

**ROLE OF ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO IN FOREIGN  
POLICY MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN-  
UNITED STATES' RELATIONS (1971-1977)**



**RESEARCHER:**

**MUHAMMAD DAWOOD**      **DR. ABDUL ZAHOR KHAN**  
**REGD. NO. 4-FSS/PHDPS/F-14**      **ASSISTANT PROFESSOR**

**CO-SUPERVISOR:**

**DR. HUSNUL AMIN**  
**ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES**  
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY**  
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REGD. NO. 4-FSS/PHDPS/F-14**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PHD) in the Discipline of Pakistan Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY  
ISLAMABAD**

**2021**



*In the name of Allah,  
the Most Beneficent,  
the Most Merciful*

## DEDICATION

This Part of the Pack of Research is dedicated

to

*My Father, Mother, Wife, Son & Daughters*

## DECLARATION

I, Muhammad Dawood, do hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me in its entirety on, the basis of my research work under the guidance of my supervisor-Assistant Professor Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan, Department of History & Pakistan Studies and Co-Supervisor Associate Professor Dr. Husnul Amin, Department of Politics & International Relations-Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad, respectively. Neither portion of this thesis has been copied from any source, nor has any part of this research, presented in this thesis, been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution.



MUHAMMAD DAWOOD  
4-FSS/PHDPS/F-14

## FORWARDING SHEET

The thesis; entitled "ROLE OF ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO IN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONS (1971-1977)" put forward by MR. MUHAMMAD DAWOOD, Registration No.4-FSS/PHDPS/F-14 in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Pakistan Studies has been successfully completed under our guidance, care and supervision.

We are satisfied with the excellence of scholar's research work and he is now permitted to get this thesis submitted for the finishing point as per modus operandi of International Islamic University, Islamabad so that he could be awarded the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Pakistan Studies.

Signatures

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR DR. ABDUL ZAHOOR KHAN

Research Supervisor  
Department of History & Pakistan Studies

Signatures

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR DR. HUSNUL AMIN

Research Co- Supervisor  
Department of Politics & International Relations

Title of Dissertation: **“ROLE OF ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO IN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONS (1971-1977)”**

Name of Student: **MUHAMMAD DAWOOD**  
Registration No.: **4-FSS/PHDPS/F14**

Accepted by the Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in the Discipline of PAKISTAN STUDIES

**VIVA-VOCE COMMITTEE**

---

Professor Dr. Amna Mahmood  
Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD

---

Assistant Professor Dr. Syed Akmal Hussain Shah, In-Charge, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, FSS, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD

---

Assistant Professor Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, FSS, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD  
(Supervisor)

---

Associate Professor Dr. Husnul Amin, Department of Politics & International Relations, FSS, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD  
(Co-Supervisor)

---

Professor Dr. Riaz Ahmad, Ex-Director NIHCR, and Professor of History  
Quaid-i- Azam University, ISLAMABAD  
(External Examiner-I)

---

Professor Dr. Muhammad Islam, Professor of Political Science/Vice President, Iqra University, Khayaban-e- Johar, H-9, ISLAMABAD  
(External Examiner-II)

---

Professor Dr. Amna Mahmood, Department of Politics & International Relations, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD  
(Internal Examiner)

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## ABSTRACT

*The role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in foreign policy making process is a fact. Here the Case Study of Pakistan-United States Relations (1971-77) is taken as a model of research to differentiate his role from the others on the ground of his Charismatic Leadership, considerable public experience, strong communication skill, expert in establishing the foreign linkages, personal character, Western education, and due to his literary works. His personal approach of reaction to external threats has a substantial impact on Pakistan-United States relations which is the uniqueness of this study. Both the countries usually maintained a favorable position towards each other, but their relations have not seen a success, yet.*

*The research has examined that upto what extent he played his role in the significance of relations between the two countries. Besides, the study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's behavior and its effects on foreign policy making process is most important and his recognition as a Charismatic Leadership of Pakistan at international level shows the importance of emotional expression, self-esteem, confidence, determination, and natural stability, intellectual, stimulation and devotion with the country.*

*The study has investigated the significance of Bhutto in foreign policy making process and its impact on foreign linkages and how an individual learns a lesson from the history or becomes a successful leader of the country. The research has accessed the role of individual on foreign policy making process being a political personality and to what extent Bhutto had his influence in foreign policy making process. The research determined the personal behaviors of an individual and its impact on policy formulation. The study also discussed the bold steps taken by the individual to develop a self-independent foreign policy of Pakistan and architect of constitution of Pakistan-1973, founder of Pakistan atomic technology, unity towards the Muslim countries and its impact on Pakistan United States relations.*

*The research has made to understand the role of individual in foreign policy making process and its approach of peaceful co-existence, non-alignment and right of self-determination. The study highlighted the facts that Bhutto was considered a leader of nation at world level and placed the country on sound footings and how do personal behaviors of the individual play a vital role in foreign policy making process. The research investigated how the individual formulated the foreign policy of Pakistan during the period, 1971-1977 and to what extent; Bhutto was a person of influence in foreign policy making process.*

*This research was an effort to discuss the nature of Pakistan United States linkages on historical perspective and how both the countries passed through the*

*different ups and downs. The study also discussed the diplomatic linkages, economics, military, and political cooperation between the two countries.*

*This study has achieved the following objectives such as the role of individual in foreign policy making process as a political personality of the country it impacts on foreign policy of the country, significant achievements of individual towards the establishment of friendly relationships with other countries of the world and its effects on Pakistan-United States relations during the period, 1971-77.*

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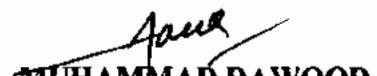
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MUHAMMAD DAWOOD  
4FSS/PHDPS/F14

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
CCMLA	Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator
BD	Basic Democracies
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
AL	Awami League
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
FSF	Federal Security Force
PM	Prime Minister
NA	National Assembly
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
MRD	Movement for the Restoration of Democracy
CBM	Confidence Building Measures
POWs	Prisoners of War
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
CNS	Centre of Nuclear Studies
CSP	Civil Service of Pakistan
FPSC	Federal Public Service Commission
OIC	Organization of Islamic Conference
JUI	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam
NAP	National Awami Party
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
UN	United Nations
UAE	United Arab Emirates
CARs	Central Asian Republics
IMF	International Monetary Fund
RCD	Regional Cooperation for Development

## INTRODUCTION

On August 14, 1947, a new country in the name of Pakistan came into being and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah became its first Governor General. However, he passed away on September 11, 1948 and country faced the crisis of constitution-making. However, after the nine years struggle, the first constitution of Pakistan was promulgated in the country on March 23, 1956, wherein the constitution approved a parliamentary form of government. On October 7, 1958, the former President of Pakistan, Iskander Mirza had suspended the 1956-constitution of Pakistan and imposed the martial law in the country. He had resigned from the government and handed over the control to General Muhammad Ayub Khan on October 27, 1958. He became the Chief Martial Law Administrator, and later on, President of Pakistan. He ruled the country for eleven years and resigned from the presidency on March 31, 1969. He remained an influential military ruler of Pakistan wherein he had introduced the Basic Democratic System in the country comprising of 80,000 democratic for the elections of President. He became the President of Pakistan and desired to promulgate a new constitution of Pakistan with the reasons that the previous constitution of Pakistan-1956 did not become successful. The new constitution of Pakistan-1962 was prepared and enforced in the country on June 8, 1962.

The new constitution of Pakistan-1962 allowed the presidential form of government in the country. General Muhammad Ayub Khan was stated that the presidential form of government is more suitable as compared to the parliamentary form of government. He had launched the different reforms in the country for example Land Reforms, Public Office Disqualification, Elective Bodies, Disqualification Ordinance, Economic and Social Reforms. However, the economics grievances forced him to resign from the government.

March 25, 1969, General Muhammad Ayub Khan has resigned from the government and handed over the control to General Yahya Khan. On March 31, 1969, General Yahya Khan became the Chief Martial Law Administrator and imposed martial law in the country.

## **1. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: A Biographical Account**

On January 5, 1928, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was born at Larkana in the Province of Sindh at Karachi. His father's name was Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto, who was remained as a Dewan of the Princely State of Junagadh and developed the admirable relationships with the bureaucrats of the British. He had three sons, Sikander Ali Bhutto, Imdad Ali Bhutto, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Stanley Wolpert, 1980).

He got his early education from Bombay's Cathedral High School. In 1947, he joined the University of Southern California and later, on the University of California at Berkeley in 1949. After the completion of degree in Political Science, he went to Oxford University and got the admission in LLM degree program at Christ Church College at Oxford University in 1950. During this period, he engaged in the politics and participated in the elections of the Student Union. He got the victory of seats in the elections and became the popular figure in the University of Oxford (Panhwar, 2002). After the completion of degree in Jurisprudence, he returned to Pakistan and started the practice at Karachi. His father left him with a Hindu Lawyer Ram Chandani Diagonal, but he was not satisfied with the behaviors of Lawyer and left the practice (Junejo, 1996).

He joined the International Law College, University of Southampton as a lecturer and soon left him. In 1953, he returned to Pakistan and started the practice as a barrister of law in the High Court of Sindh at Karachi (Nusrat Bhutto, 1967).

In 1957, he had the honor of youngest member of Pakistan's delegation to the United Nations and attended the UN Sixth Aggression Committee on October 25, 1957. In 1958, he helped the Pakistani delegation in the first United Nations Conference on the Sea. He became the youngest Federal Minister in the cabinet of General Muhammad Ayub Khan at the age of thirty-three and headed the matter of different Ministries of Pakistan. First, he was appointed as Cabinet Minister and Minister of Water and Power (Kiran, 2020).

On March 4, 1961, he signed the Oil Exploration Agreement with the Soviet Union. Subsequently, Soviet Union agreed to provide the financial and technological support to Pakistan. In 1963, Bhutto was appointed as Foreign Minister of Pakistan and continued his services till June 1966. During this period, he had maintained the cordial relationship with Peoples Republic of China and laid the foundation of self-reliance foreign policy of Pakistan (Bhutto, 1967).

The former President of Pakistan General Muhammad Ayub Khan and ex-Prime Minister of India Lal Bahadur Shastri signed the Tashkent agreement on January 10, 1966. The purpose of agreement was to settle the grievances of 1965 Indo-Pak War. In the meanwhile, Bhutto has resigned from the cabinet of General Muhammad Ayub Khan and went to abroad, met with the foreigner friends. He returned to Pakistan and laid the foundation of Pakistan People's Party and defined its manifesto in the general elections of 1970 & 1977 respectively, such as "*Islam is our faith, democracy is our policy, Socialism is our Economy and All Power the People*" these are the major features of Pakistan People's Party. On the grounds of these characteristics, he became the founder of democracy and empowered the masses at grass root level (Panhwar, 2009).

He had recognized the rights of an individual and it became the part of 1973 constitution of Pakistan. In 1970, the first general elections were scheduled to be held in the country on adult franchise basis, but it was delayed due to flood hazard in East Pakistan, and it was rescheduled in the month of January in 1971. In these elections, the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won the majority of seat, and demanded for the transfer of power (Abbas, 2015).

But General Yahya Khan did not transfer the power to the Awami League. As a result, strike was started against the military-led government. In such a situation, the Indian army was intervened in Pakistan and East Pakistan was separated from the West Pakistan. After the separation of East Pakistan, General Yahya Khan transferred the power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. First, he became the Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator, President and Prime Minister of Pakistan. After assuming the control of country, he had transferred the power to the common peoples of Pakistan at grass root level. He had protected the country from the enemies of Pakistan and obtained the significant achievements at world level. He was the great supporters of Kashmir issues and admired it sincerity to the people of Azad and Jammu Kashmir. He became the champion of Pakistani Youths and Kashmiri peoples. He had developed the friendly relationships with the neighbor countries. He had become the guardian of cordial relationships with all the Muslim countries and remarkable figure of Pakistan. He was the originator of socialism and explained the sole objectives of socialism that could resolve the issues of common people. The equality is the basic principle of Islam and socialism should develop harmonious linkages with the Muslim countries (Ahmed, 1988).

As a result, Pakistan got the advantages from the Muslim countries such as Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Algeria. After the newly born state of Pakistan, the country faced the

different challenges such as poverty, ignorance, and diseases. The core objectives of the creation of Pakistan were the enforcement of the sovereignty of Allah Almighty and the establishment of Islamic democracy in the country (Rabbani, 2015).

Bhutto was appeared as a socialist leader of the country wherein he had improved the living standard of the common people. The following were the slogans of Pakistan People's Party such as provisions of food, cloth, and shelter to the common people of Pakistan. In 1974, Bhutto placed the Muslim countries on the admirable position and organized the Second Islamic Conference at Lahore. He had also developed the laudable linkages with the following leaders such as Shah Faisal, Yasir Arafat, and Col. Gaddafi. As a result, the super-powers recognized the great achievement of Bhutto (Bhutto, 1976).

Bhutto's personality's opposing trait could be found in his early childhood period. He was the charismatic leader of country and his personality was taken as role model to differentiate him with others. He had to fulfill the dream of poor peoples of Pakistan and makes its efforts to change the economic and traditional system of the country (Panhwar, 2006).

In 1972, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto established the Federal Security Forces in Pakistan to maintain law and order situation in the country. He was fully aware about the situation and felt the dire needs of the country and decided to establish the separate wing of the Federal Security Force in the country. A huge number of retired military officers were hired for security purposes and provided the special training. It was directly functioned under the control of the government (Diego, 1993).

With the passage of time, the newly inducted security force interfered in politics. As a result, some officers of the Security Forces became involved in the murder case of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Kasuri. One of Masood Mahmood's (Director General of

Security Force) closed friends also involved in the pre-planning of the murder. The accused Director General left the job and went to abroad. The murder case of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Kasuri was trail in the Lahore High Court. After hearings, the court issued the verdict against the former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Panhwar, 2009).

On April 4, 1979, Bhutto was hanged in the murder case of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Kasuri. The second general elections were scheduled in the country on March 7 & 10, 1977 to elect the 200 parliamentarians of both the houses. In these elections, Pakistan People's Party won the majorities of seats, but the opposition has challenged the victory of Pakistan People's Party and demanded for the fresh elections (Ashfaq, 2017).

Owing to various commitment and negotiations with the opposition, they could not reach to the solution. Both the parties signed the agreement regarding the power of committee. The situations became more critical for Pakistan People's Party and demanded the new elections. The Pakistan People's Party argued that elections were held free and fair under the supervision of Pakistan armed forces and the question for fresh elections could not be accepted. After the deliberations, the Pakistan People's Party was agreed to hold the fresh elections in the country. But the Pakistan National Alliance was not agreed to hold the elections and claimed for the resignation of Bhutto. Anyhow, the opposition was agreed to hold the free and fair elections under the supervision of armed forces. However, the matter regarding the appointment of Governors was finalized in consultation with the Pakistan National Alliance. The Election Commission of Pakistan constituted the committee for the holding of free and fair elections in the country. Pakistan National Alliance rejected the new assurance and demanded for free and fair elections. Bhutto challenged the decision of fresh elections and agreed to talk with the opposition, but unfortunately, General Muhammad Zia-ul-

Haq imposed the martial law in the country and overthrew the government of Pakistan People's Party on July 5, 1977 (Amin, 2007).

The study determined the behaviors of individual in foreign policy making and its significance towards the development of Pakistan-United States relationships during the period of Bhutto (1971-77). The period of Bhutto government was considered as a successful era in the history of Pakistan. Rafi Raza has discussed the different functions of the Bhutto government in his book "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan 1967-77. He also examined the remarkable achievement of Bhutto government and its falls (Razza, 1997).

The results of general elections of 1970 generate the Civil War in Pakistan. After assuming the control of government, Bhutto introduced the various reforms in the country such as preparation of 1973 constitution of Pakistan, the establishment of atomic technology, labor policy, administrative reforms, agricultural reforms, industrial reforms, education reforms, economic reforms, banking reforms, passport reforms, etc (Abbas, 2018).

The purpose of reforms was to provide the equal rights to the general masses of the country. The government of Pakistan provided the free education to every child of the workers who employed in the corporations. The government of Pakistan also allowed the numerous benefits to the workers of Factories/Corporations at the time of their retirement such as bonus, gratuity, leave encashment and compensation. These packages provided the enough amounts to the workers of the Corporations (Chandio, 2012).

## **2. Statement of the Problem**

The research has examined the role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in foreign policy making process with reference to Pakistan-United States Relations (1971-77). He remained the

Foreign Minister of Pakistan and expert in foreign linkages, wherein he had dealt with the foreign affairs with other countries very smoothly. He had followed the policy of interdependence and bilateralism in Pakistan's foreign policy. He had withdrawn the membership of SEATO and CENTO. He had remained far away from the multilateral alliances and pacts of the western countries. He had to deal with post war issues.

### **3. Scope and Significance of the Study**

During the period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan-United States Relations has a specific scope and significance. Bhutto was a capable leader of the country wherein he has developed the foreign linkages with the United States. In 1973, he had visited the United States on the invitation of President Richard Milhouse Nixon wherein was warmly welcomed by the Nixon and argued that integrity of Pakistan is the corner stone of US foreign policy. As a result, the United States has granted the huge economics support to Pakistan. Anyhow, the linkages between Pakistan and United States were not remained cordial due to national interests of both of countries. It was passed through many ups and downs at different levels. He had withdrawn the membership of SEATO and CENTO. He had developed the self-reliance based policy of Pakistan and moved towards the development of friendly relations with the Muslim countries too. He had placed the country on sound footings and keep away from the multilateral alliances and pacts. He was considered the national oriented leader of Pakistan at world level (Mustafa, 2014).

He has focused on economic development, political stability, military might and establishment of democratic form of government in the country (Zahoor, 2017). This study would also help to understand the Pakistan United States Relations during the period of Bhutto (1971-77).

#### **4. Review of the Literature**

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto played a significant role in foreign policymaking of Pakistan during the period of (1971-77). This raises a question of how individuals learn a lesson from the history or build the situations by the skills of a leader. The study attempted to investigate the role of an individual in foreign-policy-making process with reference to Pakistan-United States relations. The role of an individual in foreign policy making was examined on the ground of personal behaviors of the individual. For instance, the role of Obasanjo in foreign policy making of Nigeria was examined on account of nationalism, strong belief, ability to control the events, willing of power and high level of confidence. Obasanjo's foreign policy was also similar with Herman's foreign policy. It was stated that individual had left a great impact in foreign policy making of the country. In the previous research, the study has only examined the role of Obasanjo's in foreign policy making process being a head of armed forces and President of Nigeria. In the previous study the researchers ignored the personal factors of the individual. This study has filled the gaps of research in foreign policy-making process through the Case Study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality with reference to Pakistan-United States Relations (1971-77).

On the other hands, Kegley & Wittkopf have worked on the personality traits of the individual and its effects in foreign-policy-making process. Both the researchers recommended that personal traits of the individual greatly influence the foreign policy of country and nothing was else only the preference, achievement, ideas, and successes of the leader are counted. In the previous study, the researchers only examined the causes, failures, and successes of the individual and ignored the other factors of the leader as well. The role of individuals in foreign policy making of the United States has examined with reference to the foreign policy of Richard Milhous Nixon, Ronald

Wilson Reagan, and William Jefferson Clinton. This study has examined the role of Bhutto in foreign-policy-making process through the Case Study of Pakistan-United States Relations (1971-77). The research has explained the role of Bhutto in foreign policy making on the ground of his Western education background, personal experience, and Muslim unity towards the Muslim countries. Owing to these factors the individual had left a great impact in foreign policy making of Pakistan. It is stated that individual always use the irrational approach towards the use of power, in abnormal circumstances and ignored the personal experience, foreign linkages, and self-reliance foreign policy of the country.

