

MS Research Thesis

**FOREIGN POLICIES:A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO AND IMRAN KHAN**



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In the name of Allah the most merciful and the most beneficent

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents (late father, May Allah rest his soul in peace and dedicating this hard work to his memories, I wish he could see me now), siblings, and sister in-laws, who give me endless opportunities of education and support me financially & emotionally. I would like thanks to elder sister who remain outstanding in nourishing our future, and my other sisters, who give me advice, motivation, and gifts whatever situation I had face. I would like thanks to my brothers for supporting me as well annoying me, however, brothers are always born for hard time. Specially dedicated this hard work to my mom, who was remain deprived of basic rights plus facilities in their life, ignoring that and sacrifice her whole life for us to make our future brighter then bright. Thank you my love (mom).

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ABSTRACT

The roles of key actors in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy have been pivotal throughout history, with figures like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan leaving lasting imprints. Bhutto's tenure spanning from 1971 to 1977, witnessed significant shift in Pakistan's alliances. As Foreign Minister, Presidential Administration, and Prime Minister, he steered the nation away from Western alliances, withdrawing from SEATO and CENTO. Bhutto prioritized closer ties with China and the Muslim World. Imran Khan's "Naya Pakistan" vision prioritized autonomous foreign policy, particularly about the West and the US, with strengthening ties with China through the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). This study seeks to bridge the literature gap by conducting a comprehensive comparative analysis of the foreign policies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan, with a specific focus on their approaches to foreign policy Afghanistan. Drawing neo-classical realism theory on the analysis of the foreign policies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan and internal and external factors impact on Pakistan foreign policy, providing deep context, actor and ideational influences that drives their foreign policy choice. To achieve the objectives, the study employs a qualitative research method, including primary sources, academia interviews and think tank, secondary documents, articles, journals, and books analysis, and analytical analysis of the collected data. This study is structured into several steps covering introductions, literature review, theoretical framework, methodology, data analysis, findings, and conclusion. The significance of the study is to help policy policymakers and governance practices and help the students of political and international relations students for reference in Pakistan and abroad. In conclusion, the comparative analysis presented in this case study contributes to a better understanding of how the internal and external factors affect the foreign policies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan influenced Pakistan's foreign policy choices and the implications of these choices on the nation's strategic interests. It also offers insights into the continuity and change in Pakistan's foreign policy over the decades, highlighting the significance of leadership in shaping a nation's international outlook.

Chapter 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The world became a global village, the distance between now did not feel due globalization, due to which incident in one state impact on other state. According to different aspects of foreign policy like national interests, culture, state identities, sovereignty, and historical factors, it includes also historical, cultural, and economic factors through one state knot tie with other state. After the cold war it was difficult but brought changes in the international system and in the foreign policy of every state. However, international actors start examining their system and policies one more time. For this reason, national identity, national interest, and political, economic, and social systems were adopted and were under debate. The purpose of foreign policy remains to get closer relations with other states to protect peace, stability, sovereignty. Any incident and conflict in any states influence other state (Erbaş, 2013).

Foreign policy is the factor in the modern state system through which one state engages with another state at an international level, to preserve their national interest and make a positive image on the globe. However, foreign policy simply conveys that it involves interaction based on various aspects such as security, economic and human resource management. The international relations origin traces from the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which established state foundation, state sovereignty, and state relations.

In the twentieth century a notable disaster came to the globe after WW2. Start decolonization and no one remains untouched from war lost. However, in this region Pakistan came into being on third world map, faces various problem from outside. The founder of Pakistan sees vision for Pakistan foreign policy to balance relation between Eastern and Western block, that step can make complexities and aspiration for the new states. Muhammad Ali Jinnah as the founder of Pakistan made and shaped Pakistan foreign policy, who stated:

“Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make us

Utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world, Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world, and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Chart. “

Since the beginning of its diplomatic endeavors, Pakistan actively cultivated ties with the Western world, with a notable focus on the United States. Given the USA's predominant global influence at the time, especially amid the Cold War era, it significantly molded global dynamics and wielded sway over both allies and adversaries, including the USSR. This American influence played a pivotal role in reshaping Pakistan's foreign policy landscape, becoming a central consideration for Pakistani leadership. This investigation delves into the foreign policy strategies of Pakistan under the stewardship of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan.

Pakistan, established on August 14, 1947, has faced enduring challenges in its foreign policy since its inception. As the sole nation formed in the name of Islam, it inherited a legacy of advocating for Muslim causes, evident even before its creation, with the All-India Muslim League championing this stance. Post-independence, Pakistan continued this support for Muslim causes globally, guided by a strong Muslim identity. Muhammad Ali Jinnah articulated this principle, emphasizing the need to foster friendship and cooperation with all nations, particularly the Muslim world. The 1973 constitution further underscores Pakistan's obligation to cultivate closer ties with the Muslim community (Amin, 2010).

The formative years of Pakistan's foreign policy were characterized by significant volatility, witnessing numerous fluctuations for the nation. During this period, Pakistan predominantly aligned itself with the Western Bloc, forging alliances such as SEATO and CENTO, while also maintaining membership in the Commonwealth. These alliances were primarily sought to acquire military assistance, bolster its economic standing, and safeguard its sovereignty (Ahmad, 1968).

During this period, Pakistan did not prioritize building strong ties with the Muslim world. In 1965, the nation confronted Indian aggression, revealing the limitations of its Western alliances as Pakistan found itself isolated. In 1966, Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent treaty with India, with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto serving as Pakistan's Foreign Minister. Subsequently, Bhutto laid the groundwork for the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Pakistan later underwent a civil war, resulting in the loss of its Eastern wing, now Bangladesh. Bhutto assumed control from General Yahya

Khan on December 20, 1971, recognizing the need to reconsider Pakistan's approach toward the West. This shift was prompted by the perceived impartial stance of Pakistan's Western allies during the 1965 Indo-Pak conflict and the 1971 war. Sattar, in his book, argues that Bhutto restructured Pakistan's foreign policy towards the Muslim world, actively engaging with Muslim nations. Until 1970, Pakistan's relations with the Muslim world were uncertain and fragmented. Bhutto's proactive measures enhanced Pakistan's reputation in the Muslim world (Sattar, pp. 137-139. 2020).

General Muhammad Zia Ul Haq assumed office as the sixth President of Pakistan on September 16, 1978. He maintained Bhutto's foreign policy stance towards the Muslim world, albeit in a changed environment. During his tenure, Pakistan received substantial aid, both military and otherwise, from the United States and other Muslim nations, primarily in the context of the former Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Shah, 1997).

President Zia displayed less enthusiasm for third-world politics compared to Bhutto, demonstrating a greater willingness to collaborate closely with the US and Western powers, while maintaining a notably reserved stance towards the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, Zia actively strengthened the relationships between Pakistan and Middle Eastern countries, leveraging the groundwork laid by his predecessor (Burki, 1991). Following the tragic air crash in Bahawalpur on August 17, 1988, General Zia passed away. Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who served as the Chairman of the Senate, assumed the role of Acting President of Pakistan. General Yaha Khan had previously announced the date for elections before his death, and the new president affirmed that the elections would proceed as scheduled. However, once again, the elections were slated to be conducted on a non-party basis, a decision that political parties opposed. Despite their legal efforts to secure their rightful participation in Pakistani politics, the military intervened and dismissed Nawaz Sharif on October 12, 1999, thus concluding his second term as Prime Minister (Chauhdary, pp. 6&7. 2009).

Over the span of eleven years, Pakistan experienced changes in leadership, with seven different individuals serving as Prime Minister. This frequent turnover highlights the challenge of political stability in the face of internal and external threats, often necessitating military intervention to maintain control and prevent political instability. However, after two decades, Pakistan, under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's leadership, embarked on a path towards Islamic democracy,

aiming to diminish the influence of the military establishment and powerful bureaucrats, starting from Iskander Mirza's tenure as Prime Minister.

Imran Khan's journey from the cricket field to the political arena stands out as unique amidst Pakistan's political landscape. Unlike many of his counterparts, who typically hail from landed elites, wealthy business backgrounds, or the military, Khan emerged from a middle-class background, with an engineer father and a homemaker mother. He delayed entering politics until his late 40s, necessitating an understanding of his public persona before embarking on his political journey.

During Imran Khan's tenure as Prime Minister, Pakistan's foreign policy has undergone significant shifts and adjustments, reflecting the government's vision for a more pragmatic and balanced approach to international relations. His administration has placed emphasis on regional connectivity, peace-building initiatives, and economic diplomacy, while advocating for a policy of non-interference and neutrality in external conflicts. According to Siddiq, the Khan government has actively worked towards improving relations with neighboring countries such as India and Afghanistan, prioritizing dialogue and negotiation to address longstanding disputes (Siddiq, 2021). Furthermore, Khan's administration has actively engaged in multilateral forums, such as the United Nations, to address global challenges and advocate for issues of importance to Pakistan, including climate change and sustainable development. This paragraph highlights the key elements of Pakistan's foreign policy under Imran Khan's leadership, as well as the scholarly analysis provided by Siddiq to support these observations.

In contrast, during Imran Khan's tenure as Prime Minister, Pakistan adopted an independent foreign policy stance with a focus on forging a "Naya Pakistan" (New Pakistan) narrative. Khan's administration adopted a bilateral policy towards Muslim countries and emphasized stronger ties with the West, particularly the United States. Notably, Pakistan's relationship with China was deepened under Khan's leadership, with the initiation of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) policy.

Pakistan's foreign policy during the tenure of Imran Khan as Prime Minister has witnessed notable shifts and recalibrations, reflecting the government's vision for a more pragmatic and balanced approach to international relations. Imran Khan's administration has prioritized regional connectivity, peace-building efforts, and economic diplomacy while emphasizing a policy of non-interference and neutrality in external conflicts. As noted by Siddiq, the Khan government has

sought to improve relations with neighboring countries such as India and Afghanistan, with a focus on resolving long-standing disputes through dialogue and negotiation (Siddiqa, 2021). Moreover, Khan's government has actively participated in international forums such as the United Nations to address global issues and advocate for Pakistan's interests, including climate change and sustainable development. This paragraph outlines the key aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy under Imran Khan's leadership, supported by Siddiqa's scholarly analysis. Raza suggests that Pakistan's foreign policy under Imran Khan has undergone significant transformations and strategic adjustments, reflecting a more assertive and pragmatic approach to international relations. The administration has prioritized regional connectivity and economic diplomacy, aiming to enhance trade and investment with neighboring countries and beyond. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a flagship initiative of the government, has played a pivotal role in strengthening economic cooperation with China, attracting foreign investment, and advancing infrastructure development efforts (Raza, 2021). Additionally, Bokhari contends that Khan's administration has adopted a strategy of positive interaction with neighboring powers such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, with the goal of fostering peace and stability in the region (Bokhari, 2022). Pakistan's foreign policy has underscored the importance of multilateralism and collaboration with global institutions like the United Nations to tackle worldwide issues such as climate change and sustainable development. Through strategic use of its geostrategic position, Pakistan aims to bolster its influence both regionally and globally while advancing its own national interests.

This work is an analysis of the foreign relations of Pakistan with neighboring Afghanistan during the period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan. It will further describe how the internal and external factors affect the foreign policymaking of Pakistan during these periods. Indeed, the study is an analysis of those trends and patterns that were noticeable in the specific time of these two rulers, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This study endeavors to conduct a comprehensive analysis of Foreign Policies of Pakistan under Zulfikar Bhutto and Imran Khan, focusing on the internal and external factors that significantly influence the Pakistan's foreign policy concerning towards Afghanistan. The research aims to dissect the trends and patterns employed by these influential leaders, shedding

light on their strategies in shaping Pakistan's diplomatic relationships within these crucial geopolitical spheres.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This research holds paramount significance in the realm of international relations, offering a nuanced understanding of Pakistan's foreign policy dynamics under the leadership of two pivotal figures, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan. By delving deep into their policies and strategies, the study illuminates the intricate web of internal and external factors that shape Pakistan's relationship Afghanistan. Understanding these historical context and decision-making, process not only enriches academic discourse but also provides invaluable insights for policy makers, diplomats, and analysts. By discerning the pattern and trends in Pakistan's foreign policies, this research serves as a vital resource for predicting future diplomatic approaches, fostering regional stability, and guiding international interactions. Moreover, it contributes significantly to the boarder understanding of how leadership changes influence a nation's global positioning, making it essential for scholars, practitioners, and stakeholders invested in international diplomacy and strategic affairs.

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To explore the internal and external factors that affected the viewpoints of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan in formulating of foreign policy towards Afghanistan
2. To compare the challenges to the foreign policy during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan Tenure, particularly concerning the interactions with Afghanistan

1.5 Research Questions

1. How do the internal and external factors affect the viewpoints of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan in the formulation of foreign policy towards Afghanistan?
2. What were the challenges and issues faced by comparing the foreign policies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan, particularly in their interactions with Afghanistan, during their tenure?

1.6 Delimitation(s) of the Study

The delimitation of the study is to focus on the foreign policies of the two prominent leaders of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan in their respective eras.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Professor Ziring reviews in his book about the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto foreign policy and domestic policies as foreign minister under Ayub Khan and prime, especially the India intervention in Pakistan in December 1971. Bhutto has won admiration as a foreign affair leader reached to the accommodation with the leaders of domestic parties on nation's domestic issues. Pakistan one newly organized state after World War two, Pakistan as many issues but some success too. Aid plays an important role in the running of the Third World countries and that has been played till today. The condition and nature of a country's economic structure serve as a reasonably precise gauge of the economic and social well-being of its society. Being one of the many nations newly established in the post-World War II era, Pakistan encounters challenges but has also achieved notable successes. Like numerous developing nations, various forms of foreign aid have been pivotal in steering the course of its economic development, and this assistance remains integral to its ongoing progress.

With scarce natural resources and a strong desire to promote swift economic progress, successive administrations in Pakistan have extended appealing incentives to the entrepreneurial class. This approach has not only led to consistently high annual economic growth rates but has also resulted in a notable concentration of wealth among a relatively small group, often referred to as the "22 families." Given the People's Party of Pakistan's election platform, which emphasizes "Islamic Socialization" and egalitarianism as national goals, Professor Gustafson assesses the government's major achievements. These include the nationalization of certain fundamental industries, labor reforms primarily targeting companies, land reforms whose outcomes are subject to debate, and the devaluation of the rupee, a move considered by Professor Gustafson as the most fruitful to date. Contrary to predictions of the loss of East Pakistan, the nation experienced an economic resurgence, surprising many with its annual growth rate. While the economic challenges facing many underdeveloped nations capture the attention of their leaders, a significant and often overlooked factor contributing to the ongoing economic struggles is the relentless increase in population. Despite the relatively rapid adoption of modern public health measures leading to a marked reduction in mortality rates for many nations, efforts to reduce fertility rates have not yielded comparable success. Consequently, there has been a sharp

and continual net increase in population, a trend exemplified in the case of Pakistan (Korson, 1974).

Husain draws views regarding the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy, delineating its intricate amalgamation of historical occurrences, regional intricacies, and domestic elements encompassing political dynamics, economic considerations, and public sentiment. The nation's interactions with major global players, including the United States, China, and India, are underscored as being steered by calculated strategic considerations and overarching objectives. The active involvement of Pakistan in regional and global organizations, exemplified by its participation in entities like the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and the United Nations, is identified as a contributing factor to the realization of its foreign policy goals. A specific focus is placed on Pakistan's strategic stance concerning regional security challenges, with insights into its positions on critical issues such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and the Kashmir conflict. The study accentuates the imperative of comprehending the strategic dimensions embedded in Pakistan's foreign policy, underscoring the necessity to grasp these nuances for a comprehensive understanding of the nation's positioning on both regional and global fronts (Husain, 1977).

Fahim et al, primary findings, in this, underscore the significant repercussions of Pakistan's loss in the 1971 war against India, encompassing substantial territorial and human losses. In response to these challenges, Pakistan strategically emphasized its Islamic identity and pursued its objectives in the Middle East. The evolving political dynamics in the Middle East during the 1970s provided a conducive environment for Pakistan to endorse Islamic principles, thereby fortifying its national identity. Under the leadership of Bhutto, the Pakistani government employed shuttle diplomacy with Middle Eastern Muslim nations to secure support for the reconstruction of Pakistan's identity and the advancement of its national interests. Notably, Bhutto adeptly utilized the platform of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to safeguard Pakistan's identity and effectively pursue its strategic goals (Faheem et al., 2020).

Following independence, Pakistan's foreign policy vision was historically influenced by global powers such as the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) during the Cold War. Aligned with the security interests of the USA, this approach underwent significant changes under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's leadership. Bhutto's visionary foreign policy sought to challenge the established power dynamics, leading to a

confrontation between major powers—USA and USSR—and their allies, including Pakistan. Bhutto aimed to unite developing nations, particularly from the Muslim world, to shield them from exploitation by major powers, emphasizing the untapped potential within the third world for a better future. His assertive stance on Pakistan's security, including seeking a nuclear umbrella, clashed with major powers' preferences, resulting in the sacrifice of his government and ultimately his life (Amin, 2022).

Since assuming office in August 2018, Imran Khan, renowned for his cricket career and now a prominent political figure, has been at the forefront in addressing Pakistan's foreign policy challenges. The volatile situation in Afghanistan, exacerbated by the abrupt withdrawal of U.S. troops, has necessitated Pakistan's active engagement with both Afghanistan and the United States. Additionally, the persistent challenges posed by India, a neighboring nation displaying reluctance, have presented a multifaceted threat. On the other hand, China, a strategic ally, has opened up a multitude of opportunities for Pakistan. This chapter scrutinizes Prime Minister Khan's foreign policy approach, contending that his expressed views in speeches, writings, and interviews have left an enduring mark on the direction of Pakistan's foreign policy. It emphasizes that Pakistan, in managing its relations with significant actors, prioritizes sovereignty, economic security, and conflict resolution. Consequently, the nation's ties with other countries have experienced fluctuations based on their respect for Pakistan's sovereignty, the economic opportunities they offer, and their support in conflict resolution. Furthermore, the chapter delves into the evolving institutional frameworks and the altered conduct of foreign policy under the Khan administration. It posits that Pakistan is likely to encounter numerous challenges in its prospective shift toward a foreign policy driven by geo-economics (Ali, 2022).

Pakistan, due to its unique characteristics and strategic location, consistently captures international attention. Positioned in a dynamic global region, the nation faces various challenges and opportunities that the Pakistani foreign office must navigate, addressing issues, protecting national interests, and serving the diaspora. However, the foreign office operates within limitations, including capacity constraints and communication challenges with key policy-making institutions. Although the incumbent government initially promised to strengthen the Foreign Service through expansion and modernization, there remains significant work ahead in fulfilling this commitment. Despite some achievements, a more comprehensive and renewed approach to external affairs is needed for the remainder of the government's current term. This

paper critically examines the operational, institutional, and political factors shaping the foreign policy during the first half of the administration's five-year tenure (Altaf, 2021a).

Pakistan's foreign policy during the Imran Khan era, cricket turned politician shaped Pakistan's foreign policy objectives. In his Era, he emphasized on strengthening regional relations especially with India, Afghanistan, China, and with Iran. The main theme and developments in Pakistan's foreign policy during the Imran Khan Administration are examined in this literature study (khan, 2011). So, to bring change in foreign policy is normal, sometimes it's due to national interest or external factors, and Pakistan's foreign policy was changed in the Imran Khan Era through Hermann's method.

