

## Introduction to Foreign Policy

- **Definition and Purpose:** Foreign policy is the strategy adopted by sovereign states to engage with other countries through diplomacy, aiming for political, social, economic, and military cooperation. The creation of foreign policies became more prominent with the growth of nation-states and the emergence of the United Nations after decolonization, which enabled countries to interact on a global stage.
- **Key Factors:**
  - **Role of Diplomacy:** Diplomacy protects a country's sovereignty, ensures security, and promotes peace through negotiations and international cooperation.
  - **Globalization's Impact:** As the world becomes more connected, foreign policy is influenced by global institutions (like the UN) and multinational corporations.
- **Necessity of Foreign Policy:** Countries need foreign policies to navigate international relations, avoid isolation, and ensure their interests are pursued and protected in a globally connected world.

## Theoretical Perspectives on Foreign Policy

- **Realist View:** Realism emphasizes that foreign policy is shaped by national interests, primarily focusing on security and power. Scholars like Kenneth Waltz and classical realists argue that public opinion has a limited role in foreign policy, which is more concerned with the strategic needs of the state.
- **Constructivist and Moral Views:** These theories stress the importance of ethics, values, and human rights in foreign policy. They propose that foreign policy can not only pursue state interests but also promote global ethical standards, like human rights.

## Determinants of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is influenced by both **internal** and **external** factors:

1. **Internal Factors:**
  - **Geographical Factors:** The location, size, and natural resources of a country influence its strategic interests and foreign policy priorities.
  - **Historical and Cultural Factors:** A nation's history, culture, and social structure shape its approach to international relations.

- **Economic Factors:** A country's economic strength, including its industrial base, trade interests, and technological advancements, significantly affect its foreign policy.
- **National Capability:** Military and defense strength is a critical determinant in shaping foreign policy.
- **Leadership:** The personal vision, ideology, and diplomatic approach of national leaders play a key role in determining a country's foreign policy direction.

## 2. External Factors:

- **International System:** The existing international order, the structure of alliances, and global power dynamics impact foreign policy decisions.
- **Global Institutions:** Participation in international organizations like the UN, WTO, and IMF provides a framework for foreign policy decisions.
- **Public Opinion and Perception:** Public sentiment, both domestic and international, can influence foreign policy, especially in democracies.
- **Human Rights and Global Ethics:** Increasingly, international human rights standards influence foreign policy, with some countries using foreign policy to promote these values abroad.

## Objectives of Foreign Policy

The primary objectives of foreign policy are:

- **Protecting Sovereignty and National Interests:** Ensuring the security and integrity of the country is the foremost goal.
- **Promoting Economic and Technological Cooperation:** Strengthening economic ties and securing trade benefits are essential aspects.
- **Enhancing Diplomatic Relations:** Countries aim to foster positive diplomatic relationships to ensure political stability and collaboration on global issues like climate change, peace, and development.
- **Ensuring Global Stability and Security:** A key goal is contributing to global peace and security through cooperation with other states and participation in international organizations.

## Decision-Making in Foreign Policy

- **Complex Process:** Decision-making in foreign policy is not only a state-driven action but involves coalitions, multiple stakeholders, and often competing interests. It is a mechanical system aimed at achieving legitimacy.
- **Ethical Considerations:** Foreign policy decision-making is not devoid of ethics. Leaders must balance state interests with moral obligations like human rights, peace, and global welfare.

## Human Rights and Foreign Policy

- **Integration of Human Rights:** The promotion and protection of human rights have become integral to many nations' foreign policies, influencing decisions on international interventions, diplomacy, and trade relations.
- **Challenges:** While countries advocate human rights internationally, there are inconsistencies, and the use of human rights rhetoric sometimes serves political or economic agendas.

## Neoclassical Realism in Foreign Policy

- Neoclassical realism combines the insights of classical realism (which focuses on state interests) with a broader understanding of how domestic politics, leadership, and societal influences shape foreign policy decisions.

