



## Nexus Between Foreign Policy and Institutional Functions: The Case of Pakistan

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### ABSTRACT

Foreign policy is the program that structures how a state maintains its relations with other states in international society. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century globalized world, the implication of foreign policy of a state for its survival and well-being has increased many folds. Since foreign policy is made and executed by certain state institutions, it has a direct bearing on internal and external functions of the state. This article attempts to elaborate the nexus between foreign policy and the functions of state institutions. Building on a descriptive and analytical methodology, this article suggests that there is a direct link between institutional functioning and the formulation and execution of foreign policy, that is, the weaknesses and strengths in one realm affect the effectiveness of the other. It is therefore recommended here that governments must strengthen domestic institutional structures and should contribute to the formation of a strong institutional culture in order to safeguard their foreign policy objectives.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Foreign policy determines the degree of interstate relationship in the present day world. In the post-cold war era the role of foreign policy has increased many fold for the reason that the end of cold war has transformed the global power structure. Priorities of nations have changed and states are under continuous pressure to adjust themselves into the realities of the times. Foreign policy objectives have gained importance for the reason that most of the states pursue their objectives of national security and interests through diplomatic means rather than the traditional security mechanism which involved the use of hard power and the use of proxy wars. The realist approach based on global power structure explained by the theory of realism and neo-realism is being challenged on the grounds of the soft power approach and the shift of traditional security to non-traditional security areas of growth and development, climate, economy, migrations, immigrations, food security and eradication of poverty. This shift in global trends has shifted the focus of foreign policy formulations and objectives from traditional to non-traditional approach. Consequently the institutions of which has a role in the foreign policy formulation have also been affected. There is direct nexus between the institutions who perform the functions of national security and interests. It is through these institutions of governance that foreign policies are framed and are executed.

This study is an endeavor to highlight impact of foreign policy on the functions of institutions which are assigned the task of protecting national security and interests. The scope of this impact extends into international as well as national institutions because foreign policy is a product of both internal and external factors. The role of domestic institutions lies in the internal factors while that of the international institutions lies within the external factors. The methodology adopted is that of content analysis and review of research works available on the subject the technique applied for analysis is that of meta-analysis where conclusion drawn are based on extracting meanings from already existing literature. The aim of the study is to highlight the reciprocal role of foreign policy and institutions in supplementing each other in the process of formulation and execution of foreign policy. The hypothesis on which the study is based is that there is a reciprocal relationship between foreign policy and institutional functions of a states and both supplement each other in the achievement of foreign policy objectives. The more supportive these two are of each other the more effectively they will fulfill their purpose of national security and interests.

The article is divided into sections each section giving details of the nexus between foreign policy and institutional functions. The first section will cover the conceptualization of foreign policy. This will highlight the concept of foreign policy its brief historical background. How the foreign policy process has evolved over time and how different foreign policy approaches are adopted by states in the light of the theories International relations of realism, liberalism, neo-realism and neoliberalism. The second section cater to the case study of Pakistan and will be based on the nexus between Pakistan institutions and its foreign policy. The nature of foreign policy adopted by Pakistan will be discussed in the context of international relations theories. Third section is based on the

outcome of the study and the findings towards the fact whether the findings support the hypothesis or not. This will be followed by policy recommendations for Pakistani decision makers as to what should their course of action in adopting a foreign policy fully supported by its institutions and securing its national interests and security.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Conceptualization of Foreign Policy*

Since the present study is about the nexus between foreign policy and institutional functions hence it is imperative that the topic is conceptualized and then move ahead with the topic. Foreign policy primarily emerged from the emergency of foreign ministries in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Although the practice of sending envoys and ambassadors to other countries with mission statements from the home governments is an ancient practice. But the formal shape that it took in an institutionalized manner was the outcome of the creation of foreign ministries (Neumann, 2015). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century global politics which saw the growth in size and proliferation of international organizations has added new dimensions to foreign policy making . The concept of foreign policy starts from deciphering the word itself, that is, “foreign and policy”. The word foreign denotes something outside the physical and legal boundaries of a state and the word policy in its broader sense denotes the intention of a state or government to do or not to do a certain act regarding a public matter. Foreign policy is then any policy initiative outside the physical boundaries of a state which is meant for regulating its relations with other states. (Neumann, 2015)

Foreign policy is considered a social phenomenon which born out of the emergence of foreign ministries (Neumann, 2015). The birth of foreign ministries led to the institutionalization of the foreign policy. Foreign policy making was formalized and professionalized in the sense that formal staff trained in foreign policy making and aware of the role of foreign policy in securing national interests was assigned the task of foreign policy making. Historically the process of policy formulation at the state level was characterized as foreign or domestic after the Napoleonic wars (Neumann, 2015). The European states formalized foreign policy formulation , by creating the offices of the diplomatic corps, consular corps and foreign ministries which was collectively given the name of the foreign office. Hence the institution of the foreign office was created for the purpose of formulation, and executing of foreign policy catering to the needs of securing national interests and security.

