

Question No. 1

Domestic policy of Pakistan.

1. Introduction:

"Domestic policy can only defeat us;
foreign policy can kill us."

John F. Kennedy.

Foreign policy is a set of strategies to achieve national interest by building relations with other states - Pakistan was born in the era of cold war. Its major goal was survival. Provided a hostile India as neighbor, an unstable graveyard of Afghan empire, an unrecognized territory of Iran and a newly born China, Pakistan was caught in troubled waters. The emerging bloc politics further highlighted its security concerns and alignment with America (the West) instead of the Soviet Union was the result. Later, post 9/11, the fight against terror was aided by Pakistan which gave birth to religious extremism and terrorism in the state. Despite shifting its focus from "Geo-strategic" foreign policy to "Geo-Economic" centric foreign policy, Pakistan is standing at the crossroads today. The Taliban 2.0 in the West, an Hindutva focus India on the East, emerging China on the North, uncertain Iran on the South west and a multipolar world

order (emerging) poses multiple challenges for Pakistan's foreign policy. Rising insurgency, terrorism, Indian hegemonic stunts, political instability, economic collapse are a few obstacles that can push Pakistan towards an extreme approach. Any miscalculation can not be fixed as there are no winners in "Nuclear war".

2. Foreign Policy of Pakistan:

Since 2018, the foreign policy of Pakistan has shifted towards a more "Geo-economic" approach with "human-centric" policies. In the words of Quaid-e-Azam (the founder of Pakistan):

"Our objective should be peace within and peace without - we want to live peacefully ~~with~~ and maintain cordial relations with our immediate neighbors and the world at large"

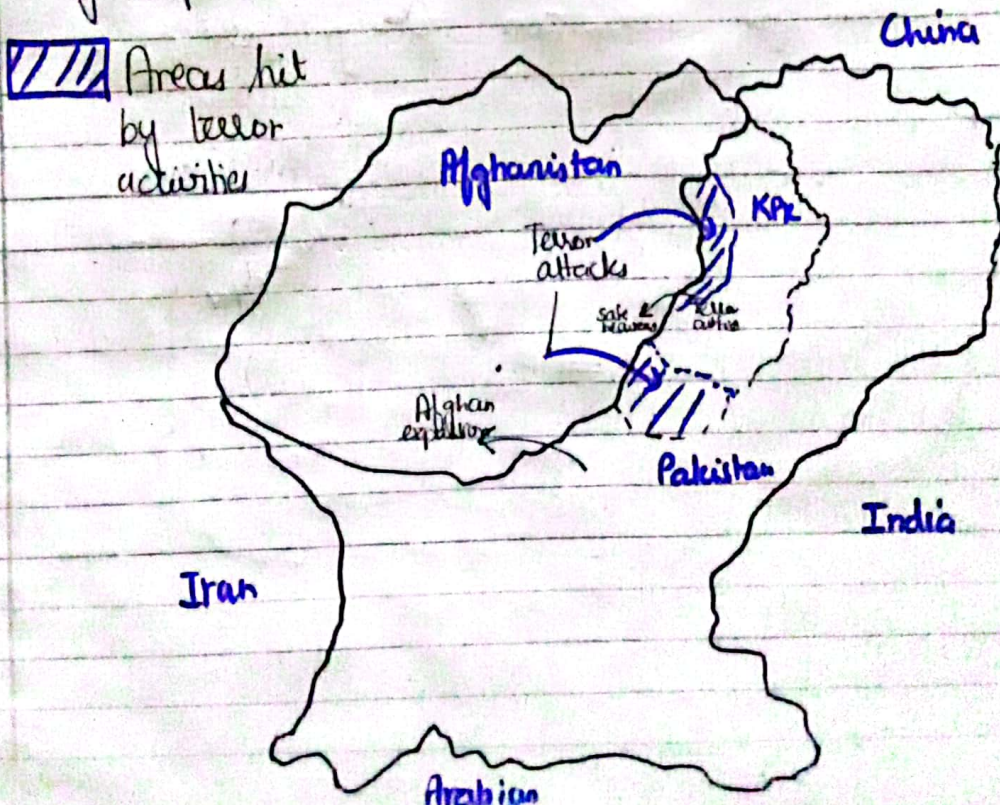
In order to achieve peace domestically a "National Security Council" was established and for international alliance, shift towards economic integration was made. Pakistan's all weather friendship with China is going strong under CPEC however turbulence with the rest is evident following cross-border attacks.

