

## **Competitive Analysis of Foreign Policies of India and Pakistan: Impact of Globalization**

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### **Abstract**

*The foreign policy of Pakistan and India differs in great manner where Pakistan foreign policy revolves around security and economic concerns on the other hand India's foreign policy revolves around maintaining relations with other countries in such a manner to dominate the South Asian region and remain neutral from world conflicts most of the time. Pakistan and India were born on the same date in 1947 yet both countries have different set of problems and issues to deal with. The policies of both countries differs with each other in adequate manner because of difference alliances, friendship pacts, geo-strategic locations and domestic political factors in a compact and comprehensive way. The foreign policy of both countries were decided on the day when Pakistan joined the United States block right after its creation and India decided to remain neutral with both USA and USSR. The policy of both countries have different dynamics because Pakistan was a weaker state with no military strength and weaker economy thus they were aiming to have good relations with Western block in order to stabilize the country and minimize the security threat. On the other hand, comparatively India was a stronger state and they very soon realized after independence that in ongoing cold war in the word it is better to adopt a neutral policy so to avoid getting in to conflicts and taking maximized advantage of the situation.*

### **Problem Statement**

This paper is aiming to discuss foreign policies of India and Pakistan and highlight impact of globalization on the foreign policies of India and Pakistan. To understand the relationship between foreign policies of India and Pakistan, we will consider the globalized factors and try to highlight what are some of the major factors that impact these policies in a compact and comprehensive manner. This paper will discuss the foreign policy both countries and then try to build a comparison between two policies based on political events, international events and globalized factors that were happening during the time when foreign policies were made.

### **Major Questions of the Research**

Some of the major research questions on which my research paper will be based are:

Q1. What is the summarized Foreign Policy of Pakistan Since 1947?

Q2. What is the summarized Foreign Policy of India Since 1947?

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Q3. How Foreign Policies of India and Pakistan can be compared and what are their implications on each other's foreign policies?

Q 4. How Globalization and International Political factors affected the foreign Policies of India and Pakistan?

### **Hypothesis**

Pakistan and India are facing serious security threats due to terrorism. Both countries have serious disputes over Kashmir and LOC and those disputes got worsen due to cross border terrorism. This study explores the foreign policy matters that are related to both country's internal and external issues. Furthermore, there are various globalized factors like cold war, war on terrorism and peace issues that are posing threats to the peace and security of India and Pakistan and disturbing the peace talks. Three conclusions were drawn. First, Kashmir dispute pose serious threats to either country and plays a major role in aggressive foreign policies towards each other. Second, with the passage of time aggressive foreign policies towards each other effects multiply and enhance the impact of conflict. Third, Globalized events like the cold war between US-USSR, emergence of China as economic power and shift of alliances plays a major role in transforming foreign policies of India and Pakistan.

**H1:** Kashmir Dispute plays a major role in aggressive Foreign policy towards each other

**H2:** Pakistan and India's foreign policy comparison shows aggression towards each other due political, social, international and globalized events.

**H3:** Globalization and International actors plays a great role in transforming foreign polices of either country.

### **Objectives**

- This research will discuss the foreign policy of Pakistan in detail since 1947, where discussing all the major events that played a role in shifting that policy aggressive towards India and will also discuss how that aggression in the policy affected on regional and international Level
- This research will also discuss the foreign policy of India in detail where keeping realities in mind that India was a strong country right from the beginning and how India used that dominance in her foreign policy and how India's foreign Policy affects regional and International events
- This research will highlight the major international and globalized events that were taking place during the past five decades and how those international events were affecting and shaping the foreign policies of both rival states
- Currently world is facing war on terrorism, alliances are being shifted, China is emerging as new economic power and South Asian region is again getting lime light due to CPEC and other economic activities, how the foreign policies of both countries will be responding to these changes and what is the way forward for these countries to maintain peaceful and progressive co-existence in the region.

### **Research Methodology**

To meet the requirements of research and reach to a comprehensive conclusion I will use exploratory research method to discuss the foreign policies of both India and Pakistan and then draw comparisons. Moreover, a literature research will also

be used where I will be exploring data from the research journals, scholarly articles, published books, and electronic peer reviewed articles that are relevant to my topic. In the research four major areas are targeted where first area is the highlighting foreign policy of Pakistan since 1947, where all the major events and transformations will be discussed. Second research area is to explore the foreign policy of India and discuss all the major areas and events that transform and shape her foreign policy in the past decades. In the third area research, will focus on the globalized events and International Politics dynamics that are affecting the foreign policies of both countries and how those events shape those policies in to aggressive policies. In the last area of research my focus will be on finding comparisons of both policies and by researching on the current situation and recent international events this research paper will try to present a way forward through which both countries can bring balance in polices and move forward in future in a peaceful and less aggressive manner.

