

Preliminary Considerations and Phases of Pakistan Foreign Policy

Rida Asad

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and IR, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

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Corresponding Author:

Rida Asad

Email: rida.asad.thsi@gmail.com

Abstract: Like all other states in the world Pakistan is a sovereign and only nuclear Islamic state on the planet. Upon its initial release from the British raj, it faced significant challenges. There was a prevailing belief that it will return to India. During that period, however, the government did implement authentic measures to address the situation in a piecemeal manner. The commencement of the Cold War between the Communist and Capitalist blocs occurred at that juncture. The newly emerging states in the world were joining one or another bloc. Pakistan was also among them. This study highlights the importance placed on foreign policy rules, ideals, and laws. In the subsequent sections, we will delve into a comprehensive analysis of the aforementioned phases, drawing from primary and secondary sources. Pakistan's decision to join the capitalist bloc might be attributed to its worse financial condition compared to India, which compelled it to make these options. However, safety and independence were consistently safeguarded throughout all time periods and stages.

Introduction

The implementation of foreign policy plays a pivotal role in the functioning of the global political framework (Bindra, 2019). This is a fundamental component of the national policy. The subject matter encompasses matters of national significance that necessitate attention in the context of other states. It is the responsibility of each state to determine the course of their foreign affairs, considering their distinct characteristics and the current world circumstances. The foreign policy of a nation serves as a guiding framework for addressing its national interests, protecting its legal standing, and fostering cohesion among its constituent states (Stolberg, 2012). Therefore, it may be deduced that the continuation of foreign policy is contingent upon the continued involvement of independent nations in international matters. Academic definitions are highly significant in the current investigation. The concept of foreign policy has been subject to diverse interpretations in contemporary times. Numerous scholars have put out a wide array of definitions pertaining to the concept of foreign policy. Scholars have divergent viewpoints concerning the conceptualization of foreign policy; yet, they unanimously concur that it encompasses the conduct of a nation-state towards other nations. The next section will provide a summary of several features. Foreign policy encompasses the range of measures implemented by societies with the aim of exerting influence over the acts of other governments and adjusting their own operations to align with the global context (Foyle, 1997).

Foreign policy can be characterised as a complete and multifaceted approach grounded in knowledge and expertise, designed to facilitate the government's engagements with other states. The main aim of this endeavour is to promote and protect the interests of the nation. In order to effectively contribute to the cause, it is imperative to possess a thorough comprehension of the

objectives, stakeholders, and the extent to which our existing resources may be utilised. Any method that fails to meet the criteria outlined in his definition of national foreign policy cannot be categorised as a strategy. Foreign policy is a comprehensive framework that comprises a sequence of decisions and actions, involving significant relations between one state and other states. Foreign policy refers to the methodical strategy utilised by a country to efficiently execute its overarching goals and interests, with the intention of achieving these objectives and protecting its interests (Raja, 2023). The process is significantly influenced by the development of foreign policy. This strategy refers to the management of a country's behaviour in its dealings with other countries in the areas of politics, society, economy, and military affairs. Given the diverse range of definitions, it can be deduced that the fundamental nature of foreign policy is in the endeavour to achieve national goals by leveraging domestic resources and forging alliances with other countries.

Significance of the Study

The article examines Pakistan's diplomatic history. The essay illuminates Pakistan's strategic aims, problems, and worldwide triumphs by examining its foreign policy's foundations and evolution. It explains how Pakistan has navigated complicated geopolitical forces, regional conflicts, and economic imperatives to protect its interests and pursue its foreign policy goals. The article also contributes to international relations scholarship by examining Pakistan's diplomatic history and shifting paradigms, policymakers a comprehensive framework for analysing and developing future foreign policy strategies. The essav essential understanding Pakistan's global significance and the complex processes that shape its relations with other nations.

Objective of the Study

The main aim of the article is to offer a thorough examination of the fundamental principles and

progressive stages that have influenced Pakistan's diplomatic position since its establishment.

Rationale of the Study

The paper aims to provide a systematic examination of Pakistan's diplomatic trajectory, with a specific emphasis on the key concepts, historical backgrounds, and evolving phases that have influenced its foreign policy decisions. The objective of the article is to enhance the comprehension of scholars, policymakers, and the public regarding the determinants that influence Pakistan's engagements with the global community. This facilitate will more knowledgeable deliberations and enhanced strategizing in the realm of international relations.