3. Foreign Policy challenges faced by Pakistan

A - Security Concerns :

①- Cross border attacks launched by terror outfits using Afghan soil :

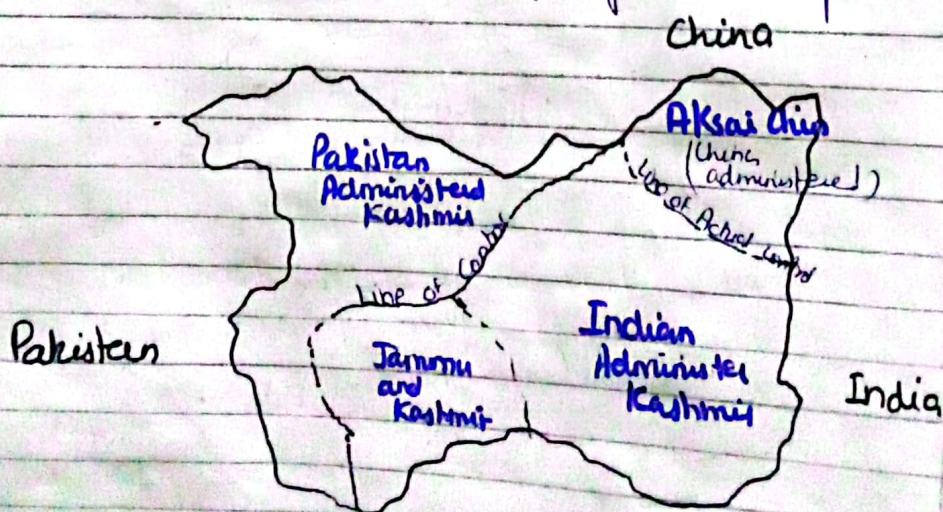
Following US withdrawal in 2021 and Taliban 2.0 regime, the relations between Pakistan and Taliban's Afghanistan went further downhill when militants launched attacks on Pakistani territory and used Afghanistan as safehaven. Organizations like **TTP**, **TLP**, **ISK** etc are using Afghanistan's territory to retaliate against Pakistani state and despite multiple pleas and warnings from Pakistani top diplomats, Afghan Taliban have not taken any steps



Following the increase in terror activities Pakistani authorities decided to expel Afghans (undocumented) which angered the Afghan Taliban government and so the tension is simmering. This could further destabilise Pakistan and the region if left unattended.

②. India's increasing attacks and atrocities on Kashmir's disputed territory following the revocation of (2019) special status of the territory:

Provided the longstanding Kashmir issue between Pakistan and India, both nuclear states should be wary of their actions. However India's continuous provocation of Pakistan over Kashmir issue and cut off of all kind of diplomacy and trade is a cause of concern for Pakistan foreign policy.



③. Kashmir Dispute

"Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan"

(Quaid-e-Azam)

③ India's water terrorism -- control of the water headworks leading to Pakistan's water crisis.

The headworks of the water system of Pakistan falls in the Indian Administered Kashmir. This has contributed to multiple water related issues faced by the country. Provided no diplomacy with India, Pakistan's foreign policy is faced with a stark challenge of hybrid war launched by India. Using social media as a tool to build its narrative, increasing border security, challenging Pakistan's sovereignty and launching multiple anti-state actions in Balochistan region, India and Pakistan are barely avoiding Armageddon.

④ - Mushrooming Balochistan crisis = increasing tension with Iran following drone strikes by both states:

Pakistan retaliated Iran's drone strike on Balochistan's territory with an attack on foreign elements on Iranian territory. Considering that both countries have nuclear capabilities, any further

escalation can be deadly as there are no winners in Nuclear War. Pakistan's foreign policy needs to be reshaped to build close ties with Iran provided trade volume and other religious cooperation between both countries.

③ Economic Instability:

⑤ - Dangling Pakistan amid changing World Order: Shift towards multipolarity and balance between China and USA.

Provided Pakistan's history of participating in bloc politics, the current foreign policy dogma is very essential.

Pakistan has closest economic ties with China (CPEC etc) and America is Pakistan's biggest importer.

According to **Malecha Lodhi**, Pakistan is faced with a Foreign Policy test - During the confrontation between two states, Pakistan must pursue its own National interest and find a balance of cooperation between both states.

⑥. Economic crisis and shift towards Middle East: Economic cooperation with Muslim world especially Middle East through SIFC (Special Investment Facilitation Council), in the wake of Palestine-Israel conflict.