The discourse of foreign policy implications on institutional<sup>i</sup> function and the determination of foreign policy objectives, affecting state relationships, for reasons like trade, military alliances, economic interests etc., are all important parts<sup>ii</sup> of foreign policy discipline. Foreign policy can be formally defined against the backdrop of its conceptual rise in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Once, defined the discourse can be taken further. The term foreign policy has been defined by many scholars, keeping in view the different aspects of the discipline as a whole.

The difficulty of definition has been expressed by scholars like Charles Hermann, where he calls foreign policy a “neglected concept”, further adding

that this neglect has remained the most serious barrier to providing more adequate and comprehensive explanation of foreign policy. He believed according to Bojang, that the reasons for this neglect is that most of the people dealing with the subject have felt confident that they knew what foreign policy was. (Bojang, 2017). While according to George Modelski, foreign policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment (Modelski, 1962). Foreign policy must throw light on the ways states attempt to change, and succeeded in changing the behavior of other states. According to Joseph Frankel, "foreign policy consists of decisions and actions which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others" (Valerrie, 2006). While Padelford and Lincoln say, "A state's foreign Policy is the totality of its dealings with the external environment. Foreign policy is the overall result of the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into specific courses of action in order to achieve its objectives and preserve its interests." (Lincoln, 1963) Another scholar Huge Gibson defined it as a well-rounded comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nations. This call for a clear understanding of what those interest are and how far we hope to go with the means of our disposal. Anything less than this, will fall short of being a foreign policy. (Modelski, 1962)

Judged in the light of the different definitions by the scholars, it can be deduced that foreign policy of nation is infact the combination of rules and factors that govern the relationships of sovereign state with each other in the international arena. The nature of the world as a whole is such that nature has not created every nation as self-sufficient in every aspect. No matter how strong a sate maybe in terms of its politics , economy , geography, natural and human resources and technological advancements etc but still there are sectors in which she will need cooperation from many times, weaker states than her. This called as the principles of comparative advantage, that remains at work at all levels from individuals to states. This compels the states to coordinate and cooperate with each other. Foreign policy is the domain that provides the platform for formulation of all such rules and regulations that governs the interaction of states for the fulfillment of their needs and preservation of their sovereignty and respect among the comity of nations. This is a world of interdependence there is a level of dependency of one nation upon the other. Hence, no nation can afford to remain in isolation. This necessitates the framing of foreign policy as a compulsory state activity. As Lenin the founder of Soviet Russia has remarked that, the state is not an isolated island but a member of a society of states, participation in which is inescapable. (Jasmine, 2020).

Hence foreign policy makes possible the conduct of business of foreign relations between the states of the world. Foreign policy enables the states to protect their interests and safe guard their borders among the international community. Given this definition it becomes clear that foreign policy is not a uni-dimensional set of rules or conduct. It is infact a comprehensive code of conduct

which is formulated in the light of the social norms of nation. This includes, the economy, politics, geography, and even culture and religion. Foreign policy must be framed in way so that it may enable a nation to defend both its geographical and ideological frontiers. State institutions are based on these principles and the autonomy of a state is preserved through the effective formulation of a strong foreign policy which encompasses those institutes into its fold.

### ***Objectives of Foreign Policy***

Foreign policy is framed and followed in pursuit of certain objectives. These are called as the foreign policy objectives. Objectives of foreign policy may range in scope from building up of socio-economic relationships to military and strategic alliances with other nations. Although there are numerous foreign policy objectives and these differ from nation to nation but some are commonly pursued in the foreign policy framework. These include certain core values and interests like national security, safeguarding geographic and territorial boundaries, ideological goals, political independence and sovereignty and economic prosperity of a nation. Foreign policy objectives are a culmination of ends and means. The ends are the national interests of a nation and the means are the capabilities and political influence and power of a nation through which the ends are achieved. Diplomacy is the process of putting into use these means. Foreign policy objectives are also classified in terms of short, middle and long range objectives. Short range objectives are comprised of political and territorial integrity and independence. A state is always concerned about the safeguarding of its geographical boundaries and the prestige that it enjoys in the community of nation which is known as political integrity. Political independence of a nation allows a nation to have enough influence in over its fellow nations in the arena of international politics where it can implement its foreign policy effectively and can achieve its objectives of foreign policy to its benefits.