The well-known researchers i.e., Amir Ahmed Khuhro and Amir Ali Chandio have explained the importance of "Charismatic Leadership" in the European Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. II. (3), with reference to Case Study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto "Charismatic Leadership and Foreign Policy, (Chandio, 2009). The role of individual in foreign-policy-making process with reference to Pakistan-United States relations (1971-77) has recognized the fact that Bhutto was a person of expert who had designed the independent foreign policy of Pakistan without the interference of other countries. The researchers examined the role of individual on the grounds of three paradigms, were similar, to Bhutto's leadership (a) knowledge, (b) domestic structure, (c) custom and belief.

In the previous study, the researchers only explained the role of individual in foreign policy making and ignored the other factors of the individual such as committed with history, expectancies, goal and value, self-confidence, and self-regulatory plans.

Richards, (Richards, 2008) examined the personal characters of two European leaders Tony Blair and Jacques Chirac's, and stated that both the leaders played a distinctive role in foreign policy making process and affects the foreign policy of the Gulf countries

against Iraq in 1990-2003. This research has explained the role of individual in foreign policy-making process through the Case Study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality and argued that individuals had left a great impact in foreign policy making of the country. Similarly, Von Doepp (Doepp, 2009) has recognized that Leadership was the most important characteristics of the individual in government that could move towards the development of country, wherein the researcher explained the two methods relates to review the achievements of leaders: (i) the overall positions of the leader and (ii) the expectations of the leader.

Woodrow Wilson & Colonel House (Wilson, 1994) analyzed the character of individual through the personal behaviors of the William Friedman in the journal of "*Political Psychology*", Vol. 15 (1), wherein the researchers explained the personality of Woodrow Wilson due to its remarkable aptitude, ambition, and discipline. The researchers reveal that a psychological factor of the individual has becomes the part of personality such as Neurological shortcoming.

Woodrow Wilson had the following habit from his early childhood such as the sense of insecurity and frustration, wherein the researchers has ignored the personal characters of the individual. This study has filled the gap through the case study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's personality.

Richards, (Richards, 2008) did not hesitate to discuss the role of individual in foreign policy making process that could affect the foreign policy of the countries. The researcher had examined the role of individuals in foreign policy-making process through the Case Study of two European Leaders i.e., Tony Blair & Jack Chirague as well. The study has also examined the personal behaviors of the individuals on the grounds of personal behavior and characters which are different from the other. In spite, of individual's role in similar position and its experience have affected the role of

individual in foreign policy making process of the Gulf countries against Iraq in 1990 and 2003.

Schoen, (Schoen, 2007) has examined the role of individual toward the shaping of German foreign policy wherein he had stated that unique characteristics of the personality such as motivation, aims and objectives are the key factors of the individual and move towards the development of country.

Schrod (Schrod, 2009) has explained the other features of the personality such as the distinctive feature of the individual has recognized the significance role of Israeli Prime Minister in 1979. The research has revealed the role of individual rather than their fame and success. The researcher also explained the achievement and performance of the Israeli Prime Minister.

Freud, & Bullitt (Frued, 1967) have examined the traits of Woodrow Wilson personality wherein they have described the role of individual in foreign policy-making that could affect the foreign policy of the country. This study has examined the role of individual in foreign policymaking process through the Case Study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality with reference to Pakistan-United States Relations, 1971-77.

James David Barber (Barber, 2000) has discussed the role of United States President Richard Milhous Nixon in foreign policy formulation wherein he has explained the significance of personal feature of the individual in foreign policy-making process. Furthermore, the research has explained the psychosomatic understanding of the individual that could affect the performance of the individual.

Similarly, Margaret Hermann explained in his book “Political Psychology” about the personal study of the political leaders that could affect the strategies of government. He had discussed the behaviors of Soviet President Gorbachev in foreign policy making (Herman, 1986). The study has examined the role of individual and its understanding

towards the development of his/her linkages with other countries. The researchers used the same paradigm in the case study of twelve leaders of the Sub-Saharan African region, and three Presidents of the United States i.e., Reagan, Bush, and Soviet President of Gorbachev.

The researchers further described the role and behaviors of various individuals in foreign policymaking such as imperfect leader that could not run the affairs of country smoothly. In the second category, the personal features of the individual play the vital role in foreign policy making process. In the third category, the individual has focused on the bureaucratic approach that could affect the behavior of the leader.

The well-known theorist Fred Greenstein (Greenstein, 1969) has raised some observations in the book "Personality and Politics of the United States". The researcher has recommended that to use this book as a source material and, also applied in the politics. The role of United States President in the American political system is most important because it has constitutionally allowed the President to rule the country.

The personal behaviors of the individual allowed the leader to counter the abnormal positions as and when occurred. The research has examined the role of individual in foreign policy making and stated that individual did not become a successful leader forever. However, the situation was changed with the passage of time. It has recognized that Churchill and de Gaulle waited for the chance to avail the opportunity as and when found. The role of individual on foreign policy formulation has left a great impact in the country.

Joseph de Rivera, (Joseph, 1986) has explained in his book "*The Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy*". In this book, the researcher has discussed the different features of personality that are relates to decision making. The decision maker always chooses the preferences such as maximum role, capabilities, difficulties such as a

destructive administration, and general way of his talking. He has also explained different things, such as skills, rules, and regulation of governing body.

Baris Kesgin has explained about the Tansu Ciller's Leadership Trait and Foreign Policy, wherein he has discussed the importance of individual in policy formulation and role of Tansu Ciller as a Prime Minister of Turkey. The researcher has compared the role of Ciller with the Turkish Leaders in the Post-Cold War Era and recommended that Ciller was involved in group favoritism and created a disturbance in the country. She was the first woman lady who had become a Prime Minister of the Muslim country. Ciller's government has faced different challenges in the country mainly the issues of foreign relationships. The role of Turkish Prime Ministers in foreign policy making was examined on the grounds of leadership behavior with the other countries.

Tansu Ciller's leadership character influenced Turkish foreign policy. Ciller's personality traits were compared with the Turkish Prime Minister since 1990, wherein she had hold self-confidence and created a huge disturbance in the country. Ciller's character became the base and moved towards the solutions of different issues. According to the study of different researchers, the personality of the individual has become one of the key factors of a successful leadership. The behaviors of an individual were examined on the grounds of innovative types of research and applied to the leaders across the world.

The Dyson has compared the attributes of Tony Blair's with all the British Prime Ministers since 1945 till now. The study of Tony Blair's personality has recognized the fact that an individual had the capability to control the events and hold the power. Tony Blair's leadership personality proved the behaviors of individuals and preferences apply in the decision of the Iraq War. Furthermore, the comparison between the leadership traits of Shannon and Keller's was examined on the grounds of high level of ability to

control the events, need for power, mistrust of others and the favoritism of groups that challenged the international system. The significance of leadership's character in the foreign policy-making process has left a great influence and the contribution of individual shows the significant rise of power, such as Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of Turkey. The role of Prime Ministers of Turkey has recognized the importance of Turkish foreign policy. For instance, Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan made his efforts to follow the new preferences of Turkish foreign policy in Muslim countries.

She was the daughter of a bureaucrat and was born in Turkey. She got early education from English Language School and obtained higher education from Robert College (now University). She completed the Ph.D. degree from the United States at the University of Connecticut and married with Ozer Ciller who lived in the United States. In 1974, she returned to Turkey and joined the Department of Economics of the University. She was a Minister of State from 1991-1993 and became the Prime Minister of the country. Her husband Ozer explained Ciller's significance as a woman of courage, tolerance, will-power and militarized nature. Her husband explained that she was authoritarian and was a not good team leader. If Ciller's speeches and policy decisions are compared with other leaders, it could easily be understood that she remained a successful leader of the country. Ciller quoted the crisis of Kardak and its inheritance. He further stated that we could not give even an inch of territory to Kardak.

She was a very active and courageous woman and ran the foreign affairs of the country with the United States in a successful way. The researchers had recognized the importance of Turkish foreign policy but disagreed with a low level of self-confidence which was rooted in the domestic political background.

Secondly, the Turkish foreign policy was formed on the ground of a well-developed way of political leadership. The study used the method of operational code analysis, image theory in the research and developed the model in Turkey. Fleenor, John. W has discussed the “Trait Approach to Leadership.” In this study the researcher had explored the personality traits of the individual that are concerned with leadership effectiveness, fair investigation of the outstanding past figures (i.e. the approach to leadership). The previous research has focused on the systematic study of the differences between leaders and supporters. It has explained that individuals at a higher level of posts would hold the supreme power of leadership as compared to those who hold a lower level of positions. All the leaders are responsible for the higher level of positions on the grounds of their role. The researchers always prepared the lists of those personality traits which were related to successful leadership. For example, the information was taken from the behaviors and skills of the personal characters of the individual. The followings were the characteristics of the individual such as self-belief, ability, goal, determination, power, stimulation, stability, imagination, and momentum. In 1989, John W. Gardner published a work on the personality of leadership and examined some features of the individual which makes a good leader. The researchers argued that productive leadership was the quality of an individual.

After a thorough thinking, Bhutto reshaped the foreign policy of Pakistan in a new pattern and did not want to leave the country in the hands of superpower (Bhurgri, 2002). He had obtained the support from their friends and refused to become the ally of any country. He was a great supporter of China and maintained amicable relations with China. As a result, China provided substantial economics, technical and military grants to Pakistan.

His speeches affected the role of the Security Council of the United Nations at the World level. He became the champion of the country when he showed the position of Pakistan at the national level. Bhutto defended the cause of Muslim countries, the Arab and the Third World countries rigorously. The Middle Eastern countries like Libya, Iran, and Gulf countries supported Pakistan economically and financially. He developed brotherly relationships with them. They never disappointed him and helped Pakistan. The oil boomed Arab countries such as Iran had no potential to make an atom bomb and it was astonishing to note that Bhutto made the country a nuclear power to compete India.

After 1971, the financial position of Pakistan became miserable. However, he established the Pakistan Steel Mill at Karachi for the development of Pakistan and signed an agreement with France to acquire the reprocessing technology for the extraction of the plutonium.

The foreign policy process of the country is a very complicated issue if linked with the rise and fall of the country. The foreign policy making is not an exclusive business of a Foreign Minister or Prime Minister. It is also the responsibility of the cabinet division to formulate the foreign policy of the country. Bhutto has a profound knowledge of world affairs. The significance of Pakistan foreign policy was examined by the researchers on the ground of two World Wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The British won the Wars on account of well-equipped, well-organized, and powerful army and on the ground of practical usage and efficient foreign policy. Bhutto was an expert in the field of foreign relations and developed linkages with China and the Muslim countries. He would not remain in isolation and provoke the major powers like the Soviet Union, the United States, and other countries. He approached the Afro-Asian countries and paid a great tribute to the country.

Bhutto was the guardian of self-reliance foreign policy of Pakistan. He recognized the Independent Foreign Policy of Pakistan. As a result, all the countries are looking towards the leadership of Pakistan. On the other hand, Pakistan got significance in global affairs. After the 1971 Indo-Pak War, he normalized their relationships with all the neighboring countries including India. He placed the country on sound-footing and developed linkages with all the Muslim countries (Malik, 2014).

The theme of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto foreign policy was to develop cordial relationships with the Muslim countries. The study has explained the importance of foreign policy of Pakistan in the book, "Zulfi Bhutto's Foreign Policy: Vocalization of Self-reliance and Vivification of Integrity" (Zain, 2012). Bhutto established cordial relationships especially with China, the Soviet Union, Eastern European countries and Latin America. He has achieved the objectives without the support of superpower.

He was also desired to maintain the linkages with the United States and other without any antagonism. His dream of unity towards the Muslim countries accomplished the role of foreign policy in a successful way. He had visited the different countries of the world such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Syria, Libya, Egypt, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Malaysia, Jordan, and the United Arab Emirates for the economic and diplomatic support. The position of Pakistan was shown as a Western ally of United States which had the alarming position in the Muslim countries. Pakistan under the leadership of Bhutto took all measures to end the confrontation of Pakistan on the grounds of discussion with the Muslim countries.

## **5. Objectives of the Research**

- 1- To examine the role of individual in foreign policy making process
- 2- To assess the role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as a political personality in foreign policy-making process

3- To examine the role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in foreign policy-making process with reference to Pakistan-United States Relations (1971-77)

## **6. Research Questions**

- 1- How do personal traits/behaviors of the leaders play a significant role in foreign policy making?
- 2- How did Zulfikar Ali Bhutto shape the foreign policy of Pakistan during the period of 1971-77?
- 3- To what extent, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a person of influence in foreign policy making process?

## **7. Research Methodology**

The research has the combination of descriptive, comparative, and analytical study to examine the role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in foreign policy-making process. The study has comprised on primary as well as secondary data. The primary data based on Bhutto's speeches, statements, and interviews with specific content such as national, international, economic and defense position of the country. The secondary data based on books, article from journal, magazines, documents, different web sites, the Daily News, Dawn and Jang.

## **8. Organization of the Study**

The study comprises of six chapters in addition to introduction and conclusion. **Chapter-1** is based on theoretical framework. It has explained the role of individual in foreign policy making through the Case Study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's personality with reference to Pakistan-United States relations during the period of 1971-77.

The research has also described the significance of Bhutto's personality traits and its impact on foreign linkages.

**Chapter-2** is focused on family background, early life, education, and political career of Bhutto. The study has also examined the different achievements of Bhutto's such as 1973 constitution of Pakistan, the establishment of atomic technology, land reform, agriculture, economics, industrial, administrative, education, passport, and banking.

**Chapter-3** has described the role of Bhutto as individual in foreign policy making process, the role of foreign policy making agencies, determinants of foreign policy and relations with other countries of the world.

**Chapter-4** has explained the decades' comprised connection between the two states such as the period of neutrality, alliances, Regime of bilateralism. The research has also focused on the causes of Cold War, Sphere of Influences, Ideology, Military factor, the end of Cold War, and Détente period.

**Chapter-5** is comprised on the Pakistan United States linkages such as the early period, political Milieu, economic circumstances, Trade linkages. The study has also described the cultural relations, education exchange and person to person contacts. The research has further examined the domestic foreign policy of Bhutto's: A paradigm Shift and unity towards the Muslim countries.

**Chapter-6** has described the Bhutto's effort to establish standby ties with other Muslim countries of the world. The research has also focused on Non-Aligned Movement, Pakistan and the Post-Cold War era, Pakistan, and the Global Anti-Terrorism Regime.

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# **CHAPTER- 1**

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **1.1 Introduction**

This chapter has described the role of individual in foreign policy making process, how the individual such as politician, bureaucrats and interest group has become the part of decision making process. The study based on Allison's Models to explain the role of Bhutto in foreign policy making process.

### **1.2 Background**

The foreign policy mainly comprised on two types of analysis, first to deal the policy making process and secondly to implement the decisions. This was the great responsibility of policy makers to introduce the possible choice, based on holistic theory and influence the nation's interest at world level. For instance Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, former Foreign Minister of Pakistan has developed the cordial relations with China and got the maximum support from the western countries (Hussain, 2014).

The decisions makers made it efforts to select an alternative which are more relevant to the options and achieved their goals. These choices are used by the individuals to resolve their matter in policy making process. According to David Easton, the foreign policy decisions are the result of political system based on sharing of power among the party (David, 1969).

The foreign policy decisions are commonly the outcome of discussion among a small group of political leaders who have remained as ex-officio representatives of the government bodies. As per views of Morton Halperin (1974) about the bureaucratic politics, he had written a lot of material on it. The study has made an application of the theory of Allison's Bureaucratic Politics Model as a theoretical tool to explain the

Pakistan-United States Relations during the period, 1971-77. The linkages between the two countries were passed through different ups and downs at different occasions.

Graham T. Allison produced the series of models i.e., Rational Actor Model, Organizational Process Model, and Bureaucratic Politics Model. He had linked all these models with the various phases of the United States policy towards the handling of Cuban Missile Crisis. Allison & Philip Zelikow have also explained the three approaches in their work Essence of Decision 1999, first the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, Secondly to investigate the role of United States and Soviet Union in the particular case. The model-I (Rational Actor Model) explains the decisions which are taken in foreign policy making process as a unitary actor and based on rationale activities of a person to reach at the suitable options.

According to the views of rational choice theorists, this model assumed that decision makers select the better options which would move towards the obvious position, and they also defined the personal behavior of the individuals and their preferences.

The following steps are taken in the process of policy formulation:

### **1- Problem Recognition**

First, an individual examined the external threats and makes it efforts to explain the goals and objectives of the country. The objectives of the country got the information through the actions, motivation, and capabilities. It has based on nation's interest and gives the preference to the state functions. It is also focused on the utility of alternative options and their consequences (Allison, 1999).

### **2- Goal Setting**

Second, the individual selects the foreign policy choices, such as security, democracy, freedom, and economic well-being. In this category, individuals

explained the key concept of the alternative, based on aims and objectives of the country.

### **3- Identification of the Alternatives**

Third, the individual identifies the available policy options, and calculate the cost of each, and every, alternatives relate to goals and values. It has based on the decision making process.

### **4- Choice**

Fourth, the individual selects the preferable option from the alternatives with the least possible expectation to achieving the goals. The individual obtains the cost benefit analysis and takes the result. This is a complicated step to resolve the matter as per desired need of the country. According to Allison's Model-I, he had introduced the four options such as basic unit of analysis, that need to explain the government action as a choice and then government select the option that would move toward the development of country. Second, component is the unified policy and action was taken according to strategic plan of the country. Third, element is the dominant actor wherein the nation or representative of the country performed their activities accordingly. Fourth, element is the evidence that tell us about the behavior of the government officials.

This model is considered as a unitary actor of the country which has the single entity. The individual goes through the process of policy making such as a President Kennedy applied this model in decision making to set aside all the jobs. The individual followed the most preferable choices in the process of policy formulation.

#### **- The Limits to Rational Choice**

This model has more standardized then an actual description of real's world behavior and decisions are made on the ground of alternatives choices to

meet their demands. The personal emotions of the individual moved towards the establishment of goals.

### **Foreign policy decision making in theory and practice**

According to rational actor model, the individual goes through the real world from abstract to concrete such as a value maximizing choice. The rational model has focused on the administrative theory and practice. This model has explained that how bureaucratic organization performed his job in the country.

The bureaucratic foreign policy provided the services to the individual during the preparation of foreign policy process and relays on the bureaucracies to run the affairs of country. The foreign policy decisions are made by the individuals according to the needs of government. The bureaucratic organization set is not devoted with the nation interest. The individual has struggled for the best interest of country such as Bhutto made its efforts to sign the Simla agreement for the development of country. This was the great achievement of individual to achieve the goals of the country. Secondly, the significant achievement of the individual was the formation of Bilateralism. This approach was focused on the principal of good linkages with all the countries of the world on the ground of sovereignty, equality, reciprocity, and mutual benefit (Panhwar, 2008).

The model-II (Organizational Politics Model) describes the significance of standing operating procedures of an organization based on decisional makers to reach at fruitful result.