Foreign Policy and National Interests

National interest holds paramount significance in the realm of foreign policy (Manan, 2017). The state aims to achieve these objectives through its foreign policy. Policymakers are subject to the influence of their respective countries' objectives. In the context of international negotiations, regardless of their nature as bilateral or multilateral, the primary focus lies on the consideration of national interests. The success or failure of these conferences is contingent upon the national interests that are being represented. The theory of national interests holds significant importance in the establishment and maintenance of inter-state relationships. Each nation prioritises its own national interests. Lord Palmerston's assertion regarding the ephemeral nature of friendship or hatred in foreign policy is highly accurate (Brown, 2015).

The national interest is the enduring factor, and it is the primary responsibility of the states to adhere to it. The foreign policy of each nation is formulated in accordance with its unique national interests, and the inter-country ties are similarly shaped by these interests. Upon achieving independence, Pakistan prioritised enhancing its security and financial conditions as its primary national objectives, but the United States' primary

national interest revolved around safeguarding Pakistan against the perils of communism. The alignment of national interests between Pakistan and the US resulted in the formation of alliances between the two countries.

India's Influence on Pakistan's Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of Pakistan was formulated by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, widely recognised as the progenitor of the nation (Khan, 2021). He made a statement in February 1948. In our foreign policy, we consistently demonstrate benevolence and reverence towards all nations across the globe. We strongly oppose any intentions to engage in violent behaviour towards any country or nation. The principles of honesty and fair play hold significant value in our personal and professional spheres, and we are fully committed to exerting our utmost efforts in fostering global peace and prosperity across all nations. Pakistan is committed to providing financial and emotional assistance to the world's downtrodden and repressed individuals, while adhering to the principles outlined in the UN charter. India was resolute in its efforts to prevent the formation of Pakistan, prompting Pakistan to create a fear hybrid of India (Amnesty International, 2021).

The authorities of Pakistan perceived a sense of threat from India and sought assistance from a prominent global power in order to mitigate the perceived threat posed by India. India harboured disapproval for Pakistan's ascent and sought to impede its progress expeditiously. The birth of Pakistan was perceived as the primary obstacle that hindered the Hindus from achieving their aspiration of initiating Ram Raj in the Akhand Bharart. Hindu individuals propagated the notion that Pakistan would have a short lifespan and eventually disintegrate, integrating into India (Ahmad, 2020). Their objective was not solely to undermine Pakistan's independence, but rather they used maximum effort in achieving this goal. To achieve this objective in 1948, India seized control of Kashmir; In 1965, she initiated hostilities against Pakistan in response to the Run

of Kutch, so violating international law and precipitating the entire conflict. In 1971, she deployed its military forces to assist the secessionists in East Pakistan, resulting in the division of East Pakistan from Pakistan.

An overview of Pakistan Foreign Policy Objectives and determinants

There are various factors in foreign policy which are essential for the survival of any state. Pakistan being located at the crossroad of middle east and South Asia also keep all those factors in mind while formulating foreign policy. Following are the details of those goals and determinants of Pakistan foreign policy:

Ideology

Liagat Ali Khan, being the very first premium of Pakistan after inception once stated 'Pakistan came intor being as a result of the urge felt by the Muslims of this subcontinent to secure territory, however, limited, where the Islamic Ideology and way of life could be practiced and demonstrated to the world' (Kazimi, 2017). The present perspective on foreign policy endeavours to perceive it as a manifestation of the dominant social, religious, or The policies can be political ideologies. categorised into four distinct groupings, namely democratic, authoritarian, liberal, socialism, and peace-loving; and aggressive. However, it is imperative to consider foreign policy outside an ideological perspective. When ideology intersects with rational interests, ideology yields to rational interests. The formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy necessitates the consideration of its underlying philosophy (Ispahani, 1964). Pakistan's foreign policy actions are consistently influenced by the teachings of Islam as outlined in the Quran and Sunnah, as the nation's worldview is deeply rooted in Islamic principles. The significance of Sharia law on Pakistan's foreign policy cannot be overstated. For instance, Pakistan consistently demonstrates a proactive stance in denouncing any hostile actions occurring globally (Tellis, 2017). Pakistan considers any action that violates Islam to be unacceptable.