Foreign policy is also directly affected by the domestic policies of a country. Foreign policy can never be formulated in isolation of domestic policy. As stated by the German statesman Bismark, foreign policy is an extension of the domestic policy (Laura, 2008) . Both are interrelated and a change in one will always bring a reactive change in the other. If foreign policy is affected by domestic policy, domestic policy too is affected by the foreign policy. There is always a cause and effect relationship between the two. In a world where there is no central authority to guarantee and regulate interstate relationship where conflict and the chances of going into war are minimized if not eliminated altogether. Scholars of international relations and political science has theorized the interstate relationships in the light of different determining factors which may lead to a particular response on part of a state in order to ensure its survival and security.

The theories which provides a baseline for adopting particular foreign policy approaches includes the Realism, Neo-Realism, Liberalism along with many other offshoot theories that have been proposed in order to explain emerging trends in global politics and the response that it necessitates on part of states. From the point of view of foreign policy the major big powers like the

United States and the former Soviet Union (the USSR) have base their foreign policies on the principles of realism. But it is not something fix, a state may choose to adopt multi- theories approach , that is , in some matters it there may be a realist approach while in some there may be a liberal approach (Huxsoll, 2003). The choice always lies with the smaller nations which had aligned themselves to either the USSR or the United States for security reasons or other, have based their foreign policies either on the principle of realism , liberalism or other International relations theories. International relations theories provide a theoretical base for foreign policy formulation which is the first step in adopting a particular course of action for defining the role that a nation wants to play in global politics. A brief explanation of these theories is required.

### ***Realism***

In the post WW-II era the US emerged as a major power on the map of the world, while Russia the former Union of socialist Republics (the USSR) based on the ideology of Marxism emerged as a major power on the basis of its military might and its strong ideological base emerged as a super power. The US led west was abused on the principle of capitalist economy, free market structure and free trade mechanism. While the USSR led block was based on the principle of controlled and centralized economy where state decided all the economic matters. A rivalry based on ideological grounds but pursued on the basis of their military, might was started which remained in action till the demise of the Soviet Union in the early nineties. During this phase of rivalry the realist approach remained pervasive in foreign policies of both major powers and its satellite states (Kissinger H. , 1975).

The theory of realism is based upon the principle selfishness in human nature. The protagonists of realism base their statement on the grounds of human nature and apply the same to interstate relationships on the arena of global politics. Realists argue that international power structure is anarchic which characterized by the prevalence of “power struggle” wherein power is pursued as means to secure safety and survival. (Huxsoll, 2003). The principle of American foreign policy which states that there are no permanent foes and friends in international politics rather there are always permanent interests, is a realist approach in keeping world leadership to itself and furthering its foreign policy goals of extending its influence. Realists argue that since all state operate in the same anarchical system hence every state will pursue its foreign policy objective in the same way, that is, securing their national security as the primary objective. Smaller states called as the satellites states in the cold war era have to align themselves with the major powers of the world mostly the US and former USSR also base their argument foreign on the principles of realism. The main objective is securing their national interests. Given this scenario national institutions have to exercise this principle at the functional level and had devised a foreign policy based on such principles.

### ***Liberalism***

The theory of Liberalism is based on the optimism of its originators who state that international power is not necessarily power struggle and states are not

at war with each nor are they likely to be at war with each other in future because the democracy and institutional roles will defuse any pressure that may lead to war. Liberalism is a search for a new peaceful world order (Huqing, 2006). Liberalists emphasize on individual's right to freedom, life and property. Liberalism focus on the protection of individual rights and defines the utmost duty of state to protect these rights but at the same time does not allow extra powers to the state on the basis of which the state may intervene in the individual matters of citizens. For this it proposes efficient check on the hegemonic intentions of state. This can be done by emplacing institutions between the citizens and the state , which may serves as check on the government. The role of institutions gets importance at this stage (Huqing, 2006).