According to organizational model, the decision makers commonly ignore the laborious process of agenda goals setting and choose the alternative option which is based on standard operation system.

For instance, the United States Department has received more than a thousand of reports or complaints from the embassies across the world on daily basis. As a result, the embassies issued thousands of instructions to the concerned departments. The decision makers i.e., Secretary of the State or President are not in position to perform their job properly. They have always been doing the practice of low level of decision and made their efforts to shape the least controversial, most standardized decision. These types of decisions may not reflect the top level of policies adopted by the high commands. The organizational actor model focused on the positive changed of foreign policy from the management through the proper procedure.

The model-III (Bureaucratic Politics Model) finalized the decisions made by the bureaucrats among the decision makers and gives the final shape.

According to this model, the results of foreign policy making process are obtained through the involvement of different government agencies. In 1992, the government of Japan has decided to allow the Suchi that to be imported from the California or weakening the traditional restriction regarding the importing of rice. It means to maintain the self-sufficiency in the shape of food. Second, the agriculture Ministry of Japan makes its effort to protect the right of Japanese farmers by the stopping of imports. The foreign Minister of Japan had developed the smooth relations with the United States and desired to allow the imports. The final decision moves the approval of imported Suchi that becomes to fight of War between the Ministries. However, according to bureaucratic mode, foreign policy decision affects the interest of government and other actors.

The performance of the government could be judged through the bargaining. There is no unitary actor that could play the role against the single issue; anyhow, there are multiple diverse intra-national problems. This theory explains the uniqueness on the ground of factual position by the placing of political strategy behind the activities of individuals. The government decisions are not made on the basis of rational choice and it was made on the ground of political activities. This model is more successful as compared to others because it has achieved the certain goal and holds the broader concept (Welch, 1992).

The bureaucratic politics Model was based on decisional makers who are involved in the decisions making. All the decision makers represents their department, agency, organization being head of the institutions and resolved the issues if any. The decisions are made by the decision makers through the proper procedures. The key feature and characteristics of the model are as under:

The views of multiple persons give the good decision on the basis of comprehensive information, about the relevant issue. The contributions of different personalities are examined by the house on the ground of their participation in decision making. On the other hands, the role of organizational participants weighted with the aims and objectives of the organizations. The framing issues and agenda items are placed before the house for their consideration. How an individual or a decision maker responds to a particular issue and how the issues are resolved. On group level, the key policy issues are resolved by the house on the basis of their discussion. At joint forum level, the decisions are ratified by the executives and legislative bodies, and then notified (Allison, 1999).

### **1.3 Application of Theoretical Framework**

The foreign policy making process was shaped on the basis of four points, i.e., individual, group, state, and system level. These four options are examined by the Prime Minister, Cabinet and one of the major political elites and Ministry of Foreign affairs. According to 1973-Constitution of Pakistan, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible to formulate the foreign policy and shared the agenda items with all concerned Ministries. The following are the main decisional players in foreign policy making process such as Foreign Affairs, Defense, Interior, Commerce Ministries and Federal Board of Revenue. After the approval of Cabinet Division, Prime Minister endorsed the decision to the quarter concerned for implementation. The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and Military played a significant role in the matter of security clearance before finalizing a policy alternative. The efficient foreign decision making remained the symbol of successful diplomacy (Graham, 1971).

In Pakistan, the key results of foreign policy making process are received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Security Agencies. They have well defined structure, cadre jurisdiction, channel and decisions making process.

In this regard, Allison's bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM) is used to differentiate the role of individual in foreign policy making process. As a result, the individual has withdrawn the membership of SEATO and CENTO. He had developed the independence foreign policy of Pakistan without the interference of superpower and developed the friendly relationships with all the Muslim countries.

According to this Model, the decisional makers joined the forum of policy formulation having a different perspective, opinions, but ultimately, all these perspectives and preferences moved toward the aggregated decisions. The foreign policy of Pakistan

during the period of Bhutto was remained controversial due to national interest of the country.

This model can contribute a lot of things, how the decisions are made and finalized by the individual. The participants of decision making are the bureaucrats of various departments and institutions, particularly from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Security Agencies. This model helps to determine the role of bureaucrats who come from the different departments and institutions.

This Model is used as a tool to determine the role of individual in foreign policy making process with reference to Pakistan-United States Relations during the period of Bhutto (1971-1977). The Pakistan-United States linkages are the product of bureaucratic politics, involved in various decisions making process. These policy decisions are become the result of “pulling and hauling” among the bureaucrats. Anyhow, this study has explained the role of individual in foreign policy making process by the usage of Allison’s model to differentiate the role of individual in policy making process.

#### **1.4 Role of an Individual**

This study has explained the role of an individual in the foreign policy-making process with reference to the Case Study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s personality. Anyhow, the individual is responsible to develop the foreign policy of country in a proper way. The role of an individual in developed countries is much more as compared to under developing countries. For example, Adolf Hitler was the leader of Socialist German Workers Party known as the Nazi party and holds the important position at world level. The individual has left the great impact in foreign policy making process of country. It has explained that personal traits of the individual and leadership's approach towards the shaping of foreign policy are dissimilar with each other. This study has described

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the role of individual with reference to subordinates, advisors and provided the valuable services in the policy making process of the country (Adnan, 2014).

The individual involves in the domestic and external matters of the country during the shaping of foreign policy making and faced the different challenges. The role of an individual in foreign policy making process is very important. Somehow, the decision was based on the expression of public opinions and particularly in world affairs. The individual could make a difference in foreign policy-making process. The leaders make its efforts to shape the objectives of Pakistan foreign policy according to desired needs of the country.

Margret G. Herman defined the personal character of the individual and role of the foreign policy-making institution that could affect the choices of his/her decision.

It was stated that Bhutto resolved the dispute of Indo-Pak War with India through the Simla Agreement. It has considered the major achievement of an individual in foreign policy making. Moreover, Bhutto leaves a great impact on foreign policy (Ashfaq, 2016).

### **1.5 An Impact of Individual**

The impact of an Individual in foreign policy making brings the fact that Bhutto was the leader of a nation at world level. He was an active and a literary person of the country as compared to others. He was a revolutionary leader of the nation and introduced the different reforms in the country such as Land, Agricultural, Industrial, Economics, Education, Administrative, Banking, Passport, and others. He was the leader of poor people and developed the close linkages with all the Muslim countries. He was the guardian of self-reliance foreign policy and improved the status of the country at an international level. He had settled the unresolved issue of the country on a historical basis. This study was linked with Mughal period from Aurangzeb to

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and examined the role of individual on the grounds of past events happened in the sub-continent. Bhutto's Western education background reveals the theoretical frameworks of Dara Shikoh. Both the personalities used mixed and syncretistic approach. Dara Shikoh included the Hinduism in Islam while Bhutto attempted to use the same practice in the religion and gives the idea of "Islamic Socialism" He was the Mystic (Sufi) and his attachment remained with Sufi Shah, Baz Qalander, and known as a Sufi. Bhutto's 'Islamic Socialism' does not match with the perfect model of Islam, whereas the famous theorist Max Webber given the idea of pure sciences. As the South Asia is the fort of Islam and an active region of the world and almost 40% of Muslims are living in the Middle East, Central Asia, and South East Asian countries. Anyhow, the contributions of Muslim intellectuals in South Asia are considered as remarkable in the modern renaissance (Ahmed, 1988).

The followings were the renowned and intellectual personalities of the 20<sup>th</sup> century such as Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Abu Kalam Azad, Abul A'la Maududi, Karl Max, Jim Jones, Bhagwan, Rajneesh, Mao, Gandhi, and Reverend Moon given the difference opinions according to their ideologies, faith, and myth of the modern features of the secularism. They disagreed with the diverse system of ideologies and satisfied with the followers. Karl Max and Max Weber appreciated the pure knowledge and conveyed the messages to the masses. The confusions between the religion and culture are still under observations. The United States of America and Europe argued that religion is separate from the politics. According to Karl Marx and Marx Weber, the clash between 'Science' and the sphere of life are unchangeable. Especially, the Western Industrial World became confused to live without the concept of God (Faruqi, 2006).

The role of individual in foreign policy making process has becomes a major issue in the international affairs and charisma of leaders developed the linkages at world level.

The following personalities are the heroes of nations such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Gamal Abdel Naseer, Sukarno, Kwame Nkrumah, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The role of individual in foreign policy making was based case to case basis. The individual of the Islamic countries makes its efforts to understand the democratic system on the ground of their religions. On the other hands, the individuals of the under developing countries, followed the paradigm of Western countries (Kettani, 1976).

Hermann has explained that personal traits of the individual left a great impact in decision making of the country. Owing to these reasons, the individual has shifted the power to the general masses at grass root level. Second, the individual established the linkages with other countries and arranged the foreign training. Third, there are six personal attributes of the individual that could affect the foreign policy of the countries. Such as nationalism, belief, ability, the glory of power, affiliation, theoretical difficulty, and distrust the others. The nationalism is commonly used by the policy makers for the specific purpose. The personal feature of the individual had shown the great significance to establish their linkages with other countries (Hermann, 1980).

As a result, the individual developed his/her linkages with the international arena. The followings were the personal traits/attributes of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

<b>General Muhammad Zia-Ul-Haq</b>	<b>Zulfikar Ali Bhutto</b>
Orthodox, formal Islam (traditional follower), prayers five times a day and regular visits to the Holy place of Saudi-Arabia.	Mystical, informal Islam (spiritual follower), visits to Sufi shrines, dance, and ecstatic behavior.
Personally strict.	Personally, non-strict

Desist from alcohol.	Likes to Drink alcohol
Stress on Urdu as a national language.	Encourage/promote
Ummah/Islamic unity was Supreme over ethnicity.	Significance of ethnicity.
Dress style: (black coat with a white muslin shirt).	Likes the Western suits or informal worn by the common man (usually with Chinese cap).
Public meetings formal, (to attend the formal meetings) protocol, (Wears military dress).	Informal, (to attend un-official meetings) Melee like (wears informal clothes).
The National Assembly was called as “Majlis-e-Shoora”, (preferably good Muslims), was nominated.	The elected National Assembly represents all the political shades.
Heroes: just like Prophet and Muslim Generals.	Prophet, Napoleon, Mao, Tse-Tung; (become superior)

The comparison between General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was made on the grounds of personal behaviors/traits, shown in the above-mentioned table which elaborates the dissimilarity in terms of behaviors and personality traits. Zia-ul-Haq was a religious person follows the approach of a pure Islamic system while Bhutto was a secular used the model of anti-Islamic system. Zia-ul-Haq prays five times a day while Bhutto did not praying regularly. Zia-ul-Haq visits the holy places of Saudi Arabia while Bhutto visits the holy places of Sufi Shrines. It was argued that both the personalities are not done their proper jobs and involved themselves in the personal

matters. According to data analysis, it was proposed that both the personalities are performed the different functions and delivered the different aspects of Islam. First, was orthodox, second, mystical and third, informal Islam. The confrontation between Zia-ul-Haq and Bhutto was taken place and ends into Bhutto's death sentence (Ahmed, 1988).

The study has examined the personal characteristics/features of the individuals on the ground of historical perspective. It is stated that Islamic history represents the Muslim societies on the grounds of two major schools of thought, i.e. Deoband and Aligarh. Both the institutions have played the significant roles for the creation of Pakistan. The Deoband School of thought was established by Muhammad Qasim Nanotvi, Rasheed Ahmed Gangohi, and Abid Hussain in 1866. While Ali Garh School of thought was formed by Sayyed Ahmad Khan to learn the modern education in 1864.

Three Model of Muslim Society leaderships are chosen to differentiate him on the grounds of their religion such as religious, non-religious and secular (Ahmed, 1988).

Name of Century	A	B	C
Seventeenth Century	Aurangzeb	Dara Shikoh	
Eighteenth Century	Shah Waliullah	Wali	
Nineteenth Century	Sayyed Ahmad Barelvi	Ghalib	Sayyed Ahmad
Twentieth Century	Maulana Abul Ala Maududi General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq	Z.A. Bhutto	M.A. Jinnah General Muhammad Ayub Khan

Category A represents the orthodox, legalistic, formal while category B represents the un-orthodox, mystical, and informal. Both the categories are reflected the two parts of

Muslim communities. The problems of A and B was does not end with the Mughals. It was remained with Bhutto, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, who had represented the distinctive features of his personality wherein Dara Shikoh included the Hinduism in Islam while Bhutto was used the same paradigm of Islamic socialism. He has included the approach of “Socialism” in Islam being a mystic (Sufi).

Anyhow, the research has described the Charisma of leadership, various personality traits of Bhutto's and its effect on foreign policy making process of the country with reference to Pakistan-United States relations, (1971-77).

The comparison between Bhutto's and Zia-ul-Haq's were made on account of their personal behaviors/traits. The study has examined the three approaches of Muslim society leadership with Bhutto's behaviors.

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## **CHAPTER- 2**

### **ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO: A PROFILE**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter has explained the early life of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's personality including his education background. The second part of the study comprises on his nourishment, political career, and surroundings place where he was groomed as a political leader and circumstances in which he was entered in the politics. The third part of the research encompasses with his first and second marriage.

#### **2.2 Early Life**

On January 05, 1928, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was born in Larkana at Sindh and died on April 04, 1979. His father's name was Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto who had belonged to feudal landlord's family of Larkana and remained a Prime Minister (Dewan) of the princely state of Junagadh. He had three sons; Sikandar Ali Bhutto, who had died at the age of seven (07) years, Imdad Ali Bhutto, who had died at the age of thirty (30) years and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had given the death sentence on April 4, 1979.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto got his early education from Bishop School at Karachi and Secondary School education from Cathedral High School at Bombay. In 1947, he had enrolled in the University of Southern California to study the subject of Political Science, and afterward shifted to the University of California, Berkeley Campus. After the graduation in Political Science, he went to Oxford University. In 1950, he got the admission in LLM degree program from Christ Church College, Oxford University. In 1952, he obtained a distinguished position in LLM degree program and became a popular figure of the Oxford University. He had joined the Student Association and participated in the election wherein he obtained the majority of seats in the Students

Union. He became popular among the Students Association of the University. He had completed the degree program in jurisprudence and returned to Pakistan (Stanley Wolpert, 1980). He started the practice with Hindu lawyer Ram Chandani Diagonal, but he was not satisfied with the behavior of the lawyer and left the practice. He married twice time. The first marriage was held with his cousin Shireen Amir Begum in 1943 and second, was arranged with Nusrat Isphani in 1951. Bhutto has four children. The first, Benazir Bhutto was born at Karachi on June 21, 1953 and died on December 27, 2007. She was the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan and served the country for two times. Second, Murtaza Bhutto was born on September 18, 1954 and died on September 20, 1996. Third, Sanam Bhutto was born on January 28, 1957. Fourth Shah Nawaz Bhutto was born on November 21, 1958 and died on July 18, 1985 (Taseer, 1979).

### **2.3 Political Career**

After the completion of education, he returned to Pakistan and involved himself in the politics of Pakistan. He was the favorite son and a political successor of his father. In 1957, he became the youngest member of Pakistani delegation to the United Nations and attended the United Nations Sixth Committee on Aggression. In 1958, he headed the Pakistan's delegation to the first United Nations Conference on the Law of Seas. In 1958, he had joined the cabinet of President Iskander Mirza's as Commerce Minister and became the part of General Muhammad Ayub Khan cabinet (Farooq, 2013). Ayub Khan threw the civilian government of Iskander Mirza and imposed the martial law in the country. Bhutto became a political advisor and trusted friend of Ayub Khan's. He had shared the valuable services and political experience with Ayub Khan. In 1960, he had supported the Ayub Khan to negotiate the Indus Water Treaty with India and became a popular of figure of Pakistan (Mirza, 2016).

## 2.4 Foreign Minister

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the Foreign Minister of Pakistan on January 24, 1963 and continued his service on August 31, 1966. He had developed the close relationships with China. He also desired to obtain the maximum autonomy from the Western countries and won the national fame across the world. Taiwan was accepted as a separate state of China, but due to ideological differences, particularly the Soviet Union and other countries have broken their linkages with Beijing (Hassnain, 2014).

Anyhow, Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Republic of Albania helped the Peoples of Republic of China and supported the Beijing in the United Nations, National Security Council. He makes its efforts to fill the gaps between Pakistan and the United Nations. As a result, Lyndon B. Johnson has approached General Muhammad Ayub Khan to dismiss the service of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's from the cabinet. Bhutto's leadership got the significant achievement and national fame across the world. He visited the Beijing wherein warmly welcomed by Mao Zedong and Chinese community (Barnds, 1975).

Bhutto has discussed the plan of General Muhammad Ayub Khan's with the Chinese government regarding the trade negotiation and military cooperation. The Government of China was decided to help Pakistan in the military equipment and industrial projects. On March 02, 1963, Bhutto signed the Sino-Pakistan Boundary Agreement with China and got the released of 750 square kilometers land of Pakistan administered area of Kashmir from Chinese control and presented the Pakistan as a leading country of the non-alignment (Hassnain, 2014).

He believed in the pan-Islamist unity and developed the friendly relationships with Saudi Arabia and Indonesia. He had changed the pro-Western foreign policy of Pakistan and played a significant role in SEATO and CENTO. He had established the self-governing system of the country and visited to East and West Germany. He pursued the

policy of economic, technological, industrial, and military cooperation with German government and addressed a farewell speech at the University of Munich. He has also explained the importance of Pakistan and its linkages with Germany. In 1962, he had visited to Poland and established the diplomatic relationship. He desired to approach the Polish community of Pakistan and efforts to develop the collective collaboration with him. During this period, he formed the geostrategic foreign policy of Pakistan against India and developed the nuclear technology in Pakistan (Haider, 2018).

Bhutto argued that "Pakistan will fight, fight for a thousand years. If India built the atomic technology, Pakistan would not eat grass or leaves even go hungry, but we will get our own arsenal technology and we have no other option!" In 1969, Bhutto explained in his book "*The Myth of Independence*" that it was the need of Pakistan to acquire the atomic technology against India. He had obtained the technical support from Munir Ahmad Khan and Abdul Salam Khan Scientists and established the atomic technology (Malik, 1969).

He made its efforts to settle the issue of 1965 Indo-Pak Wars and signed the Tashkent agreement between Pakistan and India on January 10, 1966. Both the countries agreed to release the prisoners of war and withdrawal of their forces from the pre-War positions. Bhutto became the part of the pro-democracy movement of Pakistan and started the strikes against the General Muhammad Ayub Khan all over the country (Naseer, 1994).

Dr. Mubashir Hassan and Bhutto were arrested on the ground of political turmoil. Notwithstanding, General Muhammad Ayub Khan called the Round Table Conference at Rawalpindi to settle the issue with Bhutto. He did not agree to talk with General Muhammad Ayub Khan. Besides, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman also demanded the six-point agenda about the regional autonomy of East Pakistan (Gull, 2014).