Pakistan managed multiple projects with neighboring countries but the potential investments from middle East in technology, agriculture and energy sector can really help bring economic stability and achieve a standing ground. However, provided the growing conflict in Palestine and engulfing of other middle Eastern states, Pakistan really needs to reduct its foreign policy goals and adopt a new approach.

4- Way Forward for Pakistan's foreign Policy: Conclusion.

Pakistan must keep its National interest at the heart of its foreign policy goals. Maintaining a balanced approach between China and America while avoiding bloc politics is a must. Rethinking Afghan Policy and going towards a more inclusive approach. Balancing ties with Iran and Saudi Arabia provided the religious tourism and a more welcoming business environment to boost trade and investment with both. Lastly, redeveloping diplomatic ties with India to resolve Pakistan's Kashmir issue and formulate trade relations to benefit both states. Despite facing multiple challenge, Pakistan's Foreign Policy can still excel by engagement and cooperation with neighbours and the world.

Question 2

Discuss legal and security dimensions of repatriation of illegal Afghans. How can this affect Pakistan.

Introduction

In his book "In the graveyard of Empires" **Seth G. Jones** describes how during different political regimes and wars, Afghan nationals were forced to evacuate and migrate to some other territory - Pakistan has been the biggest receptor of Afghan migrants - Following the rise in terrorist activities and cross border attacks, Pakistan's official decided upon expelling some 1.4 million Afghan refugees who were undocumented as they pose a risk to security concerns and economic instability - Apart from the Foreigners Act of 1946, Pakistan doesn't have any other legislative framework to deal with the problem of immigrants. The international community especially the International Court of Justice has denounced this move of Pakistan and claimed it to be illegal. The Afghan expulsion from Pakistan shows a failure of strategic depth doctrine of Pakistan and poses multiple challenges. The crack in already troublesome relations of Pakistan with Afghan Taliban can impact the security landscape of Pakistan further. The risk of backfiring and loss of economic activities generated by Afghan migrants is ever present.

Legal Aspect of Afghan Expulsion :

① Absence of domestic framework to deal with the issue of refugees in Pakistan :

Hundreds of Terrorists use the disguise of Afghan immigrants and conduct terror attacks in Pakistan. They flee to Afghan soil when ^{security} operations are conducted against them. Hence, the move of expulsion came to curb the security threats in the absence of any framework to deal with refugees but the decades old Foreigner Act of 1946.

② Violation of International law which grants refugees right to seek asylum in other states :

The United Nations Declaration ~~for~~ of Human Rights (UDHR) allows refugees to seek asylum in other states from persecution. Pakistan's move to expel Afghans from its territory on security grounds contracts with the international law.

The extremist regime of Afghan Taliban is against equality of women rights and targets activists for propagatory liberal views. Expelling them along with children born in Pakistan soil is an illegal move on the part of Pakistan.

3. Security dimension of repatriation of illegal Afghans:

①. Cross border attacks and a risk to regional security:

The Afghan Taliban regimes declined every request to fight the terror outfits who were operating from Afghanistan on Pakistan soil. As termed by **Ayaz Amir**, Afghan refugees are 'Pakistan's unwanted problem' as they pose a risk to internal as well as external security. Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Islamic State Khorasan (ISK) are major terror outfits operating from Afghanistan and targeting security agencies and innocent Pakistani citizens.

②. Failure of Pakistan's Strategic depth doctrine in Afghanistan and deteriorating relations with Afghan Taliban poses a risk to regional security.

Pakistan's damaged relations with Afghan Taliban and a failure to find strategic depth in Afghanistan against India has displayed a threat to regional stability. The widespread abuse of /on journalist and women in Afghanistan also puts Pakistan in a pickle over Pakistan charges.

Impact on Pakistan:

Damage to international image:

The international community is condemning Pakistan for expelling innocent Afghans who saw safe heavens in Pakistan against Taliban's extreme rule.

1. Threat of Afghan expulsion backfiring:

The Afghan refugees who are expelled may fight back or collaborate with terror outfits like TTP, ISK to seek revenge on expulsion on Pakistan.

3. Tense ties with Afghanistan

The deteriorating foreign policy / relations with Afghanistan may send it further into isolation leading to a threat on regional and National security of Pakistan.

Conclusion:

Following the rise in insurgency and terror activities and absence of framework to deal with the influx of around 1.4 Million Afghan refugees, Pakistan's government resorted to a short sighted move of expelling undocumented Afghans to deal with the issue at hand. The threat to regional and international security and rise in terrorist activities were justified problems but the ad-hoc approach may not yield favourable results for Pakistan.