

Foreign Policy Stance towards Pak-US Ties

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Policy stance for regulation of foreign relations with U.S. expects constructive and practical feedback from members of youth parliament of Pakistan. Each suggestion is guaranteed to get an in depth review and consideration for incorporation into government policy at YPP.

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Executive Summary

Geopolitical scenario and strategies bring several opportunities as well as challenges to a country. If these opportunities are availed in effective and efficient way, it becomes accrued advantages. If challenges are mishandled, they turn out to be potential threats. Most of the times opportunities and challenges come along. There are challenges attached to opportunities for prospective countries and regions. If particular geopolitical scenario brings a case for a country where that country's political gestures turn the situation in her favor, it contributes to the maximization of her interests but in case of mishandling it may turn out to be a potential threat.

Current government is facing complex geopolitical scenario specifically in regulating its relations with U.S. in the 'war against terrorism'. All this regional complexity needs to be understood with the perspective of Pakistan's concerns and interests. War against terrorism has become a challenge for Pakistan which throughout the course of past years has emerged to be serious threat against national and international security. With the recent state proceedings favoring contribution of Parliament in formulation of foreign policy, Pakistan has shown its commitment towards acceptance of shared decisive role of supreme institution i.e. Parliament in foreign policy making process.

Commencing with an in depth analyses of history of Pakistan's foreign relations to get an understanding of prospective benefits, out of opportunities, and threats, out of challenges, attached to each alternative move of foreign policy available to Pakistan in contemporary times, this policy paper ultimately proposes recommendations for foreign policy behavior, keeping Pak-US relations in special focus, to gain intended long term and short term foreign policy objectives.

Main Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

1. Economy
2. Geography
3. History
4. Defense capability
5. National Security
6. Ideology
7. National Interests
8. Diplomacy
9. Public Opinion
10. Demography
11. Political Structure
12. Geopolitics

Historic account of Pakistan's Foreign Relations

History is the richest source of information for policy making. Current government at Youth Parliament believes in learning lessons from history while devising future policies in order to avoid mistakes committed in past and for the continuation of what favors national interests. This policy paper divides history of Pakistan's foreign relations into following phases. Boundaries of these phases are drawn in order to depict major shift in policies and political approach of

Pakistan in relation to world politics. Each phase gives an account of policies of Pakistan towards opportunities and challenges faced in that period in time with special focus on Pak-U.S bilateral relations. Each phase is described to be a period in history with somewhat uniform policy approach of Pakistan in reaction to ongoing geopolitics.

- 1947-54: Defining phase for the important determinants of Pakistan's foreign Policy.
- 1954-62: Prospering relations with the West.
- 1962-70: Transition phase- Realignment of Foreign relations.
- 1971: Fall of Dhaka.
- 1972-79: Nonaligned approach aided with bilateralism.
- 1979-90: Revival of Pak-US ties in the backdrop of Afghan Adventure by USSR.
- 1990-98: Post Afghan War Dilemmas.
- 1999-2001: Tradeoffs for going nuclear.
- 2001 onwards: Pakistan in post 9/11 era – Strategic Allies against Terrorism in mistrust.

1947-54: Defining phase for the important determinants of Pakistan's foreign Policy

As Jinnah declared after independence that,

'Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards the nations of the world.'

If ideology of peaceful subcontinent could come into practice, this world would not be like what we have now. But unfortunately, ideologies rarely come into practice. Independence brought several challenges for Pakistan including issues due to controversial partition of land and physical assets, insecurity due to chauvinistic attitude of India and hindrances in introduction of new state, with appropriate and intended image, to the global community. The first disadvantage



to Pakistan for its geographical posture and location was afforded when Pakistan could not pursue its ideology of peace and real polity took greater emphasis than ideology in the defining phase of important determinants of her foreign policy.

Apparently, the issue of accession of princely states of Hyderabad, Jonagadh and specifically Kashmir appears to be main reason for a history of tension between Pakistan and India. But the Centre of rivalry lies with the attitude of intolerance in state elites of India towards the very existence of Pakistan. The very reason brought them to war in 1948 and border tension in 1950 and 1951 which not only exhausted their capacities but provoked sense of insecurity in policy makers of Pakistan.