Since liberalist believe that sates will not opt for war on the basis of being democratic, and their intention to remain friendly with each other by entering into trade and commerce. Similarly the birth of international institutions like the United Nations (UN), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, regional institutions like the European union(EU), etc will provide a platform for resolution of conflicts thus wars will be avoided. All these aspect of liberalism have been covered by the theories of Democratic Peace, Commercial Liberalism and Institutional liberalism. The institutions of foreign policy formulations have to keep all these factors in focus as they determine their foreign policy objectives. Entering into treaties, establishment of bilateral relations, playing its role on the forums of international organizations for ensuring the national security and causes are performed by national institutions which include civil and military bureaucracies, central banks , ministries and parliament.

### *Constructivism*

The theory of constructivism is based on social facts like sovereignty and rights and it believes on the effectiveness of discourse in these matters. This theory is based on ideational factor which are shared by all humans by virtue of being humans (). Constructivism has allowed policy makers to benefit from it on the basis of its universality. This brings into contact human beings and involves them in a social discourse which will lead to conflict resolutions. It postulates that the elements of anarchy and power struggle are the result of human perceptions Alexander Wandth proves this with famous example of 5 nuclear weapons of North Korea with 500 of nuclear weapons of United Kingdom which the United States perceives as no threat to world peace while, 5 of North Korea is perceived as a threat to world peace (Wendt, 1992). Hence US decision makers formulate their foreign policy objectives in the light of this perception and its institutions see to it that the foreign policy is infact formulated and exercised ads per this perception.

Complex national bureaucracies such as foreign offices have relied heavily on the theory to make foreign policies which aim at protecting and maximizing national interest. Organizations thus tailor their interests with national interests and try to supplement the achievement of the objective securing national interests. Constructivism provides a basis for construction of interests and analysis of the impact that foreign policy exert on the functions of

institutions. Civil and military bureaucracies sometime large complex bureaucracies like the international organizations, international non-governmental organizations (INGO) are impacted by the foreign policy approaches adopted by states in the pursuit of securing their national interests (Keohane, 1998).

### ***Determinants of Foreign Policy***

There are two types of determinants of foreign policy one is, external and the other is internal. Since foreign policy determines the relationship of a state without side world hence there are international determinant these are the external determinants. At the same the domestic factors cannot be ignored during the formulation of foreign policy of a nation these are called as the internal determinants (Smith, 1986). Both have a direct bearing on the foreign policy formulation. Some scholars are of the view that both are independent of each other while some think that both are dependent. There is degree of overlap among the two and both have an impact over each other. However, the degree of impact maybe sometime more form the domestic side , that is, internal determinants , and sometimes for external determinants, that is, international factors. It always depends upon the state of international politics as in which direction it moves and what demands it places upon individual state for security of its interests.

### ***The International Power Structure***

The global politics is a stage where small and big powers interact in pursuit of national interests. This interaction between states results in formulation of foreign policies of the states. The main foreign policy goal is the maintenance of friendly relations between the states. Global political arena is not a static place it is a dynamic environment where change is the norm of the day. Events of international significance occur at a non-stop pace. Some historical events like the rise of the Soviet Russia after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the communist China in 1949, the birth of Pakistan and India in 1947, the collapse of Soviet Russia in 1990s, the end of cold war, the Iranian revolution in 1970s etc. all such events have led to formulation of foreign policies which have allowed the concerned sates to adjust themselves to the new world order each time. The significance of all such events is the shift in the international power structure to which the world states has to respond in order to secure themselves a place on the global political stage. Foreign policies are continually formulated in response to the happening of global events, which necessitates this foreign policy formulation.

The international power structure is most precisely defined by the theory of structural realism of Kenneth waltz, where he proposes that anarchy is infact the absence of a central government which may regulate interstate relationships and which can resolve interstate conflicts. In the absence of such an authority states are compelled to protect their geographic and ideological frontiers alongside with its national interests and security, hence states resort to two types of approaches in order to ensure their survival. These two approaches have been defined by the Defensive Realism of Kenneth Waltz and the Offensive Realism



of Mearshimear. Structural realism basis its postulates on the structure of international power politics which in turn is based on the absence of a universal government having coercive powers in order to regulate global politics.

Waltz assumes that states are unitary actors which at minimum pursue to ensure their survival. This assumption defines states action in the context of power politics, which according to Waltz becomes the "iron law" of international politics and which makes the balance of power as the central and dynamic part of Waltz's defensive realism (Huqing, 2006). As per this assumption states' survival is dependent on the fact that rival states does not grow too powerful. National and International organizations remains cognizant of the fact that states survival is dependent on this fact of international politics and they are required to align their functions to the fulfillment of this objective.