Topography of Pakistan

Nepoleon Bonaparte of France once said that 'The foreign policy of any state determined by the geography of any state (Heffernan, 1994).' The foreign policy of Pakistan is significantly influenced by its geographical characteristics. The proximity of ports, seas, and neighbouring states holds significant importance for Pakistan. Pakistan's strategic significance is heightened by advantageous geographical location. characterised by fertile soil and abundant natural resources, as well as its proximity to oilproducing nations such as Iran. The ongoing CPEC project has artificially inflated Pakistan's perceived significance. This implies that Pakistan's foreign strategy include considerations of geography.

National Security

One of the primary objective and determinant of Pakistan's foreign policy is the preservation of the nation's security and autonomy (Jha, 1970). Pakistan, being a nascent nation, has to cultivate crops in order to ensure its security. Hence, Pakistan's foreign strategy is predicated upon safeguarding its national security. Establishing diplomatic relations with foreign nations and prioritizing national security were both crucial. Pakistan seeks to ensure that other nations accord equal regard to its national integrity and political independence. Pakistan's primary objective from its inception has been to ensure its security from India (Dwivedi, 2008). Pakistan incurs higher defence expenditures compared to other nations. Pakistan has expressed significant concern regarding its defensive strategies vis-à-vis India. India has consistently pursued unfavourable policies against Pakistan from its inception, gradually assuming control over the princely states. Pakistan harboured concerns that India will exploit its vulnerability due to this prevailing pattern. India's audacious strategies in Kashmir, Hyderabad, and Junagadh jeopardized the security of the just emancipated state. Pakistan sought alliances to enhance its economic and security capabilities, as well as exert greater political influence on other nations (Jabeen & Mazhar, 2011). Pakistan's authorities sought military and economic assistance from the United States in order to ensure the security of their nation. Pakistan perceived the United States as the most favourable and secure nation to collaborate with in safeguarding its own security. This was evident in its approach to international relations. The United States also required an ally in the region to combat the Soviet Union. The Indian factor played a significant role in shaping the diplomatic ties between Pakistan and the United States.

Psychological, Historical, and Cultural Factors

The foreign policy of Pakistan has consistently been influenced by its historical context and the sentiments of its populace (Hamid et al., 2023). The Pakistani population has had numerous adverse experiences over the history of the subcontinent. Hindus exerted significant efforts to restrict and suppress the political, economic, social, and religious liberties of Muslims. This facilitated the ability of Indian Muslims to advocate for the partition of the subcontinent and its subsequent allocation as an independent nation. The historical relationship between Pakistan and India demonstrates that India continues to reject the recognition of Pakistan as an independent nation. Nehru believed that managing the relationship between India and Pakistan was challenging due to its emotional nature. The subcontinent underwent a division, leading to the establishment of two distinct nations, namely India and Pakistan. From its inception, India has exhibited a hostile stance towards Pakistan. Due to India's antagonistic position, Pakistan was compelled to formulate a foreign policy that prioritised the establishment of diplomatic ties with other nations, particularly those of significant global influence (Waseem, 2024). The concepts that inform Pakistan's foreign policy. Each nation must formulate its own foreign policy, taking into account its unique philosophy, historical background, political landscape, and geographical position. Every nation possesses its own distinct set of objectives or goals that it aims to achieve, but they can only be accomplished via the use of fundamental ways or means, referred to as principles. The foreign strategy of Pakistan is founded upon the subsequent principles

Struggling for Islamic Unity

Pakistan, being a nation governed by ideology, has continuously upheld core values in its foreign policy, with the objective of cultivating harmonious and favourable relations with Muslim nations. Pakistan is a staunch advocate for the consolidation of the Islamic world and is actively engaged in implementing a policy directed towards cultivating favourable diplomatic ties with Muslim states. Pakistan has demonstrated a persistent commitment to addressing issues within the Islamic world and has played a substantial role in the Iran-Iraq conflict, as well as in the attainment of independence for Palestine and Afghanistan. Pakistan is an active participant in the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) (Pirzada, 1987). Pakistan's foreign policy has prioritised the establishment of an Islamic bloc with the aim of providing support to the Muslim cause. Nevertheless, Pakistan's endeavours to cultivate more robust diplomatic ties with Muslim nations and its unwavering dedication to the Islamic tenets of solidarity and camaraderie have not received sufficient recognition from these countries, which are contending with their own internal and external obstacles. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, also known as the Quaid-i-Azam, placed significant stress on the necessity of fostering collaboration among all Muslim nations and actively advocated for the advancement of unity.

