**Foreign Policy of Pakistan**

It is a known fact that the formation of government is essential to run a state and no state can live without maintaining interstate relations which have become so essential in these days. To that end every government has to formulate a foreign policy. Like internal and domestic policies, industrial policy, agricultural policy, defence policy, education policy, labour policy etc. A state gives special attention to the careful formulation and successful execution of its foreign policy. A successful foreign policy enhances a nation’s power and prestige in the comity of nations. Foreign policy gains also increase a government’s credibility in the eyes of public internally as well as externally.

**Foreign policy** encompasses the tactics and process by which a nation interacts with other nations in order to further its own interests.

**Objectives of the foreign policy.**

1.Maintaining the integrity of the state,

2. Promoting economic interest,

3. Providing for national security,

4. Protecting national prestige and developing national power, and

5. Maintaining world order.

These can be supplemented by specific objectives according to the peculiar problems and conditions of the particular country.

**Instruments of Foreign Policy:**

The instruments of foreign policy may be said to be those institutions or devices through which the national power or resources are used for the accomplishment of the interests and objectives. These are as follows :

**1. Diplomacy**:

Good diplomats’ ambassadors, envoys, ministers etc and through their art of diplomacy can put country’s viewpoint effectively before the world and fulfil foreign policy objectives by means of mutual negotiations and thus spare their country from resorting to coercive methods. Diplomacy reduces the area of disagreement and misunderstanding with other states. It is instrumental in reaching out agreements, treaties and pacts with other nations. It plays its role both during war and peace.

2. **Publicity and Propaganda:**

These can be used steadily to combat and break down the undesirable attitudes and opinions and to create the desired attitudes and opinions. Propaganda can be used, as it was used by Hitler and later on by super powers during Cold War, for the systematic falsification of true propositions or positions and the establishment of suitable ones. India’s factually strong case on Kashmir has been distorted by a systematic and ceaseless propaganda by Pakistan, so much so that quite some people in the world may wonder as to what, after all, the facts of the case are publicity through radio, television magazines and other literature is also used as an instrument of foreign policy.

Thus these three factors diplomacy, publicity and propaganda-are employed by a nation for building up its public relations, for removing undesirable or discreditable factors like embarrassment, misunderstanding, suspicion, fear, etc between itself and other nations, and for projecting a favourable and acceptable image to other nations. These also help in increasing the power and prestige of a nation.

3. **Balance of Power:**

This method is used for avoiding imbalance of power and strengthening the position of given nations. For example, Britain employed the principle of balance of power for a long time in the European power politics in order to maintain the status quo and prevent any particular power from being too strong.

4. **Collective Security:**

The principle of collective security is adopted to secure collective defence as threateningly posed or actually mobilized against a powerful nation or nations. Balance of power and collective security are extremely useful as instruments for smaller nations which have a limited capacity to defend themselves.

5. **International Law and Organizations:**

These are also used by nations whenever possible for advancing the objectives of their foreign policy. During the post War period, Britain and France used the League of Nations to maintain status quo which was in their favour. Now we see that a number of third World countries are using the platform of the United Nations for some of the basic goals of their foreign policies-anti-colonialism, anti-racialism, disarmament and so on.

6. **Economic and non-political methods:**

Various economic methods are also adopted by various nations to achieve their foreign policy objectives and also to harm the interest of Opponents. Economic organizations are formed for this purpose e.g. E.C.O, SAARC. Sometimes nations also exploit religious, cultural and ethnic affinity to fulfil foreign policy objectives tag the use of Islam by many Muslim countries like Arab League.

7. **War and Peace:**

The institutions of war and peace are a kind of ultimate answer to the problems of a nation’s foreign policy of the two, peace comes on the heels of war, generally inaugurating a basic change in the foreign policies of nations concerned. But war is generally a devastating answer to the problems of a nation’s foreign policy. When objectives of foreign policy cannot be achieved through other means, nations resort to war as an end argument.

**Determinants of Foreign Policy:**

Foreign policy of states is determined by a number of factors. These important determinants having bearing on foreign policy can be broadly classified into three categories:

**General or objective**.

**Specific or subjective or internal.**

**External factors.**

The general and objective factors determine the framework in which policy are to be made and operated. These are the factors which are common to all the countries in determining their foreign policy. While the specific and subjective factors vary from country to country in accordance with their internal conditions and needs.