### *International law*

International law is a body of rules that regulates relationships among states. States bounds themselves out of their own will to the observance of this law. It is a body of interstate agreements and treaties. It bounds states into the observance of certain principles. It is in this way that international law regulates the formulation of foreign policies of states. No state can afford to negate the principle of international law in its foreign policy objective. Although international law has very limited sanctions behind that it can impose on its violators and it has no coercive power but still it does impose a moral obligation on states to be cognizant of its requirements while formulating their foreign policies.

### *International Organizations*

International organizations like the United Nations, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other organizations like the organization of Islamic countries (OIC), the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), organization of South Asian countries (SARC), all play important role in the formation of foreign policies of the states. In the post-world war world the international community has resolved to remain in contact with each other on these plat forms and find solution to the problems of global as well as regional political conflicts. No nation can afford to remain disassociated form these organizations rather everyone tries to become a member and also retain membership in order to play an active role in the global politics. Although there are theorists who believe that these organization have little influence in the foreign policy making of nations. For example Mearsheimer argues that international organizations äre basically a reflection of the distribution of power in the world. They are based on the self-interested calculations of the great powers, and they have no independent effect on state behavior (Jasmine, 2020). Despite these academic disagreements the fact remains that international organizations acts as modifiers of foreign policies of nations. They are a strong determinants of foreign policy formulations.

### *Alliances*

In the post 1945 period of new world order alliances have been highly important in the determination of foreign policy initiatives. In the bipolar world where US and the USSR have been engaged in the cold war each one remained busy in winning other states to enter to their camps. The instrument they used was alliances, the WARSAW pact and NATO are an example of such alliances. All the smaller states have to determine their foreign policy priorities in the light of this determinant. Apart from the above stated determinants, Military strategies, culture and history, geography size and population, economic factors all serves as determinants of foreign policy formulation.

### *Institutional Functions and Foreign Policy*

Institutional functions are imperative for formation and execution of foreign policy. Institutional functions are compulsorily affected by foreign policy initiatives of states since institutions are the organized mechanism of formal actions and goal achievements. The utility of institutions is based on the pragmatism of states, as these are used as instruments of convenience across time and across regions (Panquin, 2018). The establishment of bilateral and multi-lateral contacts through treaties and other arrangements like memorandum of understandings (MOUs) and confidence building measures (CBM) across states and regions are formed through the use of institutions. For this purpose institutions are created when needed and are also discarded when no longer needed. Foreign policy decisions are always made within an institutional framework which is based on the decisions makers' preferences and behaviors. The birth of neo-intuitionism in the 1980s has broadened the notion of institutional functions. And it is no more limited to the choices and behaviors of formal bureaucratic structure or to the elected members rather it has been broadened to include all formal rules and practices that governs the social and political life of a nation (Kissinger H. A., 1966). Foreign policy makers adopt theoretical approaches ranging from realism to constructivism which serves as a guide on the impact of institutions on foreign policy and vice versa.

Foreign policy analysis is the discipline where the impact of foreign policy on institutional function is gauged. This is highly important sub discipline of the international relations. It is here that the success and failure of a particular foreign policy adopted by a state is determined. It studies the management of external relations of a nation with the global community. Foreign policy analysis has two basic implications for a state in its process of foreign policy formulation, that is, it determines the role of government institutions in foreign policy making. Secondly the introduction of the element of democracy into foreign policy making, this means, the consideration of national values and public interests, aspiration and expectations of the nations as a whole during the process of foreign policy making. It is at this stage that governmental institutions and civil society institutions in the form of political parties, non-governmental organizations(NGOs) and public opinion interact with each other and conveys to the government the priorities to be taken into account while formulating foreign policy. Foreign policy has a direct relationship with the institutions which are involved in its formulation and execution. In most of the countries the

ministry of foreign affairs does the job of foreign policy formulation and execution. In the United States of America, it is the State department which does the job of foreign policy making.

