

# General Instructions for attaining good marks in International Relations

Add IR theories and approaches as much as you can

## QUESTION No; 4

Explain the concept of Foreign Policy, its determinants and its making and approach. Also briefly discuss the historical outlook of Pakistan's foreign policy  
try reflecting IR concepts or words in your heading

## ANSWER No; 4

no need to apply all theories in one question but one or two that may

Justify your arguments "This is not controlled events, events have controlled me." — Abraham Lincoln.

Justify your arguments with at least 8-9 headings

Add current developments as an examples to support arguments

add IR philosophers e.g. Morgenthau, Mearheimer etc and their philosophies

add graphs charts and critical analysis for bonus marks

each question has 2 or 3 parts, give equal weightage to all parts

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 remain 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.

(iii) 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 <sup>any</sup> example.

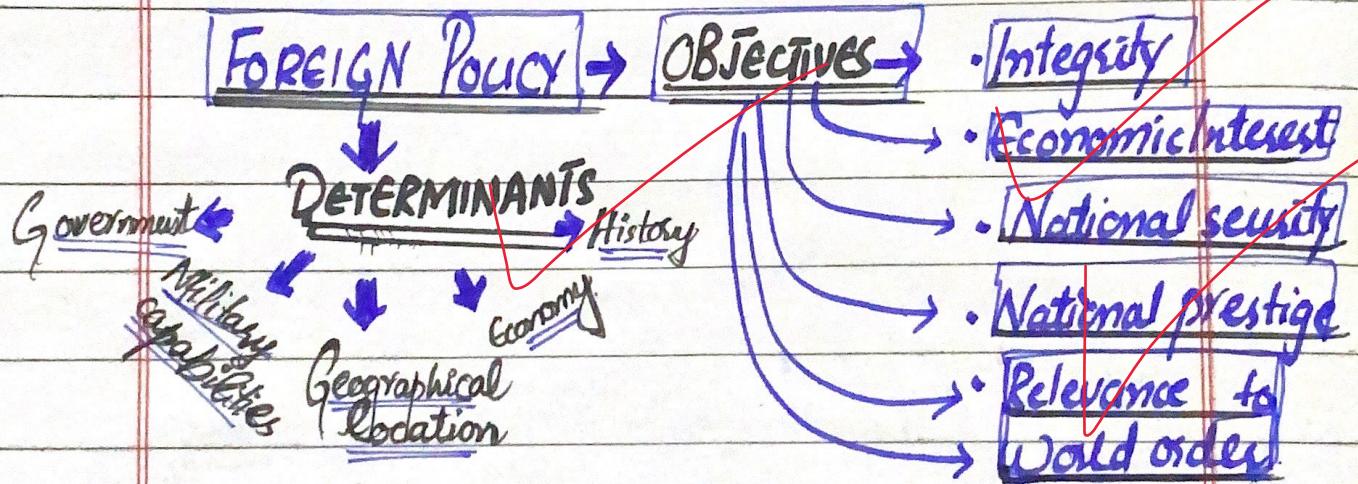
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(iv) Type of government: The type of government includes monarchies like Saudi Arabia, Constitutional monarchies like the UK, Constitutional democracies like the US, Military dictatorships like North Korea etc. Thus, the type of government, too has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

(v) History and Culture: The history and culture of a state possess 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 give 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 division 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 adopted 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.

## Well attempt

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 throughout 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, preferences for offensive, defensive or expansionist models of warfare, and the levels of causality 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. There are various determinants of Pakistan's strategic culture.

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(i) Security Conscious State: Since the inception of 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 Desires  
Pakistan: Indian quest for Hegemony in South Asia prompted an

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

#### (iv) Irredentist Claims of Afghanistan:

The de facto line that separates Pakistan from Afghanistan is not recognised by any of the Afghan government 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 defense capabilities have been the top priority of the strategic elite. Pakistan's defense spendings have varied from 7.3 percent in 1949-50 to 24-25 percent in 2001-2002. Pakistan's defense 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 defense 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

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being a direct adversary needed update its defense by testing similar nuclear missiles. Due to Pakistan being picked 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

"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  
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- 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. Those determinants were the driving force behind Pakistan's policy takes over the years.