These specific factors determine the specific response of leadership to a particular situation, and therefore indicate the direction of a foreign policy: There are some external factors also that influence a country’s foreign policy. All these factors are of great significance, and they clearly indicate that foreign policy can never be satisfactorily explained by any simple determinant. These are explained in detail as follows:

**1. Sovereignty and Integrity of the Slate:**

The first factor that every state keeps in mind while formulating foreign policy is the safeguarding of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is the main responsibility of a state to safeguard the property of citizens and to protect their interests whatsoever they are. This responsibility also involves the concept of security of national boundaries and if necessary, to occupy other alien part of the territory. The states aiming at the protection of their own territory, pursue the policy of status quo. The policy of safeguarding the interest of the citizens inside or outside the state, is known as policy of prestige.

**2. Inter-dependence of States:**

All the states big or small, rich or poor are dependent on one another for one or the other reasons. This inter-dependence may result in -conflict or cooperation so the states under these stresses attempt to create a situation under which international behaviour may not be broken completely. Foreign policy is formulated in such a way as to maintain a balance with bargaining. For example, India did not recognize Israel for long, to dissuade the Arab countries from siding with Pakistan in the event of Indo-Pak dispute.

3. **Promotion of National Interest:**

It is the primary duty of all states to promote and further their national interests through their foreign policies. There may be difference between the interests of one state with that of another as they naturally vary according to time, place, location and circumstances, but the interests as self-preservation, security and well-being of its citizens are the common interests on the basis of which foreign policy is generally made.

4. **Internal and External Conditions:**

Foreign policy of every state is conditioned by certain internal and external factors. Internal factors include geography, population, economic needs, ideology, history and culture, military capacity, social structure, personalities, public Opinion etc. External factors are global environment, great power structure, alliances, international organizations, world public Opinion, reaction of other states etc. The degree of influence of these factors on the foreign policy may vary from country to country. That is why they are discussed in detail in subsequent headings.

5. **Geography:**

A permanent and stable determinant of foreign policy is geography. It determines the temperature, resources, frontiers and neighbours. The size of the state, topography, shape, location and climate are important components of geography. A size large enough to support a population sufficient to man an adequate military establishment a climate which is uniform and conducive to physical vigor, preferably either temperate or tropical highland, a topography offering boundaries with natural defence barrier such as mountains, forests, swamps, rivers, deserts and oceans and a shape which is compact rather than disintegrated or scattered and thus easier to defend, provide part of the necessary power potential allowing a state to pursue an independent foreign g policy. Location is one of the crucial elements in moulding the foreign policy outlook. The insular location of the United Kingdom has influenced the general character of the British foreign policy as decisively as the isolated geographic position of the United States in the case of the American foreign policy. Location has created for them a sense of security as the vastness of size has conferred the same sense upon Russia and China.

In the context of new technological developments, the importance of geography has suffered a setback. The coming of supersonic jets, inter-continental ballistic missiles and rockets have made the mountains and seas vulnerable. Now within few hours any distance can be covered and heavy bombers can encircle the globe. Possibility of offensive defence against nuclear missiles is remote. A state while formulating its foreign policy takes a distant country as seriously as it takes a neighbouring country. Notwithstanding the above developments, the importance of geography it’s still intact as the foreign policy of every state continuous to be related to its geography, though partially.

6**.History:**

Another guide to foreign policy is the history of the country. From history alone the nation inherits a style and culture which in turn influence the foreign policy making. History is the past record of the doings of a community, of its failures and successes. The past experience, failures and successes guide policy makers to deal with present problems. If a specific policy had proved to be rewarding in the past, policy-makers would-like to try the same policy for tackling similar situations in future. On the contrary, if a particular policy had proved to be a failure to deal with a situation, the policy-makers would try a different policy under an identical situation in future.

History shapes the current tradition and the self-image of a society, and therefore, the specific national style. The British habit of muddling through, the French concern with security, honor and glory, the German ruthlessness, the Soviet obsession with secrecy, and the American habit to interpret international issues as moral issues, India’s policy of non-alignment. In every case, such a national style and character influenced the making and execution of foreign policy.

