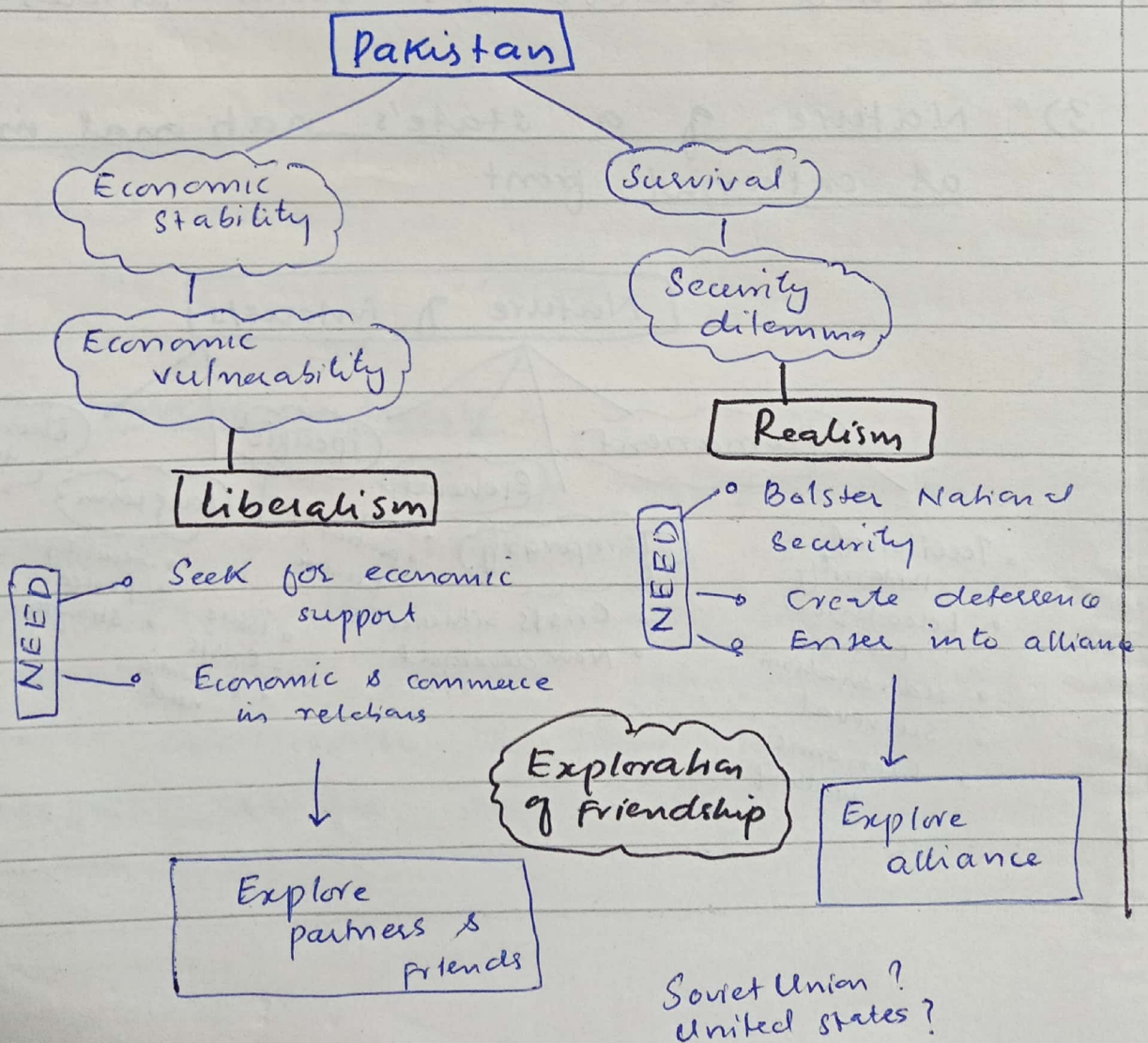




#### 4) How national interests of Pakistan shaped its foreign policy in different phases:

##### a) National Interests of Pakistan and foreign Policy Phase-1 (1947 - 1953)

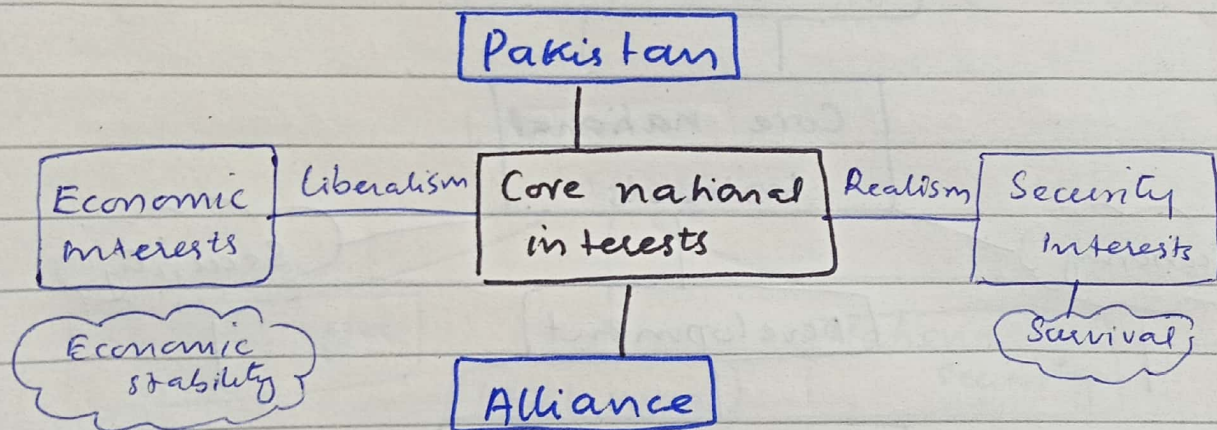
In the first phase of Pakistan's foreign policy from 1947 to 1953 was based on exploration of friendships. It was due to the fact that survival of the country was threatened due to India's conventional supremacy and military grant and its hostile posture due to Kashmir issue and partition.