Shah analyzed in the study that changes in the foreign policy of any state are normal and that change occurred in Khan's foreign policy. That policy change was explained through Hermann's three methods which are program change, adjustment change, and problem or goal change. In the program change, Khan wants to resolve the Kashmir issue through negotiation and diplomacy rather than war, because both states have nuclear powers, which will create a danger to the world due to war. He highlights the Kashmir issue at different multilateral and bilateral forums through speech diplomacy. This feature gave him a unique feature to his policies. Through them, he pressured India toward a diplomatic solution for Kashmir. Khan wants to normalize relations between Iran and Saudi, Tehran and Washington, Taliban and the US. Between Iran and the US, he tries to normalize a relationship and indicate that it will create disaster in the whole Gulf. And deliver his message to Trump that is not the solution. Further, if we look at the Afghanistan and US relations Trump mentioned that "Pakistan has the power to do so". He again called that Pakistan will not remain part of any war. So, these efforts bring change. He wants to maintain good relations with India. And open a Kartarpure corridor in 2019. Through this, he shows a soft power that God lives in everyone's heart and gives the lesson of 'peace and justice'. But despite independent and soft diplomacy cannot bring change. Because he gave a speech on diplomacy and the Kashmir issue requires strategic partnership and flexible consensus (Shah, 2020b). So, Khan Wanted to resolve Kashmir issues between India and Pakistan through a third party and that was in his Era when he expected from US to play a pivotal role.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Concept of Theory

Kenneth Waltz (1959), father of structural realism argue to understand the international politics one there is required to understand the international environment like the nature of the political system of the states in which they interact, as he built conception that state of nature or human nature cannot explain the occurrence and absence of war, while he later introduce the third image of the theory that international anarchic system makes it difficult on the basis of capabilities of state, influence the international relations. However, according to another realist thinker like Kenth Waltz (1979), Organski and Kugler (1980), and Gilpin (1981) views that international politics is mediated by the power capabilities between states. Whether weak or strong they inspire through the armed availability internally or alien with another state to balance the power gap. While in an anarchic system where security of the state is always at the helm of the risk, where system dictate the state. Structural realism focuses on explaining international politics outcomes rather than individual foreign policies, suggesting that states actions are primarily responses to systemic circumstances. Domestic politics and leader characteristics are considered insignificant in determining policy, as they could interfere with systemic imperatives in an anarchic international realm (Ripsman, 2011).

Neoclassical realism emerges from the examination of foreign policy by considering both the structure of the international system and domestic factors, and the complex interplay between them. Its primary objective is to understand how the distribution of power in the international system, as well as the motivations and subjective characteristics of states in relation to the international system, influences their foreign policy choices. Neoclassical realists share with structural realists the view that states shape their foreign policies based on the threats and opportunities present in the international system. However, they diverge from structural realists in several keyways (Firoozabadi & Ashkezari, 2016).

3.2 Perception of Systemic Stimuli

Neoclassical realists argue that states may not always accurately perceive the international environment. Leaders' perceptions can be influenced by biases, incomplete information, or cognitive limitations, leading to misjudgments about relative power and available options.

3.3 Rationality of Decision-Making

Even if leaders perceive threats correctly, they may not always make rational decisions. Factors such as cognitive limitations, historical experiences, or personal biases can lead to suboptimal decision-making processes, deviating from what structural theories predict.

3.4 Clarity of Signals

The international system may not always provide clear signals about threats and opportunities. Ambiguity in assessing challenges and appropriate responses can complicate foreign policy decision-making, leaving room for interpretation and differing strategies.

3.5 Domestic Constraints

States may face domestic constraints that hinder their ability to respond as the international system dictates. Factors such as opposition from interest groups, legislative bodies, or limited access to resources can constrain states' flexibility in crafting and implementing foreign policies. In essence, neoclassical realists acknowledge the importance of the international environment in shaping state behavior but emphasize the role of perception, decision-making processes, and domestic factors in determining foreign policy outcomes.

Neoclassical realists acknowledge the limitations of structural realist theory and introduce unit-level variables to supplement it. They focus on two key areas where structural theory falls short:

3.6 Inconsistent Responses to Systemic Imperatives

Neoclassical realists highlight instances where states fail to respond appropriately to clear systemic threats. They cite cases like French unpreparedness before World War I and British and French appeasement in the 1930s as examples. Randall Schweller explains such under balancing as resulting from domestic political factors like elite consensus, government vulnerability, and social cohesion.

3.7 Ambiguity in Policy Choices

When the international environment doesn't present clear threats, states have a range of policy options influenced by leaders' worldviews, domestic coalitions, and strategic cultures. Neoclassical realists argue that foreign policy decisions are shaped not only by external factors but also by domestic politics, strategic culture, and historical context. This approach broadens the understanding of foreign policy, incorporating factors like leader perceptions, strategic culture,

state-society relations, and domestic political institutions. Neoclassical realism suggests that states don't always adopt optimal policies dictated by the international environment but choose from a range of options influenced by both systemic constraints and domestic imperatives. [108]

The examination of foreign policy decisions, their formulation, and the impact of national leadership on a state's global interactions constitute a vital area of study within the realm of international relations. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan, two distinct leaders of Pakistan, have left a lasting imprint on the nation's foreign policy landscape. Their respective tenures, separated by several decades, provide a unique vantage point for the application of theoretical frameworks that seek to understand the complexities of foreign policy decision-making. This paper adopts the theoretical lens of neoclassical realism, as elucidated by Rose (1998), to assess and compare the foreign policies of these two leaders. Neoclassical realism integrates classical realist principles with a focus on internal state dynamics, leadership, and the influence of domestic factors on foreign policy. Within this framework, we delve into the leadership styles, the role of national identity, and the strategic considerations that shaped Pakistan's foreign policy during Bhutto's era and continue to influence it under Imran Khan's leadership. This comparative analysis aims to shed light on the evolving foreign policy objectives of Pakistan and the role of leadership therein, drawing insights from the neoclassical realist perspective (Rose, 1998). [109]

Throughout the literature, we see the significant influence of leaders like Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Imran Khan, and their foreign policy decisions. Neo-classical realism emphasizes the role of leaders in shaping a state's foreign policy. Bhutto's efforts to accommodate domestic political parties and Imran Khan's approach to managing relations with significant actors, such as the United States, China, and India, are examples of leadership-driven foreign policy (Ziring, Year; Ali, 2022).

Bhutto's emphasis on Pakistan's Islamic identity and Imran Khan's approach to soft diplomacy and the Kartarpur corridor highlight the importance of national identity and soft power in international relations. Neo-classical realism recognizes the role of ideational factors in influencing state behavior (Faheem et al., 2020; Shah, 2020b).

The literature discusses Pakistan's interactions with major global players like the United States, China, and India, as well as its participation in regional organizations like the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Neo-classical realism emphasizes the calculation of

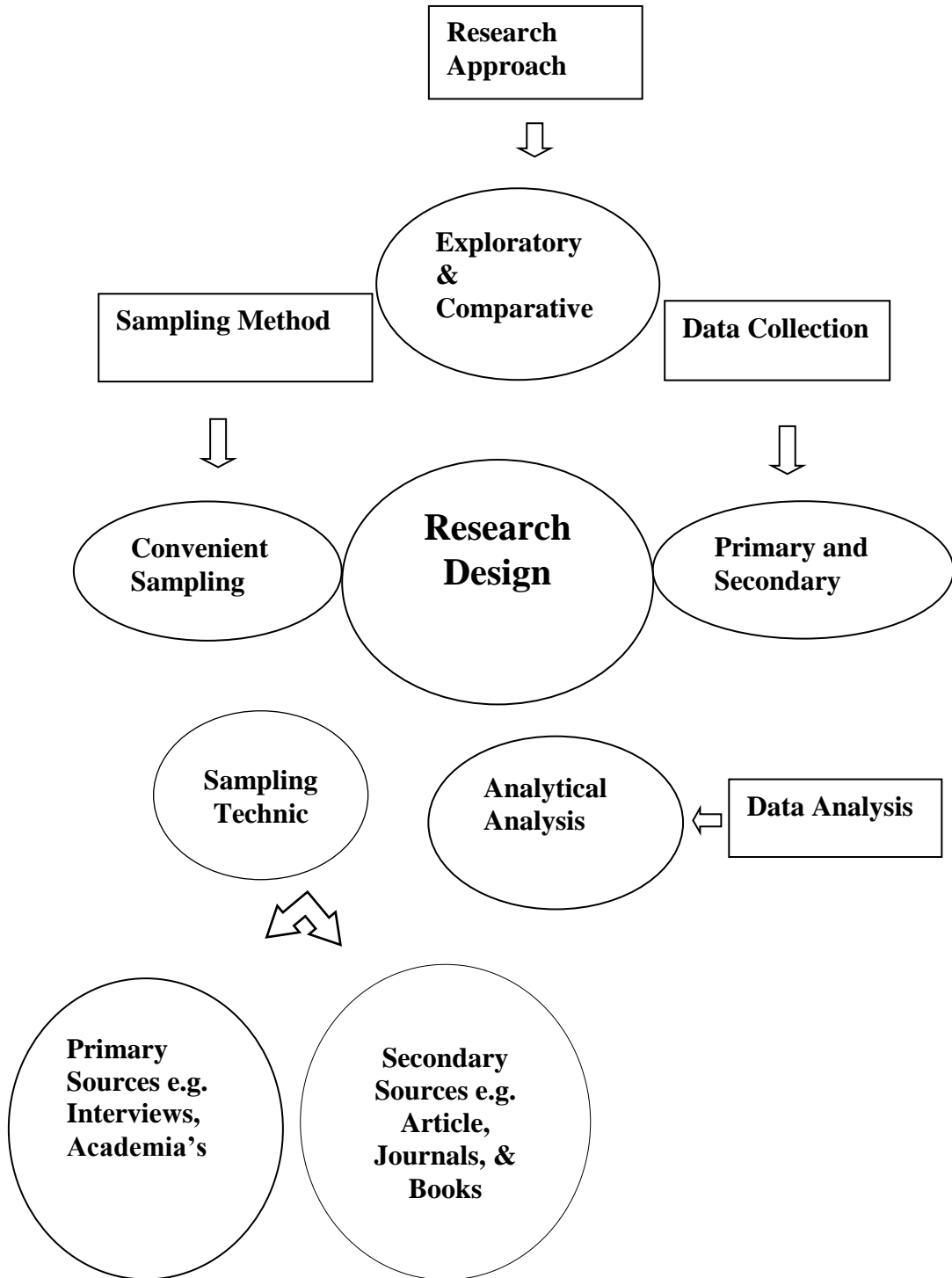
strategic considerations and overarching objectives in shaping foreign policy, considering both regional and global factors (Husian, 1977).

The literature highlights the impact of economic factors on foreign policy. Bhutto's economic policies and Imran Khan's emphasis on economic security are in line with neo-classical realism, which acknowledges the role of economic considerations in shaping state behavior (Korson, 1974; Ali, 2022). Bhutto's efforts to challenge the established power dynamics, including seeking a nuclear umbrella, align with neo-classical realism's focus on state security and power-seeking behavior (Amin, 2022). The text references Pakistan's efforts to balance relationships with major powers and manage multifaceted threats. Neo-classical realism recognizes the need for states to balance power and navigate complex international relationships (Ali, 2022).

To sum up, the literature exhibits characteristics and themes that resonate with the core principles of neo-classical realism, such as the role of leadership, national identity, power dynamics, and the influence of domestic factors on foreign policy decisions. This theoretical framework helps provide a comprehensive understanding of Pakistan's foreign policy and its evolution over time.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Design



Reference: Compiled by author

The nature of the study determines the types of data and methods of data collection. In this study, primary and secondary data are used to explore the foreign policy of two prominent leaders of Pakistan Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan in their respective eras. And also compare their foreign policies. The comparative model is used to compare two or more variables. In this study, the comparative model and analytical methods of the research methodology are used to compare the foreign policies of two democratic leaders of Pakistan Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan. The nature of the studies determines the research method used. The nature of this study determines that primary and secondary data is used and that is qualitative data.

4.2 Population

Interviews were conducted with academicians to get a better understanding of the political ideologies of these two prominent leaders ZA Bhutto and Imran Khan in their respective eras.

4.3 Sampling

Keeping in view the time and accessibility constraints, it was not possible to contact the whole population, therefore, a convenient model of sampling has been used for interviewing concerned authorities to get inside from them.

4.4 Operational Definition

4.4.1 Ideology

Ideology is the map of thought behavior, without such a pattern politics is clueless. Such as for the identification of doctrine, ideologies contain core concepts. Ideology has different concepts in different contexts. For example, "Liberty" ideology means freedom or the ability to want to do. Another context to "Liberty" ideology is freedom for all, having equal opportunities for everyone, even if it requires some rules to achieve it

4.4.2 Foreign Policy

The concept of foreign policy has been explained by the author Augustyn in his book, that general tool of any state relations with the other state to achieve their national interest. Diplomacy is the tool for the manifestation of interaction, war, and relations with other states. Some of the writers say that geography and external relations affect foreign policy but some of the experts recommend that domestic factors also affect the foreign policy of the state.

4.4.3 Socialism

As in operational definitions, the political ideology of ZA Bhutto was Socialist and Socialism can be defined as Socialism is the ideology in which the difference between the elite and lower maintained and the economy operates through the parliamentary democracy. Through the union, the lower class, needs were fulfilled and most of the private markets were nationalized.

Rhetoric quality means how to influence the ordinance through language usage and communication.

4.5 Instrument(s)

In this study, structured or semi-structured interviews will be conducted.

4.6 Procedure (Data Collection)

The data analysis study focused on the study of exploratory and comparative methods. Therefore, primary data are examined through structured and unstructured interviews. Similarly, for the secondary source's researcher used books and literature of the academia and on what basis, the researcher gives recommendations and suggestions for the future.

4.7 Data Analysis

After the data collection, it has been analyzed through the policies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan, and their steps taken for the betterment of relations with the US in general, Muslim world, and the neighboring countries in particularly.

4.8 Ethical Consideration

Through the ethical board of The Islamic International University Islamabad Pakistan under all rules and regulations, Will perform all research

5. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter 1: Introduction

Define Research TOPIC: “Foreign Policies: A Comparative Study of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan”

Outline of the structure of the thesis

Literature Review

Data Presentation on ZA Bhutto and Imran Khan

Theoretical Framework

Applied Neo-Classical Realism theory to compare the foreign policies of ZA Bhutto and Imran Khan in their respective eras

Research Methodology

Describe the research design (qualitative)

Data Analysis

Pakistan’s Foreign Policy under ZAB

Pakistan’s Foreign Policy under Imran Khan

Chapter 2

Historical Background

Chapter 3

Section I

Pakistan and Afghanistan Relations under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Era

Section I

Challenges and constraints in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

Chapter 4

Section I

Foreign Policy of Pakistan towards Afghanistan under PM Imran Khan

Section II

Challenges and constraints in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations under PM Imran Khan

Chapter 5

Comparison Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan’s foreign policy toward Afghanistan

Chapter 6

Conclusion

References

Chapter 2

2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

In the beginning, where the concept of a state system was raised after the development, then the concept of maintaining relations with another state also emerged. The most important concern of any state, in the beginning, is to secure their borders from enemies and neighbors to sustain and secure their sovereignty. The increase in the state system was due to the First World War and the Second World War. Newly independent states start interacting with each other. Foreign policy knows the foreign relations with another state of the globe, which include state behavior and action towards that state. The state policies that run behind the state are known as foreign policy. The Cold War era remains the turning point that no one state remains without the international system as the world remains the global system (Breuning, 2007).

Different scholars discuss different definitions of foreign policy, as Najauddin A. Shaikh discusses that foreign policy except territorial and sovereignty is the product of national interest. While national interest is determined by domestic policy diplomacy is the tool for foreign policy. According to Henry Kissinger, successful foreign policy is to achieve long-term objectives, which should be achieved by a clear understanding of all related factors. In another study, Leopold Von Ranke defines the foreign policy of any state as shaped based on geographical location and external threats to the state. This chapter presents a historical account of Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards other countries under different leadership.

However, Pakistan came into existence in cold war era so at time Pakistan first priority was to secure their sovereignty and for the reason join the West instead of USSR and that was also remain proved after some events that Pakistan give support to the US instead of USSR. For the Pakistan done major alliance like SEATO and CENTO, Pakistan being US allied in these alliances, Pakistan wars with India in 1965 and 1971, the US joined and support India instead of Pakistan and for the reason Pakistan remove their membership from these alliances in Bhutto era but the event like USSR in which Pakistan support US instead of being mentioned in the 1973

constitution of Pakistan that Pakistan will support Muslim world and remain cordial relations, it was Zia dictatorship in Pakistan, and give air bases to the US in Pakistan against the USSR and neighbor Muslim country Afghanistan. However, after the Kargil event Pakistan foreign policy was also changed but the event of 9/11, at that Pakistan was ruled under the military dictator General Pervez Musharraf, at the time President Bush calls that those who does not support us will be consider terrorist and Pakistan joined the US side. However, at that time the US came in Afghanistan and Pakistan give full support to them.

2.2 Guiding Principle of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

The founder and first governor-general of Pakistan, Qaid e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, talked to the people of America through broadcast in Feb 1948, to outline Pakistan's foreign policy.

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world, and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter" (*Foreign Policy*, n.d.).

In the 1972 Constitution of Pakistan, Article 40 discusses the strengthening relation with the Muslim world and details discuss as,

"The state shall endeavor to preserve strengthen and fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interest of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of the international dispute in a peaceful way" (*Constitution of Pakistan - Human Rights Information Resource Portal*, 2021b).

2.3 Objectives of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

- 2.3.1 Secure Pakistan's geostrategic interest for active participation in regional and global affairs.
- 2.3.2 Promote Pakistan's image as a strong, dynamic, progressive, and democratic Islamic country.
- 2.3.3 Increase commercial and economic interests.
- 2.3.4 Strengthen friendship and cooperation with all countries, with a special focus on the Muslim world.
- 2.3.5 Resolve the Jammu and Kashmir issue based on UN Security Council resolutions and the desires of the Kashmiri people.
- 2.3.6 Contribute to peace and stability in Afghanistan.
- 2.3.7 Assist landlocked Central Asian states by providing access through the Gwadar port.
- 2.3.8 Ensure non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons.
- 2.3.9 Enhance energy security by diversifying national energy resources and reducing dependence on foreign sources (Kasuri, 2005).

2.4 Pakistan Foreign Policy since its independence

Every state has its own way to carry their foreign policy some have an ideology, natural environment, capabilities but Pakistan has geostrategic location, on the basis Pakistan discuss their foreign policy on one side with Wet located India on the opposite side located Afghanistan as with the Iran and on the other side with China, So relation with India and Afghanistan remain ups and down and China Muslim countries remain friendly, but the neighbors Iran, Afghanistan, and India remain hostile. Pakistan foreign policy has different phases (Iftikhar, 2018).

To create new state in sub-continent in the name of Islam was against the will of Hindu in sub-continent India, in that way after creation of Pakistan they start hurdles, not share proper asset and occupied Muslim majority state Kashmir. On the other our neighboring Afghanistan does not recognize Pakistan, claiming that NWFP (now kp) and Baluchistan are part of

Afghanistan. After the Pakistan birth, Pakistan follows the goodwill and friendship to all State and neighboring was adopted, with special attention toward Muslim countries (Iftikhar, n.d.).

