

QUESTION No; 4

Explain the concept of foreign policy, its determinants and decision making and analysis approach. Also briefly discuss the historical outlook of Pakistan's foreign policy.

ANSWER No; 4

1- INTRODUCTION:

"I have not controlled events, events have controlled me." — Abraham Lincoln.

Foreign Policy is the core instrument of any state to streamline its national interests. For every state, there is a set of determinants that provide a direction to its foreign policy. Those determinants include its geographical location, its military and economic capabilities, type of government, its history and culture as well as the mindset of leadership and the citizens. Thus, for Pakistan, its foreign policy ideals and objectives were laid down by its leader Muhammad

at the time of its foundation. However, with the changing world order, Pakistan had to re-align its objectives many times to stay relevant to the prospective political environment.

Q. The Concept Of Foreign Policy:

(i) Definition: It is the set of pre-established strategies designed and implemented strategically and systematically to cater to a state's national interests.

Components

(ii) (Tools) Of Foreign Policy: According to Jangam, foreign policy of a state has four components. The four components include

- a) the principles underlying the foreign policy.
- b) The problems confronting the state
- c) The role of policy makers
- d) The end result.

(iii) Objectives Of Foreign Policy:
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Policy of all nations is driven by certain objectives and those objectives make the end goal of each state's foreign policy. The objectives include:

- a) to uphold the integrity of the state.
- b) to promote economic interest.
- c) to nourish National Security.
- d) to maintain National Prestige
- e) to stay relevant to the concurrent world order.

Thus, achieving these objectives remains the core of each state's foreign policy.

3. DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY:

Determinants of a state's foreign policy are the factors determining its course. Following are the determinants of foreign policy.

(i) Geographical Location: The geographical location of each state plays a most vital role in determining its foreign policy. It includes both its internal symmetry of land, climate, masses etc and the nature of its neighbours. For example

Land lock countries have less leverage to adapt to the isolationist policies due to their need for a transit access. Thus, each nation explores options based on its geographical location.

(ii) Military Capabilities: It includes the size of the military, its equipments, its leadership, and nuclear capabilities. Thus, a strong military means more confidence in proceeding national interests, using military as a deterrent. For example, USA's strong military capabilities enable it to exercise unrestrained globalism.

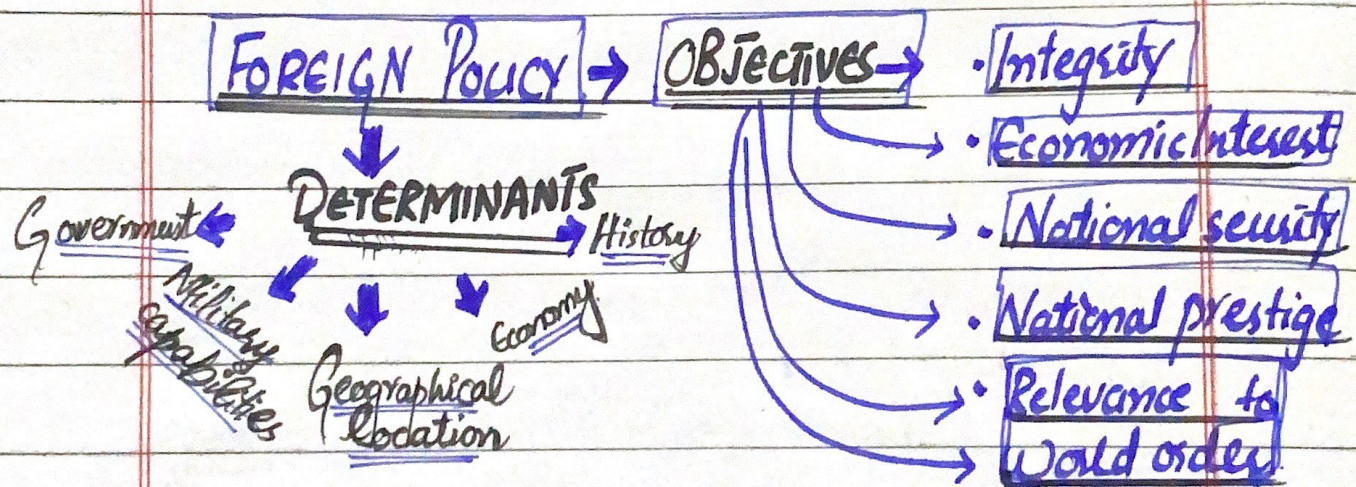
(iii) Economic might: A state's level of industrialization as well as its economic strength sets a clear discourse for its foreign policy. Most often, the states with strong economies tend to have more military might as well. United states with being one of the largest economies as well as military power serves as an ^{an} exple.