### **Literature Review**

In the Literature review the foreign policies of Pakistan and India will be discussed in detail where using exploratory method this paper will find out the summarized foreign policies of both countries so that comparisons can be drawn. Also, this paper will use literature review to understand the impacts of globalized events on the foreign policies of both countries. The Literature review have been divided in to subsections where first this paper will explore the foreign policy of Pakistan and in the later part it will explore the foreign policy of India in a compact and comprehensive manner.

### **Pakistan Foreign Policy Brief Since 1947**

Pakistan since its birth is surrounded by plenty of problems, threats and conflicts which sometimes pose great threat to its sovereignty. When Pakistan was created it was a very weaker state and it was very much clear in the minds of the politicians that they need a security umbrella and “financial assistance from the developed countries.” (Amin 2000) In late 1940’s the hostile cold war has just begun and USSR and USA were in a neck to neck conflict with each other and newly born states have to make a clear decision that either they are with USA or USSR. Pakistan’s Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan though received an invitation from the USSR government but they rejected that invitation and fly to USA, thus Pakistan become an official ally of United States of America soon after her birth.

In 1950’s after joining the Western block of USA, Pakistan’s foreign policy much revolved around comprehensive relations with the western world. The most notable actions were joining of SEATO AND CENTO which were anti-communist treaties and pacts. Thus Pakistan’s foreign policy diverged towards the US block and after signing the treaties Pakistan made it very much clear to the USSR that our policy have no place for their ambitions. AT the same time other than western world Pakistan foreign policy against India was always aggressive and that is the reason foreign policy experts call Pakistan as a “Security Conscious State since its birth”

Pakistan’s foreign relations with India were never good since birth and these tensions pile up after the war over Kashmir in 1948 and Indus water conflict. (Hinton 1963) The truth is that India since first day never accepted existence of

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Pakistan and always tries to manipulate the politics and do some aggressive and hostile activity against Pakistan. Right from the start Pakistan relations with India are hostile, both countries went on 4 wars (48', 65', 71' and 98'). Moreover Indus water conflict which was apparently solved after Indus water treaty in 1950's was also considered as a "Completely Unsolved solution" because though with the efforts of USA the treaty was signed but that only increased the tensions between the two nations. Pakistan India in neck to neck fight attained Nuclear weapons, conflicts over Kashmir issue, economic issues, internal security and terrorist activities issues. The relations between two nations summarize the Pakistan's policy towards India as "India is our neighbor and we want peace but we are also always prepared for the war if India ever dare to hurt our sovereignty."

Moreover, Pakistan's foreign policy with other neighbors like China and Afghanistan is comparatively stable where our policy with Iran also face great tensions in past but now both countries are engaging with each other for peaceful progress and economic development. Pakistan's policy with Afghanistan is very much stable throughout the time despite the fact that Afghanistan many times deceived Pakistan by joining India but our policy always wanted to have peace with this country as Pakistan cannot bear another hostile border like India. Pakistan's policy with China is very much attractive and strong. In past and in today's date both countries are playing a role of economic and human development where China playing the role of Big Brother. Pakistan's policy with South Asian countries and Gulf is very much co-operative where our policy with Saudi Arabia is very much passionate and here religion is also one of the cause.

If we summarize the foreign policy of Pakistan we need to see it in Chunks. Pakistan foreign policy is actually keeps on changing due to no stable governmental system within the country. The military leaders tend to diverge more towards USA and the democratic leaders try to find new options in the past like Bhutto went to USSR in 1970's. Religion always played a role on our foreign policy and thus we can call it a very important indicator. Moreover, the Pakistan's foreign policy always is always plagued with the inconsistency of local leaders and bureaucrats. (Boone 1996) This is the reason Pakistani Nation always wanted to have an independent foreign policy with no foreign involvement but our "Imported Leaders" always let Western world and especially United States to dominate our foreign policy. US is an integral part of Pakistan's foreign policy and the truth is Pakistan never able to manage herself out of US influence.