## b) National interests of Pakistan and foreign policy phase - 2 1953-1962 :

In this phase of the country's foreign policy security need erupted in the wake of India's aggressive posture against Pakistan. Pakistan joined the US club. Pakistan signed a mutual defense agreement with the US and joined SEATO in 1954 and CENTO in 1955 for its security guarantee. The US has also given Pakistan economic aid in this phase.



- Economic Aid from the US 1950s

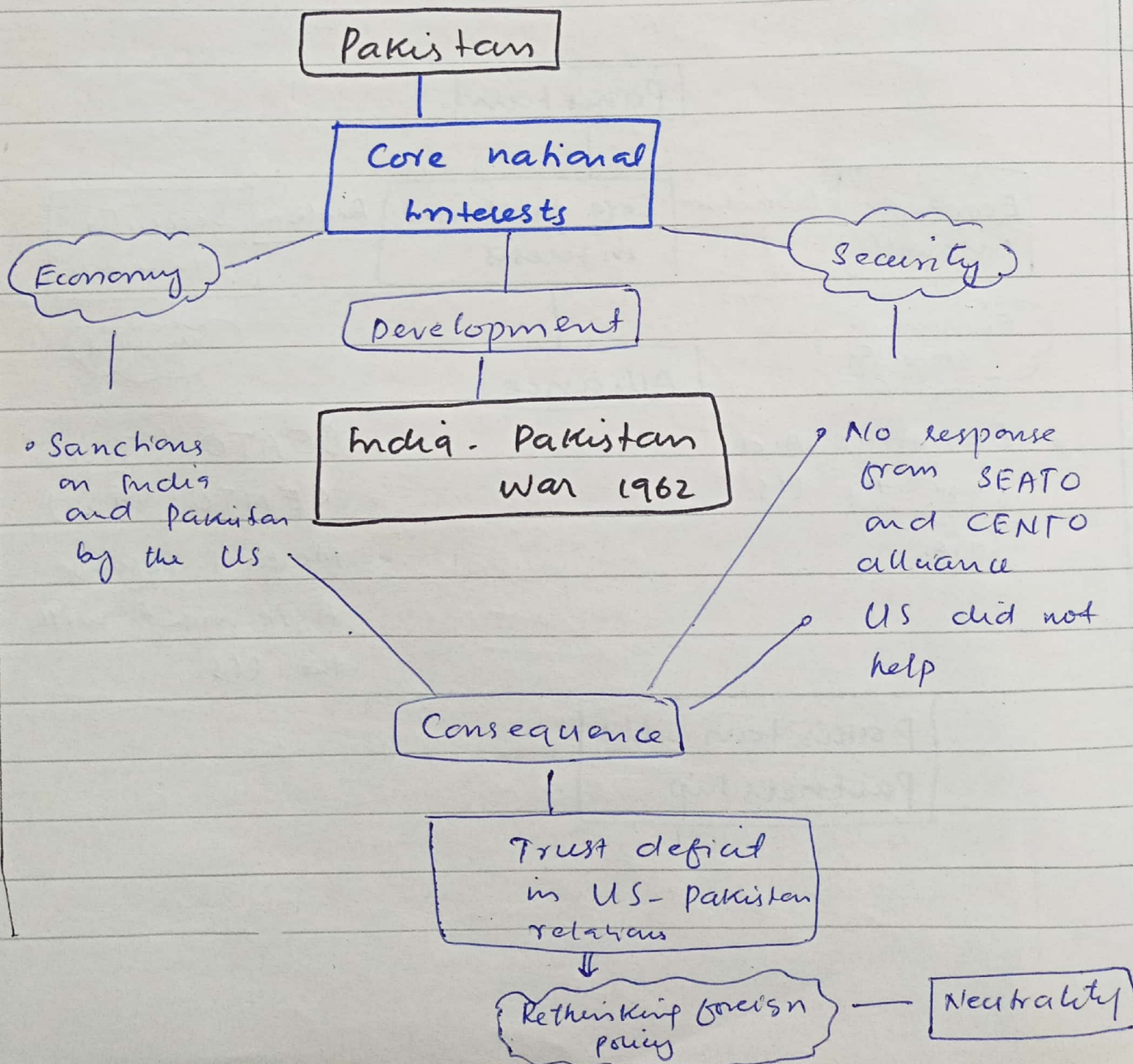
- SEATO (1954)
- CENTO (1955)
- Mutual Defense Agreement with the US