## Ethical Foreign Policy

- **Pragmatism and Ethics:** Ethical foreign policy involves reflecting on national actions in the global context, ensuring that policies align with broader moral standards. Ethical concerns are increasingly at the forefront of foreign policy considerations, especially in democracies.

## Conclusion

Foreign policy is shaped by a complex interaction of internal and external factors, including geography, leadership, economic capability, international institutions, and ethical considerations. It is a dynamic process that requires balancing national interests with global cooperation. Ultimately, foreign policy is directed toward securing sovereignty, promoting national development, and contributing to global peace and stability.

## 1. Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Pakistan's foreign policy, like that of any country, has been shaped by several key factors:

- **National Interests:** The core elements guiding Pakistan's foreign policy include the preservation of its territorial integrity, the protection of its Islamic identity, and economic development. Security concerns, especially related to India, dominate

these national interests. Early leaders like Liaquat Ali Khan and Ayub Khan emphasized these objectives.

- **Geopolitical Realities:** Pakistan is geographically situated between powerful countries, such as India, China, and the Soviet Union, and shares borders with contentious regions like Afghanistan. This positioning has forced Pakistan to adopt a strategy of seeking alliances to counterbalance threats, especially from India.
- **Domestic Pressures:** Political instability, military dominance, and regional disparities between East and West Pakistan also influenced foreign policy decisions. The military, especially under Ayub Khan, played a significant role in shaping foreign policy.
- **Dreams and Ideals:** Pakistan's foreign policy makers harbored aspirations of creating a model Islamic state and fostering unity among Muslim nations. This vision also extended to playing a prominent role in the Muslim world. □
- **Leaders' Personalities:** The contrasting leadership styles of figures like Ayub Khan (pragmatic and cautious) and Z.A. Bhutto (dynamic and ambitious) also left distinct imprints on Pakistan's foreign relations.

## 2. Phases of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

### *a. 1947-1952: Neutrality and Search for Allies*

- **Initial Goals:** In the immediate aftermath of its creation, Pakistan sought international recognition and security guarantees. Pakistan hoped to build alliances with Muslim nations and sought support from Britain, from whom it had inherited much of its administrative and military structures.
- **Islamic Bloc:** Pakistan attempted to form a bloc of Muslim countries by hosting conferences, such as the Muslim World Conference in 1949, to promote unity and support against India. However, this effort largely failed as Muslim nations were hesitant to back Pakistan against India due to India's larger influence and stability. □
- **Disillusionment:** Pakistan became disillusioned with the lack of support from Muslim countries and Britain. The Commonwealth did not assist Pakistan in its disputes with India, particularly over Kashmir, which left Pakistan feeling isolated on the international stage.

### *b. 1953-1961: Alignment with the West*

- **Alliance with the U.S.:** Facing economic and security challenges, and disappointed with British and Muslim nations, Pakistan turned toward the United States for military and economic aid. This period saw Pakistan join U.S.-led military pacts like SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) and CENTO

(Central Treaty Organization). Pakistan received significant military and economic aid in return for supporting the West in the Cold War context.

- **Western Military Pacts:** Pakistan's alignment with the U.S. was solidified through the signing of the **Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement in 1954 and joining the Baghdad Pact (later CENTO) in 1955**. These alliances were primarily aimed at countering the perceived **threat from the Soviet Union and Communist China**, but also provided Pakistan with military aid to strengthen its defense against India.
- **U.S. Aid:** By 1963, Pakistan had received over **\$1 billion in military aid and \$1.5 billion in economic assistance from the United States**. This made Pakistan one of the most allied nations in Asia, despite its proximity to communist nations.