Korean War and Devaluation of Indian and British currency proved to be extremely advantageous to Pakistan as it pursued policy for not to devalue its currency in 1949. It helped Pakistan generate trade capital which was then converted to Industrial Capital. Here economy played its role as major determinant of foreign policy which greatly contributed in realizing foreign policy goals.

Afghan claim over NWFP after independence added to Pakistan's problems in this phase. It exhausted much of Pakistan's energies in compensating threat of specter of Indo Afghan front backed by USSR. It added to Pakistan's insecurity. The cardinal concerns of Pakistan compelled Policy makers of Pakistan to pay special attention to its defense.

Since its independence, Pakistan considered diplomatic relations with Muslim countries to be important. But some Muslim states like Egypt and Indonesia had reservations towards diplomatic ideology of Pakistan to achieve unity among Muslim countries. But, Pakistan succeeded in harboring cordial relations with Iran, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

Therefore, Initial phase elevated regional insecurity as the most important determinant of Pakistan's foreign policy. Insecurity of Pakistan continued to dictate most of the state business throughout history of Pakistan specifically foreign relations and defense.

1954-62: Prospering relations with the West

Insecurity due to regional context of Pakistan made him aligned towards west specially U.S. which earned her several security arrangements, economic and military aid. Pakistan availed the opportunity bestowed to her due to geostrategic relevance of Pakistan in US containment policy against communism. Advantages accrued to Pakistan were imminent in terms of economic and military assistance. It helped develop industrial base of Pakistan and strengthen its immunity to bear pressure of regional tensions. Pakistan made several agreements with US including Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (May 1954), SEATO (September 1954) and Baghdad Pact in September 1955 (named CENTO in 1959 after withdrawal of Iraq). Geostrategic importance of Pakistan earned her with \$650 million in grant and \$55 million in credit facilities which catalyzed the prospering economy of Pakistan. Defense capacity of Pakistan got strengthened too by the restructuring and accelerated modernization of defense system due to addition of modern equipment and expertise.

These agreements, as stated clearly, were aimed at containing Soviet expansionism. They were not meant to address regional problems. Although Pakistan got significant economic and military assistance it came with several tradeoffs. Pakistan reciprocated by complementing these bilateral relations by providing an air base at Badaber (near Peshawar) to US for ten years (1959-69). Besides compromise of Pakistan over its independent Foreign policy, that alignment was perceived to be negative and even hostile act to some states including USSR and India. Even some of the foreign policy goals got passive importance due to these agreements i.e. brotherly

relations with Muslim countries. In long term Pakistan got entangled in cold war, minimizing the prospects of realization of policy goals which motivated Pakistan to do so i.e. maintaining balance of power in the region to address insecurity. Henceforth, transition towards west initiated due to insecurity of Pakistan contributed to the growing tensions, hostility, suspicions and arms race in the region. Credibility of US support got doubted when it failed to extend diplomatic support for Pakistan in its conflicts with India.

1962-70: Transition phase- Realignment of Foreign relations.

With the US policy shift to support India militarily in disregard of Pakistan's insecurities after Sino-Indian war in October 1962, Pakistan decided to review foreign policy with the diversification of foreign relations with socialist countries on basis of mutual benefits. Pakistan earned prospective relations with China and 30 development projects with USSR in third five year plan (1965-70) covering equipment, trade and cultural exchange. These advantages were accrued due to geostrategic importance of Pakistan with a transition in foreign policy. It made USSR to take a neutral approach towards the Indo-Pak conflicts including Kashmir, Rann of Kutch war in April 1965. USSR helped both states in normalizing bilateral relations in the aftermath of Indo-Pak war in September 1965 by offering good offices to both states which ended in a peace agreement, known as Tashkent Declaration, between India and Pakistan on January 1966 in Tashkent. Bilateral relations with USSR further proceeded to military cooperation. The transition was not in the favor of US. Therefore, Pakistan had to suffer non-cooperative attitude of US in terms of suspension in grant programs and military aid. The suffering was intolerable when US suspended military aid during declared war in September 1965. It was the time when geographic dispute of Kashmir with India brought two countries in



state of war in three different points in time during this phase which brought significant blow to growing economy of Pakistan.