7.**Population:**

it, as a determinant of foreign policy, is relevant both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The political, economic and military phases of a nation’s foreign policy is also moulded by the size, character and distribution its population. It is believed that the greater the number of populations, the greater will be its power. Manpower determines the standard of living, values, the way of life and even expectation of a nation. The significance of China and India rests partly on the large size of their population. Besides the quantity, the quality of population as revealed in its educational level, skilled labour, technical know-how, health and strong national character, is a determinant of foreign policy. The quality of population also influences the quality of political system, public administration, leadership and even execution of foreign policy.

8. **Natural Resources:**

Food, minerals, metal, coal, crude oil, water resources constitute an important element of national power and consequently of foreign policy. Availability of these resources in plenty definitely enhances the importance of a country. For example, the presence of petroleum has significantly strengthened the position of West Asian countries in international relations. They have used oil as a tool of their foreign policy. If natural resources are not locally available, they have to be procured through international cooperation. Availability of strategic and crucial raw materials will place a v country in advantageous position in foreign affairs. On the contrary, a country lacking in these resources will follow a weak foreign policy.

9. **Economic Factors:**

Today, no state in the world can boast of economic self-sufficiency. Even the United States is greatly dependent upon world trade for economic prosperity. This mutual interdependence of the economies also works as a determinant of foreign policy. Economic interdependence leads to international economic activity which is expressed in terms of tariffs, import quotas, trade agreements and other financial arrangements. Sometimes adjustments in international economic relationship create tension in the world which further takes the form of political and military action. States are not equally gifted by nature with natural and economic resources nor they are capable of utilizing available resources. Therefore, nations make their foreign policies in a way so that the supply of war materials may not run short and their trade may have a favorable balance international economic activity also needs facilities and protection of foreign investment. All these economic factors have bearing on foreign policy.

10. **Development:**

Usually, a developed nation tends to follow an independent foreign policy whereas a backward nation is inclined to pursue a dependency policy. The latter, owing to its poverty and military weakness, would rely on developed nations for economic development and or for its protection against a powerful enemy. Such compulsions do not normally perturb strong and developed nations. However, security is a relative term and even the most powerful nation perhaps does not feel fully secure. Many a time developed nation like Britain and France are not able to follow independent foreign policies. They are often required to toe the line of NATO dictated by the United States. Although Japan is an economic power and threatens to overcome the United States in the economic sphere in near future yet it is militarily weak and is dependent upon the US for its security via-a-vis Russia and China. Japan is compelled to follow the dictates of the US in the realm of foreign policy. Thus, foreign policy co relationship between development and independence is indefinite and uncertain.

In general, developed states have more active foreign policy than developing states. The former, due to their superior resources, can afford to be more involved in external issues. However, sometimes even developing states, follow active foreign policies to the extent of intervening in other countries, directly or indirectly e.g. Sukarno’s Indonesia, Nasser’s Egypt, Gaddafi’s Libya, Saddam’s Iraq etc.

11. **National and Military Capacity:**

It includes the military preparedness of a state, its technological advancement and modem means of communication. The economic development and enlightened political institutions are also associated with the national capacity. States with adequate military capacity will have greater initiative and bargaining power in foreign policy matters. Only those states have adopted aggressive postures who feel themselves militarily strong.

National capacity determines as well as executes foreign policy effectively. If the state increases its national capacity, its foreign policy will need a big change. It will strive to attain a position of distinction in international relations, if it decreases, the state will have to compromise with its poor status For example, at the, end of the Second World War Britain became a less powerful state. Change in its national capacity had considerably changed British foreign policy. The change in the US foreign policy after the war was owing to the tremendous rate of economic growth and military success in the war that encouraged it to pursue a policy of involvement instead of isolation.

12. **Ideology:**

There has been a great debate on whether ideology persecutes as a determinant of foreign policy. Some scholars say that democratic nations believe in peace while dictation regimes believe in war, But reality falsifies this hypothesis. America and Britain, by no means, are less wan prone than Russia and China. At times a leader makes the use of ideology merely to justify his policy or behavior in familiar terms which is acceptable to his countrymen. But on the other occasions a nation goes to war not for national security but only to compel others to subscribe to its ideology. An objective view on this matter is that ideology alone is not a policy goal This is proved by the fact that nations professing Opposite ideologies live in peace with each other for a number of years. However, there is another side of the picture. Foreign policy of the Soviet Union cannot be fully explained if one ignores the ideology of communism. World revolution remained one of the chief objectives of the USSR’s foreign policy for many years. Russian expansion after 1945 aimed at establishing of communism as much as her political domination.