2.4.1 Pakistan Foreign Policy Dimension

2.4.1.1 Normative

Pakistan foreign policy can be understood over three dimensions, normative, statistic, and structural. First normative is constitutional elements of state as ideological and self-definition, as culture, value, religion, and history based on Islamic identity. In Pakistan some policies are followed by Islam. For the reason Liaqat Ali Khan as a prime minister of Pakistan in 1949 officially received invitation from Russia but he denied instead of it visited US as Russia tampered Pakistan religion. Pakistan has issue with India from birth till now, Kashmir, however Pakistan want support from Muslim world but itself remain salient in Saudi nationalist movement. Therefore, Muslim world response in UN was quiet.

2.4.1.2 Security Dynamic

Pakistan formulates their foreign policy through the geo-strategic position on one side India with Kashmir issue, on other side with Afghanistan on Duard line. However, Pakistan foreign policy main concern is their enemies and friends.

2.4.1.3 Structural Imperative

Pakistan internal stance as US-China rivalries, Pakistan want to maintain relation with both, with China in present time CPEC and from birth till now taking military assistance (Siddiqi, 2020).

2.5 Pakistan Foreign Policy under the Leadership of Founder of Pakistan

Qaid e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah vision for Pakistan foreign policy, to get one of the friendly relations around the globe.

2.6 Pakistan Foreign Policy under the Leadership of Liaqat Ali Khan

Liaqat Ali Khan who took charge of Pakistan foreign minister and create a new vision for Pakistan' foreign policy under the vision founder of Pakistan, Qaid E Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnha. Liaqat Ali Khan served for Pakistan for four years and two months, on 16 Oct 1951 his plane was crashed, and he was found died. He has done many services for Pakistan not in only foreign affairs in other fields, but here mentioned only his foreign affairs as per the requirements. However, his achievements remain outstanding, as he calls UN resolution on Kashmir issue for plebiscite and support the Palestine and Arab conflict, recognized Communist China, make embassy in Moscoe, ties knot with the USA, make effort for Islamic world, and he was strongly opponent of Colonialism. However, Liaqat Ali Khan effort securing Pakistan's security issues like with neighbor India as a security challenge and sign a historic pact on minorities protection (InpaperMagazine, 2010). Pakistan joined the US after independence in 1947 and made relation with other state to explore their identity with peace, harmony, friendship and support independence of colonized nations. However, in early year of Pakistan foreign policy dominated issue was India, with them Kashmir issue, no clear division of asset and funds, religious minority issue, communal riots, issue of princely state division and introduce itself to world as independent state (Kashif, 2015).

2.6.1 Pakistan toward US-USSR

Pakistan at early stage has faced some issue on these and security basis formulate their foreign policy. Pakistan was founded independent on the calendar on 14 August 1947 after the World War 2. After history giving birth to two infant states, one was Pakistan and other was India. Pakistan was weaker state than India through land, population, military defense, with all of that Pakistan faces more than their problem was refugee. However, issue with India on princely state Jammu and Kashmir, which is still live. After 13 month of Pakistan birth, founding father of Pakistan Quaid e Azam died and Liaqat Ali Khan became prime minister of Pakistan. As mentioned above that Pakistan was too weak and India was too strong, as Pakistan was unequipped and India was resourceful by itself, however Pakistan want ally to fill their security gap toward India and attain balance of power. Due to which Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan visited the US instead of officially inviting Moscow. According to that hour of time need

military equipment umbrella on their head and that wish only US can meet, however before that in World War 2, Russia was defeated by US. Pakistan visit to US was also criticized and accepted by some scholars that Pakistan short and long objective was military assessments, that for their security and sovereignty sustainability. The other reason for which Pakistan bring its Islamic Ideology that remained failed after while Pakistan joined China in 1950, which is communist (Karamatullah, 2007).

2.6.2 Pakistan Joined UN

Pakistan joined UN since 30 Sep 1947 and play role in peacekeeping mission. Pakistan sent their representative in 1948 and after that in 1950 Pakistan made human right commission under the UN mission.

2.6.3 Pakistan Relations towards Asia

In Asia Pakistan have the positional partner are Afghanistan, India, China, and Iran. As Pakistan in early life follow the 1935 act for domestic rules and regulation. Iran was the first state who recognizes Pakistan (ALI, 2016). Pakistan was the first Islamic country, and third non-communist country to recognize China. In 1950 both states established diplomatic relations, and China promise to provide support. India, and Pakistan who lived in the sub-continent under the rule of British kingdom and then get independence, before independence there was 635 princely state and they have right at independent time to join Pakistan or India. Kashmir was Muslim majority princely state. On this princely state Pakistan India made war in 1948 and still this exist as it was in past. Obstacle exists in Indo-Pak relations.

However, Afghanistan and Pakistan have not such a strong relation, there is also issue on a province kp, who are Pakistan Pashtun tribe. Pakistan Pashtun and Afghanistan people have more commonalities such as religious, ethnic, linguistic, culture etc. Afghanistan government does not recognize Pakistan still and does not recognize Pakistan-Afghanistan Durad line (Shahzad, 2018).

2.7 Pakistan's foreign Policy under the Prime Minister Khwaja Nazim Ud Din

Khwaja Nazim ud Din was second governor general of Pakistan after the death of Qaid e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in the challenging period. However, after the accidental death of prime minister of Liaqat Ali Khan, cabinet of the parliament call him for prime minister ship and the way he became prime minister. While after that he became the member of Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and President Pakistan Muslim League party (History Pak, 2021). However, 18 month (about 1 and a half years) of short period he wants to carry the ancestor foreign policy and keep away Pakistan military from the Western alliance, but the Chief of Army Staff General Ayub Khan will toward the US, however Ayub Khan with defense secretary Iskandar Mirza sought close ties with the US despite of prime minister legal authority to set policy. However, in this regard Khwaja Nizam ud Din remained fail. However, his opponent remains feared of his empowerment of BPC report which strong his control over foreign policy. For the reason his removal remained essential for diverting Pakistan alliance towards the US. He was removed from his office and Mohammad Ali Bogra took charge of Pakistan Government (Zaman, 2023).

However, Mohammad Ali Bogra became prime minster after the Khwaja Zazim Ud Din dismissal by Governor General Ghulam Mohammad and took charge of Pakistan government. Mohammad Ali Bogra before that in 1952 was Ambassador of Pakistan toward US, as he took charge he starts work on the Constitution of Pakistan as a technocratic rather than Politician. He was famous for Bogra formula, in which he claims bicameral legislation of parliament. However, in 1954 he was dismissed by Ghulam Mohammad (History Pak, 2021b).

2.8 Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1951-1958

In the third world countries, Sovereignty is the priority and Pakistan is one of them. At the Pakistan independence time Pakistan has priority is to maintain their Sovereignty, and that was difficult due to geostrategic location of Pakistan on the West India and on East Afghanistan neighbor. So, for Sovereignty and for military assistance Pakistan foreign policy was diverted toward West (Kashif, 2015).

From 1951 Pakistan foreign policy second phase started in which Pakistan aligned toward Western block like France and European Union countries. In 1951 World Bank start financing

project in Pakistan for the first time. Some diplomatic achievement was held in Pakistan and Western countries. Pakistan starts supporting the UN for peace building for the Pakistan interest to solve the Kashmir issue on this platform.

Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy was the first prime minister and being anti-communist, he made a coalition government with opposition. However, his goal was to meet energy crises and made Pakistan military vast as he can, made nuclear power plane against neighbor India, and expand economic policies. However, in his era he visited China and strengthen relation with the US. Rather than his achievements, he was forced to resign by the Iskandar mirza due to failed in control of economic policy, started one unit program, and business monopoly in politics (HistoryPak, 2021).

Ibrahim Ismail Chandrigar continue his ancestor foreign policy as it was like strengthening good ties with the West like continuing SEATO and CENTO alliance as it was signed and keep good ties with the Muslim world for promoting Islamic Solidarity (HistoryPak, 2021b).

Noon as a prime minister try to maintain good relations with the West specially the US and UK and strengthening ties with Muslim world, however, he continued alliances of SEATO and CENTO (*Feroz Khan Noon*, n.d.).

2.9 Pakistan's Foreign Policy Ruler Military dictator Ayub Khan

Under Military dictator General Ayub Khan, discuss in his book Friends do not master that Pakistan geographical condition bring Pakistan relations with China and Russia. But the economic condition of Pakistan needs to close the Western and the US countries. So being that communist and anti-communist state it was obligatory that these bilateral relations of Pakistan with these countries will not affect relations with each other (Gupta, 1967).

2.9.1 SEATO

In 1954, Southeast Asia collective defense treaty was held in Manila between Pakistan, UK, France, Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand, and purpose of this treaty to reducing communist influence in this region. However, it was also aim that attack on one member state will be consider attack on the whole and will be retaliate by all members state.

2.9.2 Colombo Conference

Colombo conference was held between Ceylon, India, Pakistan, and Burma and purpose was to discuss their issue and solved but made this conference on 28 April 1954 and end on 2nd May 1954 (Tariq, 2014).

2.9.3 CENTO (Baghdad Pact)

This treaty was accepted by Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan, and the UK in 1955. Although US promise to support military and financial assistance, due to Middle East state US was not becoming the part of it after Iraq withdrawal US joined (Shar, 2006).

2.9.4 Bandung Conference

From 19 state representatives the conference was held. In which the third world countries self-determination, non-aggression, and respect to their sovereignty in cold war era.

2.9.5 Pakistan- US Agreement of Cooperation

For ten-year Pakistan became ally of US, in 1954 SEATO, and in 1955 CENTO. Through this alliance it reinforces the defensive purpose of CENTO (US Department of State: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 2007).

2.9.6 Indus Water Treaty 1960

After nine years of strong negotiation and table talk Pakistan and India reached to solution with the help of the World Bank (Bank, 2018).

2.10 Pakistan Foreign Policy under Second Military Dictator General Yaha Khan (1969-71)

General Yaha Khan was the youngest Brigadier to face the war with India on the Kashmir at 34 and youngest General at 40 who became. Yaha Khan seeking to continue foreign policy toward the US as the Indo-Pak war was headed for aid. At the Yaha period Pakistan and India tension remained increase due to the anti-India stance on India interference in East wing of Pakistan and Pakistan lose his East wing a (now Bangladesh). In Yaha period Pakistan have good relations with China and was active member of UN. In his period Pakistan joined NAM aimed to

promote cooperation between developing countries. As the Indo-Pakistan rivalries he focused on regional security too (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2024).

In early 1960s Pakistani leaders were rethinking about Pakistan foreign policy due to US support toward India. In 1961-1963 Pakistan thinking toward China and Soviet Union and strengthen relation with them. Soviet support to Pakistan oil exploration and thirty development projects held the US but in 1960s Soviet remain neutral on Indo-Pak dispute (Kashif, 2015). There are many diplomatic events in this period of Pakistan, some of them as mentioned below.

2.10.1 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations

Through this convention immunities were given to the envoys or diplomats in the host country. Even the vehicle of diplomat should be free from tax (*Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations / International Relations*, n.d.).

2.10.2 1965 War between India and Pakistan

1965 war was the second war between India and Pakistan over the status of Kashmir issue. Under the UK colonization period of sub-continent, in 1947 India got independence and Pakistan now at that time East and West Pakistan got independence from Indian Territory . at that time Indian princely states in which Kashmir was one of them, whose population was Muslim majority and ruler the Hindu Raja, who give decision to align with India and Pakistan claimed that population were in Pakistan align. However, Pakistan was tried by force in 1947 to get Kashmir but remain failed. After that in 1965 once again war was started between them, and this did not finalize Kashmir future not a solution but highlight the significance of the region in major powers US and USSR. US send the defense armaments in during Sino-Indo border issue and China divert toward USSR. However, US did not support Pakistan in 1965 war even though US-Pakistan remained best ally most of the time. So, for the cease fire UN bring both states to negotiate and end the war in Sep 21 India call ceases fire and on 22 Sep Pakistan called for cease fire (*Milestones: 1961–1968 - Office of the Historian*, n.d.).

2.10.3 Tashkent Declaration and 1971 War

Tashkent declaration was held to negotiate about the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan. However, the cease fire did not resolve the Kashmir conflict. Under the USSR as a mediator accepted the Tashkent declaration. Due to which Kashmir issue was not resolved but war came to an end and both states withdrew their forces from that area. However, this agreement remained successful in achieving short term objectives (*Milestones: 1961–1968 - Office of the Historian, n.d.*).

In 1971 war was not on Kashmir but at that time India interfere in Pakistan territory on the behalf of East Pakistan, due to which East Pakistan lost their one wing. At that time India Pakistan were once again in aggression mood (*Milestones: 1969–1976 - Office of the Historian, n.d.*).

2.11 General Zia-Ul-Haq from 1977 to 1988

Pakistan's geostrategic position in cold war era played important role in foreign policy making. At that time world became unipolar after USSR disintegration, and Pakistan need to think about their foreign policy, because Pakistan lost its importance through Afghanistan prism for the US. Pakistan face challenges after end of Afghan war like, increasing Isolation, Security, Nuclear program and its sanction, and Political instability and Inconsistency (A. Ali et al., 2019).

9/11 extremist attack on US trade center changed world foreign policy and Pakistan was one of them, because the attack was done by Al-Qaida according to CIA and these were trained in FATA area of Pakistan accused by the US, and this is turning point for Pakistan foreign policy and forcefully joined US in war on terror because no option left for Pakistan, as US claim that those who does not joined would be consider terrorist by US president G. Washington. This attack complicated Pakistan stance on Kashmir issue as India gets sympathy of international community by propagating Pakistan Islamic militancy (A. Z. Hilali 2014).

Pakistan is third world country, so Pakistan had not play role in world affair but to react on world and on regional issue. For the reason Pakistan formulate their foreign policy regarding the situation in the world and in the region. In the 1979 Soviet Union attacks on Afghanistan.

2.11.1 Soviet Union Attack on Afghanistan in 1979

In 1979 USSR attacks on Afghanistan, with Afghanistan Pakistan share 1600 km (about 994.19 mi) boarder. From the beginning till now India and Pakistan has worst relation and done three wars. When USSR attack on Afghanistan alarming the world as well Pakistan at that time India and USSR has cordial relation and attack by USSR on Afghanistan as an alarming situation for Pakistan because USSR did not attack directly on Pakistan, first attack on graveyard country. At that time in US Jimmy Carter was in government and he telephoned to General Zia, in Pakistan martial was imposed by General Zia. Jimmy Carter claimed that he would help Pakistan and sent aid, as he sends \$3.2 billion (about \$10 per person in the US) to Pakistan. With help of Pakistan, US trained Afghan mujahidin in Pakistan tribal areas giving ISI training and defense equipment, with the help of CIA training. With that Pakistan also running their nuclear bomb program, US openly support Afghan Mujahidin while China, Saudi Arabia and Iran send aid and defense support to Afghanistan and play Islamic card.

However, in this region Pakistan and US relations was once again in good mood. The Soviet Afghan war bring in Pakistan diplomacy new turn and in Pakistan, US, and China relation remained cordial and support, only just because of geostrategic position of Pakistan with Afghanistan (M. A. Y. K. Khan et al., 2020).

2.11.2 Pakistan Nuclear Program

Pakistan makes their nuclear in the reaction of Indian nuclear program. With India, Pakistan has fought three on Jammu and Kashmir. When India their nuclear in 1974, Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto release statement that we will eat grass and leaves, but we own ours like we face hunger for the nuclear program. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is such a talented and charismatic leader, who brings Pakistan on the success track. One of his major achievements after the constitution of Pakistan 1973 is Pakistan nuclear program. When India did nuclear test in 1974, Bhutto wants to create balance of power, as Pakistan have insecurity from India. Bhutto called 50 top scientist of Pakistan and specially one of them who were called by Bhutto itself, later he became father of the bomb. In these period Muslim states monetary helped Pakistan but specially oil rich Middle East, Libya and Saudi Arabia. Bhutto made uranium plants at different places in Kahota, Chakala, and Islamabad. As UN, US and European state redistricted Pakistan

nuclear program but Bhutto carries saliently in which Zia ul Haq was also involved. Bhutto takes help from China, North Korea and Dutch centrifuge firm (Dar, 2021).

However, Pakistan run and gets their nuclear program beside the violation of Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapon (NPT) and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). At least, Pakistan remained successful and their nuclear program but there was no doctrine of Pakistan about the nuclear program that how to use. In 2000, General Pervez Musharraf has made statement that Pakistan only uses their nuclear weapon that Pakistan uses nuclear only to retaliation to India (NTI, 2021). Therefore, at that of hour Pakistan relations with US was not in such a strong enough, as Pakistan continue their nuclear program saliently and quietly rather than US, with the help of other states.

2.12 Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto Consecutive Prime Minister ship

2.12.1 Kargil war

Kargil war happened between India and Pakistan in 1999. The Kargil conflict was strategic and defense but remains a permanent issue. This war failed all other agreements between India and Pakistan. However, the cease fire in 1948, line of control (LOC), and Shimla agreement in 1972 ended after the Kargil incident in 1998. In which two atom bomb states came face to face after a year of nuclear test. The incident was handled by the other state well, in which US and China role was obvious. Pakistan in this war got success but diplomatically and politically remains fail, however, the reason behind that was Sharif-Clinton meeting. After that US role remain unilateral and internationally, they show neutral and China was neutral before that Pakistan China relation in healthy way, after Sharif-Clinton meeting Pakistan gets major loss internationally and regionally. Pakistan was considered hub of terrorism. Regionally loss in a way loss of territory, like Indo-Pak war online in 1984 in which countries came in war on Siachen point and India occupied 10 sq. km Pakistan territory. However, that was the first challenge to Shimla agreement, after those 10 talks happened between them but remain failed. In 1988 on Qamar post in Pakistan, Indian army attack and get ten posts in Pakistan territory. Indian attack on Neelum valley on this responded Pakistan attack on Dras- Kargil, which create difficulty for Indian army supply. In which some post plus height also captured by India Vijay operation was condemned in which 200,000 soldiers were appointed, Indian army first attack on Triger Hill in which they get the Pakistan army post and Pakistan army equipment's, in which

small gun, aircraft, missiles, and grenades were included. Then Dras sector conflict was started in which Indian army gets Pakistan army posts. However, Indian army gets difficulty from Kashmiri Mujahidin but Indian recapture 80percent of territory back (Pak, 2020c).

When things got chaotic in Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif took charge and made strict rules. He became closer to religious groups and tried to make himself stronger. But this made people even more upset, especially in different areas of Pakistan where there were already problems with money and tensions between different groups of people. Then, when Sharif tried to replace the head of the army, it caused even more trouble, leading to the army taking control in 1999. The new leader, Pervez Musharraf, said things were so bad that he had to make big changes, so he took over and paused the normal rules of the country. Even though most of the people in charge were from the army and didn't know much about running the country, they wanted to make things better. Meanwhile, Sharif was punished and sent away from Pakistan. Other countries, especially the US, didn't like what was happening in Pakistan and criticized the new government. Musharraf, who initially wanted to give power back to civilians, ended up taking control himself, becoming both president and head of the government. He even tried to talk to India about their issues, but then the 9/11 attacks happened, and everything changed again (*Pakistan / History, Population, Religion, & Prime Minister*, 2024).

2.13 Pakistan's Foreign Policy Under Dictator Parvaiz Musharraf

2.13.1 9/11 Attack

On Sep 11, 2001, morning four passenger plane of the US high jacked by the Al Qaida in US. In which plane were crashed on World Trade Center, one on pentagon outside Washington DC, and fourth one on rural peninsula. In which 3,000 lives were wasted and impacted much more globally. On 20th Sep 2001 US president George W. Bush announce, 'War on Terror'. US face other terrorist attack but not on 9/11 scale. After month on 7 Oct 2001, US invade Afghanistan with the UK, US, and Northern Afghan interior deployed against Al Qaida in Afghanistan. However, Taliban government fall in November and new government was established. The UN made multinational force to help the Kabul new government through international security assistance force (ISAF), after NATO, NATO took command in 2003. Troops increased to combat Taliban insurgency till 2014.