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(iv) Type of government: The type of government includes monarchies like Saudi Arabia, Constitutional monarchies like the UK, Constitutional democracies like the US, Military dictatorships like North Korea etc. Thus, the type of government, too has an impact on setting the course for Foreign Policies.

(v) History and Culture: The history and culture of a state possesses huge significance in Foreign Policy determinations. For example, countries with a unified culture and history tend to pursue a more effective Foreign Policy with the support of each segment of the society. Countries with strong nationalism include Turkey, where Turkish nationalism instilled by Kemal Ataturk, lives upto this day.



4. FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING AND ANALYSIS APPROACHES:

Foreign Policy decision making analysis gives an insight into the process of decision making and what factors are kept in mind by the stakeholders. Thus, there are 3 different types of models given by foreign policy scholar, Graham Allison.

(i) Rational Actor Model:

This model revolves around individual decision making. Thus, the rational actor model is the product of the supposition that individual is a well-informed being, capable of making calculated decisions that add value for the state.

Criticism: However, this model does not take into account, the fact when accurate or complete knowledge is not available and in the situations where rationale is subjective rather than objective. Thus, critics argue that there are certain situations where this model is not applicable.

(ii) Bureaucratic Political Model:

This

model emphasizes that, instead of a rational individual, a group of different political stakeholders or parties gives the decision. Moreover, it caters to the profit or loss of each separate party as well as the national interest.

Criticism: Critics are of the opinion that it is difficult, at times, to bring all actors or parties on one page. Thus, making it complex.

Example: The bipartisan consensus in the US to recognise China as a strategic, and economic competitor, is the result of this model.

(iii) Organizational Process Model:

According

to this model, governments often hand over specific foreign policy decisions to particular committees instead of individual handling or bureaucratic handling.

Criticism: The critics hold the viewpoint that this decision making model limits

a decision and lack alternative perspectives.

5. HISTORICAL OUTLOOK OF PAKISTAN'S

FOREIGN POLICY: According to article 40 of Pakistan's constitution, Pakistan's Policy has always maintained to strive for peace, globally and domestically.

(i) Beginning Years: In the post-partition phase, Pakistan as a newly emerged state, needed a global alliance. Thus, Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO in order to build an International Community. However, in later years Pakistan adapted a neutral status. Thus, Pakistan's Foreign Policy has always been in motion, however, the guiding principles remain the same.

(ii) Post 9/11: The 9/11 incident shook the world and is regarded as an event that altered the course of the world. Pakistan, as a promoter of peace, helped United States in the war on terror that followed years after 9/11 Sep, 2001.

~~However~~ However, Pakistan's decision to side with the U.S proved to be fatal for its political history. Consequently, Pakistan mobilized its forces for the elimination of the terror groups on its territory.

6. CONCLUSION: In conclusion, Foreign Policy is a core instrument for any state to materialise its national interests. However, for a stable and effective foreign policy of any state, there are certain determinants that set the course. For Pakistan's historical outlook in the Post 9/11 era, its foreign policy determinants included its geographical location and the economic capability, and Pakistan visualised its foreign policy decision through the Rational Actor Model. Thus, an effective foreign policy plays an instrumental role for a country to achieve its goals.

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QUESTION No; 5

Explain the concept of strategic culture. Discuss in detail the determinants of Pakistan's (foreign policy) strategic culture along with its manifested implications.

ANSWER No; 5

1- INTRODUCTION:

Strategic culture is the backbone of most security decisions or policies. It manifests itself in variety of areas of both foreign and defense policy. Every state has a diverse strategic culture based on its history, perception of the self, and perception of the adversary. In this regard, Pakistan emerging as a security conscious state in 1947, too has strategic determinants that which have guided its security policies through the years. Those determinants act as a precursor to all the foreign policy decisions made by Pakistan's strategic elite, over decades.