General Muhammad Ayub Khan has resigned from the government and handed over the control of country to General Yahya Khan, Commander in Chief of Pakistan on March 25, 1969. After assuming the control of government, General Yahya Khan announced that the first general elections will be held in the country on December 7, 1970. But these elections were delayed due to national hazard in East Pakistan and rescheduled in January 1971. These elections were held under the direct control of the military led government of General Yahya Khan. As a result, Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won majority of seats in the National Assembly (Rizwan, 2014). Pakistan People's Party refused to accept the victory of Sheikh Mujeeb and informed the elected members did not to participate in the opening oath ceremony of Mujeeb government. Bhutto has desired to form the coalition government with Mujeeb and sent his most trust-worthy friend Mr. Hamid Mir to East Pakistan. Mr. Hamid Mir met with Mujeeb about the establishment of a coalition government with him. He requested the Mujeeb to meet with Bhutto and resolved the issue of government. Mujeeb was agreed to form the coalition government with Bhutto on certain conditions as "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will be elected as Prime Minister and Bhutto will be the President of Pakistan. General Yahya Khan was unaware about the commitment of Mujeeb and Bhutto. Nevertheless, both the leaders approached the General Yahya Khan for the transfer of power. But Mujeeb was failed to control the situation. General Yahya Khan postponed the opening ceremony and ordered the armed forces to take the action against Mujeeb. He was arrested and all the political activities were banned in the country. Bhutto was also disagreed with the decision of General Yahya Khan's. He proposed that Mr. Nurul Amin was to be elected as Prime Minister and Bhutto was as Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan (Browne, 1971).

As a result, Bhutto started the protest in the country against the decision of Yahya Khan's. General Yahya Khan ordered the armed forces to arrest him. Due to these situations, India intervened in East Pakistan and created the unlawful situation in the country. Anyhow, East Pakistan was separated from the West Pakistan on December 16, 1971. General Yahya Khan has resigned from the government and handed the power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He became the first Civilian Chief Law Administrator, President and Prime Minister of Pakistan (Raza, 1997).

## **2.5 Pakistan People's Party**

The foundation of Pakistan People's Party was laid down by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on November 30, 1967 wherein he becomes the first Chairman of party. He focused on illiteracy, equal rights for women and separation the executive from the judiciary. Bhutto addressed the first session of National Assembly and highlights the different challenges faced by the country, such as corruption, exploitation the basic rights of common people, issue of Azad Jammu & Kashmir and American influence in Pakistan. The following are the slogan of Pakistan People's Party such as Roti, Kapra, Makan, and Shelter (Hussain, 2018).

Pakistan People's Party was considered as one of the major political Party of Pakistan after the separation of East Pakistan. After 1971, Pakistan People's Party takes the control of country and completed its first term in 1977. In 1972, the country faced the serious challenges and other circumstances. However, Bhutto initiates the positive measures to increase the political, economics, and social position of the country and creates the awareness in the Pakistani masses (Richard, 2008).

In 1977, the second general elections were held in the country on March 7, 1977 to elect the 200 members of the National Assembly. In these elections Pakistan People's Party obtained the victory of seats and became the successor party to rule the country for

another five years term. But the opposition has challenged the victory of Pakistan People's Party on the ground of huge rigging occurred in the elections (Ijaz, 2013).

As a result, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq has imposed the martial law in the country on July 05, 1977 and dissolved all the four assemblies of Pakistan. He also suspended the 1973 constitution of Pakistan and promised that elections will be held in the country within ninety (90) days. But he could not schedule the election and ruled the country for eleven years. General Zia-ul-Haq ordered the administration to arrest the Pakistan People's Party leaders and its workers including the leaders of alliances too. The administration arrested the Bhutto and his party's workers and placed in the jail (Stephen John, 2020).

Anyhow, On July 29, 1977, Bhutto was released from the jail and he was received by a huge number of crowds. Afterwards, he started the political activities and delivered the speeches at different places of the country. As a result, he was again arrested by the administration on September 03, 1977. His wife Nusrat Bhutto became the Chairperson of Pakistan People's Party and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was sent to jail including his workers on September 16, 1977. He was accused in the murdered case of Nawab Muhammad Ahmed Khan Kasuri (father of Ahmed Raza Khan Kasuri's) (Court, 1978).

Notwithstanding, Bhutto was hanged on April 04, 1979, and he was buried at Garhi Khuda Baksh in Larkana. After the death sentence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, his wife Nusrat Bhutto and daughter Benazir Bhutto became the Co-Chairpersons of Pakistan People's Party. Both the ladies faced the different challenges and started the political activities in the country for the establishment of democratic form of government. Pakistan People's Party formed the political alliance with other political parties of Pakistan in the name of "Movement for the Restoration of Democracy" (MRD) (Khuhro, 2009).

Third, general elections were held in the country on November 16, 1988 to elect the members of National Assembly wherein, Pakistan Peoples Party's has got majority of seats in the elections. Benazir Bhutto became the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan. But the opposition has challenged the victory of Pakistan People's Party on the grounds of huge rigging occurred in the elections (Ijaz, 2013).

## **2.6 President of Pakistan**

On December 20, 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has become the first Civilian President of Pakistan and addressed the nation. He assured that we would work for the development of country and protect the rights of common peoples at grass root level. He further discussed the significance of a democratic form of government in the light of 1973 constitution of Pakistan. General Gul Hassan Khan was appointed as new Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan armed forces. But he could not remain for a long time and dismissed from the services. General Tikka Khan was appointed as a new Chief of Army Staff. He was loyal to Bhutto and promised that our armed forces would perform their jobs and not interfere in the politics of Pakistan. Bhutto nationalized the following Industries, such as Iron and Steel Mill, Heavy Mechanical Complex Taxila, Heavy Electrical, Petrochemicals, Cement and Public Utilities Industries, State Life Insurance Corporation of Pakistan, Private School and Colleges as well. The new labor policy was introduced in the country and protected the rights of workers (Asif, 2018).

Bhutto visited to India, meets with Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and negotiated the peace agreement with India in 1972. On July 02, 1972, the Simla agreement was signed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Mrs. Indira Gandhi former Prime Minister of India. As a result, Bhutto had got released almost 93,000 Pakistani military personnel and civilians as prisoners of war (POW) whose were placed in the Indian jails (Mustafa, 2014).

Bhutto laid the foundation of Pakistan Atomic Technology in collaboration with the France in 1972 and met with the opposition leaders Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Mufti Mahmud-ur-Rehman about the lifting of emergency in the country and allowed the opposition to join the governments.

In 1972, Bhutto had lifted the martial Law in the country and scheduled the session of National Assembly including the members elected from the West Pakistan. The following points were on the agenda such as the controversies about the role of Islam, provincial autonomy, and type of parliamentary or presidential government. He started the different measures to normalize the relations with opposition. The third constitution of Pakistan was approved on April 10, 1973 and it was enforced in the country on August 14, 1973. The constitution of 1973 of Pakistan allowed the parliamentary form of government in the country (Niazi, 2012).

## **2.7 Prime Minister of Pakistan**

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the 9<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister of Pakistan on August 14, 1973 and remained in power till July 5, 1977. He was the founder of Pakistan Peoples Party's and become its Chairman. 1973, he had visited the United States for the discharge of non-alignment policy and withdrawal of Pakistan from the British Commonwealth of Nations and Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (Mustafa, 2014).

In 1977, the second general elections were held in the country wherein nine (09) parties were participated in the elections. In these elections Pakistan People Party won majority of seats in the National Assembly. But Pakistan National Alliance challenged the victory of winner party and launched a country-wide strike against the Pakistan People's Party (Kaushik, 1985).

## 2.8 Simla Agreement

On July 02, 1972, Simla Agreement was signed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi the then Prime Minister of India and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the then President of Pakistan. The aim of an agreement was to bring the peaceful settlement between both the countries and consequences of 1971 Pak-Indo War. This was the symbol of good relations between India and Pakistan (India, 1972).

According to Simla agreement, two countries were required to end their previous disputes and resolved the matter by peaceful way. The agreement also bounded two countries for the encouragement of durable peace, cooperation, and friendship. It was the guiding principle of two countries and respected the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and non-interference. The following were the guiding principles of the agreement (Rizvi, 2013).

- 2.8.1 All the disputes should be resolved through bilateralism.
- 2.8.2 The linkages built on peoples to people interactions.
- 2.8.3 To protect the authenticity of the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir. This was the basic element of confidence-building measurement (CBM) between two countries.

The governments of India and Pakistan was agreed to follow the Charter of United Nations and required to settle their issues as soon as possible. Both countries would always respect each other's national unity, political independence, territorial integrity, and sovereignty. It was necessary to gradually normalize their differences, and measures would be taken to start their links of communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land, and air links, etc. The proper way of the journey should be started to develop the traveling facilities between two countries. The facility of trade arrangement and economic cooperation would be required to include the other areas. As per agreement,

both the countries agreed to establish the durable peace with the certain conditions that armed forces of India and Pakistan shall be withdrawn to their temporary points. The work of the withdrawal of forces must be started from the date of signing of an agreement and may be completed within thirty (30) days. The Simla agreement would be implemented with effect from the date of its signing of the agreement and would be a binding force between two countries. The government of India and Pakistan decided as “the heads of states will meet in the future with each other as and when they required the services. Similarly, the representatives of the governments would meet to discuss the future, plan of the country and normalized their relations with each other (Rizvi, 2013).

## **2.9 The Age of Reforms**

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced different reforms in the country that he delivered in the first speech held on December 20, 1971.

### **2.9.1 Constitutional Reforms**

Bhutto, after assuming the control of government his priority was the promulgation of the 1973 constitution of Pakistan. The constitution of 1973 was drafted with the consultation of opposition parties. The house approved the draft of 1973 constitution of Pakistan on April 10, 1973. It was enforced in the country on August 14, 1973, based on a parliamentary form of government. The President was to be elected by the members of parliament for five years term and become the head of the state. The president should be a Muslim having 45 years of age. The constitution allowed the bicameral legislature comprising to two Houses, National Assembly and Senate. The members of the National Assembly were directly elected by the peoples of Pakistan for five years term out of 200 seats. The Senate was comprised of 63 seats equally distributed among the four provinces. In each province, there would be a Governor

appointed by the President of Pakistan. The constitution allowed the following composition of seats in the Provincial Assemblies; Punjab 240, Sindh 110, NWFP, (KP) 80, and Balochistan 40 seats. The new constitution approved the free and independent judiciary in Pakistan. The constitution also provided the basic rights to the peoples of Pakistan such as the right to survival, liberty, equality, and freedom of speech, trade, and association (Hussain, 2018).

The constitution of 1973 is more Islamic in character as compared to 1956 and 1962 constitutions of Pakistan. On July 5, 1977, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq imposed the martial law in the country and suspended the 1973 constitution of Pakistan. In 1985, he had passed the eighth amendment in the constitution of Pakistan and ruled the country for eleven years. However, these amendments allowed the President of Pakistan to dissolve the National Assembly under article-58 (2) b and later these amendments were repelled by the government of Nawaz Sharif on April 01, 1997.

### **2.9.2 Nuclear Weapon**

Bhutto laid down the foundation of Pakistan Nuclear Weapon Technology in 1974. It was the result of Bhutto's administrative skill and hegemonic leadership style that led to the development of a nuclear arsenal program. In 1965, he visited the Vienna with well-known Scientist Munir Ahmad Khan. He explained the Bhutto about the status of Indian nuclear program and proposed to develop its nuclear project. Bhutto and Munir Ahmad Khan were agreed to build own nuclear program that would counter the Indian nuclear capability. He started the nuclear project for peaceful settlement purposes (Sultan, 2014).

The various factors forced Bhutto to develop its own nuclear project. India built its own nuclear project. As a result, India became the unchallengeable nuclear power in the region and could be harmful to Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan alliance with other major

powers and her membership in the SEATO and CENTO could not provide the guarantee to its security threat against India. Besides, Pakistan lost its territory in the War of 1971 and some other factors that move Pakistan towards the establishment of nuclear program. These issues were compelled Pakistan security perception keeping in view of India and Bhutto started its nuclear project. India also tested its nuclear device at Pokhran in 1974 (Baqai, 2016).

Bhutto has explained that it was a threat to Pakistan security and said we would build our own nuclear technology in future Insha-Allah. India declared, that “The explosions no military implication and it was a peaceful nuclear blast”. Bhutto explained that India's explosions was a threat to Pakistan integrity and revealed that, *“Pakistan would not accept the state of affairs India's domination over the subcontinent”*. Pakistan nuclear technology seriously influenced its affairs with the neighbor country of India and countered the structure of its developments (Bano, 2015).

The International Atomic Energy Agency has committed to Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission and proposed that to meet the nuclear requirements of Pakistan. In 1974, India nuclear blast create the troubles for Pakistan's peaceful environment. Pakistan continued its endeavor for the growth of nuclear weapons. Bhutto called a meeting of Scientists at Multan on January 20, 1972. Dr. Abdus Salam, an Advisor on Science to the government of Pakistan, Dr. Ishrat Hussain Usmani, Chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Commissions of Pakistan, Dr. Z. A. Hashmani, Secretary Education were attended the meeting (Khalid, 2015).

The senior scientist Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission Munir Ahmad Khan was appointed as Chairman whereas he had developed the Centre for Nuclear Studies to prepare the young nuclear Engineers and Scientists. The Centre has produced

approximately 2000 highly trained and qualified Scientists in the different fields till 1999 (Iram, 2015).

### **2.9.3 Administrative Reforms of 1973**

The government of Pakistan People's Party started the comprehensive reforms in the country and transferred the power to the common peoples of Pakistan. The following are the points of 1973 administrative reforms policy (Kennedy, 2008).

- The matter of service cadres was replaced with the "Occupational Groups"
- The establishment division adopted the unified National Pay Scales and revised the different pay scales.
- The reform discontinued the quota of the elite class family from the civil services of Pakistan.
- The functions of the civil services Academy of Pakistan were closed by the government.
- The establishment division started the combined pre-service training program.
- The government of Pakistan also launched the "creative recruitment" training program.
- The establishment division improved the status of upright group of Civil Services in Pakistan.
- The Government of Pakistan has established the Federal Public Service Commission of Pakistan and changed the existing model of the administration taken from the colonial legacies (Kennedy, 1987).

### **2.10 Major Issues of Reforms**

The following issues were recommended by the administrative reform committee.

- The posts either fall in the jurisdiction of the Secretariat, District Administration, or Economic pool should be reserved for the members of designated service cadres.
- The pay and differences on account of remuneration of officers would be settled on the grounds of the cadre.
- The structure of all services cadres was to be changed.
- The place of civil services of Pakistan including rules of business and powers of CSPs were customized.
- The effective response of the civil service of Pakistan was misleading, useless, and self-important. The matter was to be deal with the highest attention.
- The criteria regarding the provisions of posts in the civil service were changed and placed with the center through the competitive examination.
- The implementation regarding the amalgamation of posts in the same category was to be placed with the other cadre's posts.
- The category of technical posts should arrange technical training for the officers.
- The responsibility of the head of department is that to approve criteria for the promotion of staff from BPS 1 to 16 and officers cadres BPS 17.
- The condition of pre-training was changed by the pre-service training of recruitments to the central superior level.
- The Service Tribunal court was established in the country to deal with the service matter of government servants.
- In 1978, Federal Service Commission was functioning in Pakistan. The purpose of commission was to follow the recruitment process through the competitive examination.

- The role of the establishment division in the entire organization was determined.

The purpose of administrative reform was to improve the civil services structure of Pakistan and necessary to change the structure of previous service and enforced the new administrative reform policy in the country. But unfortunately, the crisis shaped the terrible situation in the country (Shafqat, 1999).

Nevertheless, the quota system of higher level of posts in the civil administration reduced approximately half when Bengali officers were selected for the newly born state of Bangladesh. Indo-Pak War in 1971 created the space for the first civilian elected government of Bhutto. The theme of reforms was to achieve the political goals. Bhutto targeted the powerful civil service of Pakistan. He has desired to provide a better chance to the politicians to achieve these goals and discharged almost 1,300 civil servants and officers of higher ranks in the civil service of Pakistan. The structure of the public service commission was changed. The privileged category of civil services of Pakistan was abolished. All the different cadre posts were merged with one unified cadre.

Bhutto was not in favor of the dominant position of the civil services of Pakistan and desired to withdraw the superiority of the bureaucracy. He stated that civil servants of Pakistan posted at districts as well as provinces levels belonged to the elite class family.

The bureaucracy of the elite class made efforts to stop the growth of the self-government system in the country. Bhutto had desired to hold control over the civil bureaucracy. The 1973 constitution of Pakistan was not provided the guarantee to protect the rights civil servants of Pakistan as compared to the 1962 constitution of Pakistan. According to 1962 constitution of Pakistan, the civil servants of Pakistan have the right to file the suits in the respective courts of law and could defend his/her case. Bhutto has changed the power structure of the government through the administrative reform policy (Group, 2010).

On July 05, 1977, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq overthrows the government Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's and Bhutto's administrative reforms policy could not bring any change in the country. It was stated that the Service Regulation Wing of Pakistan made the observations on the termination of the quota system of recruitment in the country. The commission recommended the proposal for the change of quota from 10% to 20% on merit. However, the proposal was not approved by the Senate as well as the President of Pakistan. Zia abolished the impracticable recruitment policy of Bhutto. The military government also reinstated the civil services of Pakistan who were dismissed by the Bhutto's government. Zia's government inducted military personnel in the bureaucracy. The civil servants of Pakistan appointed during the period of Bhutto's government were sent on retirement and dismissed from their services. These proposals are finalized by government of Zia's through the amendment of civil servants Act of 1973 and passed on July 03, 1980. The amendments allowed the President of Pakistan to remove the civil servants of Pakistan from the services that are appointed or promoted from January 1, 1972, to July 5, 1977. The existing model of the civil services of Pakistan was reviewed by General Pervez Musharraf's government and approved by the National Commission of Pakistan under the guidance of Dr. Ishrat Hussain, Governor State Bank of Pakistan. The committee recommended the four categories of civil services of Pakistan such as Pakistan Railway Service, Pakistan Postal Service, Commerce, Trade Group, and Information Service of Pakistan. The committee recommended that Postal and Railway Service should be the self-governing body and the Service of Information Technology was required to be suspended till further order (Shah, 2018).

## **2.11 Land Reforms**

In 1972, Bhutto introduced the Land Reforms policy all over the country and provided an opportunity to the small level of farmers. He also desired to make the country self-

sufficient and self-independent. He had redistributed the extra-land among the peasant and common masses of the country through the Land Reforms Regulation Act. The theme of land reforms was to reallocate the land to the peasant and small level of farmers. He desired to improve the socio-economic position of the country and improved the economic system of the country in world level (Khan, 1969).

Although, General Muhammad Ayub Khan was also introduced the Land Reform policy in the country, but he was failed to achieve the common goals of the country. The main feature of Bhutto's land reforms was to fix the limits of land ceiling. He had fixed the maximum land ceiling as 150 acres irrigated land and 300 acres un-irrigated land whereas General Muhammad Ayub had fixed the limit of land as 500 acres irrigated land and 1000 un-irrigated land. However, Bhutto's land reforms policy could not bring the positive change in the society. Anyhow, Bhutto improvement includes in the agrarian reform act on January 05, 1977. The agrarian reforms reduced the limit of land from 150 acres to 100 acres and 300 acres to 200 acres (Junejo, 1996).

Bhutto started the different programs for the development of country and proposed the plan for the young generation of the country. He introduced the tax system in the country on the ground of agricultural manufacturing. Due to these initiatives, the big landholders withdraw the ownership of extra-land. As a result, the feudal class becomes his enemies and provision of the land reform has become part of 1977 Act of land. The purpose of land reforms was to reduce the difference between the elite and middle class. He was an energetic young man and most bright statesman of the country. 1977 land reforms Act could not be implemented in the country. He had provided the socio-economic advantages to the masses of country through the gradual reform policy and supported the small level of farmers and tenants (Abideen, 2014).