1971: Fall of Dhaka

In reaction to the cold response of Pakistan for Asian Collective Security Plan offered by USSR along with active role of Pakistan in first Sino-American rapprochement in July 1972, USSR brought its support back to India actively. India not only enjoyed extended diplomatic support but there was also military support of USSR strengthening interventions and invasion of India in November 1971. The greatest loss to Pakistan was the fall of Dhaka on December 16, 1971 resulting in the independence of Bangladesh. There were several factors involved in this loss among which geographical factors are considered to be important one.

1972-79: Nonaligned approach aided with bilateralism

Transition in policy of Pakistan, initiated in mid 1960s, of replacing permanent alignment with bilateralism based on mutuality of interests was pursued further in 1970s. Pakistan's relations with China further got prosper during this phase. Bilateralism dominated foreign policy of Pakistan during this which relaxed tensions with USSR and resolution of issues with India and Bangladesh after 1971. Bilateral relations with US helped relax the suspension of assistance programs by the mid of 1970s.

Balance of power potentially appeared to be disturbed when India detonated nuclear device in 1974 which essentially motivated Pakistan to look out for nuclear technology. US convinced France to withdraw from agreement of nuclear reprocessing plant supply in 1978. Pakistan had to suffer severely by the suspension of all sorts of economic assistance and military supplies in April 1979 when US came to know about the secret Uranium enrichment setup initiatives in Kahuta.



Pakistan enjoyed Economic Bonanza by the accommodation of large number of man power in Middle Eastern states during late 1970s. Pakistan is connected to Gulf through Arabian Sea.

1979-90: Revival of Pak-US ties in the backdrop of Afghan Adventure by USSR

Military intervention by USSR in Afghanistan on 27 December 1979 left out far reaching Impacts in the history of world. Pakistan considered it a threat and extended support to Afghan guerilla warriors, known as Mujahideens, to avoid two-front situation by pursuing policy of Strategic depth. This major event brought a turning point in Pak-US relations which got revived due to common interests. Pakistan received immense economic assistance and military sales amounting to US\$ 3.2 billion under six-year assistance package. Military got equipped with latest F-16 numbering up to 40 which were sold to Pakistan. Pakistan also received donations from Muslim countries to support Afghan retaliation. US remained silent over the nuclear program of Pakistan throughout Afghan war which was opportunity well availed by Pakistan in progress towards nuclear technology.

All this led to significant influence of US in Pakistan. There was a cost attached to it. That alliance was hostile to several countries mainly USSR, India and Iran. Pakistan had to bear the burden of around 3 million Afghan refugees that crossed the border in 1980. US left Pakistan alone to tackle with post Afghan war dilemmas which burdened economy of Pakistan due to prolonged stay of Afghan refugees. Instable neighbor was not in favor of Pakistan.

1990-98: Post Afghan War Dilemmas

As Pakistan lost its geostrategic relevance to U.S. after withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, history accounted for another major drift in Pak-US relations. US were no longer

interested in economic development and military cooperation with Pakistan which led to the suspension of economic assistance and military sales in sanctions against Pakistan.

1999-2001: Tradeoffs for going nuclear

India exploded nuclear devices on 11th and 13th May 1998 which disturbed balance of power in region. In rectification of strategic imbalance and in response to the traditional rivalry with India, Pakistan could not resist exploding its nuclear devices on 28th and 30th May 1998. This act brought great economic and diplomatic suffering to Pakistan which can mainly be described to be additional economic sanctions against Pakistan by US. It added to the suffering of Pakistan when US imposed more sanctions against Pakistan after the military takeover on 12 October 1999.

2001 onwards: Pakistan in post 9/11 era – Strategic Allies against Terrorism in mistrust.