In August 1948, the individual conveyed the notion that the prevailing power dynamics in Palestine, Indonesia, and Kashmir were to be regarded as a cautionary message (Ammar, 2023). Pakistan's involvement in the organisation of a worldwide conference on Muslim cooperation was significant, as it effectively addressed the financial and political concerns that had arisen among Muslim nations. During the years of 1950-

51, this initiative resulted in the formation of friendly agreements with almost all Muslim countries. Pakistan has continuously upheld the concept of cultivating friendly relations with other Muslim nations, particularly Afghanistan, since attaining independence. The complex historical dynamics of being both a bordering country and a Muslim nation have led to this outcome.

Friendly ties with the neighbours

A nation's capacity to alter its neighbouring countries is restricted. Prior to 1971, Pakistan had distinctive geographical positioning, distinguished by a substantial expanse of one thousand miles that delineated East Pakistan from West Pakistan (Nawaz, 2023). East Pakistan was geographically encompassed by India on three sides, exclusively relying on maritime access as its sole entrance point. As a result, this particular circumstance presented a very straightforward obstacle for India in terms of asserting its dominion over the region. Pakistan faced a significant defence burden due the to geographical challenge it faced. Pakistan. formerly known as West Pakistan. geographically next to three significant countries: Russia, the former USSR, to the northeastern region, the People's Republic of China to the northeastern region, and India to the southern and eastern regions. No other little nation in the world can claim such a remarkable distinction, given its proximity to three formidable neighbouring countries. Although this particular geographical region may be perceived as a physical vulnerability, it can also be transformed into a potential asset by establishing amicable and mutually beneficial relationships neighbouring nations. Pakistan has consistently acknowledged the advantages of fostering amicable and harmonious diplomatic ties with neighbouring countries in order to promote peace and facilitate regional progress (Khan, 1986).

However, Pakistan maintained an unfriendly relationship, particularly with two key neighbouring countries. India has constantly

exhibited a combative stance towards Pakistan, despite the dynamic nature of the diplomatic relations between the USSR and Pakistan, which have experienced multiple transformations. In spite of encountering several challenging circumstances, Pakistan endeavoured to enact a policy aimed at fostering amicable relations with its neighbouring countries, particularly India. Moreover, Pakistan has exhibited its commitment to resolving all outstanding issues, including those pertaining to the Kashmir region. Consequently, Pakistan has consistently engaged in discussions with India across various spatial, hierarchical, and temporal contexts. Pakistan's accession to SEATO and CENTO led to a decline in relations with the USSR. However, Pakistan had not previously engaged in any initiatives with the intention of undermining the Soviet Union, and its involvement in these agreements was solely motivated by security considerations. Pakistan has chosen to normalise its diplomatic relations with China and the USSR in light of the aforementioned circumstances.

Advocacy for the Self-Determination Right

Pakistan supports the autonomy of all subjugated nations to make their own decisions. Pakistan holds the belief that individual nations should possess the autonomy to determine their own course of action (Weinbaum, 1996). Pakistan has expressed its support for all activities aimed at terminating colonialism and enabling individuals in Europe, Africa, and Asia to exercise their entitlement to self-determination. Pakistan has played a significant role in the struggle for independence in Afghanistan, Palestine, Bosnia, Namibia, and Vietnam. Coexisting harmoniously Pakistan aspires to foster harmonious coexistence among its citizens and actively advocates for the principles of freedom, sovereignty, and liberty in other nations. Furthermore, it anticipates that other nations will follow suit. Pakistan has consistently demonstrated a lack of interest in the internal affairs of other nations and has consistently expressed opposition towards imperialism and acts of aggression. Pakistan has consistently adopted a "live and let live" approach

since gaining independence, driven by this significant concept. India and Pakistan have consistently aspired to cultivate amicable relations, although their current approach has rendered it unattainable.