After that US government feels that other countries also involved in this terrorism and after two years US attack on Iraq. However, the Bush administration claimed that Saddam Hussain government was involved in the mass weapon (WMD), for the reason US overthrew Saddam Hussain government and brings US coalition government (Imperial War Museums, n.d.).

2.13.2 Pakistan Relations with Major Powers

2.13.2.1 Russia

Before Russia invasion in Afghanistan, Pakistan left SEATO and CENTO, whenever, Soviet invade Afghanistan Pakistan support Anti-Soviet forces. Due to which Islamabad and Moscow relations were became worsen. However, in 1990s Russia was disintegrated, and US aim was reached to disintegrate Russia, so for the reason US also lose interest in Pakistan and imposed sanctions under the Pressler amendment. After 9/11 attack both Pakistan and US allied under the Musharraf regime, while Russia want to join the Shanghai cooperation Organization (SCO).

2.13.3 Pressler Amendment and Shanghai Corporation Organization

Pressler amendment was enacted by US in 1985 against Pakistan nuclear program due to concern about nuclear proliferation. This move of US was solely against Pakistan rather than India, as India before Pakistan has done their nuclear program and advances their military equipment, however, Pakistan done their nuclear program for balance in the South Asia region. While Pakistan has rivalries with India over Kashmir from birth and also their geostrategic position connecting with Afghanistan, China, Iran, and Russia. However, Pakistan joined military alliance with US, SEATO and CENTO but remained failed during Sino-Indo war US support India while in 1965 Pak-Indo war, US support India, after while Pakistan left these alliances. Pakistan nuclear program was for the reaction to India. While Russia disintegration, US focused on nuclear proliferation and imposed military and strategic sanctions on Pakistan under the Bush administration (Mahmood, 1994).

Shanghai cooperation organization was established in 15, Oct 2001, recently having eight member (India, Pakistan, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and China) and observer states are (Iran, Afghanistan, Belarus, and Mongolia), while the aim of this organization to bring stability in regional security, fight against regional terrorism, ethnic

separatism, and religious extremism till now focus on regional development (*Shanghai Cooperation Organization*, n.d.).

While relation depend more on and Russia lift arm embargo and signed defense agreement alliance in 2014, which was further convert into military training and exercises. Moscow's shift reflects concerns about terrorism spreading to its region, leading to greater cooperation with Pakistan. Despite lesser economic incentives compared to India, Pakistan's strategic location and security concerns drive this partnership. Both countries continue to work on strengthening defense ties, emphasizing military training, intelligence sharing, and defense production (Rashid, 2022).

2.13.5 China

Initially, Pakistan in cold war era relied on US aid but after USSR disintegration on 1990, US made military and economic sanctions on Pakistan under Pressler amendment in 1990. Which divert Pakistan foreign policy towards China with China, Pakistan relation became depend on and presently supports Pakistan economically through China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).

Military and technological transactions dominate the relationship, with China supplying various arms and military equipment to Pakistan. Notable transactions include the sale of A-100 Multiple Rocket Launchers, Type-054 frigates, and the joint development of the JF-17 Thunder fighter jet. The military cooperation deepened further with Pakistan's induction of Chinese-made VT-4 battle tanks and the signing of a MoU to enhance defense cooperation. Pakistan remains the main recipient of Chinese arms exports, with significant orders for combat aircraft, submarines, and frigates scheduled for delivery.

Joint military exercises, like the Shaheen exercises, have enhanced combat capacity and interoperability between the two countries. The integration of the HQ-9/P High to Medium Air Defense System into Pakistan Army's Air Defense further signifies the strengthening of defense ties. Pakistan's planned showcase of recently purchased Chinese J-10 fighter jets during a significant event underscores the importance of Sino-Pak defense relations (Rashid, 2022).

2.13.6 United State of America

Pakistan and America have periodic relations like friend and enemy. In the Pakistan have good relations with the US but after Pakistan nuclear program; US made sanctions and less aid.

US shifted their policy toward the nuclear proliferation policy and Pakistan feel that it was solely for Pakistan before that for India there was action taken from US.

After 9/11 attack, Pakistan joined US in war on terror, while in 2005 US lift embargo from Pakistan and relations in both countries were good. However, after killing of Osama bin laden strained relations between both countries but in 2015 both countries signed for F-16 fighter jet but in Trump administration the alliance was cancelled. Prime Minister Imran Khan emphasizes a balanced approach to US-Pakistan relations, prioritizing Pakistan's interests and security, evidenced by refusal to allow US counterterrorism operations from Pakistani bases (Rashid, 2022).

2.13.7 Pakistan Relations with Neighbors

2.13.7.1 India

Indo-Pak relation from birth were remain stable and fought many wars on Kashmir, but 1980s decade was also fill of conflicts like Siachen conflict was happen in 1984, Brasstacks in 1987, and Zarb e Momin in 1989, while before that Pakistan and India fight war on Kashmir in 1947 and 1965 but in 1971 India fight war on behalf of Bangladesh. In 1989 Indian prime minister Rajive Gandhi visited Pakistan to maintain bilateral but remain unresolved till 1990s. However, in 2001 an Agra summit happened between both countries' leaders for peace building. It was a chance for them to talk and try to solve their problems peacefully. However, even though they met and talked, they still didn't fully trust each other. They still had doubts and fears about each other's intentions. So, while the summit was a step towards peace, it didn't completely solve the deep-seated issues between the two countries.

India Pakistan relations from 1980 to 1990s were into the intricacies of civil-military relations, particularly focusing on the ISI's involvement with the Taliban from 1994 to 2001. He highlights how under DG Lt. Gen. Ehsan ul Haq, the ISI played a significant role in shaping Pakistan's South Asia policy, viewing Afghanistan as an Indian proxy. Despite cooperating with the CIA post-9/11, the ISI expressed concerns over drone attacks in Pakistan's tribal areas, emphasizing territorial sovereignty, while India and America see Pakistan on the Afghan prism, as a terrorist country. George W. Bush called Pakistan a haven to terrorist, however, these terrorists were trained by ISI with the help of CIA.

The relationship between the US and Pakistan deteriorated further post-Musharraf (2008–2013), with incidents like the killing of Bin Laden and the Raymond Davis Affair exacerbating tensions. Attempts by civilian governments to control ISI strained civil-military relations, leading to Prime Minister Gilani's dismissal. Similarly, the Nawaz Sharif/Khaqan Abbasi government (2013–2018) sought to normalize relations with India and limit ISI's influence by empowering civilian institutions like the Intelligence Bureau, resulting in confrontations with the military (Hussain, 2019).

However, present Pakistan and India issue are territorial dispute, security challenges, and energy deficit, and resources shortage. Strategic uncertainty and geopolitical tensions, including proxy war in Afghanistan, further extend rivalry. These rivalries occur due to poverty in these states, with about 25-30% of Pakistanis and Indian living below poverty line (Hussain, 2019).

2.13.7.2 Afghanistan

In 1989 Soviet Union invade Afghanistan and Pakistan support the US for Afghanistan and provide weapon, military training and financial support to Taliban. US retain Pakistan nuclear program. With China Pakistan relation remained improved and develops some heavy industry, nuclear technology, and agriculture and power generation. Pakistan remains friendly relation with Muslim nations and support Afghanistan directly and through OIC organization. Pakistan relations with Libya, Syria, and Iran were not good and do not support their organization (Kashif, 2015).

While Pakistan did not recognize the Soviet government in the region and for the reason Afghan-Pakistan relations strained. Additionally, Soviet backed regime did not recognize and further support Afghan jihadi which further strained their relations.

However, the US and their ally feel strategic threat to Persian Gulf state as Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, while Soviet intervention challenge to western countries. To resist Soviet intervention, US and their ally start resistance to Soviet, in which Pakistan play crucial role in frontline and support Mujahedeen through US assistance and military and financial aid. This period between Pakistan and US saw friendly.

After Soviet disintegration in 1992 and backed from Afghanistan show power vacuum and became battle ground for various factions. The signing of the Peshawar Accord in 1992 aimed to establish a transitional government in Afghanistan, with Sibghatullah Mojaddedi and Burhanuddin Rabbani at the helm. Despite optimism surrounding the Accord, skepticism

remained about its success, given the ideological and policy differences among Afghan factions and external influences shaping the agreement. Critics feared that power struggles could plunge Afghanistan into further turmoil, highlighting concerns about Afghan self-determination being overshadowed by foreign interests.

However, in 1996 Taliban government made and Afghanistan and rise of Islamic Emirate Afghanistan (IEA), which was cordially supported and recognized by Pakistan, Pakistan share deep bond with them due to long share border of Pashtuns in KP, while Afghani people are majority Pashtuns, so they have desire of 'Pashtunistan. Due to this portion of relation resistance created in the region and relations remains strained with Iran, India, and Russia.

In Taliban government Sunni Pashtun government came into power while Iran has issue from Sunni Pashtuns government and for the reason did not support. Additionally, then Iran starts the terrorist and then terrorism created in the region and after while 9/11 incident happen.

However, Pakistan's involvement in Afghan affairs during this period had significant implications. Despite initially viewing the Taliban as strategic assets against India, Pakistan's support for the Taliban isolated it regionally and internationally. Furthermore, the failure to achieve broader recognition for the Taliban government hindered Pakistan's efforts at regional cooperation and led to increased extremism and terrorism within its borders (Butt & Siddqi, 2016).

Chapter 3

Section- 1

PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS UNDER ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO ERA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Pakistan and Afghanistan share 2430 km (about half the width of the United States) of southern and eastern edge Afghan border, while there is Konar, Kandahar, Zabul, Pakiya, Pakita, Khost, Nimruz, Nuristan, Badakhshan, Helmand, and Nangarhar provinces that share a border with Pakistan. While this Pashtun rich area divided under the British India, Mortimer Durand and Afghan Ameer Abdur Rehman in 1893. This border is completed over different geographical locations like sandy desert in the south and rugged mountains in the east. However, Afghanistan did not accept the so-called demarcation of boundary after Pakistan birth and called them de-facto boundary.

However, resistance of Durand line by Afghanistan side was many factors such as geography, due to which proper control policy was not much enough to keep close eye on cross border, tariff, crossing of border specially under Soviet invasion due to Afghan Jihadi mostly cross over the border and the same tribe living on both sides of the border due to which they move back and forth regardless of border (*Institute for the Study of War*, n.d.).

3.2 Pak-Afghan Relation Timeline in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Era

Former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and Afghan President, Hamid Karzai, expressed strong sentiments of fraternity between Afghanistan and Pakistan, emphasizing their shared historical, religious, cultural, economic, ethnic, and linguistic bonds. Despite this, relations between the two countries have been tumultuous, with few periods of cordiality, notably during the Taliban regime.

Both nations share a predominantly Sunni Muslim population and have a history of religious solidarity, notably demonstrated during conflicts such as the Indo-Pak War in 1948 and the Afghan Jihad from 1979 to 1989. Ethnic ties, particularly with the significant Pashtun population in both countries, further connect Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, issues like the Durand Line and Pakhtunistan have been sources of tension. Afghanistan has refused to

recognize the Durand Line, which Pakistan asserts as a legal successor state of British India. Geostategic factors, external influences, and regional power dynamics, including the rivalry with India, have also contributed to strained relations. Afghanistan's support for Pakhtunistan challenged Pakistan's religious nationalism, leading to proxy conflicts and support for nationalist movements.

Efforts to resolve tensions, notably during Z.A Bhutto's era, were disrupted by internal and external changes, including the coup in Afghanistan in 1978 and the Soviet intervention in 1979. The Soviet presence in Afghanistan exacerbated Pakistan's security concerns, leading to millions of Afghan refugees seeking shelter in Pakistan. However, overall, despite shared characteristics and historical ties, Afghanistan and Pakistan have struggled to maintain stable and friendly relations, often influenced by internal politics, external pressures, and regional conflicts.

However, in 1970 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President of Pakistan after the General Yaha khan coup. In this era India intervene on East wing of Pakistan (now Bangladesh) behalf and Pakistan lost East Wing and Bangladesh came into being. In this war Afghanistan show neutral stance and in Bhutto era Pak-Afghan were enjoy healthy relations. However, at the hour of time Bhutto shifted their policy from Western block to bilateralism toward Muslims countries especially toward Afghanistan as a neighbor. Therefore, due to neutral stance by Afghanistan in 1971 Indo-Pak war, Bhutto pay first visit to Afghanistan. While later first lady, Nusrat Bhutto pay three days visit to Afghanistan in 1972. In her visit economic cooperation alliance was signed, while Afghan was stick on Pakhtunistan stance. King Zhir Shah was dethroning by Mohammad Daoud Khan in 1973 and control government of Afghanistan, while Bhutto desire a strong relation. While Daoud came in power with the help of Soviet Union and declare Afghanistan as a republic. Both Sardar Daud of Afghanistan and the Soviet leadership denied involvement in overthrowing King Zahir Shah's regime. However, there were suspicions of Soviet involvement due to their opposition to the King's efforts to improve relations with the US and Pakistan. Additionally, the Soviet Union was accused of being indifferent to the Pakhtunistan issue and failing to act against Pakistan's dismissal of the National Awami Party's provincial governments.

Daud, a strong advocate of Pakhtunistan, sought to exploit Pakistan's internal turmoil to push for talks on the Durand Line issue (Rehman, 2012b).

3.3 Pakistan and Afghanistan Relations from 1973 To 1974

In September 1973 Daoud Khan in his regime arrest Muhammad Hashim Maiwandwal and his man in doubt base for dethroning his regime on foreign government direction while did not calling country name as a Pakistan, that M. Hashim Maiwandwal doing preparation for coup. Rizwan Hussain, Pakistan and the Emergence of Islamic Militancy in Afghanistan (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 79.

However, Afghanistan government also allowed Baluch fighter to set their camp in Afghanistan and declared them official refugee of Afghanistan, while Daoud Khan provide political and military support to those Pashtun and Baluch nationalist. Afghan government annually spends \$ 875,000 over Pashtun and Balouch nationalist according to one estimate. However, in Pakistan some leaders like Asfandyar wali khan, Sardar attaullah Mangel, and Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri, facilitate those nationalists in Pakistan while assistance were supported by Afghan government to pressurize Pakistan government for Pakhtunistan agenda. While in Pakistan Ajmal Khattak secretary of NAP was blamed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on giving hate speeches against Pakistan. However, Khattak recognizes in Al Fateh newspaper of Afghanistan that his Aim was to create Pakhtunistan on Bangladesh model.

In this Pakistan Afghanistan relation were going tense, however, President Daoud Khan did not participate while his delegate Abdur Rehman Pazhwak was send, in Islamic Summit in 1974 hosted by Pakistan. In the summit his envoy raises Pakhtunistan issue in OIC not get attention of the summit. In 1974 President Daoud send letter to UN secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, on Afghan concern about Baloch separatist movement and Pakistan use of force, having bombardment, genocide and mass extermination of thousands of people having Children, women, and old people. In return Bhutto sent letter to UN that Afghan government doing their terrorist activity under the under the emotional attachment and defense of political right.

In 1974 Pakistan and Afghanistan relation were became more strained when peoples party leader and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Chief Minister was killed while attending ceremony in Peshawar University. Then Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto banned NAP and assassinated their leader, Hayat Sherpao. Abdul Wali Khan and his son Asfandyar khan and some other leaders were put in jail. Again in 1974 while Bhutto addressing meeting in Quetta city and terrorist attack on Quetta and blast bomb, for the reason Bhutto blame Afghan government that they facilitate NAP secretary general Ajmal Khattak, who was sit in Afghanistan and violate law and order in Pakistan. In

1975 Afghanistan in Nangarhar province conduct through which Pakistan faces troop mobilizer in Pakistan region. While Afghan support to Pakistan separatist and nationalist movement in reaction Bhutto gave shelter to Afghan Islamist and Pro-monarchy opposition Burhanuddin Rabbani, Ahmad shah Masud both were Tajik while Gulbuddin and Hikmatyar were against pro Soviet Daoud, who did not claim Afghan territorial right over Pakistan (Rehman, 2012b).

In 1975, Afghan foreign minister interview to Sunday Time (London) that the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan are artificial. While in 1975 with Pakistan Islamist support rebellion in several Afghan provinces Paktika, Jalalabad, Laghman, Panjshir, and Badakhshan but remained unsuccessful. While Pakistan supports these Islamist and refuge due to Soviet expansion to warm water through Afghanistan. To resist Daoud government Bhutto trained 5,000 anti- Daoud fighter to dethroning him in Peshawar while reached to Italy, Rome for King Zahir Shah exile, however, Bhutto how reaction that Daoud stop back anti- Pakistani elements (“AFGHANISTAN: THE PROBLEM OF PASHTUN ALIENATION,” 2003).

3.4 Pakistan Afghanistan Relations from 1975 To 1977

In 1975 after contest with India, Pakistan get position in UN secretary Council, at that hour Pakistan reduce relations with major powers US, USSR, and China, while with Bangladesh was became good but with India strained relations after Delhi agreement in 1975. Afghanistan was remaining irresponsible, and Bhutto called their relations bad and sad. However, to remove Afghan hostility, Bhutto try to solve differences, while in Feb 1975 Pakistan deputy foreign minister Aziz Ahmad went to Nepal for attending Nepal King deceased ceremony, where he meets to President Daud's brother Sardar Mohammad Naim. Meanwhile Senator of US Charles Percy a friend of Afghanistan makes it easy to intersect. Due to which both envoys agreed to reduce the propaganda between states and make a road for further talk.

In 1975 Pakistan leaders get sufficient evidence about the Afghan interference in Pakistan, while in the first half of 1975 Pakistan army get army equipment in Pakistan Baluchistan and Frontier areas. However, at the meantime Pakistan on political party NAP, who facilitate them, on which Afghanistan show extreme concern.

Another event in 1975 was the Panjshir Valley violence in Afghanistan which created the disturbance situation Pakistan and Afghanistan. Many versions of the event were circulated with different viewpoints about the incident. In Bazark valley some people viewpoint was that they were criminals while other blame Pakistan, that those were Pakistani troublemakers. However,

another viewpoint was that it was between policeman and smugglers of lipsi lazuli. However, it was an action attack over police posts Jalalabad and Naghlu while main activity center was Panjshir and Laghman. According to the mentioned opinion in the article that there were three hundred insurgents in which five to six were killed and some were wounded, and some put in jail. While among those two were lower house elected member of the parliament which were abolished in 1973 revolution. However, these involved insurgents belonged from extremist parties such as Ikhwan Ul Muslimin or unemployed school students or university students as blamed by Afghan government. While Afghan government also blames the Gulbuddin Hikmatyar the head of the Islamic party, they blamed that he had taken support from Pakistan intelligence for the Panjshir insurgency. While blaming the extremist for this insurgency and Gulbuddin Hikmatyar is true to some extent that those were not happy with Daouds secular administration policy. Ninety-three people were put on trial by the military courts. Three of them were put to death, and the others were sent to prison for different lengths of time. Around eighteen were let go. However, the author of the article Riffat analyze that Pakistan action was much more but was strong, aim to reach the strength of Daoud's regime. But the Afghan propaganda made the problem seem much bigger than it really was. However, not only Iran and Pakistan but also Anglo-American was also worried about the Soviet expansion toward South Asia through Afghanistan. However, later Pakistan denied their role in any insurgency by Afghan government due to no evidence and later Panjshir local also denied Pakistan involvement, so it was due Afghan security and for the reason in many provinces Afghan government changes their administration.