9/11 raised the geostrategic importance of Pakistan for war against terrorism for two reasons. Firstly, Pakistan was in frontline of supporting Taliban in 1990s which enabled them to pursue militant activities in Afghanistan making it a heaven place for Al-Qaeda. Secondly, Pakistan shares a long border with Afghanistan which demands the support of Pakistan in any operation in Afghanistan. It was more of a serious challenge to Pakistan and Pakistan responded by joining the international movement against terrorism. It helped Pakistan safeguard its diplomatic support, nuclear program, economy and strategic interests in territorial activities. Revival of bilateral relations with US benefitted Pakistan in terms of trade, economy, foreign direct investment and military modernization. Fiscal support to Pakistan was US \$600 million in 2002-03 while development support to Pakistan amounts to US \$455 million up to 2004. Pakistan continued to receive uninterrupted assistance from US until rise of Pak-US mistrust in

war against terrorism when US blamed Pakistan for playing double game. US keep questioning the concern of Pakistan to support Taliban groups in prospect of friendly government on western front to avoid two-front situation. This thing isolated Pakistan on several occasions in international community. Along with diplomatic loss Pakistan suffered from approximately 35000 casualties and billions of dollars in war against terrorism. Prevailed violence throughout Pakistan has become a serious concern.

Foreign Policy

Guidelines for regulating ties with U.S.A

This government is of the view that close relations with the US are important for the achievement and protection of national interests. The factors hindering both governments to come in close and trusted relation includes

- Failure of previous US governments to support Pakistan at key moments
- Mistrust on the part of both governments
- Breach of Pakistan's sovereign integrity by hot pursuits of U.S. and Allied forces as in Abbottabad operation, Drone attacks, unregistered intelligence personnel etc.
- Denial of fault by U.S. allied forces in the incident of Salalacheck post on 25-26th November, 2011.
- Blockage of ground routes for NATO Supply by Pakistan in protest of unfortunate incident
- U.S. Concerns over security of Pakistan Nuclear program



- Pursuance of Policy of strategic depth by Pakistan as the main argument for supporting Taliban on both sides of border.
- Civil Nuclear agreement between U.S. and India in 2005
- Pakistani concerns of regional insecurity disregarded by U.S.
- Concerns of Pakistan for Post Afghan war scenario
- Absence of global recognition of Pakistan's loss of more than 35000 lives and billions of capital in strife to make this world a safer place to live.
- Absence of commitment by U.S. in peaceful resolution of Kashmir Dispute for peace in the region.











Importance of US:

This government is of the view that relations with U.S. are important for the achievement and protection of national interest as well as global interests regarding global peace. Reasons for the importance of ties are stated as:




This government strongly believes in rightful public opinion to transit from a policy of aid to trade. Aid not; trade policy is warmly incorporated as an important defining factor in transitioning foreign policy. **This policy considers it unaffordable for a \$202 Billion economy (Pakistan) to neglect \$15 Trillion economy of U.S.** It certainly is not in the favor of national interests.




-  U.S. is the 2nd largest trading partner of Pakistan. Relations are highly favorable as Pakistan wants economic growth at a stable pace which would be impossible to achieve if Pakistan neglects its second largest trading partner.
-  U.S. at present is the biggest investor in the world and in Pakistan. It potentially continues enjoying such position in near future.
-  U.S. is offering its Biggest Full Bright Education Program in Pakistan.
-  \$2 Billion remittances from Pakistanis residing in U.S
-  Largest economic assistance
-  Largest military assistance
-  U.S. enjoys influence over international financial institutions i.e. World Bank, Asian Development Bank, International Monetary Fund etc. It is important to bring in notice of Parliamentarians the economic crisis of November 2008 when IMF sanctioned loan for Pakistan which would otherwise have ended in collapse of Economy of Pakistan. IMF was the only solution left as Pakistan tried to support economy by going 'Friends of Pakistan' which only helped with \$500 Million from China.
-  U.S. enjoys Diplomatic clout in UN and International forums for being the only super power and due to size of his economy.
-  U.S. can act as third party and help us out in normalizing relations with India by offering good offices to both parties for the acceptable resolution of Kashmir Dispute as it tried in 1972.
-  Baluchistan is a fragile part of federation which is vulnerable to external forces. US can take advantage if he is not on our side.




 U.S. supported Pakistan with **\$74.056 Billion** in total Aid including \$41.817 in terms of total Economic aid (\$25.470 Billion through USAID), \$22.964 Billion in terms of total military aid and \$9.273 billion in terms of total ‘Coalition support fund’ across the period of 1948-2011. Figures are adjusted for inflation and presented in 2009 constant dollars.


(Note: Figures are adjusted for inflation and presented in 2009 constant dollar)


 China also wants Pakistan to have good relations with U.S.