Autonomous and Impartial Policy

Pakistan's foreign policy was aligned with the West prior to the tenure of Zulfigar Ali Bhutto. Pakistan initially aligned itself with the Western bloc during the Cold War and was heavily dependent on the United States. Pakistan officially became a member of SEATO and CENTO in 1954 and 1955, respectively. Pakistan had anticipated that these organizations would assist them in their conflict with India, but their hopes were ultimately unfounded. The United States, in its support of CENTO and SEATO, explicitly asserts that these organizations were founded with the primary objective of curbing communism, rather than aiding Pakistan against its archrival for their own advantage. Upon assuming power in 1971, Zulfigar Ali Bhutto launched a new era of foreign policy within the annals of Pakistan. Bhutto espouses the principle of bilateralism. He asserted that before his administration, Pakistan's foreign policy was unilateral, but henceforth we will maintain bilateral connections with the rest of the world. He stressed the importance of pursuing an autonomous foreign policy rather than relying on any external superpower. In the years that followed Bhutto's era also followed his footprints in keeping independent foreign policy.

Process of Foreign Policy Making

Politicians and other policymakers have a pivotal role in the formulation of foreign policy. Given the influential role of these elites in shaping foreign policy, it is logical to expect that their views and personalities will exert a significant impact. Policymakers make decisions by considering the prevailing conditions in other nations as well as the legal framework governing their actions. Various government agencies provide them with information, and the options they consider are typically those that have been prepared and discussed by lower-level officials from different

government offices. Several factors influence US foreign policy

The Administrative Trio

It consists of the President of Pakistan, the Prime Minister, and the Chief of Army Staff, who form the Administrative Troika. The formulation of foreign policy is significantly influenced by its role. The entity in question possesses the capacity to either endorse or challenge Pakistan's foreign policy, or alternatively, to alter it in any capacity. Retracting the earlier international pledges made by Troika is a difficult task. These two elements play a crucial role in the creation of Pakistan's foreign policy. Quad-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan were influential figures in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy during its early stages. The establishment of diplomatic relations between Pakistan and other nations was evident in their linguistic and behavioural manifestations. The individuals had the belief that the United States, as a geographically extensive country, possessed the capability to provide support to Pakistan in tackling its security and economic difficulties. There exists a widely held view that the words made by the Prime Minister serve as a reflection of the decisions made by the administration. They assume a leading role in things related to international relations, particularly in establishing diplomatic relations with foreign nations. He embodies his country's identity at both the local and global levels. Foreign policy of a nation is greatly influenced by the character and ideas of its individuals. An individual with a strong and friendly personality as a Prime Minister has the capacity to give instructions to other persons, such as foreign ministers, diplomats, and staff members in the ministry of foreign affairs. The appointment of ambassadors to other countries is carried out by the President, under the supervision and direction of the Prime Minister. The function of authority has constantly been of utmost importance in the development of foreign policy. When making decisions, high-ranking executives routinely take into account their viewpoints and priorities. The decision-maker's personality exerts a more

significant influence on foreign policy than their role as a rationale. Given the circumstances, it is probable that the dispositions of heads of state, governments, and foreign ministers exert a substantial impact on the foreign policy strategies adopted by their respective nations. Pakistan's leaders' strategic decision-making process from 1947 to 1972 was shaped by the distinct personalities of individuals in positions of power. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Khwaja Nizamuddin, Ghulam Muhammad, Muhammad Ali Bugra, H.S. Shoharwardy, Ch-Muhammad Ali, Iskandar Mirza, Muhammad Ayub Khan, and Z.A. Buhtto were bestowed with the responsibility of formulating Pakistan's foreign policy. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Premier Liaquat Ali Khan emerged as significant leaders in the sector during the initial four years of independence.