### *c. 1962 Onwards: Realignment and Sino-Pakistani Friendship*

- **Disenchantment with the West:** The turning point came after the **Sino-Indian War of 1962**. The U.S. provided military aid to India during the war, which deeply upset Pakistan. Pakistan had hoped that its alliance with the U.S. would lead to American support against India, especially over Kashmir. However, U.S. support for India during the conflict was seen as a betrayal.
- **Shift Towards China:** As Pakistan's frustration with the West grew, it started to cultivate **closer ties with Communist China**. In 1963, Pakistan and China signed a border agreement, and by 1964, China began **openly supporting Pakistan's position on Kashmir**. Pakistan and China also cooperated economically, with China supplying military equipment to Pakistan. This period marked a strategic realignment where China became Pakistan's key ally against India.
- **Soviet Engagement:** In the mid-1960s, Pakistan also improved relations with the Soviet Union, particularly after the **Tashkent Agreement in 1966**, which was brokered by the Soviet Union following the 1965 Indo-Pakistani War. The Soviet Union began providing economic and military aid to Pakistan, and by the late 1960s, relations between the two countries had warmed significantly.
- **Three Major Powers:** By the mid-1960s, Pakistan had successfully built relationships with the **three major powers—the U.S., Soviet Union, and China**. President Ayub Khan described this phase as creating **"bilateral equations"** with each power, ensuring that Pakistan could benefit from each relationship without fully aligning with any one bloc.

### **3. Key Conflicts Influencing Policy**

- **India and Kashmir:** The primary factor driving Pakistan's foreign policy has been its hostile relations with India, particularly over the disputed region of

Kashmir. Pakistan sees India as an existential threat, and much of its foreign policy revolves around finding allies to counter India's influence.

- **Afghanistan:** Relations with Afghanistan have been strained due to Afghan claims on Pakistan's territory in the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Afghanistan also supported the idea of an independent "Pashtunistan" for the Pashtun tribes living in Pakistan, which further complicated relations.

#### 4. Pakistan's Evolving Strategy

- **Muslim World:** Despite its early setbacks in forming an Islamic bloc, Pakistan continued to advocate for unity among Muslim nations. This was partly motivated by the desire to garner support in its disputes with India, but also reflected Pakistan's ideological commitment to Islamic solidarity.

#### 5. Conclusion

Pakistan's foreign policy from 1947 to the 1960s was marked by pragmatism and adaptability in the face of changing geopolitical circumstances. Its early attempts to align with Muslim nations and Britain were largely unsuccessful, leading Pakistan to turn to the United States for military and economic support. However, as Pakistan became disillusioned with the West, particularly after the U.S. supported India, it shifted towards China and later engaged the Soviet Union as well. By maintaining relationships with all three major powers—U.S., Soviet Union, and China—Pakistan was able to secure significant military and economic aid, strengthening its position in the region, especially in relation to India.

#### Key Themes Across the PDFs:

##### 1. Security and Territorial Integrity:

National security, especially regarding India and Afghanistan, is a major concern for Pakistan's foreign policy.

##### 2. Strategic Alliances:

Pakistan forms alliances with global powers like the U.S. and China to balance regional threats and enhance its security.

##### 3. Economic Development:

Foreign aid, trade agreements, and economic partnerships play a big role in Pakistan's foreign policy.

##### 4. Regional Conflicts:

Issues like the Kashmir conflict and the Afghanistan-Pakistan border dispute strongly influence Pakistan's foreign policy.

## 5. Global Power Dynamics:

The Cold War, the rise of China, and post-9/11 changes have shaped Pakistan's foreign relations.

## Bilateral Relations of Pakistan

### 1. India:

- Relations between India and Pakistan have been marked by conflict, primarily over Jammu and Kashmir. Three major wars (1948, 1965, 1971) and the Kargil conflict (1999) were fought over this region.
- Key events:
  - **1948:** The UN intervened to call for a ceasefire in Kashmir, and a plebiscite was promised but never conducted.
  - **1965:** Pakistan and India clashed over Kashmir, leading to a ceasefire brokered by the UN and the Tashkent Declaration.
  - **1971:** A civil war in East Pakistan led to India's intervention, culminating in the creation of Bangladesh.
  - **Nuclear Rivalry:** India's nuclear test in 1974 sparked Pakistan's development of nuclear weapons, leading to increased tension.
  - **1999 Kargil Conflict:** Pakistani forces occupied positions in Kashmir, nearly causing a full-scale war. International pressure led to Pakistan withdrawing.
  - Since 2001, relations have fluctuated between tension and dialogue, with brief improvements in trade and diplomatic engagement.