The Daud regime faced many attempts to overthrow it from the beginning. When Daud became the leader in July 1973, there were other people plotting to take over too, one wa Abdul Wali and the other was Miawandwal. Daud moved quickly to stop one plot, and later, another attempt failed. In September 1975, after a crisis in Panjshir, another group tried to overthrow the government. These challenges made Daud feel unsafe in his position. He worried about threats from both left-wing and right-wing groups, influenced by powerful countries, even though the most worried thing for him was when Sho la Javid joined extreme left against government brotherhood. At first, he worked with the left but later distanced himself from them. He replaced radical ministers with his own people and tried to create a single-party system. He became an autocrat, making all decisions him, and restricted political activities and freedom of expression.

Even though the Soviet Union and Iran helped financially, the economy still got worse, and people became unhappy. The situation didn't change much from when the monarchy was overthrown, leaving a lot of uncertainty around Daud's leadership.

The political instability surrounding Daud brought some relief to Pakistan, as it coincided with a shift in Afghan foreign policy. Daud, while purging the Parchists, also moved to distance Afghanistan from Soviet influence. Iran's financial assistance to Afghanistan for development projects reduced its reliance on the Soviet Union, while pressure from other Muslim nations prompted Daud to address the Pashtunistan issue and improve ties with Pakistan.

Daud began sending Afghan military personnel for training to countries like India, Egypt, and the United States, instead of the Soviet Union. Relations with China improved, culminating in a new cooperation agreement. These developments brought Afghanistan closer to Pakistan, evident in the conciliatory tone of speeches by both countries' delegates at the United Nations. Pakistan extended significant aid to Afghanistan in the aftermath of a massive earthquake and floods in northern Afghanistan. In return, Afghanistan publicly acknowledged and appreciated Pakistan's assistance. Likewise, when Pakistan faced severe floods, Afghanistan reciprocated with aid. During Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to Kabul, Daud expressed gratitude and goodwill towards Pakistan.

Pakistan and Afghanistan were become friendly when in 1975 natural disaster and flood came in Afghan and Pakistan give them aid support. However, hostile propaganda was becoming stopped and Afghan government quieted down his tone at international level and did not mention any issue about Pakistan (Noori et al. 2022). This divert action was seen in Istanbul Conference of Foreign Minister of Islamic World, when the Afghan foreign minister Waheed Abdullah stop discussing Afghan issues and problems with Pakistan (Editor, 2023). Preparation for a summit between Bhutto and Daoud began during the Islamic Conference in Istanbul facilitated by Aziz Ahmad and Waheed Abdullah (Ahmad, 2010). However, even Afghan government refuse Bhutto culture exchange in Oct 1975, still remain soft corner for Pakistan in Conference, while domestic pressure and Muslim world pressurize Kabul to shift their policy. However, President Daoud recognizes Pakistan military superiority and understands that now Soviet did support further against aggressive policies about Pakistan (County, 2021). However, Algiers Accord between Iraq and Iran, also influenced Afghanistan policy shifted toward non-alignment (Bhattarai & Pulami, 2022).

However, at that point Pakistan and Afghanistan relations became easier when both agreed on positive development and their good relation will benefit the region like Pakistan and India relations and with other countries. Pakistan and Afghanistan will focus on the domestic issues rather than these issues.

3.5 Pak-Afghan Relations in 1976

In 1976 ice break between Pakistan and Afghanistan, while on 7 Oct Bhutto arrived in Afghanistan and contributes to growth of friendship. To prevent misunderstandings, both Pakistan and Afghanistan agreed to issue joint press releases with virtually identical comments in the press and radio. Additionally, they decided not to issue a joint communiqué at the end of the visit and abstained from delivering banquet speeches. Bhutto support these political Leaders of Afghanistan such as Aziz Ahmed, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Defense, Agha Shahi, Foreign Secretary, Arshad Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador to Afghanistan, Yusuf Buch, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister and S. Shahnawaz, Additional Foreign Secretary. Sardar Mohammad Naim, Foreign Minister, Mohammad Hassan Safq, First Deputy Prime Minister, Syed Abdullah Hirah, Second Deputy Prime Minister and Waheed Abdullah, Deputy Foreign Minister assisted the Afghan Prime Minister. However, between 7 and 11 June Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Afghan president Sardar Muhammad Daoud Khan meet privately and their session were not more than 2 to 3 hours. However, on 10 June 1976, both leaders meet officially and give special importance to meeting their differences. According to the Patriot report, the talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan covered various aspects of their relations comprehensively. There discussions include issues such as the Pashtunistan dispute, the Baluchistan insurgency, and the Pakistani government's actions against the NAP and its leaders. The Afghan government had already shown restraint regarding Pakistan's Supreme Court decision on the NAP. They appeared to force the need for normalcy in Baluchistan and the tribal areas, while also urging Pakistan to address the influx of refugees from Baluchistan into Afghanistan. Bhutto, however, requested time to address these issues, citing the delicate balance he maintained with the military. He aimed to ease political tensions and create an environment where negotiations with the NAP leadership could proceed smoothly without much resistance from the military.

The discussions did not cover topics like stop air links, strengthening trade and transit traffic through Pakistan, or facilitate border restrictions. However, they did agree on certain measures, such as improving and liberalizing transit facilities.

Contrary to previous announcements, both Afghanistan and Pakistan released a joint communiqué at the end of the visit, which had to be extended by one day. The two sides agreed to not participate in hostile propaganda against each other. Pakistan, for the first time, acknowledged the existence of political differences between the two countries. The Afghans agreed to resolve these differences in line with the principles of the 1955 Bandung Conference, which include respecting each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. Notably, the term "Pakhtoonistan" was not mentioned during the discussions.

Daud asserted that Afghanistan had no territorial ambitions against Pakistan and expressed a desire to avoid further disintegration of Pakistan ("The Last Years of Peaceful Coexistence: Soviet-Afghan Relations 1963-1978 on JSTOR," n.d.). However, many Pakistanis doubted the reliability of Daud's assurances. Some points pointed out by some circle that similar promises made by King Zahir Shah to Ayub Khan in 1960 had not been fulfilled. The joint communiqué indicated that no significant breakthrough had been achieved in bilateral relations. Despite this, Pakistani newspapers hailed the summit as successful. For example, the Daily Dawn in Karachi editorially described it as a significant milestone in Pak-Afghan relations, suggesting that it could lead to a transformative dialogue reshaping inter-state relationships in South Asia. The Pakistan Times viewed it as a meaningful step towards peace and friendship between the two countries, suggesting that Bhutto and Daud had injected warmth into previously chilly relations, a diplomatic gesture considered unthinkable a year earlier. Even the Afghan Foreign Minister, in an interview with BBC reporter Andrew Whitley, proclaimed that the summit had inaugurated an era of goodwill and confidence.

The Pak-Afghan relations were stronger when Afghan President Daod Khan attending fifth non-aligned Summit at Colombo, while stopped for Pakistan. He was visiting Pakistan after a gap of twenty years, which led impartial observers to have high expectations for the event. The Afghan delegation included Waheed Abdullah, Deputy Foreign Minister, Abdul Samad Ghaus, Director General of the Afghan Foreign Ministry, Rahim Sherzoy, Afghan Charge d' Affairs in

Pakistan, Mohammad Gul Jahangir, Director of the Afghan Foreign Ministry, Abdul Abad Nasir, Deputy Chief of the Foreign Minister's Office, and an eight-member team of journalists. Bhutto was accompanied by Aziz Ahmed, Minister of State for Defense and Foreign Affairs, Agha Shahi, Foreign Secretary, S. Shahnawaz, Additional Foreign Secretary, Ali Arshad, Pakistan's Ambassador to Afghanistan, and A.A. Farooqi, Director General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The discussions took place in Islamabad, Lahore, and Murree in an atmosphere characterized by "frankness and understanding." However, both sides maintained a cautious approach, as they were keen to avoid any setbacks that could hinder efforts towards normalization. During the banquet, both leaders kept their speeches brief. Daud stressed that Pakistan and Afghanistan had no choice but to pursue friendship, emphasizing that Afghan goodwill towards Pakistan and concern for its prosperity were not merely superficial, but rooted in the ties of Islamic brotherhood. He highlighted that any discord between the two nations was unnatural. Bhutto, on his part, asserted that despite any differences, there had never been and would never be enmity between the people of both countries. He acknowledged the inevitability of their physical proximity bringing them closer and expressed hope that resolving their differences would lead to opportunities for mutual improvement.

3.6 11 June Communiqué

11 June communiqué was ended on 24 August, in which it was confined that both countries will find a solution for the political and other differences in between. While settlement was resumed in Kabul and Bhutto was invited and he accepted too. After the end of talks Daoud Afghanistan president declare talks useful. Both sides accept the longstanding issue "Pakhtunistan", that this issue cannot be resolved instantly. However, Kuldip Naylor of Afghanistan declared that both leaders agreed on to bury the Pakhtunistan issue for once and signed secretly on agreement while Pakistan will do plebiscite in Pashtun region and Daoud claim that he would accept the verdict. The agreement was called the provincial autonomy of NWFP (now KPK) and Baluchistan region and recognizes the permanent Durand border. However, latter Bhutto recognizes that Afghan government recognizes the Durand border and buries Pakhtunistan issue.

The final decision of 11 June Communiqué was on 'give-and-take' according to Kuldip Naylor and Micheal Richardson that Afghan government accept Durand line and bury

Pakhtunistan issue while Pakistan government will do Plebiscite in Pashtun region and released Pashtun and Baluchi people who were in jail. If these issues were resolved than definitely it will impact on domestic situation and resulting on Bhutto strong relations with oppositions. But they're remained doubt on Kuldip Nayar and Micheal Richardson information because after while Abdul Wali pace trail was slow down.

However, Pashtun day are celebrated in Afghanistan on 31 August with great fun fare and anti-Pakistani speeches, while the impact of second was that the border remained quiet. The enthusiasm dwindled following Daud's visit in 1976. There was a noticeable lack of fervor, with only a modest and subdued turnout. Ghulam Sakhi Nourzed, Kabul's Mayor, highlighted in his opening speech the discussions between Daud and Bhutto and the positive atmosphere they had created.

In the last of 1976 both countries leader was taken to not comment negatively on the incidents in Pakistan Dir and Wanna region. The air service was also resumed in 1976 which was suspended in 1974. Both leaders, Daoud and Bhutto once again declare that they are sincere to each other. In January 1977, Daud reiterated during his speech to the Loya Jirga that the ongoing exchange of views gave hope for a mutually respectable resolution to their political disagreements. He emphasized that regardless of whether a final agreement was reached, the commitment to cease hostile propaganda reflected a mutual desire to put an end to the main dispute. Similar sentiments were echoed in Pakistan. Bhutto, addressing a question in the National Assembly on 28 March 1977, expressed his trust in Daud's statements and emphasized that Afghanistan had ceased meddling in Pakistan's internal matters.

3.7 Pak-Afghan in 1977

In March 1977, Bhutto announced General elections in Pakistan and toured all around the country for election to give vote to his party PPP, and he hopes that he will win two third majorities. However, in result he won 126 out of 200 in National Assembly of Pakistan. While 18 from total was from without opposition 8 from PPP, and PNA only got 29 seats. However, opposition did not accept the result that government has done massive rigging. On 16 April 1977 Bhutto tried with opposition to sort out the problem but opposition started March from some areas of country with demand that Bhutto should resign and schedule reelection under military supervision. In reaction Bhutto increased repression, while Martial law was imposed on Karachi, Lahore, and Hyderabad and many people were killed in this chaos situation. However, on 13

May Bhutto wanted to hope for a referendum that would remain in power or resign but opposition opposed that, then Bhutto sent a plane to PNA central council, but PNA denied. On July 5 workable formula was made in which General Zia ul Haq, Chief of Army Staff declared martial, Constitution of Pakistan 1973 was suspended, and National Assembly of Pakistan was ceased.

Section II

CHALLENGES AND CONSTRAINTS IN PAKISTAN- AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS UNDER ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO

4.1 Introduction

Bilateral relations between the two states are based on national interest. National interest is determined by factors like history, culture, geography, ideology, trade, economy, political system, and demography of the states; however, relations are affected by these factors. If the interest of the states meets, then bilateral relations develop. While if their interest did not meet then they became hostile or enemy, as the relations between the two states are affected by the other, the other states too. When there is multiple states interest involved, then multiple factors affect their national interest. Depending on the significance of the Variable's weight or the interest of the other state or the state might have primary role in the relations of the two states.

Pakistan and Afghanistan sharing border have been for 75 years. This area is called 'Great Game' due to the eye of the great power like Soviet Union and the US, while became battle ground for these major powers in the 19th century. However, US left Afghanistan after the 'war on terror' and Taliban take over in Afghanistan. While world also some issues like Ukraine war, Taiwan conflict, and Covid Pandemic-19. So, the study looks like how these international factors affect the Pak-Afghan bilateral relations.

Pak-Afghan relations have been influenced by many internal and external factors throughout their short history have been followed. Both states have mostly fragile relations rather than some cooperation period of Taliban government from 1968-73 and 1996-2001. The current border between the two states has been made in 1893, while these are the historic events in the state hostility factor in their relations.

However, in cold war era Pak-Afghan relations remain strained as both states joined opposite blocks, while in Soviet invasion Pakistan support Taliban Mujahedeen in 1980s deepened these divisions. However, Taliban in 1996 came in power through the ISI support, which further strained Pak-Afghan relations. Further tension increased in Pak-Afghan relations, when 9/11 happened and US intervene in Afghanistan and dethrone Taliban government.

Initially, Pakistan support US 'war on terror' mission started by US against the terrorist, but Pakistan also support Afghan Taliban and play double role, however, relations remained persisted. In 2021 US withdrew their troops from Afghanistan, Taliban start rapid take over, which bring changes in Pak-Afghan bilateral relations. A new phase of relations in both states was started in the region while facing a lot of problems and opportunities.

4.2 The 1970 elections

The 1970 elections in Pakistan marked a significant moment in the nation's history, being the first-time voters could directly elect members of the NA. Following Ayub Khan's resignation in 1969 and the declaration of martial law by Gen. Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, plans for national elections were announced for December 1970. The elections saw a strong contest between the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Bhutto in West Pakistan and the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in East Pakistan. Bhutto campaigned on a nationalist and leftist platform, promising "roti, kapra, aur makhana" (bread, clothing, and shelter) for all, while also advocating for a strong stance against India. In East Pakistan, the Awami League's six-point program gained widespread support, fueled further by perceived neglect in the aftermath of a devastating cyclone. The electoral results underscored deep dissatisfaction in East Pakistan, with the Awami League securing a landslide victory, winning all but two seats allocated to the region (Hays, n.d.).

In contrast, Bhutto's PPP fared poorly in East Pakistan but secured a significant number of seats in the West Wing, particularly in Punjab and Sindh. Other parties, such as the National Awami Party, also made gains in certain regions. However, despite the Awami League's electoral triumph, the inaugural assembly never convened due to Yahya and Bhutto's opposition to Mujib's demands for a confederated Pakistan. Mujib insisted on his six-point program forming the basis of the constitution, while Bhutto advocated for unity under his leadership. Tensions escalated, leading to Mujib's call for a general strike in East Pakistan. Yahya's decision to indefinitely postpone the convening of the National Assembly further fueled unrest and ultimately set the stage for the subsequent events that would lead to the independence of Bangladesh (Hays, n.d.).

4.3 Pakistan-Afghanistan Liberation war and India Stance

Forty-eight years after the 1971 war, which resulted in the independence of Bangladesh, distinct memories of the conflict have been institutionalized in each country involved. In Bangladesh, the war is commemorated as the struggle for liberation against the oppressive Pakistan Army, marked by escalating tensions and a humanitarian crisis. Post-war, political factions have vied to control the narrative, with Sheikh Hasina's leadership centralizing the story around the Awami League's role. Challenges persist regarding justice for all victims, including marginalized communities like the Biharis. In India, the war symbolizes a pinnacle of military prowess and is intertwined with national identity, though internal tensions emerged due to the refugee crisis. Meanwhile, Pakistan has largely ignored the war's significance, framing it as a humiliating defeat. However, it has profoundly influenced defense strategies and regional policies, shaped revised narratives and impacting movements for self-determination. Across borders, 1971 continues to shape regional dynamics, reflecting distinct perspectives of liberation, victory, and loss, while remaining relevant in contemporary discourse and national identities (Zakaria, 2019).

4.4 Boundary Issue

The Durand line was marked by the British India in 1886, while preserving India from the Soviet expansion. This demarcation did not follow natural and demographic features divided the Pashtun tribes which create uneasiness in the region, due to which southwest Baluchistan separatist movement was started and Tahrik-e-labiak Pakistan (TTP) in Northwest of Pakistan was started, while they will easily move toward Afghanistan for all kind of supply from Afghanistan. Due to which Pakistan in 2019 make fence on the border with Afghanistan side due to which tension was created in the region.

Natural connectivity between two countries like culture, demography, economy, language, religion, and ideology create uneasiness or connectivity in relations of any two states. While one of this issue create hurdle in Pak-Afghan bilateral relations. However, Pakistan and Afghanistan share 2,640km border the border line divide naturally same by culture, history, language, religion, and ideology. Therefore, the relation between both states remains uneasy. Due to sharing border make both states as indispensable trade partner; while Afghanistan is landlocked country for the reason Afghanistan use Pakistan and Iran to reach maritime. There are

some data from OEC, 2022, that Afghanistan imports from Pakistan 27.9% in 2020 while import 12.6% product. However, Pakistan export 3.41% product while imported 0.97 % product.

However, after Soviet invasion to Afghanistan 3.3 million Afghan refugees which have Uzbek, Tajik and Pashtuns were include went to neighbor country, while Afghan refugees were mostly Pashtuns. For the reason Afghan refugee are socio economic problem of Pakistan and still have 1.4 million refugees (about half the population of Nevada) in Pakistan from Afghanistan (UNHCR, 2023). However, that created risky Pakistan instability demographically.

4.5 Durand Line and Pashtun Issue

The historically Pashtun nationalism was started by the Afghan leader Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan against British Indian rule and remain this issue continue till Pakistan formation, his aim was to unite Pashtun. While Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan non-violent movement was known as “Khudai Khidmatgar” or “Red Shirt” movement within the sub-continent. However, in 1940 resolution in sub-continent, in which to some region gave autonomy in which NWFP (now KPK), Punjab, Sindh, and Baluchistan were given to Pakistan; ultimately Pashtun became part of Pakistan. While Afghan government still continues effort for independent Pakhtunistan, additionally they mean that it can resolve border issue in between Pakistan and Afghanistan; furthermore, Afghanistan is landlocked country, through this Afghanistan access to Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean. However, this issue remains still and after the USSR expansion in Afghanistan complicated this issue much more and Afghan dream did not realize in reality for independent Pakhtunistan (Saikal, 2010).

However, Pakistan had done two wars with India in 1965 and 1971, 1965 war was held in General Ayub Khan presidency in Pakistan while 1971 was in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto presidency. However, neighbor Afghanistan show their neutral stance in this war due which Pakistan remained tensionless from Western side border and focus on the Indo-Pak border issue. From 1968 to 1971 King Zahir Shah ruled over Afghanistan, while relation were going toward better than tense, meanwhile Iran play crucial role in betterment of diplomatic relations in these two countries who not share long border but history, culture, ideology, linguistic, religion, and ethnicity in 1963 through Tehran Accord through which Pakistan and Afghanistan resume commercial and trade relations via confidence building measurement (CBM).