## 2.12 Educational Reforms

In 1972, Bhutto introduced the new education reform policy in the country. The aim of reforms was to eliminate the illiteracy rate in Pakistan through the co-education system at primary level and started the adult education program in the country for the man and women. According to the reforms policy, all the educational institutions were nationalized. The new policy became a part of 1973 constitution of Pakistan under article-25(A). 1973 constitution of Pakistan explained as "State should provide the free and basic education to all the children's up to elementary level" (Niazi, 2012).

He further nationalized almost 400 Colleges and Schools particularly in the provinces of Sindh and Punjab. The huge number of Schools and Colleges were established in the country. He also established the world-class Universities in Pakistan in the name of Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad in 1967, and Gomal University, Dera Ismail Khan in the Province of NWFP, (KP) on May 01, 1974. He introduced the new criteria for the appointment of qualified teachers in the schools and provided the respectable place to the teachers in the country. He upgraded the various Schools and Colleges in Pakistan. Bhutto's educational reform policy was considered the vital tool for the development of country (Ali, 2013).

Bhutto's nationalized policy could not achieve the goal regarding the expansion of quality education due to overthrow of Bhutto's government by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq in 1977. In 1979, the military government introduced new education reform policy in the country, and it has two distinctive features: first, the Islamization of curriculum and second establishment of local institutions in mosques and Mohallas Schools. The model of mosque Schools in the country was an easier access upto primary education particularly in the poor societies (Parveen, 2008).

## 2.13 Economic Reform

The country faced the different challenges especially the catastrophe of economy at the time of transfer of power to the newly born state of Pakistan and separation of East Pakistan from the West Pakistan in 1971. Bhutto's government faced the problem of devaluation of Pakistani currency. As consequence, the government started the reforms policy in the country and established the economic institution in the name of the Council of Common Interest under article-153, constitution of Pakistan-1973. The functions of Council of Common Interest were to protect the economic interests in all provinces of Pakistan and to manage the economic grievances. He became the Chairman of Council of Common Interest.

The Federal Cabinet Ministers and Provincial Chief Ministers of Pakistan are its members. The Chairman of Planning Commission of Pakistan was responsible to develop the aims and objectives of short-term and long-term economic policies and its achievements. The committee proposed the recommendation to introduce the socialist economic system in the country and commission was failed to start a new economic system in Pakistan. The Planning Commission of Pakistan was remained the least capable institution of Pakistan during the period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The long terms policy consists nuclear plant and Steel Mill of Pakistan. The government of Pakistan also introduced some radical changes in the import and export system of the country. A committee was constituted by the government of Pakistan People Party. The committee will be responsible to develop and assess the role of import policies of the country and its effects on manufacturing and investment. Bhutto's economic reforms policies influenced by socialist ideas and promised for the removal of feudalism in the country (Aslam, 2017).

The main purpose of the economic reform policy was that to adopt the system of nationalization. He started the serious efforts to eliminate the hold of feudalism in Pakistan and its policies bring the ideas of general masses in the society. Bhutto's reforms policies were focused to reduce the limit of 150 acres irrigated land and 300 acres un-irrigated land.

The plan of nationalization was started all over the country in 1972. The followings are the major reforms policies of Bhutto related to nationalization of industries, banks, insurance companies, educational institutions, and other organization, which led towards the transformation and foster of economic growth (Aslam, 2017).

In 1974, Bhutto nationalized all the private banks in the country and got the two (2) billion and nationalized the 300 small manufacturing units. The significance of nationalization was the transfer of ownership and administration from private sector to public sector (Haroon, 2014).

## **2.14 Banking Reforms**

The main objectives of banking reforms were to commercialize all the banks and introduced the system of social relationships. In 1972, the National Credit Consultative Committee was constituted by the government in the country. The purpose of committee was to prepare the plan of 1,560 million bank credit for the private sector to facilitate the poor families and provided the loans to the agricultural sector. As a result, the banks offered more opportunities to the small kind of farmers and businessmen (Raza, 2008).

It was necessary to ensure the 70% institutional loan that should be granted to small landholders having of 12.5 acres or less land. This was the new suggestion of the government for the provision of loan to the small landholders. Due to these measures a huge number of branches of banks were opened in the country and number of branches

increased from 3,295 to 5,727. This was one of the most significant achievements of Bhutto's government. The new infrastructure of bank was shaped in accordance with the targets set after the nationalization of banks. The necessary arrangements were taken for the restoration of economy. After the separation of East Pakistan, the level of exports was increased upto one billion dollars. According to Bhutto's nationalization policy, thirteen banks were takes under the control of governments (Tribune, 2016).

Bhutto nationalized all the commercial banks and established the Banking Council in Pakistan. The functions of Pakistan Banking Council were to monitor the nationalized banks. The arrangements made to improve the standard of lending Industries in the country on top priority basis. The commercial banks played the significant role in the development of country and provided the services to the individuals, small business, and large number of the organizations. These banks performed the roles being a mediator between those banks who had desired to transfer and received the money (Ahmad, 2013).

The other jobs of the commercial banks that to hire the services of financial advisors for the safety of valuable assets and collect the information for business of money, trade, banking, and commerce services. The aim of nationalization was to link the rural area with national and international markets. According to these measures, the banks obtained the new significance position in the social life of rural areas of Pakistan (Shafqat, 1988).

## **2.15 Passport Reforms**

Bhutto's government granted the right of a passport to every citizen of the country and provided the jobs opportunities to the millions of skilled and un-skilled Pakistani masses in the Middle Eastern countries through the signing of bilateral agreement. As a result, the huge numbers of peoples availed the chance from the province of NWFP

(now KP) to work in the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. Bhutto government also hired the services of Pakistani community in London to join the lobby and put the pressure on European governments and improved the rights of expatriated Pakistanis in Europe (Bhutto, 2012).

## **2.16 Foreign Policy**

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, after assuming the control of government, preferred to normalize his relations with India and offered the dialogue to resolve the issue by peacefully between the India and Pakistan. In 1972, the representatives of both the countries met at Rawalpindi and discussed the agenda item.

As a result, Pakistan and India signed an agreement on July 02, 1972. Pakistan assured to normalize the bilateral relations and similarly to settle the conflicts before 1971 Indo Pak War. During the period of 1970 and 1980, Pakistan faced some major issues at local as well as in international level. Under these circumstances, Muslim countries provided the huge support to Pakistan and played the significant role to resolve the issues by a successful way. In 1974, India became a nuclear power and Pakistan faced the serious challenges mainly relates to security. Due to these situations, the Muslim countries supported the Pakistan against Indian (Bhutto, 1965).

A huge number of Ministerial Conferences of the Muslim countries were held in Pakistan. It was the result of Bhutto's foreign policy towards the Muslim countries. If anyone compared the foreign policy of Pakistan during the period of 1971-1977, one can easily understand that this was the era of Bhutto, who strengthened the relations of Pakistan particularly with the Middle East. Bhutto's attachment with the Muslim World encouraged the religious sector of the country that demanded the teaching of Islam in the society. On the grounds of these sentiments, the United States put the pressure on Bhutto due to supporting of Jamait-i-Islami by Saudi Arabia. These factors changed the

directions of country in favor of the Islamic system. The teaching of Islam became a vital part of Bhutto's government, particularly the foreign policy making process (Raza, 2008).

This was not specifically the result of Bhutto's diplomatic skill but was the dare need of the country. As a result, the harmonious relations were required to be developed with the Muslim countries. This new development of foreign linkages recognized the significant achievement and General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq also followed the same policy. The foreign policy of Bhutto's during the period of (1971-77) was remained the symbol of a developed country. He highlighted the importance of relationships with the foreign countries and promotes the interests of the nation with other countries. He rebuilt the image of Pakistan in the hearts of peoples and negotiated the consequences of 1971 Indo-Pak War (Simla, 1972).

He normalized their relationships with Soviet Union and withdraws the membership of Pakistan from SEATO and CENTO. He had developed the close relationships with Muslim countries, mainly Saudi Arabia and believed in the independent foreign policy of Pakistan. Bhutto being a Foreign Minister of Pakistan had developed the relations with Iran on the ground of sound footing. As a result, Iran provided the military support to Pakistan and improved the Sino-Pak linkages with the People's Republic of China (Alam, 2004).

In 1974, Bhutto organized the second Summit of Organization of Islamic Conference at Lahore and invites all the head of states across the world. He was a great supporter of Muslim countries and emerged as a key leader of the country. Bhutto being a chairman of the (OIC) chaired the Conference of Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Foreign Ministers of the different countries. The arrangements of second OIC in Pakistan was considered the great achievement of Bhutto in foreign policy of Pakistan.

The foreign office of Pakistan launched the different measures to improve the policy of Pakistan with the Muslim countries under the leadership of Bhutto's. He was the guardian of bilateralism to develop their relationships with Muslim world and maintained the cordial relations with other countries (Khan, 2013).

He assists to promote the Arab cause in every corner of the world mainly to raise the question of Palestine from grass root level to worldwide level. He also remained faraway to avoid from such type of circumstances that would create the conflicts among the Muslim countries. He offered the support to Muslim minorities' community of the Non-Muslim States and approached the Muslim countries to participate in the noble cause (Babar, 1990).

## **2.17 Balochistan Crisis**

In 1970, the first general elections were held in the country wherein Pakistan People's Party got the victory of seats in the elections. On the other hands, National Awami Party of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam of Pakistan obtained majority of seats in the provinces of NWFP (KP) and Balochistan. Anyhow, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the Civil Chief Martial Law Administrator, President and Prime Minister of Pakistan (Gulshan, 2014).

He desired to establish a constant and powerful government in the country with the help of winner political parties. In 1972, Bhutto signed an agreement with the National Awami Party and Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam of Pakistan and resolved the matters with certain commitments. These issues relate to the appointment of Governors in Balochistan and NWF (KP) with the consultation of the Pakistan People's Party and Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam. The Martial Law imposed in the country was to be lift and finalized the draft of 1973 constitution of Pakistan. Parliamentary form of government was established in the country. The decision for the withdrawal of armed forces from

the province of Balochistan was implemented and prisoners of Bloch were released. The federal government of Pakistan should compensate the effectives that have been suffered in the resistance. Anyhow, the movement was failed due to the separation of power within the groups. The other reason for the failure of Baloch lobby was the lack of external support. (Hashim, 2014).

In 1973, the rebellion was started by the key forces such as Baloch Peoples Liberation Front, Tribal guerillas, and Bloch Student Organization wherein the Baloch Peoples Liberation Front was remained active and powerful. The government of Pakistan started the efforts to resolve the issue relates to education, health, and poverty. He also introduced the Aghaze-Huqooq-e-Balochistan package for the peoples of Balochistan. The initiatives were taken with the true spirit and an opportunity was given to the local peoples to involve them in the numerous development projects. However, there was a need to establish a durable and long terms policy for the implementation of law and order in the country (Khan, 2014).

## **2.18 My Dearest Daughter**

The Supreme Court of Pakistan issued a verdict against him on February 6, 1979 and allowed me seven days to appeal wherein the court dismissed my appeal on March 24, 1979. Anyhow, the former President of Pakistan, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq continued the death sentence of Bhutto's. His son Murtaza Bhutto and daughter Benazir Bhutto makes serious efforts for the release of his/her father. As regards, Colonel Gaddafi of Libya also sent his Prime Minister Abdul Salam Jalloud to Pakistan on emergent visit and to hold a talked with Pakistani military high-ups about the release of Bhutto's. But, President of Pakistan, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq refused the request of Prime Minister Jalloud of Libya. He shocked him and publicly sympathized with Bhutto's family over the great demise of Bhutto. Before hanging, Bhutto delivered

a final speech and saying these words, "Oh Lord, help me for ... I am innocent". Bhutto was hanged at Central Jail Rawalpindi on April 4, 1979 and was buried in his native town Garhi Khuda Baksh in Larkana Sindh (Bhutto, 2007).

The research examined the Bhutto's early life, education background and political career and different reforms in the country during the period of (1971-77). The research has described the role of Bhutto's from his early childhood to death sentence.

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## **CHAPTER- 3**

### **ROLE OF ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO AS AN INDIVIDUAL IN FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the study has explained the role of Bhutto's in foreign policy making with reference to Pakistan-United States Relations (1971-77) and its significance. The role of various factors involved in foreign policy process and its determinants. The impact of foreign linkages, and how, individuals determined the foreign policy making process.

#### **3.2 Definition of Foreign Policy**

The foreign policy is the driving force of a country in its interaction with other countries. It is the part of domestic policy which runs the affairs of country with other countries. Furthermore, it is the instrument of foreign linkages that achieves the objectives of the state and moved toward the development of country.

The term "foreign policy" has defined by numerous authors such as Padelford and Lincoln. "Foreign policy is the key element in the process by which a state explains its common goals and its concrete way of action to attain the objectives (Snippet, 1976)."

C. C. Rodee has explained the different steps of foreign policy as "foreign policy involves in the process of formulation and its implementation in which the principles shape the behaviors of a state and negotiates the matters with other country to protect its vital interests (Rodee, 1976)."

Joseph Frankel explains as foreign policy "consists of decisions and actions which involved to some level of relations between each other's states (Frankel, 1968)." It further explained by Hugh Gibson as "foreign policy is a well-rounded, comprehensive

plan of the country, based on individual knowledge and experience, who conduct the business of government with the rest of the world. The purpose was to promote the vital interests of the nation and its understanding towards the other countries (Gibson, 1944). The foreign policy is a “set of principles, belief and its interaction with other countries”. The foreign policy has described by George Modelski as, “The structure of the state was developed by the individual to change the behaviors of other states and takes the action accordingly” (Modelski, 1962).

The country has certain its needs and requirements to develop her relations with other countries. The aim of linkages was to develop the relationship with other countries and protects the challenges faced by the other country. The foreign policy means anything above the state, where the country has no control over its territory and masses. Furthermore, foreign policy means objectives, values, and various elements the country has required to develop their relations with other states. Hugh Gibson defined foreign policy as it is an inclusive plan based on knowledge and experience.

The country has maintained its interaction with other states and promotes the vital interests of the country. The foreign policy is the tool of country to develop its relations with other countries. The role of an individual in the foreign policy-making process is very important. Cecil V Crab has explained that foreign policy while "reducing to its most key ingredients of foreign policy comprises to national interests and objectives of the state. The objectives of state could be achieved by the usage of tools based on state to state. The foreign policy is the process of development to connects with other country as per needs and requirements.

According to Keith and Morrison, foreign policy may be defined as “a set of clear objectives of the state beyond the borders of a given social unit and a set of plans and tactics shaped to achieve the goals” (James, 1977).

The foreign policy may be defined as a specific plan of a state that improves the national interest of a state. In simple words, we can say foreign policy is a process of development of its linkages with other states to protect the national interest of country by using of appropriate way at world level.

The foreign policy tells us how a country would do their affairs with other countries and developed their connections in different areas such as economics, political and military.

### **3.3 Foreign Policy-Making Process**

The foreign policy making process is the most significant role of the individual who makes the foreign policy of his/her country with other countries. It is difficult to define the single factor of foreign policy which could affect the foreign policy making process of the country. It is a very complex issue, vary from state to state. The achievements of goals are considered as the sole objectives of the state.

After World War-II, many states are become independent to maintain the international peace, security, and makes its efforts to establish the friendly relationships with other countries. The country usually examined the day-to-day affair of the country such as economic, military, and international linkages with other countries (Hermann, 1990).

If we desired to understand the future, plan of a country's we need to understand the different types of objectives such as short range, middle range, and long-range. These objectives are the ingredient of national interests such as geography, population, natural resources, economic and military power of a country. The second variable of foreign policy is the domestic environment which plays a vital role in the development of country. These variables are examined by the masses of the country when appropriate decisions were taken place. It has explained that political system of the country runs by the leader of a country and required the support from the policymakers to develop the

effective policy of country. The following ingredients are the parts of policy influences in a democratic form of government such as public opinions, political parties, interest, pressure groups, and bureaucracy, etc. David S. Wilkinson has discussed in his book "Theory and Practice of International Relations" the objectives of foreign policy has considered the tools of the national building. Herbert C. Kelman has described the role of individual in foreign policy-making process of the country.

"The foreign policy of a country relates to the activities of human behaviors" (Kelman, 2011). The major objectives of the government are to strengthen the national capability, mainly the economic stability, industrial and military power. The theme was to achieve its goals and national interests. So that he has developed the cordial relationships with the Muslim countries and becomes the leader of the Muslim countries.

The foreign policy of developed countries plays the significant roles in policy formation and their development. This is essential for every country to assess the policy formulation and its achievements. If an individual desired to obtain its goals, then it needs to design the effective foreign policy of the country in a proper way. The foreign policy is the result of state interaction at national level which signifies the importance of the country (Edoy, 2019).

The famous scholar K. J. Holsti (1970) has explained the objectives of foreign policy "as a plan of a state and is signed by the individual on behalf of state". The following are the main objectives of foreign policy-making process.

### **3.4 Short Range Objectives**

In this category, the individual has obtained the common goals of the country at any time, got the autonomy and sovereignty to shape the foreign policy of the country. The following things are the parts of foreign policy such as ideology, morals, etc.

The sovereignty, autonomy, national interests, and territorial integrity are the objectives of the country and individual makes its efforts to achieve him. As a result, the individual obtained the freedom and sovereignty, to shape the internal and external foreign policy of the country. Besides, the defense and national interest are the most important elements of the state. In short-range objectives, the time frame has not fixed by the government (Bojang, 2018).

### **3.5 Middle-Range Objectives**

In this category, the objectives of the state are less important, it depend on the ally. For instance, in 1979, Pakistan has joined the Non-alignment Movement to draw its relationships with the United States and Western countries. It is stated that Pakistan has signed the SEATO and CENTO for long times, but it could not achieve him.

In this type of objectives, the individual has obtained the support from the other countries and determined the economic position of the country. The economics stability may be gained through the launching of an effective foreign policy of the country. In this category, public participations have considered a major part of foreign policy.

The successive foreign policy acquires the economic stability and move towards the development of country.

Holsti divided the middle range objectives in three categories, such as social welfare and human wellbeing, economics stability and technical expertise may be achieved through the involvement of leader, who legalize the domestic constraints and needs of the state. The second type is the military strength, industrial development, scientific and technological has become the parts of national interest of the country. The third type is the self-extension of territory which is the key objectives of the country. Although sometimes, the objectives of the state could not meets its requirement to remain active

for the achievement of objectives. These objectives are focused for the development of country (Shaltout, 2018).

### **3.6 Long-Range Objectives**

The long-range objectives are commonly designed for an unlimited period. In this category, the following are the parts of foreign policy such as non-alignment, disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and military alliance. It is difficult to define the specific element of the state because it links with the ideology and geo-political situation of the country and no time frame is fixed by an individual and they are less important (Bindra, 1988).

During the inter-war and post-war period, the United States followed the policy of isolation and emerged as the leading country of the world on the grounds of its military might, economic stability, and national hold. All the functions are done by the individual on the grounds of long-range objectives.