Pakistan - US Partnership



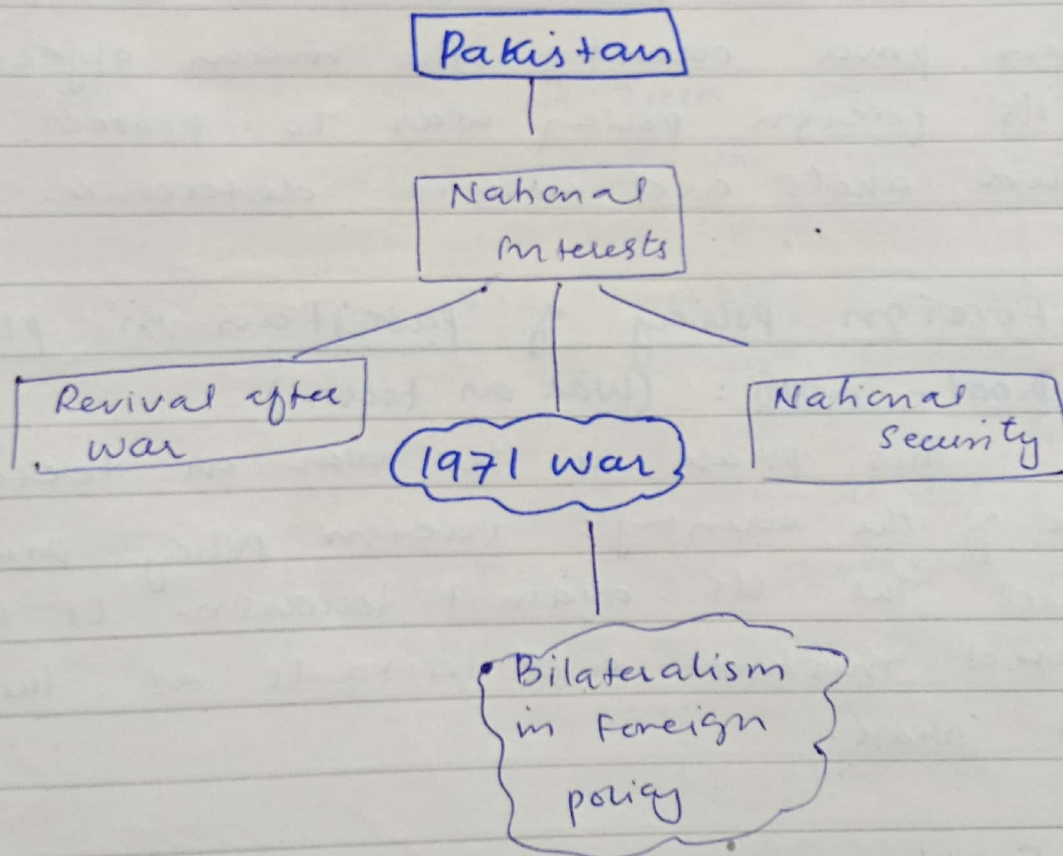
### c) National interests of Pakistan and foreign policy phase-3 1962-1971 :