However, in 1973 there was sudden change occur in Afghanistan power corridor, King Zahir Shah was on European visit issue while let. General Sardar Daud gained power and

overthrew King Zahir Shah. However, in Sardar Daod Era Afghanistan in 1970s raised Pakhtunistan issue with passage of time. In 1970s during Dauod Era Afghanistan once again raised Pakhtunistan issue through 'Azadi Radio' (Ali & Safdar, 2020). However, Prime Minister Dauod of Afghanistan, in 1974 Pakistan hosted OIC, while PM Dauod not attend itself, but his delegation attends in which they raised Pakhtunistan issue before that in UN they raised this issue. Additionally, Afghanistan convenes China to pressurize Pakistan, but China like to not intervene in their issues. Furthermore, US General Secretary Henry A. Kissinger in 1974 visited Kabul and pressurizes Afghanistan to put some pressure on the way of living Method of Pakistan over Pashtunistan issue. However, for being in office for three years internal issues influence them to revise the Pashtunistan policy. For the reason in 1976 Bhutto called for official visit of Kabul and in return Dauod also visited Pakistan. However, both the leaders agreed to respect each other's sovereignty and territory. While after Bhutto era during General Zia Ul Haq presidency both Dauod and Zia leaders discuss mutual issue (Kayathwal & Kayathwal, 1994).

4.6 Pak-Afghan Refugee issues in 1971 after Pakistan Bangladesh Liberation war

The influx of Afghan refugees into Pakistan has created a complex web of challenges, impacting various facets of society. With around three million refugees, Pakistan, a Third World country with limited resources, faces significant political, economic, and social strains. These challenges stem from the diverse backgrounds of the refugee population, ranging from politically prominent families to displaced civilians. While some refugees have been able to establish themselves in businesses or contribute to camp activities, many others struggle to make ends meet, relying on meager resources and facing difficulties in accessing basic necessities. The sheer scale of the refugee population exacerbates existing issues, putting pressure on infrastructure, public services, and social cohesion. As Pakistan navigates these challenges, finding sustainable solutions that address the needs of both refugees and host communities remains a pressing concern (Rizvi, n.d.).

4.7 Pakistan Foreign Policy under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's foreign policy initiatives were characterized by a multifaceted approach aimed at safeguarding Pakistan's interests and enhancing its global standing. Despite the daunting aftermath of the 1971 defeat, Bhutto demonstrated remarkable resilience and diplomatic prowess on the international stage. His engagement with key players such as China

and the Soviet Union was instrumental in securing economic and military support for Pakistan. Bhutto's efforts to strengthen ties with China resulted in significant aid packages and political cooperation, solidifying a crucial strategic partnership. Furthermore, his pragmatic approach to relations with the United States, despite occasional challenges, ensured continued economic assistance and military support. Bhutto's diplomatic maneuvers extended to the Muslim world, where he successfully rallied support for Pakistan's cause, particularly through initiatives like the Islamic Summit Conference. Additionally, Bhutto's engagement with neighboring countries such as Afghanistan and Iran sought to defuse tensions and foster regional stability. Overall, Bhutto's foreign policy legacy remains a testament to his skillful navigation of complex geopolitical dynamics in pursuit of Pakistan's national interests (*Foreign Policy – Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, n.d.).

Upon assuming governmental control, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto prioritized normalizing relations with India and advocated for peaceful dialogue to resolve conflicts between the two nations. This initiative resulted in a 1972 meeting in Rawalpindi, where representatives from both countries convened and subsequently signed an agreement on July 02, 1972. Pakistan committed to normalizing bilateral relations and addressing conflicts predating the 1971 Indo-Pak War. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Pakistan faced significant domestic and international challenges, finding support from Muslim countries to resolve these issues. In 1974, India's nuclearization heightened Pakistan's security concerns, leading to increased support from Muslim nations against Indian actions. Bhutto's emphasis on strengthening relations with the Middle East led to numerous Ministerial Conferences of Muslim countries held in Pakistan. Bhutto's attachment to the Muslim world fostered religious sentiments demanding the teaching of Islam in society, which faced pressure from the United States due to Saudi Arabia's support for Jamait-i-Islami. Despite not solely relying on diplomatic skills, Bhutto's emphasis on developing harmonious relations with Muslim countries was deemed necessary for Pakistan's interests, a policy later followed by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. Bhutto's foreign policy during 1971-77 symbolized a developed country's approach, emphasizing the importance of international relationships and promoting national interests. He also normalized relations with the Soviet Union, withdrew Pakistan from SEATO and CENTO, and forged close ties with Muslim nations, particularly Saudi Arabia, advocating for Pakistan's independent foreign policy. Bhutto's leadership was instrumental in organizing the second Summit of the Organization of Islamic Conference in Lahore in 1974, solidifying his role as a key leader supporting Muslim

countries. Under Bhutto's leadership, Pakistan's foreign office implemented measures to strengthen ties with Muslim nations, emphasizing bilateralism and maintaining cordial relations with other countries. Bhutto also championed the Arab cause globally, particularly raising the issue of Palestine, while actively avoiding circumstances that could lead to conflicts among Muslim nations. He extended support to Muslim minorities in non-Muslim states and urged Muslim countries to participate in noble causes (Dawood, 2021).

4.8 Pakistan Economy under Z.A. Bhutto

The Bhutto regime, which came to power in December 1971, introduced economic policies diverging from its predecessor's emphasis on growth over distribution. While the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) manifesto highlighted redistribution, specifics beyond nationalization were scarce. Initial reforms in 1972 included nationalizing a portion of large-scale manufacturing and redistributing land, albeit inadequately, among farmers. Subsequent waves of reforms saw further nationalization, including banks, shipping, and petroleum distribution. However, the regime's lack of focus on economic growth, coupled with amateur policymaking and uncertainty among the populace, led to widespread apprehension about the country's economic direction. The departure of left-wing figures from the administration added to the uncertainty, with little clarity on overall policy views. Agriculture, seen as a potential bright spot, faced challenges such as disappointing crop production and price disparities leading to smuggling. Despite difficulties, the regime aimed to stimulate agricultural production through price increases and subsidies, with longer-term prospects dependent on proper pricing and investment in infrastructure.

In the context of agricultural prosperity in Sind, discussions on family planning are overshadowed by concerns about labor shortages, highlighting the significant economic shift in the region. Despite calls for increased agricultural taxation, little action has been taken due to the political influence of the agricultural sector, which outweighs that of the industrial sector. Bhutto's move to exempt small farmers from land revenue while increasing taxes on larger landowners is seen as symbolic rather than substantial, as the rates have remained unchanged for decades. However, concerns persist regarding investment, both foreign and domestic, with the private sector showing signs of increased interest but from a low base. Nationalization efforts have left some entrepreneurs wary, despite government assurances. Foreign investment remains sluggish, although efforts to attract it continue. Meanwhile, the public sector has ramped up

investment, particularly in industries like steel, fertilizer, and textiles. Industrial production growth has slowed, with the public sector seemingly outperforming the private sector, though skepticism exists about the accuracy of official figures. The trade picture is mixed, with export growth plateauing and imports increasing, driven partly by rising petroleum prices. Despite a substantial trade deficit, external support from aid donors and oil-producing states has provided some relief. Additionally, the phenomenon of foreign trade in manpower, particularly to the United States, is becoming increasingly significant, with potential political implications for Pakistan's elite.

The significant economic impact of labor migration from Pakistan to the Persian Gulf region, particularly fueled by the prosperity driven by the oil price surge in the 1970s, the migration has alleviated unemployment in Pakistan and has become a substantial source of foreign exchange earnings. However, concerns arise regarding the government's control over emigration, reflected in the Emigration Ordinance of 1976, which restricted the movement of skilled professionals. The economic challenges within Pakistan include inflation, exacerbated by subsidy policies and inadequate taxation measures. Efforts to address inflation have included wage increases and export bans on certain goods. Tax collection has been hindered by administrative inefficiencies and corruption. The government's economic policies have aimed to appease the urban middle class and incentivize private investment, but inconsistencies and lack of clarity in policy implementation have led to uncertainty in the business environment. Overall, the government's handling of economic issues reflects a mix of successes and challenges, with ongoing efforts to navigate complex economic realities.

The task of managing the existing system is challenging enough, despite the government's evident missteps and uncertainties. Despite pessimistic economic indicators, the underlying condition of the economy appears robust, taking into account factors like the impact of the dissolution of united Pakistan, the global recession's toll on raw cotton and the cotton industry, and temporary water shortages for irrigation. The prevailing sentiment in the country remains one of hope and expectation. A brighter global economic outlook, particularly in terms of increased exports of cotton and its products, coupled with improved agricultural prospects due to enhanced water availability and restored river flow, suggests a trajectory of rising prosperity and revitalized growth. The Annual Development Plan shares this optimism, albeit with somewhat overly precise growth projections of 9.4% for 1975-76. While Pakistan faces political

challenges, it avoids the extreme political upheavals seen in India or Bangladesh. The most significant long-term concern is population growth, estimated at no less than 3% annually, one of the highest rates globally. However, the government has signaled its commitment to addressing this issue, after initially sidestepping population policy due to Ayub's association with it. Begum Nusrat Bhutto represented Pakistan at the 1974 World Population Conference, and the country is now embarking on a pioneering initiative to increase contraceptive availability. If the private sector regains momentum in both industry and agriculture, many current challenges could transform into opportunities for growth and prosperity (Gustafson, 1976).

4.9 External Factor

Externally Pakistan was dependent on United State, as ZA Bhutto wants balance relationship with West and East and even normalizes and balance relation with neighboring countries and also want to secure Pakistan's nuclear ambitious toward nuclear program to secure and also wanted to have more Islamic front as he convent the second OIC conference in 1974 at Lahore, at that time Pakistan was the leader of Muslim world and these were the external factors reduce the Pakistan total dependency on Russia and on the Western nations, however. Just to make Pakistan out from the trauma was caused by the creation of Bangladesh by the fall of Dhaka.

Chapter 4

FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN UNDER PM IMRAN KHAN

4.1 Introduction

Imran Khan as elected the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2018 elections during his speech to Al Jazeera give brief his opinion in upcoming his government. In which he started that my ideal is Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) in the way of Humanitarian personality He have. So, in my policies there will be always made policies regarding to the poor people of Pakistan. However, Imran Khan believed that Pakistan never achieves their when there is Island of rich people and Sea of poor people. Furthermore, he discussed about the neighbor Afghanistan that they suffered more in war on terror while their people want peace while to bring peace in Pakistan, there shall be ensured to bring peace in Afghanistan, one I want to open border with Afghanistan (Jazeera, 2018).

4.2 Pakistan and Afghanistan Diplomatic Relations

In 2018 Pakistan Terik e Insaf takes government in Pakistan and there in Afghanistan, US decide to withdraw from Afghanistan after long twenty years presence there. However, Taliban were willing to talk with Afghan government for peace development. However, Pakistan for long time remain the part of problem as Pakistan claimed itself as Pakistan support US and west against the Afghanistan and irritate Afghan peace, support to Taliban. After a while, Pakistan diverts their stance as Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan supposed to facilitate in Afghan Taliban peace talk in Doha. Pakistan Afghanistan relation moves once again towards good willing.

4.3 Exchange of High-Profile Visits

Afghanistan's President, Ashraf Ghani, extended an invitation to Imran Khan, the cricketer-turned-politician who was set to become Pakistan's Prime Minister, to visit Kabul. Ghani made the congratulatory call to Khan after his party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), emerged as the single largest party in the parliamentary elections held in Pakistan. Khan accepted the invitation and expressed his intention to visit Kabul shortly after assuming office.

During the conversation, both leaders emphasized the importance of enhancing bilateral ties in various areas such as politics, economics, culture, and social affairs. Ghani lauded Khan's contribution to cricket in Afghanistan, where he is considered a hero, and expressed his appreciation for Khan's stance on promoting peace and stability in the region. President Ghani also shared the details of their conversation on social media, highlighting their mutual commitment to overcoming past differences and forging a new path towards prosperity for both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Khan, known for his opposition to the U.S.-led military intervention in Afghanistan, has advocated for resolving the Afghan conflict through intra-Afghan dialogue. He reiterated his support for peace talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban, emphasizing the need for stability in the region.

Both Afghanistan and Pakistan have experienced strained relations in the past, with accusations of supporting militant attacks against each other. However, both leaders expressed their commitment to fostering peace and cooperation between their countries. Khan's vision for the future includes open borders and free trade between Afghanistan and Pakistan, like the European Union model. He believes that such a relationship would benefit both nations economically and contribute to regional stability. Despite challenges such as border security issues and diplomatic tensions, both leaders are hopeful that increased cooperation and dialogue will lead to a brighter future for Afghanistan and Pakistan. They aim to work together to address mutual concerns and promote peace and prosperity in the region (Gul, 2018).

Second visit paid by Shah Mahmood Qureshi on 15 Dec 2018 for Afghanistan-China-Pakistan trilateral foreign minister's dialogue, and this was second dialogue. In China, Afghanistan, and Pakistan committed once again to improve relations, deepening cooperation and develop connectivity the one belt and road initiative, collectively encounter terrorism, while support Afghanistan in security building, and support Afghan peace and prosperity. Foreign Minister of Pakistan Shah Mahmood Qureshi, along with the foreign secretary, traveled to Afghanistan, Iran, China, and Russia in December 24-26, 2018, where they informed Afghan leaders about Pakistan's endeavors to foster cooperation among various regional and international parties to support an intra-Afghan dialogue.

4.4 Pakistan Army Chief Visit to Afghanistan

Army Chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa, attended by Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Director General Lt. General Faiz Hameed and Pakistan's Special Ambassador on Afghanistan,

Muhammad Sadiq, undertook an unexpected trip to Kabul on June 9, 2020. The primary objective of the visit was to engage in discussions with Afghan leaders, including President Ashraf Ghani and Chairman High Council for National Reconciliation Dr. Abdullah, regarding the improvement of the Afghan peace process. This visit made shortly after the US Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation, Zalmay Khalilzad, met with General Bajwa and the ISI chief in Islamabad. The visit aimed to facilitate the organization of intra-Afghan talks involving the Taliban and Afghan leadership. Notably, no press release was issued by the ISPR regarding the visit, underscoring its significance in the context of security-related sensitivities.

4.5 Prime Minister Imran Khan Visit to Kabul

At the behest of the Afghan President Hamid Karzai, Prime Minister Imran Khan embarked on his inaugural trip to Kabul on November 19, 2020. During his visit, the prime minister engaged in a one-on-one discussion with President Ashraf Ghani, participated in talks between delegations, and conducted a joint press briefing. The primary agenda included strengthening the close bilateral ties between Pakistan and Afghanistan, nurturing progress in the Afghan peace process, and enhancing regional economic development and connectivity.

4.6 President Ashraf Ghani Visit to Pakistan

After the invitation of Prime Minister Imran Khan, President Ashraf Ghani, accompanied by a high-ranking representative, made a visit to Pakistan in June from 27-28, 2019, while during the visit, President of Afghanistan Ghani met with President of Pakistan Arif Alvi, while Prime Minister Imran Khan engaged in talks with the delegation. These comprehensive discussions involved various aspects of bilateral cooperation, spanning political, trade, economic, security, educational, and people-to-people exchanges, with a particular emphasis on the Afghan peace process. In September 2018 beginning, Afghan Foreign Minister Salahuddin Rabbani visited Pakistan to congratulate Shah Mahmood Qureshi on his appointment as Foreign Minister. They pledged mutual collaboration towards achieving lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan, as well as enhancing bilateral relations under the framework of the Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS). Additionally, Foreign Minister Qureshi's inaugural visit to Kabul on September 15, 2018, underscored the new government's commitment to strengthening bilateral ties and facilitating the Afghan peace process.

Furthermore, a delegation from the Taliban Political Committee, led by Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, along with Chairman of the High Council for National Reconciliation Dr. Abdullah,

Hizb-e-Islami leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, and Speaker of the Afghan Wolesi Jirga Mir Rahman Rahmani, visited Pakistan. They engaged in detailed discussions with Pakistan's civil and military leadership on bilateral relations, regional matters, and the Afghan peace process (Hashim, 2019).

4.7 Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity First and Second Review

Afghanistan Foreign Secretary and Deputy Foreign Minister, Sohail Mahmood and Idrees Zaman respectively led their respective delegations to the inaugural review session of the Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS) in Islamabad on 10, June 2019. During the session, the foreign secretary reiterated Pakistan's dedication to boosting its close ties with Afghanistan, built on mutual trust, for the benefit of both nations. He also reaffirmed Pakistan's commitment to supporting a peaceful, stable, united, and prosperous Afghanistan. Following this, Foreign Secretary Sohail Mahmood and Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister Mirwais Nab participated in the second review meeting of the APAPPS in Kabul on August 31, 2020. During this meeting, both sides expressed their shared aspirations for regional peace, stability, and prosperity. They recognized the APAPPS and its five working groups as the most effective framework for strengthening bilateral relations across various fields.

4.8 Taliban-US Peace Agreement through Pakistan

US-Taliban peace agreement in Doha on Feb 29, 2020, Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi participates in the signing of the peace agreement. During a virtual meeting on May 18, 2020, the special representatives on Afghanistan affairs from Pakistan, China, the Russian Federation, and Iran expressed their support of the US-Taliban peace agreement. They urged foreign troops to withdraw from Afghanistan in a systematic manner, advocated for international assistance in Afghanistan's reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts, and endorsed a table talk solution led and owned by Afghans, and cautioned against the influence of 'spoilers'. Pakistan emphasized during these discussions that it maintains a neutral stance and does not favor any group in Afghanistan.

4.9 Border Fencing Between Afghanistan and Pakistan

During a press briefing held for international media on August 3, 2021, Pakistan's military provided an update on the progress of the fencing project along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. They announced that 90 percent of the fencing had been completed and assured that the remaining 10 percent, which involves the most challenging tasks related to border management boosting, would be finished by the end of the summer. This completion aims to prevent cross-border attacks from both sides and prevent the entry of illegal travelers. The initiative to fence the 2,611-kilometer border began earnestly in 2017 following significant military operations like Operation Radd-UI-Fasaad, aimed at pushing militants out of Pakistan's tribal areas and into Afghanistan. To monitor the border, surveillance cameras and intrusion detection systems have been installed along the fence, which consists of two sets of chain-link fences separated by a 2-meter space filled with concertina wire coils. Additionally, the construction of approximately 1,000 forts along the fence will further enhance border management. The Pakistani Army asserts that this fencing will enhance national security, reduce terrorist attacks, and prevent the large-scale movement of civilians across the border into Afghanistan, effectively putting an end to the historically porous border practices (Altaf, 2020).

10. Chronology of the years Between Afghanistan and Pakistan

10.1 2018

The summary of the events described above highlights significant developments in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region from January to December in 2018. This period saw escalating tensions between the US and Pakistan, with accusations of Taliban support. Despite diplomatic friction, efforts towards peace talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban continued. Pakistan played a crucial role in facilitating negotiations and was recognized for its contributions. The US initiated secret talks with the Taliban, marking a shift in strategy towards reconciliation. Amidst political changes in Pakistan and ongoing regional discussions, the focus remained on finding a peaceful resolution to the Afghan conflict. Additionally, economic cooperation between Pakistan, China, and Afghanistan was explored through projects like the extension of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Overall, the year was characterized by diplomatic maneuvers, peace negotiations, and efforts to stabilize the region amidst ongoing security challenges (Rehan, 2021).