Apart from these core institutions many other allied institutions play their role in setting the priorities of foreign policy making. This includes the security agencies, like the CIA, the Indian RAW, the Pakistani ISI, and the Russian KGB. These security agencies are at the center of setting the priority security areas which has to be addressed in the foreign policy making. No government can remain oblivious of its security concerns in its foreign policy determination. It is so much important that in case of Pakistan some scholar and security analysts are of the view that had the ISI been in existence at the time of fall of Dhaka, East Pakistan would have never separated from Pakistan (PILDAT, proceedings of foreign policy course.). Foreign policy analysis makes possible the removal of misconceptions that may exist between the actors of foreign policy formulation. The impact of foreign policy on institutional functions can be judged from the fact that both international and domestic institutions of political, economic and security matters are impacted by the foreign policies of nations in all possible ways. These institutions have to be alive and proactive to the demand of foreign policy objectives as emergencies may arise to shift priorities in the light global and regional political; developments. For example the sudden invasion of the Russian forces in Afghanistan in 1970s changed the whole foreign policy paradigm of all the actors. It tasked the whole government and military apparatus of the concerned government from the US to Europe, the Arab world, Pakistan and India to rethink its foreign policy priorities in the light of the development. Similarly the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1990s again required the institutions of foreign policy to adjust itself to the emerging new world order of a multi polar world in the post-soviet era.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This qualitative case study employs an exploratory and analytical approach, relying on a literature review, primary sources, secondary sources, expert interviews, and content analysis to examine the intersection of foreign policy and institutional functions in Pakistan. The study focuses on the executive, legislative, judiciary, bureaucracy, and military institutions, analyzing their roles in shaping diplomacy, security, economic, and cultural dimensions of foreign policy from 1947 to 2024, with a closer look at specific periods like 2001-2008 and 2013-2018. Thematic, discourse, and process tracing analyses will be used to identify patterns, themes, and decision-making processes, ensuring confidentiality, credibility, and ethical considerations.

## **RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### ***Historical Background of Pakistan's Foreign Policy***

Pakistan since its birth in 1947 has adopted the policy of friendship and cooperation among the other world states in general and the neighboring states in particular. Pakistan has publicly given out its foreign policy principle of participation and supporting all causes for the promotion of world peace and

resolution of regional as well as global conflicts through peaceful means. The outlines of Pakistan's foreign policy has been drawn even well before its birth. In the United India during the times of raj, the Indian Muslims would stand with the Muslims all over the world in times of hardships. The Khilafat movement is one example of such feelings. The broader principles of Pakistan's foreign policy were defined since its inception by the Quad-i-Azam (father of the Nation), Muhammad Ali Jinnah, he categorically stated,

“we want friendship with all nations of the world and want no enmity with any” (Isfahani, 1964).

These words of the first governor general of Pakistan very spells out the foundational principle of its foreign policy. The most serious concern of Pakistan from the very being has been the Indian attitude of aggression towards Pakistan but despite the aggressive posture of India Pakistan has adopted a conciliatory approach. MAH Isfahani the first ambassador of Pakistan to the US stated in his speech,

“Pakistan's policy is one of friendship with India and the rest of the world. Pakistan has no territorial ambition.” (Isfahani, 1964).

These words of Mr. Isfahani points towards the lines on which the foreign policy of Pakistan was to be framed. Pakistan from its very inception has based its foreign policy on the principles of friendship, cordiality, and non-intervention, non-aggression and support for the cause of freedom and liberty of all nations. Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan the first Prime minister of Pakistan during his first official visit to the US has also highlighted the basic principles of the future foreign policy of Pakistan in one of his speech to the Common Wealth Club of Chicago, May 16, 1950, he stated, “we have but three aims before us: to preserve our freedom and our Islamic way of life and to resist all aggression aimed at our territorial integrity and our freedom of belief” (Isfahani, 1964). This speech rather spells out the foreign policy objectives that the state of Pakistan will look to pursue in the global politics. The fear of aggression is there, which still looms large on the horizon of Pakistan's foreign policy because of the hegemonic attitude of India. The journey of Pakistan's foreign policy formulation has been within the broader principles stated by the founding father of Pakistan. Given the importance of the institutional framework in which the foreign policy is created the ministry of foreign affairs was immediately established as on August 15, 1947 which was housed in the building called as Mohata Palace in Karachi.

Pakistan's foreign policy with the passage of time grew complex from simple. It initially started from neutrality and gradually became aligned with the western powers by entering into security pacts like the South East Asia treaty organization (SEATO) and the Baghdad Pact (Moskalenko, 1974). But this alignment was more a diktat of circumstances rather than a matter of choice. Because in the cold war era when the world was divided into two major blocks led by the United States and the Soviet Union (USSR) third world countries were compelled by their circumstances of weak economies and security threats had to necessarily join one of the major power block. International politics were dominated by realist approaches (Mustafa, 1979). Pakistan was no exception

rather Pakistan under the threat of a neighbor which has hegemonic intentions was more in need of joining a major block. In this array of choices Pakistan choose to join the western block led by the United States of America (USA). Given this decision Pakistani institutions especially the civil and military bureaucracies had to align their priorities of foreign policy in line with the demands of this decision. This alignment was not only a physical phenomenon but was a choice made between two ideologies, that is, capitalism and communism.