In the end, it is summarized that Pakistan owns a US-centralized foreign policy where we are in a neck to neck hostile tension with India over all fronts, our policy with the gulf is much stable due to religious means, policy regarding Afghanistan is extremely confusing and the policy regarding China is extremely reliable and profitable in past 60+ years.

### **India Foreign Policy Brief Since 1947**

As mentioned earlier Pakistan-India are in continuous tension with each other thus India's foreign policy is very much bold and stable against Pakistan and that is having conscious and aggressive stances at every front. According to Appadorai and Mannaraswamighala India is an intelligent country and they right after birth stayed neutral during cold war and enjoy benefits from both US and USSR (Appadorai et al 1985). Moreover, their policy towards China was very much

hostile till 1980's but after their introduction of new "Look East" theory India's foreign policy is getting better day by day with the China and all other South Asian and East Asian countries. (Jaffrelot 2003)

India holds a history that it is a "sleeping giant" (Appadorai & Mannaraswamighala 1985) because of its area, its population and economic resources and the leaders of India realized this fact very much soon thus they maintained a continuous and smooth governmental process and thus successfully managed a neutral foreign policy. India is engaged in effective economic trade with almost every former, current and newly expected super power (i.e. china). The best part of the Indian policy is that they knew their importance regarding labor power and economic power and they are perusing a demanding policy in which they either demand a Security Council seat from the Western world or demand a strong Economic triangle with China. These both angles of policies are beneficial for the Indian state.

In the end, I must summarize the Indian policy that it is very much hostile with Pakistan, Extremely good with South Asian State, Look East policy further boosted their foreign relations with China and East Asian states. Moreover India stayed neutral in the cold war and even in today's time maintaining strong relation with USA, western world and Russia (former USSR). Moreover an interesting part of their policy is that India is having great trade and economic relations with Gulf States though they are not a Muslim state but have larger economic trade pacts with the Gulf States including Saudi Arabia. Now I will compare the policies of both India and Pakistan foreign policy.

### **Comparison of Pakistani and Indian Foreign Policy**

In this part, I will compare the foreign policy of both states in the terms of time frames or decades so to make my paper findings and differences between the foreign policies of two states clearer. And in conclusion of comparison I will compare both policies in generalized way.

### **Cold War Ear Comparison**

There is a great difference in the foreign policies of both Pakistan and India during the cold war. On one hand where Pakistan remained on the side of United States, India remain neutral throughout the cold war. International Scholar Amin (2000) highlights that in 1950's Pakistan joined SEATE and CENTO and in 1958 Pakistan gave their air base to the United States spy planes to get economic and weaponry aid (Amin 2000). On the other hand, India joined NAM and keep healthy relations with both USSR and USA. Here Indian policy in my view is superior as compare to Pakistan because they not only get economic aid from both super powers but also get aid from USSR in 65'and 71' war. On the other hand, Pakistan face, great loss in the global scenario where after U2 event USSR threat a war to Pakistan and in two wars both super powers offer no help to the Pakistani state. Moreover, due to US based foreign policy Pakistan have to go on a war with Soviet Union and that war rewarded Pakistan with refugees, drugs, weapon culture, extremism, terrorism and tons of other problems which destroyed the peace of Pakistan over the past years (Abbas 2004). On the other hand, India not only stayed neutral but have strong economic ties with both USSR and USA and this is the reason that in Tashkent pact of 1960', both wars with Pakistan, water

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issues and structural development projects India got way higher assistance from the super powers. (Dissatisfaction with Tashkent 1966)

In that era, the foreign policy with China is also very much important. Pakistan's policy was superior in this case as compare to India because Pakistan get great economic incentives and projects like Karakorum highway project in 1960's and strong stance of China over Kashmir issue in favor of Pakistan. On the other hand, India, due to their hostile foreign policy against china went on a war with them in 1960's and strong opposition from China over the international platforms which results in great economic loss for the Indian government.