10.2 2019

In January, the US Army Chief of Staff visited Kabul for discussions with the Afghan president regarding strategies to end the ongoing conflict. Senator Lindsey Graham's visit to Pakistan centered on reconciliation efforts with the Taliban. The Afghan president reassured his people that gains in human rights would not be compromised in any peace deal with the Taliban and urged direct talks between insurgents and his government.

February marked bilateral negotiations between the Afghan Taliban and the US in Doha, focusing on military withdrawal, counterterrorism measures, and intra-Afghan talks. Talks continued in Qatar, where a peace agreement draft between the US and Taliban, including troop withdrawal in exchange for Taliban assurances, was approved. Pakistan facilitated and hosted peace talks between the Taliban and the US in Islamabad, emphasizing peace and reconciliation in Afghanistan. In March, Pakistan intensified pressure on the Taliban to engage in talks with the Afghan government. The planned talks between the Taliban, US, and Afghan government in Doha were postponed due to objections over the Afghan delegation's size. Additionally, Pakistan handed over a fully constructed hospital in Kabul as a symbol of bilateral cooperation.

June saw a conference in Lahore attended by Afghan and Pakistani delegates discussing various sectors' cooperation. The absence of Taliban representatives underscored ongoing challenges. In July, Pakistan's Prime Minister visited the White House, emphasizing Pakistan's role in facilitating peace efforts. In August, Pakistan exerted pressure on the Taliban to engage in talks with Kabul. Talks on bilateral trade agreements resumed between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Amendments were made to the Pakistan-Afghanistan Transit Trade Agreement to combat smuggling. September witnessed Pakistan hosting the China-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trilateral Foreign Ministers' Conference, focusing on counterterrorism and economic cooperation, including extending the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor to Afghanistan. Special Envoy Khalilzad announced a tentative agreement between the US and Taliban, later canceled by President Trump following an attack in Kabul. In October, the Khyber Pass Economic Corridor project was approved, aiming to enhance economic connectivity between Pakistan and Afghanistan. December saw Pakistan welcoming the re-election of Afghan President Ghani, signaling ongoing diplomatic support (Rehan 2021).

10.3 2020

In January, the initiation of Afghan Transit Trade through Pakistan commenced with the docking of the first cargo ship at the Gwadar seaport. Pakistan closed its Torkham border following mortar shell attacks from Afghanistan but later agreed to open "border sustenance markets" during discussions between the Pakistani and Afghan foreign ministers. Construction work on the Torkham-Nowshera portion of the CASA-1000 project began, funded by the World Bank. In February; a historic peace deal was signed between the Taliban, Kabul, and the US, outlining the withdrawal of US and coalition forces from Afghanistan in exchange for the Taliban's commitment to prevent terrorist activities on Afghan soil. However, disagreements arose over the release of prisoners, with the Afghan government refusing to release 5,000 Taliban prisoners as stipulated in the agreement. March saw the announcement of President Ashraf Ghani's reelection, leading to political tensions with his rival Abdullah. Despite initial disagreements, Ghani released 1,500 Taliban prisoners to facilitate peace talks, which were further delayed by logistical issues and demands from both sides.

In April, efforts to address regional security concerns continued, with clauses in the Doha Peace Deal involving mediation between Afghanistan and Pakistan facing resistance from Pakistan. Pakistan also requested Afghanistan to hand over the IS Khorasan leader, citing anti-Pakistan

activities. May witnessed a breakthrough as Ghani and Abdullah reached an agreement, allowing Abdullah to lead peace talks with the Taliban and appoint half of the cabinet. Meanwhile, sporadic ceasefires were declared, fostering hopes for progress in intra-Afghan talks. In August, China urged Pakistan to reopen key border crossings with Afghanistan for bilateral and transit trade. Ghani deferred the decision to release specific Taliban prisoners to a national assembly, potentially clearing the path for peace talks. September saw the commencement of peace talks in Doha, marked by disagreements over governance and violence reduction. Despite setbacks, Pakistan reaffirmed its support for the peace process, emphasizing a reduction in violence and ceasefires. In October, a trade and investment forum aimed at enhancing Pak-Afghan trade was held in Islamabad. The US announced plans to reduce troop levels in Afghanistan, signaling ongoing changes in the region's security dynamics. December saw stalled peace talks between Kabul and the Taliban, highlighting challenges in prioritizing the Doha Peace Deal. Efforts continued with Pakistan facilitating discussions and urging a reduction in violence. Talks between Afghan and Pakistani leaders indicated ongoing diplomatic engagement, with further intra-Afghan talks scheduled for January 2021 (Rehan, 2021).

10.4 2021

In February, agreements were reached between the US, the Afghan government, and the Taliban aimed at fostering peace in Afghanistan. In March, following the US announcement of a withdrawal plan, Moscow hosted a one-day peace conference between rival Afghan factions, but efforts to resume talks were unsuccessful. In April, President Joe Biden announced plans to withdraw the remaining US troops from Afghanistan by September 11, aiming to end America's prolonged military engagement in the region. Meanwhile, President Ashraf Ghani called for public mobilization, urging local volunteers to resist the Taliban.

In July, the US vacated Bagram Airfield, a symbolic move signaling the impending complete withdrawal of American troops. The Taliban made significant territorial gains, highlighting the Afghan government's weakened position, while peace talks hosted by various countries failed to yield any breakthroughs. By August, the Taliban had seized control of major provinces and border crossings in Afghanistan. President Ghani fled to Abu Dhabi, acknowledging the Taliban's victory. Subsequently, tens of thousands of terrified Afghans and foreigners rushed to Kabul airport to escape Taliban rule. On August 15, the Taliban took full control of Kabul, followed by a deadly ISIS-K attack on the airport, resulting in civilian and military casualties.

Drone strikes targeting ISIS-K operatives led to further civilian casualties. By mid-August, the US completed its troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, marking the Taliban's celebration of their victory (Rehan, 2021).

10.5 Taliban Takeover and Pak-Afghan Diplomatic Ties

Since the Taliban's assumption of power in Afghanistan in August 2021, there was initial hope that they would steer the country towards peace and stability, given their participation in peace talks and pledges made in the Doha agreement. The transition to Taliban rule initially proceeded peacefully, with no major violence. However, both the US and the Taliban accused each other of violating the Doha agreement. Despite past resentment against the Taliban, many expected them to be more responsive to Afghan aspirations. An interim Taliban-led government was established in September 2021, indicating potential progress towards a new constitutional framework. The focus was on consolidating control and improving security, marking the first time in decades that an Afghan government had control over the entire territory.

The Taliban's offer of general amnesty and initial restraint in human rights violations sent positive signals, although isolated incidents occurred. Life resumed normalcy, with schools open for boys and girls, and the media operating with some restrictions. Pakistan-Afghanistan relations also showed signs of improvement, with Pakistan facilitating regional discussions and aiding with Afghanistan. High-level diplomatic meetings took place, discussing inclusivity, human rights, and counterterrorism.

By the end of 2021, donor countries and international organizations considered re-establishing diplomatic missions in Kabul, signaling optimism for Afghanistan's normalization. However, by early 2022, the situation seemed to worsen, with divisions within the Taliban and lack of progress in governance, human rights, and counterterrorism hindering stability efforts. These challenges impacted engagement between Afghanistan and Pakistan, necessitating objective analysis of the situation (Pips, 2023).

The unexpected decline in relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, particularly between the Taliban and Pakistan, since the US withdrawal in August 2021 can be attributed to the Taliban's transition from a non-state militant group to a governing entity. While the Taliban previously relied on Pakistani support during their insurgency, their interests shifted upon assuming power. Recognizing Afghanistan's challenging economic situation, the Taliban

pragmatically sought assistance from India, a stronger and more stable regional power. Unlike Pakistan, India had no intention of meddling in the Taliban's internal affairs (Raz, 2023).

Simultaneously, Pakistan, which had previously viewed the Taliban as a proxy, sometimes acted independently, infringing on Afghanistan's sovereignty by conducting attacks without Taliban coordination. As part of the Taliban's institutionalization process, they maintained their ethnic-religious ideology and supported the Pakistani Taliban (TTP) in their struggle against the Pakistani government. This support exacerbated tensions between Kabul and Islamabad, resulting in accusations, clashes between militants, and intermittent border closures. Moreover, the longstanding ideological disagreement over the Durand Line border, which divides the Pashtun minority, further strained relations and led to border incidents (Raz, 2023).

Chapter 5

Section II

CHALLENGES AND CONSTRAINTS IN PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS UNDER IMRAN KHAN

5.1 Introduction

Imran Khan became Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2018 general elections after defeating a powerful family that has been control for long time. However, the founder of PTI, Imran Khan promises Tsunami to change Pakistan, and struggle to fulfill these promises. There were internal and external problems that weaken Pakistan's economy. Some external problems are mentioned below. The theme of the provided passage revolves around the challenges and complexities of governance, particularly in the context of Pakistan under Khan's leadership. It touches upon several interconnected themes.

5.2 Political Instability

The Khan's administration due to internal weaknesses and external pressures, leading to a grim outlook, this reflects the broader theme of political instability and the difficulties of maintaining control and coherence in government.

5.3 Power Dynamics

The passage underscores the importance of political alliances and power dynamics in shaping governance. It depicts how the PTI's coalition with diverse partners, influenced by various factors including alleged persuasion by intelligence agencies and opportunism, affects the government's ability to function effectively.

5.4 Legislative Constraints

Another theme is the challenge posed by institutional barriers, such as the PTI's lack of control over the Senate, which impedes Khan's ability to implement his legislative agenda fully. This highlights the theme of political constraints and the limitations faced by leaders in pursuing their policy objectives.

5.5 Economic Uncertainty

The uncertain economic situation and external factors impacting the economy contribute to the challenges faced by Khan's administration. This reflects the theme of economic instability and its implications for governance and political decision-making.

5.6 Opposition Dynamics

Lastly, the narrative touches upon the dynamics of opposition politics and its role in shaping governance. Despite facing a fragmented and discredited opposition, Khan's government still grapples with challenges, suggesting the significance of oppositional forces in the political landscape. Overall, the passage explores the multifaceted nature of governance, highlighting the interplay of political, economic, and institutional factors in shaping the leadership and governance of Pakistan under Khan's tenure (Nawaz & Nawaz, 2023).

5.7 Economic Crises External Assistance

The serious economic crisis, exacerbated by COVID-19, compelled Khan to seek external assistance from various sources, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), a body he had criticized throughout his political career as a hegemon. Additionally, aid was sought from China and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan experienced a decline in economic growth, with the growth rate dropping into negative territory at -0.4 per cent in 2019–20. While there has been some improvement, with growth now estimated at 2–4 per cent, it still falls well short of the 7 per cent required to outpace population growth.

5.8 IMF Program and Budget Challenges

The IMF's program for Pakistan is currently on hold, with the 6th and 7th reviews combined. A significant challenge lies in Pakistan's ongoing poor fiscal situation and its struggle to increase revenues to support its growth-oriented budget. The expansive budget, seen by many as a departure from past austerity measures, is perceived as an attempt to bolster chances in the next election through increased spending. However, it relies on questionable assumptions regarding revenue increases amidst a global drop in energy prices. Sustained growth and visible spending on development projects could pave the way for an early election.

5.9 Economic Prospects and International Views

Despite some hopeful signs, international experts are less optimistic about Pakistan's economic prospects. The country expects temporary relief with a \$2.8 billion allocation of Special Drawing Rights from the IMF in August, contributing to an increase in foreign exchange reserves. Remittances have also surged, although constraints on air travel have slowed the flow of illegal currency, prompting greater use of official banking channels. While remittances are estimated to reach around \$31 billion in 2022, there is already evidence of a slowdown. Foreign direct investment has declined, and Pakistan remains on the Financial Action Task Force's grey list, despite addressing most of the concerns that initially led to its inclusion. Political motivations may influence its continued placement on the list, with future developments likely to shed light on the outcome (Nawaz & Nawaz, 2023). However, economic issue faces the dependency on foreign aid and loan, which limited Pakistan independent foreign policy pose. While lying balance between economic interest and geopolitical interest was tricky challenge (Ismail, 2024).

5.10 Importance of US Relations

The dynamics of Pakistan's relationship with the United States will play a pivotal role, particularly in the context of Afghanistan's swift fall to Taliban control following the US withdrawal. This development poses domestic challenges for the Biden administration, potentially leading to continued accusations against Pakistan for supporting the Taliban. The United States and other Western powers withholding diplomatic recognition and economic aid from a Taliban-led government could present Pakistan with a difficult dilemma (Nawaz & Nawaz, 2023).

5.11 Khan's Decision on Taliban Recognition

Imran Khan faces the dilemma of whether to recognize a Taliban-led government and risk international isolation once again. However, political cover for such recognition may come from Russia, China, and Arab states. The completion of the IMF review in late September or early October will serve as the first test of tacit US support for Pakistan. Approval of the IMF program continuation may indicate acknowledgment of Pakistan's assistance in Taliban negotiations and the US withdrawal from Kabul, even if the US stance is lukewarm or opposed (Nawaz & Nawaz, 2023).

5.12 Successor Selection for Army Chief

In November 2022, Khan will confront the task of selecting a successor to his ally and co-manager of Pakistan, army chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa. Khan seems to have developed a close bond with Lieutenant General Faiz Hameed, the current Director-General of the Inter-Services Intelligence, who is a contender for the post. There's also the possibility of a potential extension for Bajwa, which could impact the retirement timeline for Hameed and other senior contenders.

5.13 Political Uncertainties and Army Leadership

Pakistan's volatile political landscape, especially if the economy faces downturns, could alter the succession scenario. General Bajwa will also oversee the reshuffling of the army's top brass in October as several generals retire. The events unfolding in the next six months will shape the future leadership of the army and influence the prospects for Imran Khan's re-election (Nawaz & Nawaz, 2023).

5.14 Imran Khan Era internal and external issues

Imran Khan displayed ambition in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy during his tenure. He extensively traveled and held official visits to various capitals worldwide, aiming to position Pakistan as a Muslim leader, akin to the platform presented by the OIC and Malaysia. Despite facing criticism for some decisions, Khan sought to pivot towards the East, diverging from Pakistan's traditional inclination towards the West. This shift led to efforts to foster cordial relations with Russia, frequent visits to China, and a balancing act between Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Addressing terrorism, Khan faced pressure from the US to combat militancy and terrorism, particularly evident in military operations in Pakistan's tribal areas. Despite this, he endeavored to maintain good relations with neighboring countries. However, tensions escalated with India after the Modi administration's decision to abrogate articles 370 and 35 regarding Indian-occupied Kashmir in August 2019. Khan vigorously condemned Modi's actions, highlighting them internationally and emphasizing issues such as Islamophobia and climate change.

Internally, Khan enjoyed significant support from the Pakistani populace, which bolstered his confidence in foreign policy decisions. This strong public backing plays a crucial role in shaping and executing foreign policy in any state.

Chapter 6

COMPARISON ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO AND IMRAN KHAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD AFGHANISTAN

6.1 Political Persona

Bhutto's Legacy Bhutto was a multifaceted politician known for his shrewdness, charisma, and competence. He raised to power through strategic alliances and founded the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), winning a majority in the 1970s general elections, while Imran Khan's Journey Khan embarked on his political journey in 1996 with the creation of Pakistan Tahreek Insaaf (PTI), challenging the established bipartisan political landscape.

6.2 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Political Legacies

In 1970, this administration conducted the initial general elections with universal adult suffrage. However, it failed to address East Pakistan's demands for equitable political representation and socio-economic parity. Consequently, East Pakistan seceded from Pakistan in December 1971, leading to a military disaster. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's political administration managed to establish a consensus constitution in 1973. Nevertheless, it didn't effectively dismantle the centralized power structure, which primarily served his personal interests. Bhutto's governance lacked inclusivity, and the Pakistan People's Party operated undemocratically, relying on patronage rather than principles. His treatment of opposition parties and socio-economic reforms paved the way for the military to reassert its influence in Pakistan's political landscape. As a result, despite being elected, the PPP-led government missed the opportunity to address political, economic, and social challenges, failing to establish a stable political system or lay the groundwork for enduring political institutions (Talib, 2018).

6.3 Imran Khan Political Legacy

Imran Khan's Pakistan Terik-e-Insaaf (PTI) gained significant political traction, partially attributed to backing from the military establishment, amid ongoing clashes between the military and other major parties like Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N) and Pakistan People's Party (PPP). The military saw PTI as a viable alternative to mainstream parties due to its pro-state stance and regional influence in strategic provinces. PTI's anti-corruption narrative resonated with the military's objectives. Despite winning the 2018 elections with a narrow majority, PTI's

government faced challenges, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Khan's reluctance to enforce strict COVID-19 measures, especially regarding religious congregations, strained relations with the military. Economic repercussions of the pandemic further eroded PTI's popularity. Khan's failure to deliver on promises to regional allies and disagreements over projects like the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) worsened relations with the military. This discord, coupled with opposition movements like the Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM), led to a political crisis culminating in Khan's government being the first in Pakistan's history to be ousted through parliamentary means. Consequently, there's been a resurgence of military influence in Pakistani politics, alongside the strengthening of Islamic opposition forces (Abenante, 2023).

6.5 Unique Charisma and Support

According to Mohammad Fahad Khan Tarar, both the leaders have one similarity that is the charismatic personality of both the leaders. On the charisma they get fame and political existence. However, Z A Bhutto get fame through his socialist policy to bring the poor mass from poverty and they he gets much support from mass in 1970s elections; however, Imran Khan was a celebrity and have much fame before entering politics. While the second point is that both were visionary leaders, Z. A Bhutto vision was socialism which was about to give basic needs to mass and that was: food, shelter, and cloth. However, Imran Khan was New Pakistan that was about to give basic rights to mass, like education, health, and justice (Tribune, 2014).

While both leaders enjoy vibrant support and possess charisma, their approaches to governance, handling of opposition and responses to political crises differ significantly, highlighting the distinctiveness of their leadership styles and legacies (Inam, 2019).

6.6 Populism

Studies on populism often grapple with the challenge of defining the concept universally. The absence of a clear and agreed-upon definition is a common issue in social sciences, leading to efforts to build artificial boundaries around the term. However, such attempts often result in conceptualizations that lack the necessary generalizability to encompass the diverse usage of populism by politicians, journalists, and the public. Panizza offers a unique perspective by defining populism as a 'mode of identification' used by political actors to create a divide between the people and the elite, emphasizing the antagonistic relationship between them. This view

allows populism to be applied across different contexts, whether it involves defining leadership, running movements, starting processes, or developing ideologies. Additionally, Panizza's approach shifts the focus from blaming populist leaders for societal issues to examining the underlying social, economic, and political factors that pave the way for the emergence of populism.

6.6.1 Z. Bhutto Populism

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, a prominent figure in Pakistan's political landscape, extensively utilized populism to garner support from the majority against the elite and the establishment. His charismatic personality and strong oratory skills enabled him to navigate through various dictatorial regimes while maintaining his populist stance. Despite his complicated persona, which encompassed both aristocratic and autocratic attitudes, Bhutto positioned himself as a champion of the people, even as he harbored conflicting motivations behind his populist rhetoric.

Coming from a political family background, Bhutto initiated his political career early on, culminating in the formation of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in 1967. His political platform, encapsulated in the slogan "Islam is our religion; democracy is our politics; and socialism is our economy," aimed to redefine Pakistan's identity by blending Islamic principles with socialist ideology. While Bhutto's ideology leaned towards a populist egalitarianism rather than strict Marxism, his adoption of socialist rhetoric was strategic, given the socio-economic dynamics and global political context of the time.