Indo-Pak war erupted in 1962. The US did not come into rescue of Pakistan, and the US imposed sanctions on Pakistan and India. The SEATO and CENTO alliance did not create deterrence, nor did it coerce India to stay away from war against Pakistan. The Indo-Pakistan war brought about a transition in Pakistan's foreign policy.



## d) Pakistan's national interests and foreign policy phase-4 (1971-1979) :

In 1971, East Pakistan - what is now Bangladesh - separated from Pakistan due to the involvement of India and Pak-India war. The former Soviet Union and India signed "Friendship Treaty" that resulted in the defeat of Pakistan in 1971 war. This development brought about a landscape in the country's foreign policy.



- Engagement with India
- Enhanced relations with China
- Negotiation with the USSR
- Reengagement with the US



e) Foreign policy of Pakistan in phase-5  
1979-1990s and core national interests:

In this phase, Afghanistan crisis erupted. Pakistan joined the US against the USSR. It brought economic aid to Pakistan and US lenient approach over its nuclear program.

b) Foreign policy of Pakistan in phase-6  
1991-2001 .. (Nuclearization)

In this phase, Pakistan became a nuclear power country. The main objective of its foreign policy was to protect its nuclear assets and ensure deterrence.

g) Foreign policy of Pakistan in phase-7  
2001-2018: (War on terror)

This phase is the war on terror phase of the country's foreign policy. Pakistan joined the US against terrorism. It has created mistrust and irritants at the last phase.

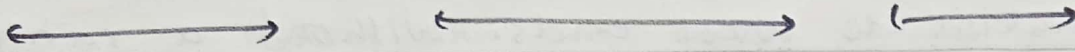
h) Foreign policy of Pakistan in phase-8  
2018 - on ward: (Geo-economics)

Pakistan started to leverage in foreign policy through geo-economics in this phase.



## 5) Conclusion:

A state's foreign policy is shaped by its core national interests. Therefore, different phases of the <sup>Pakistan's</sup> country's foreign policy testifies this fact.



## Q. No. 5

### 1) Introduction:

The US launched "War on Terror" just after the incident of 9/11 attack. The Bush administration started the war by launching military operation inside Afghanistan against non-state actors — Al Qaeda. The Taliban government was toppled in 2001, and war on terror started. As per realist, war is a rational act as state calculate-cost-and-benefit analysis. The legality of war is the use of force in self-defence according to customary international law and the UN charter. The justification of war is to protect a state's core interests. However, despite criticism, the US provided justification as legal and rational base of its war on terror.

### 2) The rationales of waging war:



## b) Rationality of war:

### i) War as a rational act — Realist paradigm

According to the realist paradigm, war is a rational act by a state. A state wages war by calculating cost-and-benefit analysis to meet ends. Without a rational choice, states do not wage war.

### ii) War for core interests of a state:

Realism also endorses the idea that state wages war for the protection of its core national interests in anarchic international structure.

## c) Legality of war:

War is also a legal act if it qualifies the conditions of war.

### i) Self-defense:

In customary international law and UN charter, war for self-defense is a legal act. When an opponent wages war, it has legal sanction to counter the opponent.

### ii) Humanitarian intervention:

Another legal aspect of war is that in case of civil war and widespread



human loss, humanitarian intervention is allowed under the UN charter.

#### d) Justification of war:

##### a) National security:

When the national security of a state is challenged, it has justification to wage war against the opponent.

##### b) Threat to its population:

As a threat arises to its population due to aggression of a country, it has the justification to wage war.

##### c) Obstruction of its economic wellbeing:

In case of threat to its economic prosperity and wellbeing by the activities of an adversary like capture of trade ship, use of dangerous tools to disrupt its agriculture and industrial sectors, a state gives justification to counter that.