1993 pak test

### 2. Afghanistan:

- Historically close due to cultural and ethnic ties, but marred by conflicts over the Durand Line, the Soviet-Afghan war, and Taliban support.
- Afghanistan has long sought an independent Pashtun state (Pashtunistan) within Pakistan, leading to strained relations. During the Soviet invasion, Pakistan played a crucial role in supporting the Mujahideen.
- Pakistan's involvement in the Taliban insurgency and the US-led War on Terror continues to complicate relations with post-Taliban Afghan governments.

### 3. China:

- Pakistan and China have maintained strong strategic ties since 1951. Their alliance strengthened after China's 1962 war with India, leading to the signing of a boundary agreement between Pakistan and China in 1963.



- China is a key military and economic partner, providing defense equipment and infrastructure support, including energy projects and trade agreements. The relationship has deepened, with China playing a significant role in Pakistan's development, especially in defense cooperation.
4. **Iran:**
- Relations were strong during the Iranian monarchy, with shared membership in CENTO and RCD (later ECO). However, the Iranian Revolution and sectarian differences, particularly Pakistan's support for the Taliban, strained ties.
  - Despite periodic tension, Pakistan and Iran maintain cooperation in energy projects, such as the Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline.
5. **United States:**
- The US and Pakistan have had a volatile relationship, characterized by periods of close cooperation, especially during the Cold War and the War on Terror, and episodes of mistrust.
  - US-Pakistan relations strengthened during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan when Pakistan supported the Mujahideen. Aid fluctuated based on Pakistan's nuclear program, with sanctions imposed under the Pressler Amendment in 1990. Relations improved post-9/11, with Pakistan designated a major non-NATO ally.
6. **Russia:**
- Relations between Pakistan and Russia have historically been less cooperative, primarily due to Pakistan's alignment with the US and its support for the Mujahideen during the Soviet-Afghan war. However, in recent years, Pakistan has sought to strengthen ties with Russia, particularly in the economic sector.
7. **Turkey:**
- Turkey and Pakistan have traditionally had strong relations, sharing deep cultural, military, and economic ties. Both countries have cooperated in various international platforms, including CENTO and ECO. Turkey has supported Pakistan's stance on Kashmir, while Pakistan has reciprocated on issues like Northern Cyprus.

## Regional and International Organizations

### 1. SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation):

- Founded in 1985, SAARC aims to promote economic, cultural, and technological cooperation among South Asian countries. Pakistan has been a key member, although tensions with India have often hindered SAARC's effectiveness.



2. **ECO** (Economic Cooperation Organization):
  - Established in 1985, succeeding the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), the ECO promotes scientific, cultural, and economic cooperation among member states, including Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey.
3. **OIC** (Organization of Islamic Cooperation):
  - Pakistan is a founding member of the OIC, established to promote Islamic solidarity and cooperation. Pakistan has used the OIC as a platform to gather support for its stance on Kashmir, consistently blocking India's entry despite its large Muslim population.
4. **UN** (United Nations):
  - Pakistan joined the UN in 1947, with Kashmir being the oldest unresolved dispute on the UN's agenda. Pakistan has been actively involved in UN peacekeeping missions and has also worked with UN agencies like UNHCR to manage refugees from Afghanistan.

## Regional Diplomacy

Pakistan has participated in several military and economic alliances, including:

- **CENTO (Central Treaty Organization)** and **SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization)** during the Cold War, both aimed at containing Soviet influence. □
- SAARC, ECO, and OIC** to strengthen regional cooperation.

## Nuclear Policy

Pakistan's nuclear program developed in response to India's nuclear advancements, with the first tests conducted in 1998. Pakistan's nuclear weapons are a key part of its security strategy, especially in the context of its rivalry with India.