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947, on the grounds of an ideology and explained the political, social, cultural, and economic system of the country. Hitler defined the ideology as "the ideology of a nation" which recognized by the peoples". He has further explained the entity of the German nation and its culture as compared to other countries. His aimed to spread the ideology of nation in the entire world. The human behaviors of individual left the negative impact on the achievement of foreign policy objectives. It has stated that human behavior and moral values proved the evidence of foreign policy development (Goldsmith, 2000).

The economic and military strength of the country always supported the characteristic of foreign policy-making process. The geo-strategic position of the country plays a vital role on the development of foreign policy-making process. The government of Pakistan has desired to develop its relations with the People's Republic of China and explained

the geo-strategic position of Pakistan. The foreign policy of Pakistan makes its efforts to change the population growth rate of the country and started the different measures to stop the fast-growing tendency.

### **3.7- Foreign Policy of Pakistan**

The foreign policy of Pakistan has designed on the ground of its history, geographical situation, and aspiration of the masses. It has comprised on the regional level and as well as global level issues. The founder of Pakistan commonly preferred the sensible foreign policy of the country.

The following are the basic features of Pakistan foreign policy:

3.7.1 To develop the cordial relationships with all the countries, particularly with the Muslim, Countries.

3.7.2 To safeguard the vital security issue and geo-strategic position of the country.

3.7.3 To resolve the issues of Jammu and Azad Kashmir, as resolution passed by the United Nations, Security Council.

3.7.4 To promote the status of Pakistan as stable dynamics, progressive reasonable, and Islamic country.

3.7.5 To promote the economic system and common interest of Pakistan.

3.7.6 To protect the interest of the immigrant Pakistani community living abroad.

### **3.8 The Foreign Policy of Quaid**

First time, the foreign policy of Pakistan was developed by the founder of Pakistan in February 1948 and said:

“The foreign policy of Pakistan is one of the friendless and goodwill towards all the country of the world. We do not want to establish a destructive type of policy against any country. We believed in the principle of honesty and fair dealings with other

countries to make the utmost contribution for the development of the nation" (Rai, 1981).

The principle of Pakistan foreign policy has designed by the founder of Pakistan according to the aspiration of the masses. The foreign policy of Pakistan provided the equal opportunity to the dominant class.

### **3.9- Foreign Policy Making Agencies- A Detail of Administrative Troika**

#### **3.9.1 The President**

The President of Pakistan holds the supreme authority in the federation wherein he had decided the foreign matters in consultation with the Prime Minister or Cabinet. However, all the key responsibility of foreign policy arrangements and its implementation are taken by the Cabinet or Prime Minister and just only reported to the President of Pakistan for its approval (Hussain, 2004).

According to the Rules of Business, the President of Pakistan is fully authorized to withdraw the proposal of Prime Minister under article-16, Rules of Business defines that all types of proposals, agreement with foreign countries including diplomatic matters, reported to the Cabinet before its submission to the President of Pakistan. The Cabinet has the right to consider the matters relates to politic, economic and administration and holds the supreme authority in the policy formulation and decision making, as per Rules of Business (Pakistan, 2017).

#### **3.9.2 The Prime Minister**

The Prime Minister of Pakistan holds the supreme authority in foreign policy making. All the executive power used and practiced by the Prime Minister and just only communicates the matters to the President of Pakistan for its approval.

### **3.9.3 The Chief of the Army Staff**

The Chief of army staff plays a significant role in foreign policy-making process particularly in the security matters. The foreign policy of the country directly links with its vital national interest of the country and no part of the foreign linkages will be done without the clearance of national security agencies. The geo-political situation of Pakistan based on national security interests. The Pakistan foreign office could not forward the case to Prime Minister of Pakistan without the clearance of Pakistan military and its intelligence agencies. The State Department of the United States could not entertain the security matter of any country without its clearance from the intelligent services.

According to history of Pakistan, the foreign policy of Pakistan shaped by “civil-military with the combination of civil power”, that reflects the preference and interests of our ruling elite class and other interest groups. The equilibrium of power between public and military bureaucracy has been changed with the passage of time. Pakistan armed forces had denied the supreme dominance position to highest institution of the country (Ahmad. 2014).

### **3.9.4 Parliament**

According to parliamentary form of government, the legislative Shura/bodies have elected the Prime Minister of Pakistan through the majorities of votes in the National Assembly. The Prime Minister of Pakistan headed the cabinet division which had accountable to the National Assembly. The cabinet has the right to remove the Prime Minister of Pakistan through a vote of no confidence. The Senate of Pakistan also plays a vital role in the smooth functioning of the parliament. However, in a parliamentary form of government, the Prime Minister of Pakistan has become the executive head of the government and would affect the foreign policy of the country. 1973 constitution of

Pakistan has fully authorized the parliament in policy formation and its implementation. It is stated that policy arrangements and its implementation always finalized by the executive. According to the history of Pakistan, the parliament failed to play a major role in policy shaping and its implementation as the civilian government were frequently overthrown by the military Junta at different times (Niazi,2012).

### **3.9.5 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

The Ministry of Foreign affairs plays a key role in foreign policy-making process and deals all the matters relates to foreign office. The Ministry of Foreign affairs always consults matter with the relevant divisions as and when required their services. However, the following are the divisions such as Aviation, Communication, Commerce, Economic Affairs, Education, Finance, Food, Information, and Culture, Defense. These Ministries/Divisions would play a significant role in foreign policy-making process. On department level, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by the Foreign Secretary and supported by the Additional Secretaries. The President of Pakistan, Ambassadors and other heads of the department run the matters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Pakistan foreign office always consults the concerned Pakistani Ministry and Missions in abroad. The summary of foreign affairs directly sent to the Foreign Minister and Prime Minister through the Secretary of Foreign affairs. Simultaneously, Foreign Office consults the matters with the other Ministries/Divisions. However, the matter relates to important nature of job, the case may be sent to concern Ministries/Divisions for its review before submission to Prime Minister/Cabinet division of Pakistan. Whenever the matter is required under the Rules of Business, it would be placed before the cabinet for its approval.

### **3.10 Principles of Pakistan Foreign Policy**

- 3.10.1 Peaceful Co-existence
- 3.10.2 Non-Alignment
- 3.10.3 United Nations Charter
- 3.10.4 Bilateralism
- 3.10.5 Support to Right of Self-determination
- 3.10.6 Unity of the Muslim World
- 3.10.7 De-weaponization
- 3.10.8 Establishment of Peace
- 3.10.9 Good Relations with the Neighbors
- 3.10.10 International and Regional Cooperation
- 3.10.11 Objectives of Pakistan's Foreign Policy
- 3.10.12 Safeguard of National Integrity
- 3.10.13 Economics Development
- 3.10.14 National Honor
- 3.10.15 Respect for International Law
- 3.10.16 Association with the Muslim Countries

### **3.11- Bilateralism**

- 3.11.1 Non-Aligned
- 3.11.2 Withdrawal of Pakistan: from the Membership of the Commonwealth and SEATO
- 3.11.3 Pakistan became a member of Non-Alignment in 1979.
- 3.11.4 Bangladesh becomes independence state in 1971.
- 3.11.5 East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan and become an independent state in the name of Bangladesh.

3.11.6 The Simla agreement was signed by Pakistan and India for a peace settlement.

3.11.7 Pakistan established a friendly relationship with China.

3.11.8 The Prime Minister of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto visited the United States in order to strengthen Pakistan's relationship with others.

3.11.9 Due to Pakistan's nuclear program and the burning of the US embassy, the Relationships of Pakistan with the United States reached the lowest point.

### **3.12 Kashmir Issues**

3.12.2 Three Wars were fought by Pakistan and India on Kashmir, i.e., 1947, 1965 & 1971.

3.12.3 Pakistan argued that international community mainly the United Nations and superpower would play a key role on the Kashmir issue and can compel India to respect human rights.

3.12.4 More-than 65,000 Kashmiri peoples were kill and 90,000 peoples were missing.

### **3.13 Elements of the Foreign Policy**

3.13.1 The political association of the country greatly influences the foreign policy and plays a key role in the development of foreign policy-making process.

3.13.2 The political instability of the country may affect the foreign policy process.

3.13.3 The individual also plays a key role in policy formation.

The superpower may triumph the world politics and will affect the foreign policy of the country.

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

The following are the determinants of foreign policy that could affect the behaviors of the state.

### **3.14.1 Ideology**

The ideology is the key factor in foreign policy-making process. The foreign policy of Pakistan was established on the grounds of its ideology of Islam. Ideology is a system of belief which explains and justifies the preferred political order, in which we have served our lives according to the ideology of Pakistan. The Ideology is a motivating force of a country that moves towards the development of nation. Furthermore, the ideology of Pakistan is based on Islam. It was the result of Hindu and British mistreatment of the Muslims in the Sub-Continent. The foreign policy of Pakistan defined by the founder of Pakistan "We did not demand Pakistan to acquire a piece of land, but we wanted a separate homeland where we could follow the Islamic principles". Pakistan developed its relations with Muslim countries on the ground of ideology. The purpose was to establish an Islamic State where the supremacy of Allah Almighty could be enforced. In Pakistan, approximately 85% of populations were Muslims and devoted to Islam. The core principle of Pakistan's foreign policy was the protection of Muslim culture and civilization from the Hindu domination (Rabbani, 2014).

### **3.14.2 Geographical Location**

Geography is another important characteristic of Pakistan's foreign policy which explains the physical position of the country. The well-known Greek philosopher Aristotle had given the preference to the physical location of the country. According to him, the earth surface of the land could affect the regional and global level of issues. The other famous scholar Morgenthau has also discussed the significance of geography. He stated that basic ingredients of the geography are the location, size, topography, climate, and natural resources. The position of a country is considered as the key feature of geography. It is a geographical part of the foreign policy which could not be ignored.

The location of the country is the most powerful element of foreign policy (Robinson, 1989).

The size of the country is another vital feature of geography which relates to the geographical position of a country. Each country has the rights to claim the control over its air space above the land. The climate circumstances of a country are an important variable in the perspective of the geopolitical condition of a country. As far as, the climate situation of the state is concerned, these are the best seasons and enough rainfall in Pakistan which has design the foreign policy of a state. Besides, the rivers and sea are also become meaningful for the strengthening of ports of a country and their transportation to another country. The rivers are also useful for production of energy, and irrigation facilities of the state. The policy makers of countries are better known about the benefits and significance of natural resources of the country. The foreign policy process might be helpful to keep intact the external sovereignty. The economic growth of the country is a part of the international foreign aid program, which has a great effect on the formulation of the foreign policy process. The policymakers always remained active to cater the needs of the country and its possible support (Brian, 2006).

### **3.14.3 The Role of Bureaucracy**

The bureaucracy of Pakistan would play the significant role in foreign policy-making process. The bureaucracy holds the administrative set up in the country. The purpose of bureaucracy was to maintain law in order situation in the country. The function of bureaucracy is likely to develop a common attitude and collective approach towards the promotion of Pakistan foreign policy. The behaviors and a combined effort of the individual have played a major role in the formation of the foreign policy of the country. According to the bureaucratic model, bureaucracy contributes a valuable suggestion for the development of the foreign policy process through the power-sharing structure

between the state and government. In this time bureaucratic model was applied in Cuban Missile or October crises in 1962 (Ahmad, 2017).

Allison has described the Cuban missile crises in three ways. First, government's actions and its performance move towards the decision of the state and its implementation. Secondly, the theory enlightens the decision of state as a, result of organizational output. It has explained the nature of organization, based on standard operational procedures. The third model has focused on the issue of politics inside the government. Wherein the author has discussed the real position of the crisis and United State of America was agreed with Cuba about the withdrawal of the Soviet missile from Cuba. It was the result of discussion and debate with President of Kennedy who had forwarded the decision, and how to deal the Cuban missile crisis installed at Cuba by the Soviet forces which are harmful for the United States. The President of the United States has given some suggestions and controlled the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is the main institution of the state and its roles mainly relate to policy implementation. So that, role of bureaucracy is most important body of the state just like the foreign policy of the country. The major feature involved in the foreign policy-making process such as debate, dialogue, conflict, and compromises (Smith, 1980).

### **3.14.4 Domestic Environment**

The internal environment of the country directly linked with the foreign linkages of the other countries. The nature of interaction among the policy configurations and decision making quickly has changed with the passage of time. The former Secretary of the United States of America i.e., Hennery A. Kissinger quoted that" foreign policy begins where domestic policy ends". He explained that this theory is only valid for a constant period. The study has focused on the process of world politics to develop the reasonable strength of their relationships at national level as well as in international arena. It has

assumed that usually local and foreign factors are involved in the foreign policy-making process. It has explained that policy formulation process of the developing countries are related to international systems. In the past, the feudal period of the relationships dominates the policy whereas, in the traditional period, the decision makers are influence the policy. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the leaders of the least developing countries have required the needs of other developed countries (Star, 1980).

According to James Roseau, one should not ignore the combined effects of the relationships domestic level as well as at international level. The purpose of the study was to analyze the process of world politics in, order to develop an equal opportunity at the internal and external levels. It has further explained that foreign policies design the single political order in the country. The internal arrangement of the country plays a major role in the foreign policy-making process (Bojang, 2018).

### **3.14.5 Political Organization**

When political parties come to power and become the part of government machinery. It has directly involved in foreign policy-making process and played an important role in policy development.

In Pakistan, there is a multi-party system in the country and only a winner political party doing the services. In a single party system, the decision is made by the party leadership and its approval is just like routine matters. The foreign policy guidelines are received through the numerous organs of the government. Leaders play all the major roles in governmental set up and all the members are collectively responsible to the peoples. In a democratic form of government, the political parties are directly accountable to the public. The foreign policy participation always based on the assumption of contribution (King, 1986).

The foundation of a political party was laid down on the grounds of party ideology that identifies the party goal. In a democratic form of government, the role of political parties is very essentials, and depends on the activities of political parties during their period. In the world, no system of government is complete without the presence of political parties. The successful foreign policy of a country depends on the performance of political parties. After the death of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, no one political leader of Pakistan was capable to smoothly runs the affairs of country except the Bhutto who was the second one, who built the country on the right path (Bhutto,2002).

### **3.14.6 Public Opinion**

The Public opinion provided help to the policymakers during the period of policy formulation. The term “public opinion” first used by Machiavelli and stated that a nice man will not ignore the public opinion in this regard. Another scholar Leonard W. Doob argued that “public opinion” refers to people’s behavior in a specific issue. The following were the types of public opinion. The first category relates to people behaviors in particular state. The second category based to a small group of people wherein they commonly discussed the issues and decisions of the foreign policy. The third category relates to the elite's class who has provided the helped to small level of leadership purview and a draft of policymakers.

In an authoritarian type of government, the public opinion holds the no significance and seriously affects the process of foreign policy as well as in the decision making. In principally, leaders hold the superiority in favor of their own vested interest and party interests to obtain the public supports and enforce their policies. The public opinion played a major role in the development of the country and sometimes, public opinion

depends on the behaviors of leaders. In 1960, President Kennedy of the U.S shows a keen interest in the maintenance of cordial relationships with China (Hauer, 2017).

It depends on the support of people opinions. Jenson explained the following points about public opinion.

1. The public opinions are not incorporated in the foreign policy process.
2. The public opinions flexible maneuvered and it would be used for the purpose of bargaining chip between the states.
3. Only organized public opinions greatly affect the foreign policy of the country.
4. The development of masses opinions may attack the decision makers.

For sometimes, the interests of the masses were included in the policy formulation process and its implementation became the part of foreign policy decision. It is very important to note, that most of the peoples are lived in Pakistan but they have cannot know about the development of foreign linkages. They are unaware of the global level of events and only promote the matters of key importance in the state (Jenson, 1982).

### **3.14.7 International Political Environment**

The current era of international politics is comprised of an historical idea as well as on the modern technique. The numerous developments are incorporated in the modern period. The patterns of world politics are different from the traditional politics. A huge number of technologies are emerged in world politics and focused on the incoming challenges of the country. Due to the development of new knowledge, the behavior of global politics was changed. The new independence states are emerged and became valuable to other state. In world politics, the two things are most important, role of government and non-state actor. The background of world politics changes the process of policy making and experts always follow the optimistic approach towards the achievement of country goals. The outcome of the foreign policy process depends upon

the national interest. The policy formulators achieved the goals on the grounds of cultural value and historical events (Hoffmann, 2009).

### **3.14.8 The Relationships of Pakistan with Others**

Pakistan has established the cordial relationships with China, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Gulf countries. Pakistan has complicated and conflicting relationships with the United States. The relations between Pakistan and Russia were improved over the past year. This was a major development of Pakistan in the foreign policy-making process (Khan, 2015).

### **3.15 The Role of Individual in Foreign Policy Making**

The individual plays an important role in foreign policy making when he/she initiates the policy of country to secure the national interest and integrity of the state. This study has focused on Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's role in the foreign policy making. He designed the foreign policy of the country according to the needs and integrity of Pakistan. The individual is responsible to shape, organize and implement state affairs in the best interest of country. The role of individual in developing countries is less important as compared to developed countries. In the authoritarian type of government, the role of an individual is different. The behavior of individual had left a great impact in the process of foreign policy making of the country (Bhutto, 1968).

The personal behavior and experience of the individual has recognized the reality of foreign policy making of the country. The behavior of individual with the supporting staff keeps the binding force in the decision-making process of the country and leaves a great impact on the country. The individual would play significant role in the foreign policy-making process and determined its roles within the government structure. The role of an individual in decision making process is very crucial because it shows the significance of policy formulation. The institution also provides enough support and

information in the decision making to the individual and shows the importance of decision making. The following are the characteristics of the individual such as personality, political style, intellectualism, and past experienced, etc. Margaret G. Hermann also explained as "the individual is responsible to influence the performance of foreign policy" (Adnan, 2014).

Pakistan under the leadership of Bhutto declared the significant nature of a policy and his new approach towards the establishment of independent foreign policy played an important role to relinquish the Sheikh Mujeeb-ur- Rehman from the politics. In 1972, Bhutto held meeting with Indira Gandhi at Simla and had an obvious understanding of the normalization of relationships. After Indo-Pak War (1971), Bhutto has desired to reshape the foreign policy of country with new paradigm. Bhutto's significant achievement was the withdrawal of Pakistan from the Commonwealth of Nations. In this regard, Bhutto developed a policy of Bilateralism and friendly relationships with the Muslim countries. Furthermore, he had developed the affable linkages with the following countries such as Saudi-Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Qatar. He became the popular figure of Pakistan and dominant leader of the developing countries (Ziring, 1978).

He also organized the second Islamic Summit Conference at Lahore in 1974. Almost the heads of states and representatives of the countries participated in the Conference. The major achievement of the Conference was to give an opportunity to the recognition of Bangladesh as an independent state. The purpose was to unite the Muslims at one platform (Ali, 1974).

### **3.16 The Role of Individual in World Affairs**

Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto play a significant role in the world affairs of developing countries. Both the leaders have desired to initiate the positive efforts in

connection with the establishment of cordial relations with other. These arrangements need to bring a positive change in the economic stability and cultural exchange. After the lapse of (10) years, India and Pakistan were agreed to restore the past diplomatic relations, such as the release of territory and re-opening of railway links. Before the implementation of these initiatives, India released the 93,000 officers, soldiers, and civilian prisoners of War (POWs).