#### **Late 80's – Present**

In the aftermath of cold war India revised their foreign policy and realized that they need to stand on their feet and make good relationship with neighbors expect Pakistan in order to have secure future in the world. On the other hand, Pakistan again repeated the same mistake and heavily relied their policy on United States and its assistance. India adopted on the look east policy, strengthen their Sino-Indian relationships by solving border issues in 1990s and developed strong economic dealings with China. Moreover, India adopted the Realist-economic policy like Indian voluntary Disclosure of Income System (VDIS) through which they boosted their local industrial markets and in less time become economically strong. On the other hand Pakistan, foreign policy in this era was rather more confusing from the past. On one hand Pakistan supported radical Islamist governments like Taliban regime of mid 1990's and on the other hand they tries to collaborate with western world, Gulf States and United States. The result is very much clear; Pakistan's foreign policy back fires after the event of 9/11 when USA waged a war against Afghanistan and Pakistan was forced to support that and whole country burns in the fire of extreme terrorism and brutal suicide attacks. Pakistan has sacrificed more than 30k civilians in the war against terrorism due to their wrong and extremely confused foreign policy in this time. According to Boon (1996) Pakistan's policy makers' one hand decided to make Nuclear weapons and on the other hand supported the Taliban regime in 1990's (Boon 1996). Right after the Nuclear testing Pakistan face great economic sanctions and isolating restrictions from all around the globe. Thanks to long lasting good relations with Saudi Arabia and china that played a vital role in providing economic oxygen to Pakistan in this era.

#### **Generalized Comparison of India and Pakistan Foreign Policy**

In general, the foreign policy of India is on much advantage as compare to Pakistan. The reason is that India never brought religion in to the policy issues and always prepare the policy on profit-loss basis. They remain neutral in cold war. They rebuild relations with China, they trade way greater than Pakistan with Muslim world, they are emerging as an economic super power of world and they started to firm their feet in the Asian politics and likely to get Security Council permanent seat soon; only their China is obstacle in their objective. (Drifte1998) On the hand the foreign policy of Pakistan since 2010 remains extremely confused and diverging. In one time they join US in the cold war and give air basis to them. In other Bhutto's time they get 5 year Green plans from USSR and then again Zia's time they fought the war of USA against USSR. In the same way they supported Taliban, then fought against them after 9/11 and all this confusion

actually isolated and badly hurt the image of Pakistan. Only Nuclear weapons is the reason Pakistan existence is safe till now else the confused foreign policy and increasing hater against terrorism was a great threat to Pakistan's sovereignty. The good thing about current foreign policy of Pakistan is that now they are not getting indulged in to the Lebanon issue and not putting a dent to their relationship with Iran and Middle Easter States. In the same way Pakistan is not relying much on USA this time and building strong economic and strategic relationships with China; the recent 46 Billion \$ agreement and the trade route leading to Gwadar Port is one of the best example of some of the positive sunshine emerging in Pakistan's current foreign policy. Thus, if we can review the past foreign policies of both countries India's foreign policy was much superior and efficient as compare to Pakistan's confused foreign policy. In the conclusion of comparison of both foreign policies I must highlight that both Pakistan and India's foreign policy now highlight on the importance of collaborative integration and productive engagement with each other and rest of the world.

### **Impacts of Globalization on Foreign Policies of India and Pakistan**

In the previous part of paper, we have discussed the foreign policies of India and Pakistan where we have discussed various global factors that affected those decisions. This part of the paper will specifically highlight those factors that forced both countries to enforce those policies. Boon (1996) highlights that When both India and Pakistan were created, the world was Bi-polar and was in the extreme phase of cold war (Boon 1996). Pakistan and India were located at that strategic positions where both super powers were directly interested to make good relations with them. It was the fact that because India was comparatively a strong country thus both super powers initially shown great interest in having India as ally, but India played a very good move by staying neutral and keeping good relations with both super powers. On the other hand, Pakistan was weak and needed support of one super power at least. In that era west was enjoying the impacts of globalization at greater extend and were more developed from the eastern parts of the world. It was preferable for Pakistan along with many other factors to joining hands with US, sign SEATO and CENTO and get some benefits. In the same way when China was expanding its economic development in late 1980's though India was a rival of China from the beginning, still they brought great shift in their foreign policies and decided to get in massive investment and development projects with China. It was because India have seen the trend of globalization and it was visible that in future soft power and economic superiority will play a greater role in world politics.