Bhutto's choice of socialist slogans and populist campaign strategies was influenced by Ayub Khan's liberal economic policies, which exacerbated income disparity and social tensions across Pakistan. The emergence of a proletariat class and the nexus between the military, bureaucracy, and capitalist elites provided fertile ground for Bhutto's left-wing populism. By positioning himself as the voice of the marginalized and deprived, Bhutto rallied support from the working class against the entrenched power structures, thereby solidifying his populist credentials. Ultimately, Bhutto's populist movement was intricately linked to the socio-economic conditions and political dynamics of Pakistan, marking a significant chapter in the country's history.

6.6.2 Z. A Bhutto Material, Political, and Symbolic Populism

Material inclusion in Bhutto's populist strategy targeted specific social groups for the distribution of state resources, aligning with socialist principles. Despite Bhutto's emphasis on socialism, his policies did not exclude any ethnic or religious group from benefiting. While Bhutto's economic reforms aimed to address income inequality and empower the disadvantaged, flaws such as the negative impact on small traders and ineffective measures to retain capital hindered their effectiveness. Additionally, his Islamization policies, like declaring Ahmadis as non-Muslims, were exclusionary in nature.

Bhutto's political inclusionary dimension sought to increase the participation of lower socio-economic groups in politics. He mobilized support by uniting diverse segments under the banner of Islamic socialism, appealing to the masses while excluding certain regions politically. Although Bhutto brought new faces into politics, his reliance on feudal lords and dynastic politics drew criticism. Despite his authoritarian tendencies, Bhutto remained connected to the masses through public addresses and rallies, maintaining his belief in the power of the people.

Symbolically, Bhutto's populism emphasized the power of the majority and portrayed the elite as those obstructing the welfare of the people. His attire and communication style aimed to align with the common people, breaking away from the traditional formalities of politics. However, his shifting definition of the elite reflected a broader perspective beyond socio-economic lines. Overall, Bhutto's populist approach encompassed material, political, and symbolic dimensions, albeit with flaws and contradictions (Batool, 2023).

6.7 Imran Khan Populism

Imran Khan, like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was educated abroad, but unlike Bhutto, he didn't have prior political experience. Khan, a former cricket star and philanthropist, entered politics when public trust in mainstream parties like Bhutto's PPP and the PML-N was waning due to allegations of corruption and manipulation. He leveraged his popularity from cricket and charity work, notably establishing Pakistan's first cancer hospital, to launch his political party, PTI, in 1996. Initially, Khan's political identity was less defined, but over time, he adopted populist rhetoric, rallying against corrupt elites, particularly mainstream politicians, positioning himself as an alternative to the status quo.

Khan's populist ideology, characterized by what Panizza terms the "politics of anti-politics," targets entrenched political dynasties, framing them as the root of Pakistan's

governance issues. Despite the military's historical influence, Khan's criticism focuses primarily on civilian political parties like the PPP and PML-N, whom he labels as "political mafias." This populist stance resonated with disillusioned voters and propelled Khan to power in 2018, promising to break the cycle of corruption and mismanagement.

However, Khan's tenure as prime minister has been marred by economic challenges and governance issues, undermining his populist image. His anti-establishment rhetoric intensified after facing a no-confidence vote orchestrated by the opposition, accusing the military of backing his political rivals. While Khan's stance against the military has garnered support, it remains uncertain whether he will broaden his criticism to include the military elite in his populist narrative. The outcome of future elections in 2023 will determine the trajectory of Khan's populist movement in Pakistani politics (Batoool, 2023).

6.7.1 Imran Khan Material, Political, and Symbolic Populism

Material exclusion in Imran Khan's populism is challenging to discern due to the lack of innovative policy reforms and his continuation of previous governments' economic policies. Khan's criticism of past regimes for neglecting the poor didn't translate into significant changes in policy to benefit the underprivileged. While some of Khan's programs, like the Ehsaas and Kamyab Pakistan initiatives, targeted marginalized groups, they were largely extensions of existing welfare programs. Despite his promises to combat corruption and create jobs, Khan's economic policies faced criticism for their reliance on foreign lending and lack of substantial reform.

Khan's economic logic emphasized honesty in leadership to attract investment and revive the economy, but his policies shifted towards foreign borrowing after facing public discontent over inflation and unemployment. While his policies didn't overtly exclude any specific groups, his focus on Islamization reflected an exclusionary tendency. For example, his government introduced Islamic education requirements in the national curriculum, raising concerns about discrimination against religious minorities.

In terms of political inclusion, Khan's populism initially appealed to youth and women voters, encouraging political participation among traditionally underrepresented groups. However, as his political identity evolved towards Islamic nationalism, his rhetoric became more critical of the liberal elite, whom he portrayed as corrupt and unpatriotic. Additionally, his party's

shift towards admitting established politicians, known as "electable," signaled a departure from the inclusionary approach of his early years in politics (Batool, 2023).

Symbolically, Khan's populism evolved from leveraging his cricket fame to emphasizing Islamic nationalism. He adopted simpler attire and slogans like "Naya Pakistan" to distance himself from established parties. Closer to the 2018 elections, his rhetoric shifted towards portraying Pakistan as a modern Medina, blending Islamic ideals with democratic governance. While this narrative bolstered his appeal among religious conservatives, it also introduced an exclusionary element to his populist agenda, particularly in its treatment of religious minorities.

However, the distinction between inclusionary and exclusionary populism is inadequate for defining populism in Pakistan. Zulfikar Bhutto targeted the poor but presented inclusive slogans, claiming to represent the masses. Imran Khan also addresses poverty and aims to increase the political participation of women and youth. Both leaders adopted exclusionary Islamization policies, aligning Khan closer to Bhutto's religious politics. Bhutto's policies were inclusive but failed to address class divisions, while Khan continued previous policies without significant changes. They both focused on youth in political representation but relied on traditional electoral politics for candidate selection. The main difference lies in symbolism, with Bhutto emphasizing socioeconomics and Khan socio-cultural aspects. Khan excludes the military elite, unlike Bhutto.

Cultural context influences populist identification beyond simplistic dichotomies. In Pakistan, immigration and xenophobia are not major concerns, and the elite are defined based on religious identity, intertwined with nationalism. Social inequality allows for Left-wing populism, which often incorporates conservative religious ideologies with socialist economic models. Religion and poverty are common themes in both Right and Left populist politics in Pakistan due to the country's Islamic national identity and developmental challenges (Batool, 2023).

6.8 Z. A Bhutto and Imran Khan View on Pakistan Politics

Interestingly, Khan's political situation draws parallels with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime approximately 45 years ago. Both leaders have claimed to face opposition from within Pakistan and abroad, with Khan assert in similar sentiments in the present. Bhutto's confrontation with a unified opposition and Khan's struggle against the Pakistan Democratic Movement exemplify the challenges faced by leaders challenging the status quo (Mahmood, 2019).

6.9 Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan

Both the leaders are under discussion among politicians and media due to their style and legacy after Imran Khan entered the government by comparing both the leaders. Bhutto's regime was marked by allegations of repression, including political assassinations and imprisonment of opponents, Khawaja Mohammad Rafiq (father of Khawaja Saad Rafiq), Abdus Samad Achakzai (leader of the NAP, Baluchistan), Molvi Shamsuddin (Deputy Speaker of Baluchistan Assembly), and Nawab Mohammad Kasuri (father of Ahmad Raza Kasuri) were harshly assassinated as well as his involvement in the events leading to the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War. In comparison, Khan has faced various allegations but not of such severe nature, and during his tenure in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, opponents did not claim threats to their lives.

While Bhutto's role in pivotal events in Pakistan's history, such as the separation of Dhaka, where he pursued power at the expense of East Pakistan's autonomy. It suggests that while Bhutto acted stubbornly to maintain control, it's difficult to imagine Khan making similar decisions.

However, the comparison underscores the differences between the two leaders, beyond their charisma and support bases, and encourages a nuanced understanding of their respective political legacies and actions (Inam, 2019b).

6.10 Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan Speeches Comparison

The Anjum and Hussain examine two speeches each from Imran Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, analyzing them through Fairclough's three-dimensional approach. Khan's speeches, delivered in Islamabad and at the United Nations, focused on governance, transparency, and economic challenges. In contrast, Bhutto's speeches, delivered during critical junctures in Pakistan's history, emphasized national unity, democracy, and socioeconomic development. Both leaders employed rhetorical devices and appealed to national and global issues, but Khan's speeches had a stronger religious undertone, aiming for broader public support. However, both leaders' speeches reflected their respective political ideologies and societal contexts, serving as pivotal moments in Pakistan's history. The analysis underscores the power of language in constructing persuasive arguments and conveying significant ideas beyond mere words. The study suggests future research should include additional speeches to expand the scope of analysis and deepen understanding (Anjum & Hussain, 2023).

6.11 Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan Comparison

Both the leaders have charismatic personality, but ZA Bhutto has more charismatic personality he came out as a leader when meet Pakistan People's Party after having not good relations with Pakistan's military, but the Imran Khan itself believe that he supported by the Pakistan's military to have such a big popular support.

6.12 Similarity between both Leaders (ZA Bhutto and Imran Khan)

Both were very much ambitious about the formulating and executing Pakistan's foreign policy, both were starving good relations with neighbors; both were starving good relations between Muslim ummah while role played by to be Pakistan, both were starving to reduce Pakistan dependency on West and to have diverse relations of Pakistan with other countries as well and both enjoying the internal factor as public support but in comparison between them Imran Khan enjoying more because after the military operation in Baluchistan which was started by ZA Bhutto after the torn NWFP (kp) governmental removal than then Pashtun nationalist and baluch nationalist they became against the ZA Bhutto but such kind of thing we cannot see in Imran Khan era, so on this basis Imran Khan popularity enjoy much more than ZA Bhutto.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Pakistan was the nation who rose on the name of Islam in 20th century. As its Islamic based origin, founder of Pakistan Mr. Jinnah wants to have good relations with all but special relations towards Muslim countries. However, Pakistan 1973 constitution endorse friendly and close relations towards Muslim countries. Therefore in 1974 Pakistan conduct successful OIC and the aim of this conference is to bring unity in Muslim countries. At the Pakistan birth, it was era of cold war; Pakistan was one of them who rose on the third world map. Pakistan wants to secure their sovereignty, however, Pakistan joined Western block specially the US to secure their sovereignty and go for the alliances with which mainly SEATO, CENTO, and nonalignment movement. Aim of these alliances was to boost economy, access military assistance, and preserve sovereignty. However, later in Indo-Pak wars in 1965 and 1971 US support to India instead alliances with Pakistan, in the above-mentioned alliances it was mentioned objective that attack on one member state will be consider on all. So, Z.A Bhutto period, he cut off from these alliances. After Bhutto, General Zia shall continue Bhutto stance toward Muslim countries. However, at that time USSR came in Pakistan neighbor Afghanistan and Pakistan facilitate the US against Afghanistan, while Pakistan military and substantial aid was given the US to Pakistan. From the birth till now Pakistan face political instability and never overcome over this issue.

However, politics on Pakistan landscape in politics came only elite class, wealthy businessmen, or military, however, ZA Bhutto was also landlord background while Imran Khan came in politics after cricket and well-known celebrity before politics. However Imran Khan wants in his period regional connectivity, peace-building initiatives, and economic diplomacy. His vision was clear to make Naya Pakistan on the Islamic principle, through which unity among the Muslim world. However, there was research gap on the topic to compare foreign policies of ZA Bhutto and Imran Khan specially towards Afghanistan, to explore internal and external factors which affect viewpoints of these leaders while formulate foreign policies in their respective eras.

While both leaders wants to connect with neighbors especially with the Muslim neighbor which is Afghanistan but with Afghanistan the border issue and Pushtun tribe issue could not fruitful relations. While Bhutto tried best towards Afghanistan and exchange high profile visits

but Afghan government was not ready to recognize Pak-Afghan border. However with India in ZA Bhutto era Tashkent was declared after the 1974 war which was remain successful. However in Iran Khan period same border issue was highlighted regarding terrorism and border fencing was started. However, Imran Khan having soft diplomacy wants to resolve issue through table talk and through negotiation like Kashmir issue with India, therefore Imran Khan open Kartar pur corridor with India in his government Pakistan fasten CPEC with China.

However, issues were remain in these leaders periods, so the study endorse a suitable theoretical framework which Neo Classical Realism is applied, which examine foreign policies by understanding the internal and external factors and interplay between them. The existing knowledge exhibits characteristics and themes that understood with the core principles of neo-classical realism, such as the role of leadership, national identity, power dynamics, and the influence of domestic factors on foreign policy decisions. This theoretical framework helps provide detailed understanding of Pakistan's foreign policy and its evolution over time.

However, for collecting data primary and secondary sources are used, while in primary sources contain Academia's interviews and secondary data contain Books and research articles. However, in the historical background of the study Pakistan get independence in cold war era, so at that time some major events happens, before the event Pakistan foreign policy was diverted toward specially the US, however, to secure their sovereignty, Pakistan get into alliances with them. But the events like wars with India in 1965 and 1971, which show the original face of the US. While the US gives alliances to India, while Pakistan being ally of defense organization and treaties. However, in 1973 constitution, it's clearly mentioned that Pakistan will make special relations with Muslim world. However, this aspect of Bhutto's foreign policy and 1973 constitution was gifted by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Pakistan, was followed by the dictator General Zia ul Haq but the USSR came in Afghanistan in which Pakistan support the US regardless of Muslim neighbor Afghanistan. However, major external and external events affect foreign policies of any states, while in Pakistan's foreign policy some events like kargil war with India and 9/11 global event, in which US President G. Bush calls that who did joined us with consider terrorist, at that time in Pakistan was dictatorship of General Pervez Musharraf, so Pakistan give US side.

Pakistan's foreign policy via a vis Afghanistan during ZA Bhutto and Imran Khan, in ZA Bhutto there was the threat of Pashtun nationalist and the threat of USSR support for

Afghanistan, but in Imran Khan era the main there was issue of terrorism with Afghanistan and the Ashraf Ghani total dependence on the West while there were not having good relations of Pakistan with the West regarding Afghanistan, so there was also a bone of contention between Ashraf Ghani and Imran Khan. Both leaders they tried to have good relations with Afghanistan, but both the leaders ZA Bhutto and Imran Khan did not remain much successive, that Pakistan could not enjoy cordial relations with Afghanistan during both the leaders. Pakistan faces tough time and both prime minister's offices and period from Afghanistan, that both states have not having good terms with one another. ZA Bhutto era there was the issue of Pakhtunistan from Afghanistan, and issue of Baloch militancy and support from Afghanistan to Baloch but during Imran Khan there was the issue of Durand line with Afghanistan, border fencing with Afghanistan, issue of terrorism, and closer of border with Afghanistan. So, in such a way Pak-Afghan relations were going on.

Recommendations

1. Pakistan foreign policy comparison towards the US in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan should remain gap
2. Pakistan foreign policy comparison towards India during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan
3. Pakistan foreign policy towards gulf countries during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan
4. Pakistan foreign policy comparison towards Russia under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan

Main Findings

Before Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Pakistan foreign policy was dependent on West, the United State of America, when ZA Bhutto became foreign minister, and he persuaded field Marshal Ayub Khan that we should balance relation with west on the one hand and on the hand with East. That Pakistan should not be totally dependent on the West of US. For the reason Ayub Khan also convinced by the Argument of the ZA Bhutto, and when ZA Bhutto was foreign minister we noticed that Pakistan have bilateralism in the foreign policy, while bilateralism mean here that Pakistan should normalize their relation with People Republic of China (Communist China), Russia but on the other hand Pakistan also tried to entail its good relations with the United State of America. However, when he became prime minister, he was very much ambitious about

Pakistan's foreign policy, so during his premiership in 1970's, Pakistan have cordial relation with China as well as good relationship with the US, but Russia was also on the good loop. On the other hand, about India ZA Bhutto sign Shimla agreement, so that also indicates normalization of relations between Pakistan and India, however, before there was fall of Dhaka, while creation and formation of Bangladesh, later ZA Bhutto normalize relation with Indra Ghandi by signing Simla agreement.

However, ZA Bhutto was also ambitious by starting Pakistan nuclear program despite the US sanction and US threats against Pakistan sovereignty and about Afghanistan during ZA Bhutto, Pakistan did not enjoy good relations with Afghanistan but with Iran it was good. So that ambitious foreign policy of ZA Bhutto.

Externally Pakistan was dependent on United State, as ZA Bhutto wants balance relationship with West and East and even normalizes and balance relation with neighboring countries and also want to secure Pakistan's nuclear ambitious toward nuclear program to secure and also wanted to have more Islamic front as he convent the second OIC conference in 1974 at Lahore, at that time Pakistan was the leader of Muslim world and these were the external factors reduce the Pakistan total dependency on Russia and on the Western nations, however. Just to make Pakistan out from the trauma was caused by the creation of Bangladesh by the fall of Dhaka.

However, Imran Khan was also ambitious regarding Pakistan foreign policy in their era, IK travelled a lot in his era and travelled frequently and made official visit to various capitals of the world, he also wanted to kind of Muslim leadership role as there was another platform of OIC we can say that was convent as Malaysia although there was also criticism on him about his decision, he also wanted to look toward East. Pakistan in Imran Khan was not much inclined towards the West, so that why Imran Khan wanted to have cordiality with Russia and visited Russia and many times he visited People Republic of China and he also wanted to maintain balance relations with Iran on one side with Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on other side. So, the tackling of terrorism with the West especially of the United State that was an issue with Imran Khan. Although the External factor, the US pressurized Pakistan to cult menace of militancy and terrorism there was also a pressure on Imran Khan more in the military operations in the tribal areas of Pakistan. However, Imran khan tried to maintain good relations with neighbors but after 5th August 2019 the Modi administration and the abrogation of 370 & 35 articles regarding the

Indian occupied Kashmir, that made Pakistan's relations with India very strained, however, Imran Khan tried to highlight Modi's adventurism, fascism, and Modi's unilateralism action throughout the world and wrote letters to various leader throughout the world and spoke in the international forums and also talked about the Islamophobia, and talked about that why West have not normal relations with the Muslim world, however, Imran Khan said that its actually Islamophobia , which was created, fabricated, and constructing thing of West and required that it should be removed. He also talked about the climate change issue, also talked about the Pakistan's sovereignty; he said that Pakistan is sovereign state and now it's time that we should strive for real independence.

Internal factors, Imran Khan enjoy very much popular support from Pakistan masses and citizens, by the reason Imran Khan has much confident about the foreign policy due the masses support. However, public support is much supporting in foreign policy making and formulating and executing in foreign policy in any state.

Both leaders possess charismatic personalities, yet ZA Bhutto's charisma stands out more prominently. Emerging as a leader amidst strained relations with Pakistan's military, Bhutto led the formation of the Pakistan People's Party. Conversely, Imran Khan is perceived as having the backing of the military, contributing to his significant popular support.

Regarding similarities, both Bhutto and Khan were ambitious in shaping and implementing Pakistan's foreign policy. They aimed to foster good relations with neighboring countries and within the Muslim ummah, while also seeking to reduce Pakistan's reliance on the West and diversify its international relations. Both leaders enjoyed considerable public support, though Khan's appears more substantial due to the absence of widespread opposition like Bhutto faced after military operations in Baluchistan and the governmental upheaval in NWFP (now KP). This contrast highlights Khan's current popularity surpassing that of Bhutto.

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S. No	Name	Designation	Nature of Interview	Date and Time
01	Dr. Mohammad Khan	Professor	Personal	26-04-2024
02	Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi	Professor	Personal	07-05-2024
03	Dr. Amna Mahood	Professor	Personal	29-04-2024