#### 3) The US' justification to legalize its War on Terror:



### a) Self-defence:

The US invoked Article 51 of the UN Charter to wage war on terror as an act of self-defence. The US provided justification as the non-state actors have challenged its sovereignty and national security. Therefore, the US has legal sanctions to wage war against non-state actors. However, the question is that whether a state can intervene in another sovereign state in hot pursuit against non-state actors? Its legality is subject to question. But realpolitik has the answer as big powers go for their larger interests.

### b) Elimination of threat:

Another justification is given that the US will eliminate the threat of terrorism to international peace and security. It has invoked the Article 5 of the NATO charter to defend the security of all member nations. Therefore, NATO intervened in Afghanistan to eliminate the threat of non-state actors to international peace. Despite the cautions of realist community about this war, the US and NATO did not pay heed.



## 4) Conclusion:

War cannot be waged at will. It ~~be~~ need to have justification, rationality and legality. The US waged war on terror, it provided several justification to legalize its war against terror.



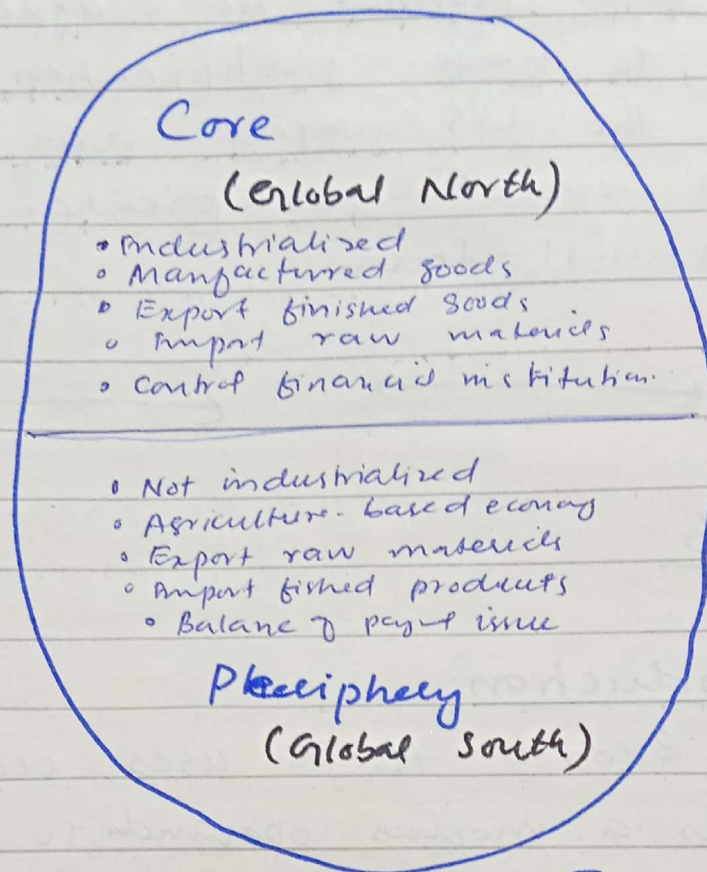
## Q. No. 6

### 1) Introduction:

Global North uses economic imperialistic tool as a modus operandi to extend their sphere of influence in Global North. The core-periphery division of the world in terms of economy has given the Global North advantage to control the foreign policy of poor South. The wealthy countries not only exploit the Global South, but they also extend their spheres of influence by influencing their decisions in foreign policy. The Global North uses the economic imperialistic tools to advance their geopolitical, strategic and geo-economic interests across the Global South.