There were many concerns shown by some Middle Eastern countries when Pakistan joined hands with US in war against terror in Afghanistan. Some countries play the card of Muslim brotherhood and some plays the card of US double edged aims. But for Pakistan keeping the trends of globalization was most important. Those were high times; the wave of terrorism was spreading in the world and earning more hate from all developed nations. If at that time Pakistan did not support US, it was quite possible that Pakistan's own sovereignty falls in to great threat. Thus, the shaping of Pakistan's policy in the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century was impacted by the globalized issues and they were forced and left to support United States in that war, though there were many inner voices in Pakistan against that unconditional support. I have already discussed few points in this paper that

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shows how foreign policies of India and Pakistan. Now this paper will discuss how the current foreign policies of India and Pakistan are affected by the Globalization and its impacts. From the past few years this world has seen re-emergence of extremist leadership in the key states. In India, we see the emergence of Modi as Prime Minister, In United Kingdom we see majority supports non-collaboration with rest of Europe that led to Brexit. In the same way in United States of America we Trump elected as president when everyone was predicting he will never get elected due to his extremist views. The trend does not stop here where we see a radical dictator ruling North Korea and threatening major powers and referendum in Turkey recently tells that now Turkey will also face an authoritarian type presidential government till 2029. These all trends show that struggle for power is only going intense between states and it is those high times when aggressive foreign policies do the business. These times are quite similar like 1920's and 1930's era, just before second World War, when aggressive policies were enforced by many nations that led the world in to one of the massive clash of the history. Due to these trends and series of events that are dominating globalized world, we see same aggressiveness in the foreign policies of Pakistan and India too. Pakistan and India are now moving towards a policy where they are even canceling all the cultural interactions that further creating distance between these countries. The point of all this discussion is that to stay relevant in the global issues and global power struggle countries do form and shift their foreign policies according to globalization and its trends and same is visible in Pakistan and India.

### **Current Scenario**

There is a famous saying by the Realist school of thought that to expect morality in International Relations and Foreign policy making is like da dreaming. Though Liberal and Functional school of thought rejects this idea but Realists say that these school of thought use realistic approach for their own policies and preaches others to use liberal foreign policy. The same saying goes to foreign policies of India and Pakistan. Where Pakistan who never shown any intent to go near USSR in the past, is not shaking hands, organizing meetings and collectively participating in the military practices. This sharp shift in the foreign policy by Pakistan shows that they have switched their priorities by observing global trends and now moving towards China and Russia to counter the domination of India and US. On the other hand, India is coming closer to United States where we see several visits of heads of both states and mega projects launched by United States in India. This shift towards United States and reluctance to follow neutrality is a clear evidence that India is also reformulating its foreign policy according to the global trends. Thus, it is concluded that foreign policies of all countries are meant to be change as per changing globalized trends and every state make a foreign policy by considering all national, international and globalization factors in a compact and comprehensive manner.

### **Conclusion**

It is concluded that in the current date it seems that both countries have learned enough from their mistakes and moving towards a policy of mutual collaboration. Moreover both countries are seeking to have a good foreign policy towards China and Middle Eastern states and believes that economic prosperity will bring great benefits to them. United States on this point is trying to exploit both countries by sending different offers and manipulating power politics and it is most likely that



Pakistan will not get trapped in their tricks this time. If we analyze current date foreign policy of India and Pakistan both are focusing on the regional development like Sri-Lanka, Bangladesh and other states. There are various reasons behind the change of policy but the driving factor is globalization because due to globalization states are forced to bring changes in their foreign policies according to changing situations. Moreover, the urge of attaining soft power and economic stability is also on rise thus we see several shifts in the foreign policies of either countries. In the era of globalization there is a need to develop a foreign policy that bring the people of India and Pakistan closer, because globalization's basic concept is to make this world a global village and bring people closer. Thus, there must be special focus on cultural integration and economic activities that spread peace and collaboration in a compact and comprehensive manner. This is the era of globalization and any state that denies this fact or make foreign policies against globalization will eventually isolate themselves from the rest of the world. There are clear examples in front of us, where China and Russia despite being one of the biggest rivals of US, always prefer to make policies that allow them to integrate with western world. On the other hand, when Iran tries to make a rigid foreign policy by denying the globalization and its implications they stood alone and face great economic and political setbacks on international forums. In the same way, today North Korea is also going wrong way in my view by implementing a foreign policy that is isolating them from the world, and the consequences could be very serious for North Korea. Pakistan and India are two geographical realities on the world map, thus there is a need to understand this reality and start making foreign policies that bring them together play vital role in diminishing the hostilities.

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