But unfortunately, these events ended with the fall of Indira Gandhi. In the follow up, the Indo-Pak War of 1971 gave way to the socio-economic challenges and used the delaying tactics. The political conspiracy was not the solution of hurdles used by Indira Gandhi. As a result, the government has lost the popularity and provided the chance to the opposition (Gill, 2014).

In 1975, the government of Bhutto was not in positions to manage the affairs of country with its existing problem, and he had developed the independent foreign policy of the country. Bhutto's foreign policy marked the label of "Bilateralism". He declared that Pakistan would withdraw the membership of Southeast Treaty Organization. He also withdrawn the membership of Commonwealth of Nations and became the winner of friendship linkages with Iran and Turkey. Moreover, he had formed the Eastern Alliance of the Muslim and made its efforts for the cause of Iran and Turkey. He was influenced by Mao Zedong's policies and started the agricultural reforms in the country (Raza, 1997).

He was considered the second leader of Pakistan after the death of Quaid-i-Azam and minimizes the tensions with the neighboring countries. Bhutto was the man of honor and graduate political leader of the country and had a vast experience in the field of politics. He was entirely different from the other politicians on the ground of literary person and the author of numerous books. He was considered the remarkable leader of

the country who attempted to put the country on sound footing place. He was not an ordinary man and did not hesitate to explain the diplomatic matters of the country and had a broader experience in international level (Zahoor, 2017).

He was the founder of bilateralism and focused on the leading principles of Pakistan foreign policy and approached the United States to maintain the equilibrium of power with Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan had obtained the enough military and economic support from China and established the vital relationships with nuclear countries such as Canada and France.

In this regard, he received the huge military and economic support from Iran and examined the core issue of Pakistan foreign policy (Kaushik, 1985).

In 1976, Bhutto published the articles of 'Bilateralism-New directions' and recognized that Bilateralism as the core principle of Pakistan foreign policy. The other aspect of Pakistan foreign policy was the unity and solidarity among the Afro-Asian countries. This new approach has labeled as "nuclear-free peace zones and economic order of the developing countries". In 1976, Bhutto submitted an outline for "Third World Mobilizations" and scheduled a conference of developing countries in Pakistan. He was elected as chairman of G-77 of United Nations and explained the importance of conference that would bring the positive change in country (Bhutto, 1976).

### **3.17 Pakistan's Relations with South Asian Countries**

Bhutto followed the principle of bilateralism and attempted to restore the relations with the People's Republic of China and desired to maintain an equal relationship with the United States and Soviet Union. The purpose was to gain the political and economic strengthening in the country and developed the close relationships with South Asian countries mainly with Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bhutan on the grounds of bilateralism.

However, he informed the ruling class of countries to challenge the domination of superpower, (Farooq, 2017).

### **3.18 Pakistan Relations with Global Powers**

Bhutto desired to form the policy of bilateralism to promote the linkages with the following countries such as Soviet Union, United States, United Kingdom, France, and Peoples of the Republic of China. The Pakistan-United States relationships did not remain vibrant to bring any change in the country until 1973. The newly elected President of United States Jimmy Carter also approached the French government to stop nuclear supply to Pakistan. As consequence, Bhutto withdrew all the activities with the United States. The relationship of Pakistan with the Soviet Union remained pleasant in the following fields such as cultural, scientific and trade. However, the Soviet leader claimed that Bhutto was a real leader of the developing countries. It is stated the United States, China, and the Soviet Union understood the approach of "bilateralism" and its solution of problems in the sub-continent. He had developed the close linkages with People' of the Republic of China and further recognized China as a "trustworthy friend of Pakistan". As a result, China provided the arms support to Pakistan and helped Pakistan in the Kashmir issue (Dar, 2016).

In 1974, Pakistan has got the \$ 300 million military supports from China including the military equipment and other things such as MIG-19, T-54, and T-59 tanks and automatic rifles and machine guns. He preferred to make the relationships with China and withdrew from the membership of SEATO and CENTO. In 1971, China further agreed to provide the amount of Rs. 1,000 million interest-free loans to Pakistan for the long term. In addition to 540 million, it agreed to cancel \$ 110,000,000 Debt as the result of 1965 Indo-Pak War. During the period of 1965-75, Pakistan has obtained the enough arms support from China. Bhutto's relationships with the United Kingdom and

France were remained cordial during his period. He decided to withdraw from the Commonwealth and expanded the diplomatic, cultural and trade relationships with the United Kingdom. In 1976, he has signed a bilateral agreement with France to improve its relations and enhanced the progress of the nuclear project (Hasnat, 2011).

### **3.19 Pakistan's Relations with the Developing Countries**

Bhutto played a vital role with the developing countries and followed the policy of Afro-Asian unity. He has discussed the importance of small nations in his book "The Myth of Independence" and stated how it could be possible to maintain the territorial integrity and independence of the small nations. He stated that to develop relations with the superpower, and other countries small nations may be able to continue their independence and integrity of the country. Bhutto proposed to establish the new economic world order and desired to construct a "reasonable economics solution" so human beings would be able to get the benefit (Bhutto, 1967).

Moreover, he wanted to table the need of developing countries in the coming Third World Summit Conference and joined the forum of existing economics linkages with the developing world. He stated that there was a possibility of the developing countries to avail the opportunity and resolved the matter accordingly. He assured that injustice with the smaller nations would be finished. In 1964, the Regional Cooperation for Development was established by Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey to promote the economic development infrastructure among the member countries. He stated that RCD would provide a positive change towards the solution of various issues faced by the member countries. Pakistan faced the issues of different challenges relates to security and development of the countries. According to him, the issue of military might has not link with the Armed Forces because it was the matter of existing world. These countries started the economics collaborations for the purposes of military security arrangement

and provided a peaceful environment. He desired to build the Pakistan as a "fort of Islam" and make its efforts to unite the Muslim countries under the "Umbrella of Islam" against the enemies of Islam. He developed the idea of bilateralism in the world politics and desired to become a member of the nuclear power countries and challenged the hostility of India (News, 1976).

### **3.20 Simla Accord**

On July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1972, Simla agreement was signed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Prime Minister of Pakistan and Mrs. Indira Gandhi Prime Minister of India to bring the solutions of issues and to restore the consequences of 1971, Indo-Pak War. Both the countries agreed to maintain peace in the region and released the prisoner of Wars (POWs), which became the part of Indian jail. It has become foundation of good relationship between two countries. The agreement comprised a set of principles, mutually agreed by two countries and maintained their relations by peaceful ways, cooperation, and friendship. The agreement was focused to respect each other territorial integrity, sovereignty, and non-interference in the affairs of others. The following are the principles of agreement (Ali, 2014):

1. A mutual understanding of two countries relates to peaceful settlement of all issue through the development of good relationships.
2. To develop the joint, cooperation with each other through the interactions of people.
3. To maintain the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir that was a symbol of durable peace.

### **3.20.1 Salient Feature of the Agreement**

India and Pakistan would agree to end their conflicts and confrontation by peaceful way and signed the agreement for the solution of issues. The following are the objectives of the agreement:

1. The United Nations Charter shall govern the relations between India and Pakistan to resolve their issues with mutual understanding.
2. Both the countries also agreed to maintain their linkages by successful way and developed the harmonious relationships.
3. Both the countries further agreed for the establishment of durable peace in the region and respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and non-interference in the affairs of other countries on the grounds of equality and mutual understanding. The core conflicts were the religious issue because Muslims believe in the oneness of Allah, whereas the Hindu believed in the multiple gods. There were also differences of cultural, social interrelation and living standard.
4. Two countries were required to follow the Charter of the United Nations.
5. Both the countries would take the strict measures of the present hostile propaganda against each other and encourage the dissemination of such type of information and further to promote the friendly relationship.
6. The appropriate arrangement shall be taken to restart the process of communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land, including border ports and air links, etc.
7. A proper way would be adopted to promote the traveling facilities between two countries.

8. The trade co-operation was started mainly in the field of economic and other area as soon as possible.
9. The trade and economic cooperation will be started, and other areas are required to continue the previous practice.
10. The exchange program will be promoted in the field of science and culture
11. Both the countries will meet the necessities of each other from time to time and established the peace. India and Pakistan further agreed to withdraw the camps of their forces from the temporary point to actual points and set aside the issue of the international border.
12. The line of control would be respected by each other without any harmful position.
13. The withdrawal of forces shall be completed within thirty (30) days.
14. Both the countries would respect the constitutional procedure and would become into force with effect from the date of its approval.
15. Two countries would respect the heads of government and would meet on the ground of mutually understanding of the future, plan of country. The representatives of the government would meet to discuss the further modalities and arrangement for the establishment of durable peace and normalization of their relations.
16. The governments of India and Pakistan would discuss the matter for the release of the prisoner of Wars (POWs) and other related issues pertaining to Jammu and Kashmir.

He would place the country on peaceful coexistence position which shows the major achievement of the governments. The agreements respect the national unity, territorial integrity, political independence, and sovereign equality of the independent states. He

had developed the friendly relationships with India and honored the Simla agreement.

The agreement would bring a positive change in the region (Simla, 1972).

### **3.21- Islamic States**

After the loss of East Pakistan, he developed the model of independent foreign policy of Pakistan and attempted to unite the Muslim World at one platform for the cause of the entire Ummah. Although, Afghanistan has created the troubles for Pakistan since her birth but, Pakistan maintained the relations with Afghanistan. He has emerged as a charismatic leader of the country and follower of the Muslim world. He desired to protect the status of the Persian Gulf subjugated countries and worked for the welfare of the Muslim community (Goraya, 2013).

After assuming the control of the government, he has visited to Kabul and discussed the matter with the Afghan government. In 1972, he started the new journey of a renaissance for the establishment of good relationships with the following Muslim countries: Iran, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Egypt, and Syria. The foreign office of Pakistan has proposed the following guidelines for the improvement of Muslim countries. Pakistan believed in Arab nationalism, Iranian nationalism, Turkish nationalism, and non-interference in the affairs of other country. The government of Pakistan emphasized its significant and established the friendly relationships with other countries and desired to develop the relations with other countries without disturbing the political system of any country.

The linkages of Pakistan with Muslim countries would be continued on the grounds of the establishment of enduring institutions and endorse the Arab cause at every corner of the world and never involve in the disputes of adversary states and it would support the mutual understanding of the conflicts.

Bhutto explained the role of Muslim countries in the Middle East and disagreed with the actions of General Muhammad Ayub Khan particularly in the Arab Israeli War 1967. The Muslim leaders would visualize the structure of political and economic co-operation to encourage the trade of Muslim unity.

In 1977, the first session of Islamic economics, cultural and social contacts were scheduled in Karachi wherein the members of the Commission appreciated the role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's and his attachment with the Muslim countries. The commissions allowed the facility of cooperation, mainly in trade, transfer of resources, money, and finance, food, and agriculture sector, etc.

The commissions further maintained the program of Industrialization and Technology. Pakistan, Tehran, Riyadh, Tripoli, Kuwait, Baghdad, and United Arab Emirates followed the policy of 'Bilateralism' and provided the opportunities to Pakistani labors who had worked in the Oil-producing countries of the Middle East. Approximately, two million Pakistani temporary labors got the residence in the Gulf States.

These temporary residences were become the major source of Pakistan foreign exchange and played a key role in military co-operation of the Muslim countries. During the period of 1972-77, Bhutto's government provided the military access and other services to Bahrain, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan, Malaysia, Qatar, Syria, Sudan, and Turkey. Pakistan being a member of the Muslim Countries supports the others. (Ziring, 1990).

The purpose of commitment was to give the necessary training and technical support to the member's countries. In the meanwhile, Pakistan developed the close relations with Colonel Qaddafi of Libya's, and he was one of the heads of state who attended the second Islamic Summit Conference held at Lahore in 1974. His participation had left a great impact in Iran and similarly Bhutto was not in favor the policy of Shah of Iran.

Shah of Iran was not in favor of the participation of other Muslim countries to attend the Conference. Anyhow, the relationship between Shah of Iran and Bhutto was not remained successful. In 1975, Bhutto visited the Turkey for five times and met with the Turkish President and discussed the matter about mutual understanding. In 1976, he had visited the Saudi Arabia for four times and met with King Khalid about the Muslim unity.

He further visited the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait for two times (Khurran, 2014). Bhutto's Middle East policy towards the establishment of economics and financial support among the Muslim countries brings positive changes. The financial support contains in three broader areas such as general category, project assistance, and relief grants.

During this period, the Colleges and Universities of the Muslim countries produced a huge number of students and become the source of their exports and move towards the development of countries. As a result, Pakistani institution, particularly the teaching center of Arabic and Persian languages was established in Pakistan. He plays the key roles in the completion of Faisal Masjid building project in the name of King Faisal Mosque in Islamabad. On the other hand, the government of Riyadh also co-sponsored the establishment of the Islamic Centre in the custodian of Faisal Mosque (Bishku, 1992).

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has acknowledged the participation of Muslim States through the strong unity of like-minded people to develop the enough relationships which recognized the services of individual as well as the collective needs of the countries. The research has focused on the role of the individual in foreign policy-making process, particularly Bhutto's role in Pakistan foreign policy-making process. The foreign policy process is one of the key roles of individuals in policy formulation and its

implementation. The purpose of foreign policy was to develop a network of linkages with other states.

The purpose was to safeguards the integrity and national interest of the country and foreign policy of Pakistan was the symbol of good relationships with other countries and accepted the role of individual in foreign policy-making process. The objectives of the country can be achieved through the usage of different forces that vary from to case bases. It is difficult to explain the single factor of foreign policy that could affect the country goals. Particularly, after the World War-II, most of the states became independent and desired to maintain peace and order in the country.

The foreign policy of Pakistan was developed on the ground of its history, geographical situation, and aspiration of general masses. The foreign policy usually examined the matter of economic, military, and international environment of the countries. If we need to understand the numerous objectives of a country, we must require to studying the different objectives of the countries.

However, the foreign policy of Pakistan has focused on the principle of honesty and fair dealing of the individual.

However, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's role in foreign policy making was remained very important during the period of 1971-77. This was the responsibility of an individual to develop and implement the foreign policy of country. The characteristics of the individual leave a great impact on the foreign policy of country as of Adolf Hitler's role. The leader of Germany Nazi party was totally different from other characters. The personal behavior of the individual had left the un-ending impact in the country. Bhutto's Bilateralism towards the development of independent foreign policy played a significant role in the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

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## **CHAPTER- 4**

### **DECADES' COMPRISED CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO STATES**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the study has explained the nature of Pakistan United States relations on the ground of historical perspective. The research also described the Era of Neutrality, period of Alliances, Regime of Bilateralism, Sphere of Influences, Ideological factor, Military Factor, The End of Cold War, and Pakistan United States linkages during the period of General Muhammad Ayub Khan (1958-69).

#### **4.2 Historical Background**

In 1947, both the countries had developed the diplomatic linkages that remained fruitful up to 1950. This is the era when two nations go through a Client-Patron relationship and vigilant for military and economic support (Mushtaq, 2014). The inheritance of their relationship could be found in the period of pre-partition. The previous administration of the United States was remained against the idea of divided India. The reason was Civil War in China wherein, the United States supported the separatist group against the communist bloc. During this period, the relation between Pakistan and United States was not remained cordial due to following reasons: globally United States is superior on the grounds of its foreign policy (Javaid, 2014).

This is the initial stage of Cold War when, United States was remained active in the eradication of communism. Second, Pakistan desired to develop the friendly relationships with all the Muslim countries. Third, Pakistan wanted to keep away from the hostility of superpower. Nevertheless, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan argued that we would not become the part of any disputed ideology and

further declared by the founder of Pakistan, Quaid--i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as "our foreign policy is one of the friendships and goodwill towards all the countries of the world " (Khan, 2015)".

Fourth, after the birth of newly born state of Pakistan, the country faced the numerous challenges such as economics crisis, military resources, and Kashmir issues. So that Pakistan has required the needs of economic and military support from the United States and requested for the provision of economic support. In this regard, United States provided a small tune of amount as 10 million to Pakistan from its own relief funds. On the other hands, United States imposed the sanction against Pakistan for the supply of military hardware from India. The overall relationship both the countries was not remained pleasant in the coming years. The evidence of these relationships was the Korean War in 1950-51, wherein Pakistan has disagreed to send their troops to Korea and only agreed to provide the political support to the United States. In this regards, United States provides the economic support of \$ 600,000 to Pakistan (Chaudhri, 1956). It has described that Pakistan faced the issue of national security, territorial integrity, and economic crises. The basic issues of country were the defense and security strength. In 1954, Pakistan and Iraq signed the Mutual Cooperation Agreement with Turkey and subsequently, Britain and Iran also signed the agreement with Pakistan for security purposes in the name of the Middle East, Defense organization which commonly known "Baghdad Pact". In 1955, Baghdad Pact was formed and NATO was shaped. In 1958, due to overthrow of Iraqi Monarchy, the name of the organization was changed into Central Treaty Organization (Cohen, 2010).

The structure of CENTO was limited but United States and Great Britain approached Pakistan about the establishment of air base outside the city of Peshawar. In 1954, Pakistan signed the Mutual Defense Agreement with the United States and became a

member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization or Manila Pact in 1955. The Southeast Asia Treaty of Organization was less effective organization as compared to Central Treaty Organization which never involved in the Vietnam War. The United States and Great Britain has maintained the Pakistani position in the United Nations but never include the defense matter of Pakistan in CENTO or NATO, in case of War with India. Pakistan joined the alliances, for the purposes of military and political support, so it could challenge the hostility of India. The Western alliance allowed Pakistan to preserve its position with India (Jabeen, 2011).

The major issue of Pakistan was the occupation of Kashmir in India and influenced Pakistan by its Cold War alliances. Pakistan became a member of CENTO and SEATO but could not succeed in his mission. The purpose was to counter the communism and obtained the military and economic support from the United States. However, the alliance was not so powerful to stop Pakistan from the close friendships of China. The United States stated that China was not a communist threat as compared to the Soviet Union and it moved towards the establishment of its alliances with China. In the meanwhile, Soviets Union formed the powerful links with India for the provision of military and economic supports as well (Mastny, 2010).

The first Indo-Pakistan War of 1948 was fought on Kashmir issue. During the period of 1950-51, Pakistan spent more than 50% of its budget for defense purposes and United States President has approached the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan for the support of troops in the Korean War but he refused to do so in the light of India's threat to Pakistan's existence. Pakistan obviously continued a regional position of national interest while the United States offered a communism containment policy globally (Zaidi, 2010).

Pakistan feared from the United States on the grounds of ideological differences. Even-though, the United States regularly provided the military equipment to Pakistan and General Muhammad Ayub Khan persuaded the United States to put pressure on India by allowing a plebiscite in the Muslim subjugated area of Kashmir. Pakistan has established the close relations with United States that has seen as usual and natural. In this regard, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan scheduled the first visit to the United States, wherein, he was warmly welcomed by the United States high-ups. The visits paid a special tribute to Liaquat Ali Khan and argued the United States no ideological difference would stop Pakistan from the right path. Liaquat Ali Khan explained the significance of Pakistan's strength, its position in the light of its geo-strategic position. Pakistan supported the decision of United Nations for the help of troops in South Korea (Mazhar, 2011).