However, the role of ideology as a determinant of foreign policy should not be over emphasized. Often ideologies are used simply to obscure the real facts of a situation or real motives of ambitious rulers. Sometimes governments stand for certain ideas only to command popular support at home and preferably abroad also. The foreign policy of India and many other countries despite ideological overtones cannot be explained except in terms of national interests. In short, it can be said that ideologies do not fully determine foreign policy objectives although they influence to some extent their directions.

After 1986, end detente has once again returned and Super Powers like the USA and the USSR came closer. People have again started talking of the end of ideology. Even ex President Gorbachev had stressed the need for de idealization of international relations. He is also of the opinion that nations with Opposite ideological systems should not merely co-exist peacefully but should move further in the domain of constructive cooperation. Ideological camps or blocks which emerged after the Second World War have almost disappeared now. No country is interested in ideological rigidities. All these recent developments have further lowered the role of ideology in the formulation of foreign policy.

13. **Public Opinion:**

Specially in democratic countries public opinion cannot be ignored as one of the determinants of foreign policy. It is often vague, volatile, amenable to quick changes and difficult to mobilize. But once on a particular problem public opinion is mobilized and expressed in clear terms, it becomes difficult for the government to overlook it while taking decision on the issue in question. It was the force of the public Opinion in the United States politics, that compelled the government to order withdrawal of the American forces from the South Vietnam. Likewise, it was also under the pressure of public opinion that Krishna Menon had to resign in 1962 after the Chinese aggression. Thus generally public Opinion acts as a determinant in shaping the foreign policy of a nation.

14. **Decision-Makers:**

The attitude of policy and decision makers is also carried weight. Leadership determines the strength and the direction of a foreign policy. The role that a country performs at a particular time, and the foreign policy that will be pursued, are outcome of the qualities of those who are in the position to make decisions. How decision-makers perceive national interest and their image of the external and global environment has much to do with the making of foreign policy as final decision regarding foreign matters lies in their hands. In fact, policy decisions in external matters can never be separated from the psychological traits, the personality or the predisposition of the leaders. They, and not the abstract state or organization take the most crucial decision concerning foreign policy.

15. **Domestic Instability:**

Sometimes domestic instability also works as a determinant of foreign policy. Quincy Wright, an eminent scholar of international politics as well as war has observed that a ruler prevents sedition by making external war. It is a common saying in India that Pakistan has been continuously following an aggressive and hostile attitude towards India as it has never been able to deal with numerous internal issues challenging its very legitimacy and existence. Some Pakistani also allege the same thing about New Delhi. Many people suspected that the nuclear explosion of 1974 by India was primarily meant to divert the attention of Indians from domestic difficulties and enhance the image of Mrs. Gandhi who was then fishing in troubled water at home.

The opponents of President Nixon criticized that in October 1973 he over emphasized Russian threat in Middle East and resorted to nuclear alert because he wanted to escape from the Watergate which was about to dethrone him. Thus it is the insecurity of the ruling elites often projected or taken as domestic instability that moulds the foreign policy on several occasions.

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16. **International Organizations**:

These include international law, the U.N.O., and its activities, UNESCO, I.L.O, W.H.O., I.M.F., etc. The nations cannot completely ignore international law, treaties and contracts so that their violations may not put in danger the policies. Almost all countries are also members of the U. N O. Its decisions and activities effect the foreign policy of many nations. The Communist China for a long time ignored international organizations and consequently could not secure its due position in the sphere of international relations. In 1971 she became a member of U.N.O. and this fact caused several shifts in China’s foreign policy.

17. **World Public Opinion:**

World public Opinion provides dynamism to external environment. It is always changing. It is very difficult to know it unless it becomes very clear and organized. Like a flicker of light it influences the foreign policy rarely. The characteristic of consistency is absolutely absent in it. Only if domestic public opinion of many countries combines it becomes an effective world public opinion. Then it also serves as a determinant of foreign policy No country howsoever powerful can go ever challenging world public Opinion

18. **Reaction of other States:**

The states cannot always neglect the viewpoint of other states while making their foreign policies. Moreover, every state has some friendly nations or allies. Their reaction about a particular policy has to be given special attention States usually never attempt to pursue those interests which are totally Opposed to the fundamental interests of other state it a police ignores the reaction of other states it has little chance to succeed.