Once in the western block the institutional framework has also to be modified as per the requirements of this particular ideology. The main drivers of capitalist economy are private ownership, free market economy, a thriving private sector where there is no restraint on the extent of profit making, also became the norms of political actions. Pakistani state institutions have to adopt their policies in the light of all these realities. Political realism was the norm of the day and Pakistan like other third world countries could not escape this reality (Mustafa, 1979). The determinants of Pakistan's foreign policy all these decades have been national interests, external environment, domestic pressures, the emotions and beliefs of the policy makers and national traditions. The objectives to be achieved under the dictates of these determinants were mainly seeking friends, gaining recognition and forging ties. (D.C.Jha, 1970) . Foreign policy of Pakistan since then has seen a lot of ups and downs and it has to a larger extent been successful in projecting the soft image of the country in the global politics.

### *Theoretical Base of the Foreign Policy of Pakistan*

Every nation pursues her foreign policy in accordance with the objectives of securing her national interests. The scope of national security ranges for geography, economy to politics and history. But apart from these national interests there is always an underlining objective which may not necessarily be based on rational considerations, this often called as the ruling passion of that nation.() And this may be based on a genuine feeling of love and hatred having religious and material considerations. Jugged against this back drop Pakistan is no exception rather it is more true to have this ruling passion because it has been born in an atmosphere of mistrust and enmity towards it by its many times bigger neighbor, that is, India (Sayeed, 1964).

The most prevailing factor in the foreign policy of Pakistan since its birth is the fear of India. And almost every action of it can be interpreted to be motivated by fear of India (Sayeed, 1964). Given this atmosphere of fear Pakistan has based its foreign policy objectives on countering its security threat by aligning itself with the west, this alignment is based on the principle of realism in general and more particularly on the principle of Ne-Realism in particular. Given this element of fear Pakistan's strategy on the national front has been the overarching concern of survival. The struggle for survival as an independent and sovereign state has necessitated its foreign policy objectives to be focused on three main areas: insulation of Pakistan from external intrigues in the domestic affairs of Pakistan; arming Pakistan to the extent that its military strength can serve as an effective deterrent to military invasions; generation of funds to meet

the above cited two requirements and also enabling Pakistan to develop socially and economically (Husian, 1977).

Pakistan foreign policy is primarily based on the principles of defensive realism of Kenneth Waltz, which seeks to explain international relations on the basis of the structural pressures induced by anarchy (Adnan, 2013). While the point of how much power a state may have to survive, is debatable among the Structural Realists but Defensive Realists agree on one common point that states should have adequate power necessary for them to thrive (Huqing, 2006). Pakistan's foreign policy makers cognizant of the security threat of Pakistan have adopted a rational approach in devising its foreign policy. Their evaluation of the ground realities and the available incentives that a particular theory can bring in, they have adopted a policy approach best suited to national objectives of security and its socio-economic development as well. Judged against the circumstances in which Pakistan have to ensure its survival as well as development and unable to escape the dictates of power politics of the time Pakistani decision makers have realistically chosen defensive realism as the pivot of its foreign policy framework (Agnieszka, 2016).

### ***The Role of Institutions in Foreign Policy***

The role of national institutions is fundamental in foreign policy formulation. The process of foreign policy is an endless dialogue between continuity and change (Adnan, 2013). This continuity and change is effected and affected by domestic constraints as well external constraints resulting from the fall out of international politics. International environment are always intractable and this intractability poses a challenge to decision makers. Decision makers have to overcome these challenges and at same time ensure the security of national interests. Decision makers do not interact in a vacuum they are always part of institutions through which they act collectively to work for national causes. In the context of Pakistan's foreign policy there institutions have high importance, that is, the military, the civil bureaucracy, and the parliament. In this troika of institutions military's role is important as the basic determinant in Pakistan foreign policy is the handling of the security threats which is India centric. Since defense is the direct responsibility of the military hence its role remains instrumental. Second is the civil bureaucracy, this performs its job through the foreign services personnel of the Pakistan foreign services cadre of civil services of Pakistan. Third is the parliament which is the legislative body and which acts as the third organ of the state. Apart from these there is the academia, technocrats, and experts who have an advisory role who largely submit their opinion through print and electronic media and who deliberate on issue foreign relations by sharing their knowledge through conferences, publications of books and research articles etc.