2. THE CONCEPT OF STRATEGIC CULTURE: According to Stephen Rosen,

“Strategic culture is made up of the shared beliefs and assumptions that frame choices about international military behaviour, particularly those concerning decisions to go to war, preference for offensive, defensive or expansionist modes of warfare, and the levels of casualties that would be acceptable during wartime.”

Through Stephen Rosen's definition, it is evident the strategic culture is based on set of beliefs that eventually drive major security policies of a state.

3. DETERMINANTS OF PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC CULTURE:

The factors behind taking certain policy decisions are known as determinants. These are various determinants of Pakistan's strategic culture.

(i) Security Conscious state: Since the inception Pakistan, the major driver of its strategic culture is its status as a security state due to the hostile nature of its neighbours. On the Eastern border, skirmishes and then wars with India, and on the Western border, the influx of non-state actors or terrorist groups, made Pakistani elite to take decisions keeping in mind its security conscious nature on either side of the border.

(ii) Indian hostility: Indian hostility confronted Pakistan, not only on the battlefield but also on every aspect of Pakistan's relation with other countries. The opposition of Pakistan by India in every multilateral or bilateral organisation led the strategic elite to render it as a crucial determinant.

(iii) Sovereign Equality Desire of Pakistan: Indian quest for Hegemony in South Asia prompted an

equality quest in Pakistan. Thus, one of the key determinants of Pakistan's strategic culture is to manifest Pakistan as a sovereign Islamic Republic in South Asia.

(iv) Irredentist Claims of Afghanistan:

The durand line that separates Pakistan from Afghanistan is not recognised by any of the Afghan governments and thus, the stakeholders in Afghanistan have not been much favourable to Pakistan throughout the years. This led Pakistan to take a cautious approach towards Afghanistan and to make policies accordingly.

(v) Outlook for Security: Due to hostile neighbours, Pakistan has always been in search of security. The outlook can be manifested through various policy decisions it has taken since its inception.

4. MANIFESTED IMPLICATIONS IN PAKISTAN'S POLICIES:

The determinants of Pakistan's foreign policy resulted in various policy outcomes listed below:

(i) Defence Expenditure: As a security conscious state, spending on its defence capabilities have been the top priority of the strategic elite. Pakistan's defence spendings have varied from 73 percent in 1949-50 to 24-25 percent in 2001-2002. Pakistan's defence budget has always gotten the top priority of the policy makers.

(ii) Security Alliances in the early days of inception: The decision to join global defence alliances SEATO & CENTO in the 1950s came due Pakistan being surrounded by hostile neighbours.

(iii) Formation of a nuclear program as a deterrent: After India's testing of its nuclear program, Pakistan

being a direct adversary needed update its defense by testing similar nuclear missiles. Due to Pakistan being spooked by India as a nuclear state, the formulation of a nuclear program became a top priority for the strategic elite of the state.

(iv) Seeking a buffer with Moscow post 9/11: Due to Pakistan being in a complex situation of war on terrorism post 9/11. Pakistan's policy of acceptance, but not reliance on outside assistance came into play and sought a buffer with Russia while fighting a war on terror with the United States.

(v) CPEC AND CHINA AS A PARTNER:

The Indo-US partnership post defense deal in 2005, made Pakistan rethink its alliance structure. China, an emerging competition to the US in the Indo-Pacific region, and a friendly neighbour to Pakistan deemed as a suitable ally. The start of CPEC indicates

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"The enemy of my enemy is my friend"
- an ancient proverb to sum up the international relations.

Pakistan's Security
Choices on the basis
of the determinants
of its strategic cult
- use



Alliances - 1950s

Bilateralism - 1960s

Non-Alignment - 1970s

Proxies - 1980s

Moving away from
the west → 1990s

War on terror - 2000s

Seeking a buffer
with Moscow

Mending ties with
India

CPEC and China

International Cooperation

5. CONCLUSION: Strategic Culture is the sum of core beliefs to shape a state's security policy and the beliefs are shaped through the determinants over the course of history. Thus, Pakistan as a security conscious state has its determinants lying in India and Afghanistan being uncooperative neighbours and the history of wars on the Eastern front. These determinants were the driving force behind Pakistan's policy takes over the years.