Importance of Pakistan to US:

 Geo-strategic location of Pakistan neighboring Afghanistan, Iran and China.

 6th Largest consumer base of world in terms of demography of Pakistan.

 Frontline non-NATO ally

 U.S. is not completely successful in Afghanistan as far as Al-Qaida is concerned. They need cooperation from Pakistan in terms of

- Taliban: Pakistan has significant influence over some influential groups of Taliban.
- Smooth withdrawal of US from Afghanistan.
- Protection of interests in regional trade and security.

Summary of Policy



Pak-US Ties

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Defense incorporates realism and pragmatism as the main dictating factor of its policy keeping in consideration the history of relations with U.S., mutual importance of both parties, national and international interests, current regional and global scenario and Parliamentary Committee on National Security's (PCNS) guidelines for the revision of relations with U.S. and allied forces.

Ministry at Youth Parliament assumes progressive approach in its foreign policy by intention of using **maximum benefit out of common interest areas for both parties along with creation/identification of more areas of common interests without any compromise over national integrity of a sovereign state of Pakistan.** Pakistan enjoys sovereignty endowed by International laws. Pakistan expects from civilized world to respect international laws.

Government Policy extends the guidelines for revised terms of engagement with U.S. and allied forces recommended by PCNS with modifications as stated below:

1. (Addition to 1st article) Effective Steps should be identified mutually so that no room is left for any event adding to mistrust and hostility between both parties.
2. Replacement of clause (i) by **Drone attacks policy of Ministry at youth Parliament** which is stated as 'Pakistan has shown his commitment towards war against terrorism which costs her suffering of thousands of precious lives and capital. It is time to understand Pakistan's concerns as Pakistan already understands the concerns of U.S. It is demanded from U.S. that as the cause is same then why should we move divided in a mistrust which would create nonproductive situation and loss of civilian lives. **Pakistan demands a joint commission working under government of Pakistan with equal**

number of representatives of both parties to decide for a mechanism of drone strikes to kick out terrorists of this region who are friends of no one but enemies of international peace. It will be greatly emphasized that civilians do not suffer any loss but the terrorists who are not willing to negotiate in return for peace. It is in the favor of both parties, pragmatic in nature if these strikes go this way with less frequency under coordinated mechanism of the commission. Pakistan deserves drone technology due to his commitment and sacrifices against terrorism and it promises to use it against terrorists only.’

3. (Addition to 4th article) It is strongly believed that terrorist is terrorist, a potential threat to national and international peace. **Pakistan reaffirms its commitment to take great care that its land not be used against any other country or organization hoping same from others.**
4. (Addition to 11th article) It may be asked to build road infrastructure or railroad infrastructure with supply of engines included from Karachi to Afghanistan for transit business. **Normal duty will be applied to this transit.**
5. [Addition to article 13th clause (a)] Pakistan encourages stability in his western neighborhood. It may be proposed that post war Afghan government be based on a broad based approach towards peaceful settlement of conflicts in different pressure and militant groups mainly Taliban, Karzais, US, northern allies with the increase in Pashtoon representation.
6. [Addition to article 16th and clause (viii)] with a progressive proceedings towards achievement of such a status which favors Pakistan for its membership.



7. [Addition to article 16th and clause (x)] which would compensate Pakistan in its current energy crisis to some extent. **We support nuclear nonproliferation but this project is in best interest of Pakistan due to prevailing energy crisis.** Other proposed alternative i.e. Tajik-Afghan-Pak pipeline project does not appear feasible in near future. **Pakistan can reconsider this project if U.S. gets ready to a civil nuclear program to address energy crisis of Pakistan.**
8. [Insertion of a new clause under article 16 as clause (xi)] As Foreign policy of Pakistan considers economy as one of the main determinants of its policy, all departments of state specifically foreign secretariat should spend energies to reap maximum trade opportunities for stable economic growth. It is firmly believed that:

‘Our oft-quoted strategic location is strategic only if commerce flows through it in all directions. ‘(Qadir)

Arrangements for strengthening PCNS:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs recommends for the arrangements to jointly attach foreign secretariat to assist PCNS in its proceedings. It is further recommended to provide highly competitive group of researchers and think tanks to bring in thoroughly considered pros and cons of each policy move by State.

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