The role of military in Pakistani politics in general and the foreign policy in particular is enduring and dominant at all phases. This again is embedded in the peculiar political history of Pakistan after its birth. Pakistan inherited a military structure which was fashioned on the colonial model where military was professional and non-intervening in political affairs restrictive to defense matters only. But its role has expanded gradually to the extent that it is described as a

“praetorian” state where military dominates the core political processes and institutions (Rizvi, 2004). Given the dominant role of the military for reasons are too many and varied, Pakistan’s foreign policy certainly cannot escape this dominance. Pakistan military has an instrumental role in foreign policy decisions for the reason that the most powerful determinant is the security threat from India which can be countered and balanced through military alongside with other alternatives like diplomatic efforts and confidence building measures (CBM). Adding to this is the role of Pakistan military in the Afghan crisis since 1979 when Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan. The concern of securing the western border and keep a check on Indian influence in Afghanistan has been the main drivers in all these endeavors. The foreign policy makers have to frame their policy against these factors which made Pakistan to adopt a defensive realist strategy. The military security agency primarily the Interservices Intelligence (ISI) has a major impact on the formulation of foreign policy. It performs its function of providing sensitive and necessary information to the concerned quarters at the ministry of foreign affairs (MOF) and the foreign office. It exerts its impact by briefing the Cabinet, by reporting to the foreign office and effecting interaction of the different tiers at the ISI and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOF). It also provides input at the Joint Staff Headquarters (JSHQ) level and the Defense Council, and Defense committee of the government. By this way it facilitates framers of the foreign policy to information based decision (PILDAT, 2004).

The civil bureaucracy has facilitated the process of foreign policy formulation as per the required dictates. Their acumen has been at work and is going to be at work in future in devising policies which better serves national interests. A particular foreign policy initiative gets materialized through the efforts of the civil servants. Parliament is the legislative organ of the state and every piece of law making and policy making must have the approval of the parliament. In parliamentary democracies ministers perform the job of policy making in their concerned sectors of the whole nation and then see to it that these policies are implemented in letter and spirit. In case of foreign policy the foreign minister is the person who chairs all the efforts in framing the foreign policy. It is the foreign minister that coordinates with cabinet and briefs the Prime Minister and also takes their advice on matters related foreign policy. A competent foreign minister and foreign secretary will always provide the leadership necessary for good policy making. A parliament informed about the foreign policy priorities will always add to the formulation of a better foreign policy and an efficient foreign office will materialize the foreign policy objectives of securing national interests. There is a supplementary and reciprocal relationship between these institutions of public policy making. The good work at one level strengthens a better delivery at the other level (Kokab, 2013).

## **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

It is an undeniable fact that there is direct relationship between institutional functions and the foreign policy of a nation. Foreign policy aims at securing interests in a world where there are no permanent friends or foes. There

are permanent interests. The present day world politics are posing immense challenges to politicians, bureaucrats, academicians and in the arena of national interests. Protection of national interests in a world of divergent political ambitions and conflict of interests among states has made foreign policy formulation a daunting task. In such a volatile environment where priorities changes rapidly and without any predictions. Protection of national interests becomes even more challenging.

Foreign policy formulation is not an isolated activity performed in a closed environment. It is an integrated effort which encompasses more than one institution. The cause of national security primarily rest upon defense, economy and internal security. Policy making is a regular exercise in states affairs and governments have to make policies to achieve national objectives and aims. These policies include foreign policy which enables government to win friends and ensure support of many other policies of national importance; economic policy which enables government to secure resources for development and Defense policy to ensure security of the state. Apart from this many other policies like media policy, health and education policies are major public policies which are formulated for ensuring growth and development of the nation.

Institutions are the medium through which policies are implemented. They have an instrumental role in the success of a particular policy. They also provide the necessary information for formulation of policies and also provide feedback for evaluation of policies. In case of foreign policy institutions have a vital role in policy making and implementation. Effective institutional frame work supports better policy formulation and implementation. Foreign policy impacts the functioning of institutions by spelling out the proper courses of action to be adopted for achievement of policy goals. While honest and efficient delivery at the institutional level adds to formulation of effective and realistic foreign policy. Thus a very strong and practical nexus exists between institutions and foreign policy and the need for an effective reciprocal attitude will remain in order to keep strengthening each other and securing the cause of national interests.

### **ADVANCED RESEARCH**

In writing this article the researcher realizes that there are still many shortcomings in terms of language, writing, and form of presentation considering the limited knowledge and abilities of the researchers themselves. Therefore, for the perfection of the article, the researcher expects constructive criticism and suggestions from various parties.



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