## 2) Economic imperialistic tool of dependency.



### a) Marxism and dependency Theory:

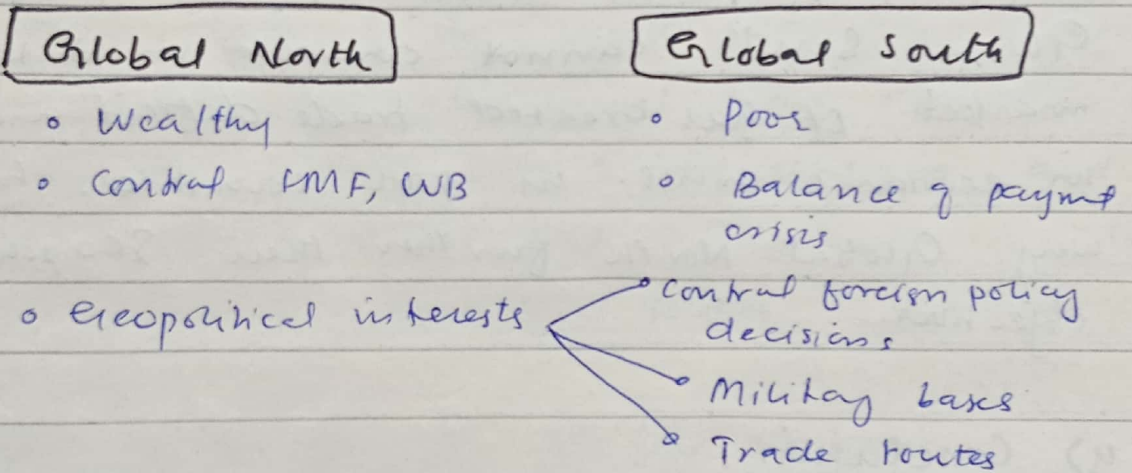
The core countries are Global North. They are highly industrialized countries and control global economy. They have influence of global financial institutions. On the other hand, Global South consists of poor and underdeveloped countries. There are no competent industrial structure in those countries. They import finished goods at high cost from industrial world. It has created a sort of dependency in Global South.



3) How Global North uses "Economic Imperialistic" tool as a modus operandi - to extend their sphere of influence in Global South:

a) Use of financial institutions:

As global south faces with economic crisis, the Global North uses financial institutions like the IMF and the World Bank to advance their geopolitical objectives and control foreign policy decisions of the Global South.



b) Sanctions as a coercive tool:

Global North uses sanction as a modus operandi to coerce a country which seems to be critical to the policies of wealthy countries or geopolitical objectives. Imposing sanctions shape the behaviour of state.



### c) Weaponization of dollar:

Dollar is the currency which is used in international trade. The Global South is subject to dollar crisis in their trade. Global North, on the other hand, uses dollar as a means to further their geopolitical objectives in the world.

### d) Competition in neoliberal economic structure:

Global North has created neoliberal economic structure. In this model, trade liberalization is the core principle. But in abysmal economic condition, the products of Global South cannot compete in international market. It has created trade deficit and resulted in economic crisis in poor countries. In this way, Global North further their geopolitical objectives.

### 4) Conclusion:

Global North uses economic imperialistic tool as a *modus operandi* to extend their sphere of influence in Global South. It has resulted in the backwardness of Global South. Global North influences the foreign policy decision of poor countries.



## Q. No. 8

### 1) Introduction:

The bubble globalization is busted in international politics. Globalism has reduced due to different factors. Nationalism has superseded globalization in the second decade of the 21st century. Nationalism appears to be more potent as it has been reclaiming in different parts of the world. Certain developments like Brexit, US' withdrawal from Trans-Pacific Partnership, growing role of regionalism and Islamophobia, it shows that nationalism is the Supreme Lord in international politics.

### 2) Busting bubble of globalization:

Globalization has overtaken the world with surprise in last quarter of 20th century. However, globalization started to erode the national boundaries for trade, economic activity, spread of ideas and others. But it has subject to criticism, and nationalism appears to be more manifest in different global developments. Globalization has assumed a downward trend in the recent times.



### 3) Global developments and resurgence of nationalism in international politics:

#### a) Brexit:

When British conducted a referendum to ascertain the fact that its nationals want to be part of the European Union, majority of people voted to leave the EU. They were of the view that globalization has diluted the cultural, economic and political salience of British. So, nationalism triumphed and globalization fell through.

#### b) Growing economic decoupling of the US and China:

Although the US has been the champion of globalization, growing nationalism in the US has influenced its foreign policy to disengage from China in its commercial intercourse. It indeed inflicts heavy damage to globalization.

#### c) Rise of populism and cultural politics:

Populism and cultural politics is in rise in the West. It has resulted in the rise of power of politicians like Donald Trump and Bolsonaro.



#### d) US withdrawal from Trans-Pacific Partnership and WTO under Trump:

Another indication of rising nationalism is the US withdrawal from key agreements and institutions. It was due to the fact of group nationalism in the world.

#### e) National security over collective security:

The incident of 9/11 has increased the primacy of national security over collective security. It shows the group influence of nationalism.

#### f) Regionalism vs globalization:

Growing influence of regional organization like SCO and BRICS will erode globalization. It is because of group nationalism in the world.

#### 4) Conclusion:

The bubble of globalization has burst as nationalism has assumed an upward trajectory. A number of global developments justify the fact that nationalism has overruled globalization at the recent time.