Pakistan's primary concern since gaining independence has been its security, which is significantly threatened by India. The military forces of Pakistan have consistently exerted significant influence in shaping the nation's foreign and defence policies. General Muhammad Ayub Khan, in his role as Chief of Command, made significant efforts to establish robust connections with the United States, particularly through defence accords during the 1950s. Upon assuming the role of a C-in-C in January 1951, a military agreement was reached between Pakistan and the United States. Similarly, following the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the subsequent coup conducted by General Pervaiz Musharraf following the Kargil events, the Chief of the Armed Forces of Pakistan assumed the role of President of Pakistan, exerting significant influence over the formulation of the nation's foreign policy. General Raheel Sharif played a prominent role in overseeing this procedure, particularly in relation to terrorism. The incumbent Chief of the Armed Forces, General Qamer Javaid Bajwa, holds a prominent role in this domain due to his recent vocal opposition to President Trump's approach towards Pakistan, particularly in the context of the Afghanistan

issue and terrorism. According to him, Pakistan is engaged in combating terrorism for its own intrinsic motivations, rather than seeking financial assistance and resources from the United States. The individual did not request any material or financial assistance from the United States. The desired outcomes encompassed trust, comprehension, and acknowledgment of Pakistan's actions.

Role of Foreign Ministry

The ministry possesses significant influence in the formulation of foreign policy decisions. The composition of this group consists of senior government officials and specialists professionals in the field of international policy. When formulating foreign policy, they prioritise the program's primary objectives and criteria. Regarding foreign policy, they formulate policies, strategies, and initiatives, and collaborate closely with the Troika to ensure preparedness. Due to a recent constitutional amendment, the National Security Council has replaced the Troika. The foreign minister assumes responsibility for overseeing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and collaborates with the Prime Minister formulating foreign policy determinations. He provides the media with information regarding the nation's foreign policy and advocates for the efforts of his ministry in parliament. In addition, he manages the nation's diplomatic relations with foreign countries. The manner in which he assumes leadership significantly impacts the efficacy of foreign policy. Muhammad Ali Bogra, Mr. Zulifgar Ali Bhutto, and Mr. Agha Shahi played significant roles in the administration of Pakistan's ministry of foreign affairs.

Role of Political Parties and Pressure groups

Political parties and pressure groups exert a substantial effect on the formulation and implementation of foreign policy (Bone, 1958). The aims of foreign policy are integrated into the manifestoes of political parties. Following their electoral victory, these parties apply pressure on the government to adjust foreign policy priorities in light of changing circumstances, aligning with

their own perspectives. Likewise, pressure organisations have the ability to exert influence on foreign policy. Political parties and pressure organisations exert a substantial influence on the formation of public opinion through their capacity to effectively communicate the shared aspirations of the general population. The orientation of the foreign policy making process is determined in this manner. Pakistan's decision to participate in western defence pacts was motivated by the nation's significant security considerations. Nevertheless, it encountered a lack of popular support and encountered opposition from both left-leaning politicians and those with moderate perspectives in both domestic and international political spheres. The West opposed Egypt's plan to nationalise the Suez Canal in July 1956, mostly because of its adverse effects on business interests. Nevertheless, in Pakistan, there was a significant level of public sympathy for Egypt's actions. The official policy of Pakistan, was in accordance with the interests of Western nations. The orientation of the foreign policy making process is determined in this manner.

Conclusion

Pakistan is among the several nations globally that endeavour to cultivate positive diplomatic ties for their own strategic objectives. This study demonstrates that Pakistan encountered challenges during its initial years following independence, primarily due to India's deliberate efforts to impede the progress of the newly formed nation. Pakistan has to have a close relationship with the US due to security and economic considerations. The United States also sought an ally in South Asia to combat communism. Both nations sought to strengthen their relationship due to their numerous shared interests. This study demonstrates that Pakistan's initial leaders had a high degree of amicability towards the United States, although the alliance proved to be of limited use. In order to enhance its global reputation and effectively serve its populace, it is imperative for our nation to undertake a comprehensive reassessment and reinterpretation of its foreign policy. Our nation is

in need of undergoing significant transformations. Foreign policymakers should not be subject to external requests for decisionmaking. Instead, individuals should exercise autonomy in making decisions. The U.S. Parliament should serve as the platform for formulating transparent, unrestricted, equitable foreign policy, with the aim of serving the welfare of its citizens. The current global tendency places greater emphasis on nations, economic alliances, and strategic advantage rather than political dominance. Pakistan's foreign leaders alter their approach international relations in order to avoid falling behind Asia's ascent in the 21st century. Pakistan's ideal foreign strategy demands a robust political determination and a pragmatic perspective.

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