Bhutto established the relationships with United States, obtained the economic and military support, and discussed the agenda of mutual, cooperation in the meeting. The delegation has comprised to Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan, Sir Zafarullah Khan Foreign Minister, and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, General Muhammad Ayub Khan. But until 1953, United States did not provide the enough support to Pakistan. The linkages of Pakistan with the United States were remained successful during the period of General Dwight D. Eisenhower administration and established a "Northern Tier of defense" which became the foundation of good relationship between two countries (Hussain, 2016).

The purpose of defense treaty was to decrease the involvement of United States in Korean Operations and develop the significant fighting capability of the following countries such as Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, and Iraq. As regards, military support was provided to Pakistan during the period of General Muhammad Ayub Khan and he went

to Washington prior to the visit of Ghulam Muhammad Khan, the former Governor General of Pakistan. General Muhammad Ayub Khan had left a favorable impression on Dulles and Redford (Kheli, 1982).

He has desired to develop the relationships with each other in, order to capture the situation of disparity and political situation of Pakistan were deteriorated. It is further explained that 1958 coup was preplanned in 1953 and it was not happened in occasionally. The United States has imposed the "informal embargo" against Pakistan and India for the supply of military equipment. On March 29, 1949, the United States had lifted the restriction, but their relationships had not been seen fruitful until 1950 (Sultana, 2013).

The core objectives of Pakistan foreign policy were the establishment of good linkages with all the countries. Both the countries signed the different agreement on the grounds of mutual understanding and go through the requirements of legal process. But after the change of John F. Kennedy administration, the situations are become ambiguous and recognized that China is a great factor in the free world rather than the Soviet Union. John F. Kennedy determined that India is a democratic country and needs the help to counter China. Henry Alfred Kissinger argued that after the change of Kennedy administration, United States move towards the development of military hardware in Pakistan, and it was the symbol of new development of Pakistan's foreign policy towards the straight path (Khan, 1990).

However, the United States Spy Plane U-2 was crashed over the Soviet Union and General Muhammad Ayub Khan President of Pakistan has explained the real position of incident to the Soviet Union. During the Sino-Indo border conflict the Western countries provided the huge military support to India. The study has examined the cost-benefit analysis of Pakistan alliances with United the States. In 1965, the relationship

between Pakistan and China became more powerful and Pakistan lost the historical opportunity of China to resolve the issue of Kashmir. It was moved towards the imbalance situation of power in the sub-continent and shaped the 1965, Pak-India War. After the expiry of (22) days, the War ended without any achievement (Ahmed, 2015). The Soviet Union broke the peace talks, and United Nations did not resolve the issue of referendum in Kashmir and the positions of Pakistan became weakened in the eyes of Americans. The second Indo-Pak War declined the military position of Pakistan and its capability to gain the diplomatic achievements, internationally. After the end of the 1965 Indo-Pak War, the US policy towards Pakistan did not remain successful. The United States policymakers argued that Indo-Pak dispute would change the nature of its relationships. Second, the period of détente was started between two superpower. In 1967, American terminated her military aid provided to Pakistan but they still used the Pakistani camp for their personal interest. In 1968, Pakistan sent a notice to the United States for the closing of its maneuvering camp near Peshawar on the grounds of expiry of (10) years lease period (Hussain, 2016).

#### **4.3 Pakistan United States Relations, 1947-1954**

After World War-II, the United States and the Soviet Union became the superpower in the world arena. Both the countries used the different tactics for economic measures. The United States and the Soviet Union fought a war of ideology that called the Cold War. The Soviet Union was a communist country while the United States was a capitalist country. The communist ideology was an effort to control the production and its resources. On the other hand, in the capitalist system, peoples controlled the businesses and the production of goods. The Cold War generated the political and military tension between the two superpower (McMahon, 2003).

After World War-II, Cold War was started in the Europe and Soviet Union controlled the Eastern Europe and captured the half of Germany and its capital of Berlin. The rest of the areas were occupied by the United States. Anyhow, the Soviet Union blocked the roads and railroad to West Germany. Consequently, United States, Great Britain, and France faced the problems of their supplies. The United States looked for new allies around the world to fight against the Soviet Union. The Secretary of State George Marshall called on the President Harry S. Truman and requested him to consider the possible importance of Pakistan being a major Muslim country in the world and had a strong significance in South Asia (Huffman, 2012).

In the beginning, the United States was terrified to make its commitments with Pakistan. In the meanwhile, Pakistan approached the United States for the provision of two billion dollars for defense and economic purposes and it was enough amounts to meet the requirements of Pakistan. Anyhow the United States provided the small tune of amount to Pakistan and territorial conflict was started between India and Pakistan on Kashmir issue. The United States was remained neutral and claimed as a "firm friend" of the two countries. The United States resolved the issue of Kashmir between Pakistan and India through bilateral negotiations and agreed to decide their issues without any external involvement (Huffman, 2012).

The linkages between Pakistan and United States did not remain fruitful during the period of 1948-1950. Although Pakistan has required the arms support from the United States, but Harry S. Truman administration did not agree. The United States gradually recognized the possibility of Cold War and Pakistan faced the numerous challenges during the period of Cold War such as lack of resources, economic crisis, security threats from India and so many other territorial disputes with India. The role of United

States in the Cold War period was remained as a frontline ally of the Pakistan (Lubna, 2015).

In Afghanistan War started against the Soviet Union and it was considered as a lesson for Pakistan. The Pakistan-United States relations were the history of expectations, broken promises, catastrophe, and misunderstandings. The theme of study was to analyze the scope and significance of Pakistan-United States relations during the period of the Cold War. The matter was related to security issues, nuclear threats, ethical and religious differences which created the difficulties for Pakistan (Byrd, 2012).

The theory of Structural Realism focuses on the Cold War activities of the superpower in South Asia and efforts for the durable peace and power in the region. The constructivists focused on the belief system how the knowledge expertise was influenced the states tendencies and shaped the religious-nationalist ideologies of country and linked with the establishment of national character building. The model of structural Realism explained the behavior of sovereign states and described the restrictions imposed by the anarchic system on the grounds of national interest (Gaddis, 1993).

The structural realism stated that in the absence of a capable central government, the enforcement of the order is not possible in the international system. The international system closed the structure and followed the pattern of the self-governing system in Pakistan. This new dimension links the relationships with the world level for the purpose of a security issue and nuclear capability. The emerging of Information Technology ended the Cold War and moved towards the interdependent state. The following things became part of Pakistan's preference, such as the survival of the state and the hopelessness of reunification with India and the improvement of its relations

vis-à-vis with the United States. Pakistan joined the Eastern Bloc and Turkey became the part of Western Bloc (Saif, 2007).

On the grounds of these initiatives the government of Pakistan became stable in the context of its security paradigm and makes its efforts to face the internal as well as external challenges of the country. The United States maintained the favorable position of Pakistan and provided huge support. On the other hand, the religious sentiments developed the Islamic group in Pakistan and become a powerful tool in between the two rival countries (Haqqani 2004).

In 1950, first Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan visited the United States on the invitation of President Harry S. Truman of America's and attempted to convince the United States President about the solution of Kashmir. As the American used the Pakistani land for the purpose of its Airbase operations against the Soviet Union and Pakistan became the ally of the United States. The geopolitical position of the country played significant role in foreign policy making process. Before 1971, Pakistan geopolitical situation consists of two wings, East and West Pakistan separated by 1000 miles of Indian Territory (Kamran, 2009).

In 1954, Pakistan and United States signed the military defense for the containment of communism. It was not possible for Pakistan to launch their joint action against the communism. As the Pakistani privileged class had greatly influenced by the Western democratic system that preferred the feudalism. In 1955, the political control of Pakistan was lying in the hands of a small group of British trained administrators and military elite class of Pakistan such as Governor General Ghulam Muhammad Khan, Iskander Mirza, and General Muhammad Ayub Khan. The focus of all concentrates on the economic development in the country through the rigor and close attachments with United States. Although, the United States has agreed to provide the military

support to Pakistan but could not fulfill his promised. In 1959, Pakistan signed an agreement with the United States for the provision of financial support to Pakistan. The theme of agreement was to improve the defense capability of the country against India and developed the close relationships with the Muslim countries (Mehmet, 2007).

In 1957, the United States provided enough support to Pakistan for the development of agriculture projects. In 1958, General Muhammad Ayub Khan struck coup in the country and assumed the control of the country. He ruled the country being a President of Pakistan until his resignation in 1969. In 1960, China provided arms support to Pakistan for the development of arms manufacturing and nuclear capability (Jahangir, 2015).

However, the Pakistan-United States relationship did not remain successful during the entire period. Particularly, after 1965, Indo-Pak War, the defense arrangements of Pakistan with the United States were highly criticized by the Pakistani masses on the grounds of violation of defense agreement. On the other hand, Pakistan got support from the Muslim countries and targeted the US sanction. The United States stopped economic and military support of Pakistan. As a result, the Soviet Union provided the military and economic support to India against Pakistan. General Muhammad Ayub Khan did not withdraw the United States-led alliance out of need for maintaining relations with other countries (Khan, 2013).

The United States suspended the military and economic support of India and Pakistan during the Wars period of 1965 & 1971. India obtained the financial support from the Soviet Union, supported the India against Pakistan, and created the miserable position between Pakistan and Afghanistan. This was the reaction of United States against Pakistan during the period of 1965 and 1971. The United States imposed the restriction against Pakistan during the period of Indo-Pak Wars 1965 & 1971. During this period

the relationship between Pakistan and United States was not remained successful. Even though, the most vital threats to Pakistan's integrity comes from India (Khan, 2018).

In 1969, General Muhammad Ayub Khan has resigned from the presidency and handed over power to another Commander Chief of Army, General Yahya Khan. In 1970, the first general elections were scheduled to be held in the country and it was delayed due to national hazard in East Pakistan and rescheduled in January 1971. In these elections, Awami League Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won the majorities of seats in the National Assembly. The power was not transferred to the winner party by General Yahya Khan and Awami League started the strike against the military-led government in Pakistan. As a result, the Pakistan armed forces intervene in the politics and started the Searchlight Operation to control the Bengali Nationalist movements by targeting the political activities, intellectuals, Hindu, and other minorities. The nationalist group formed a guerrilla force under the supervision of Mukti Bahini with the help of India and Soviet Union (Hassan, 2015).

In 1971, Bangladesh got the independence and became a separate state instead of East Pakistan. After the separation of East Pakistan, General Yahya Khan transferred the power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Chairman of Pakistan People's Party. The United States decision regarding the provision of arms supply to Pakistan was highly challenged and criticized by India and Afghanistan as well. As a result, the Soviet Union openly continued the arms supply to India to maintain its superiority in the region (Wirsing, 1985).

#### **4.4 Era of Neutrality**

During this period, India and Pakistan has got independence from the British colonial rule and become independence. The Soviet Union and United States are invited

Pakistan to join them. However, there were multiple choices for Pakistan either to join the Soviet Union or United States. But Pakistan has decided to join the United States bloc due to security threats from India and Afghanistan. The country also faced the numerous catastrophes such as economic, military, political and religious and could not play the major role in world affairs. The following were the major issues that compelled Pakistan to join the Western bloc (Hussain, 2005).

The first Indo-Pak War took place between India and Pakistan in 1948. The United States made its efforts to end the Indo-Pak hostility and resolved the issue through the involvement of United Nations in the Kashmir enmity. The recommendation of the United Nations was approved by the Security Council in respect of both the countries. Pakistan and India agreed to hold plebiscite in Kashmir but Later on, India refused to accept the decision of United Nations and occupied major part of Kashmir (Sattar, 2013).

The major issue between India and Pakistan were the division of assets and distribution of canal water. Besides, there were other problem such as refugee issues, lack of administrative control and economic disparity (Irshad, 2005).

After the newly born state of Pakistan, Afghanistan was the only country who challenged the membership of Pakistan in the United Nations. The issues relate to Pukhtoonistan and misrecognition of Durand Line agreement signed by Great Britain and Afghan government in 1893. In 1919, this agreement was again reviewed by the Afghan ruler (Arsa, 2008).

- To allow the Pukhtoon Bloch family to live in Pakistan that created the difficulties in the Province of NWFP, (now KP). The country became in a position to settle the Afghan anxiety. The most of Muslim countries were remained under the direct control of colonial rule. Due to these reasons, Pakistan

could not expect any help from the Muslim countries. As consequence, being an immediate security threat and lack of military strength, Pakistan has four options to defend its security matters (Mohomed, 2014).

- To remain impartial.
- To depend on the Muslim countries.
- To join the Soviet Union.
- To join the Western bloc.

Pakistan has preferred the four options on basis of four major reasons.

The United States invited Pakistan to join the capitalist bloc against the escalation of communism. Even though, the purpose of Western alliance was to counter the communism and Pakistan hoped to get the substantial economic and military support from the United States. The Pakistan elite class was also under the hold of Western bloc and enforced Pakistan to join the Western bloc. Even-though Ideologically, Pakistan was near to the United States (Gokay, 2009).

#### **4.5 Period of Alliances, 1954-1962**

In 1954, Pakistan has become a member of SEATO and CENTO for the purposes of military and economic support from the United States. Pakistan joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization or Manila Pact in 1954. The following countries were its member such as Australia, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and United States. The purpose of the alliance was to counter the threat of the territorial integrity of a member country and a threat would be considered a threat against all. The Southeast Asian Treaty Organization used its platform against the communist bloc. In 1959, the agreement of cooperation was signed between Pakistan and United States. The purpose of agreement was to provide the military and economic support to Pakistan (Hussain, 2016).

The country has got the numerous benefits from the United States such as economic support, loans, goods, and other advantages. The major support of the United States was defense and security matters. Pakistan has received the huge assistance from the United States such as arms and ammunition, artilleries pieces and delivery of aircraft F-104, B-57, F-86, and C-113 for Air Force and naval defense apparatus (Zaidi, 2011). Due to these benefits, the United States Military Assistant Advisory Wing was established at Rawalpindi in Pakistan to give the necessary training and trained the Pakistan armed forces with the latest advanced technology. The officers of Pakistan armed forces were sent to United States for training. On the other hands, leaders of the Soviet Union started the criticism against Pakistan. The country takes the different measures to improve its relations with Soviet Union and China. As a consequence Pakistan and Soviet Union signed the numerous agreements which relates to economic development and technical support (Khan, 2018).

In 1961, the Soviet Union offered the technical support to Pakistan. The new door of cooperation was opened between Pakistan and Soviet Union in 1965. The visit of General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the former President of Pakistan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan to Moscow brought several developments related to trade and cultural exchanges. Both the countries make their efforts for the completion of thirty (30) development projects in Pakistan. The Soviet Prime Minister Alexi Kosygin has offered the aid to Pakistan and determined the issue of 1965 Indo-Pak War. On the invitation of Soviet Prime Minister, the President General Muhammad Ayub Khan, and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri met at Tashkent and signed the agreement commonly known as Tashkent agreement in 1966. The purpose of the agreement was to normalize their bilateral relations with India mainly after the War of 1965. In 1965, General Muhammad Ayub Khan scheduled an official visit to the Soviet

Union. To reciprocate his visit, Soviet Premier Alexi Kosygin visited Pakistan twice in 1968 & 1969 (Parveen, 2016).

Both the leaders were agreed to be extend the mutual understanding with each other particularly in area of economic and cultural. Anyhow, two military delegations visited to Soviet Union in 1966 & 1968, respectively. Similarly, the Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Andrei Grechkov had visited Pakistan and highlighted the importance of Pakistan Soviet relationships. The condition of United States has become miserable due to the development of its linkages with the Soviet Union and China. As consequence, the United States has imposed the arms sanction against Pakistan. After the disintegration of East Pakistan, Bhutto came into power and used the pluralistic approach towards all the states irrespective of their ideological differences. This was the bold step of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to pursue a self-reliance foreign policy of Pakistan and developed friendly relations with all the Muslim countries (Sattar, 2007).

During the period of alliances, Pakistan was dependent with the USA and counted as a US "allied ally" and received the considerable economic and military support from the United State and make its efforts to develop the armed forces of Pakistan on the pattern of Westernization. However, the SEATO and CENTO could not provide the sufficient, guarantee to Pakistan in the solution of Kashmir issue. The United States did not asked India to hold the plebiscite in Kashmir and some other developments were required by Pakistan to review its pro-Western policy. In 1960, the US Spy plane incident occurred and created the insecurity situation for Pakistan in the light of Soviet invasion. The Soviet Primer Nikita Khrushchev has threatened Pakistan to withdraw the US camps from Peshawar, where U-2 American aircraft flew over the Soviet Union's territory to monitor it. The United States of America has provided the huge financial support to

India rather than Pakistan and created a worse position between India and Pakistan (Feldman, 1972).

As a result, Pakistan complained to the United Nations against the American military support provided to India would be used against Pakistan. After 1962, the international political arena changed from the Cold War to Détente and peaceful co-existence. A huge number of countries have become the part of superpower rivalry. Pakistan established the independent foreign policy without the involvement of other countries. It is further explained that Pakistan membership was estranged with the United States and the entire Arab world except Iraq who kept away himself from the defense pacts of the US. The United States and Great Britain were the great supporters of Israel (Brands, 2008).

Pakistan decided to join the United States bloc instead of Soviet Union and keep away to develop her linkages with the Arab countries. The period of alliances was placed under the direct control of the United States that was considered most important. During the period of its alliances, Pakistan developed its relationships with Turkey, Iran and supported the cause of Palestine at a global level.

#### **4.6 Regime of Bilateralism, 1963-1978**

The period of bilateralism was counted as fruitful towards the development of political, economic, and cultural relationships between two sovereign states big or small. The new approach of bilateralism was developed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and was considered the guiding principle of Pakistan foreign policy (Bhutto, 1981).

The purpose of bilateralism was to establish the network of countries across the world. This approach is first time used by General Muhammad Ayub Khan in his book *Friends Not Master* and his successor President General Muhammad Yahya Khan's addressed to the Iranian parliament on October 30, 1969. He has explained that it was the need

of time to transform the foreign policy of Pakistan on the ground of new approach and was different from the Western's. Bhutto used the strategy of friendship, goodwill and attempted to normalize their relationships with India. It was essential to develop the cordial linkages with the United States and believed in the principle of honesty and fair dealing with other countries (Burke, 1973).

The purpose of goodwill and fair dealing was move towards for the development of country and maintained the cordial relationship with other countries. The foreign policy of Pakistan was focused on the principle of political gains as well as economic support. General Yahya Khan followed the same principle somewhat different from General Muhammad Ayub Khan's foreign policy. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto attempted to maintain a balance of power with the superpower (Baqai, 2016).

The period of bilateralism is commonly known as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's politics. It was used for political, economic, and cultural relationships among the sovereign states. This approach was developed vis-a-vis the unilateralism. The newly born state of Pakistan was recognized by other sovereign states and agreed to develop their diplomatic relations and determined to make bilateral relationship with other state. The bilateralism was the product of Pakistan's tendency during the Cold War period. The bilateralism explains the means of relationship between the states in particular ways and maintained its differences with the superpower. The Pakistan learnt a lesson from the behavior of the superpower during the Cold War period and reduced the dependency on the Western pacts and developed the close relationships with China. The United States could not fulfill her promise with Pakistan during the 1965 Indo-Pak War in the light supply of military and economic support to Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan withdrew from the membership of SEATO and CENTO and looking for her new friends in the world as the previous alignment could not fulfill its requirements (Farooq, 2016).

Pakistan again approached the Soviet Union and improved their linkages. After the 1965 Indo-Pak War, the Soviet Union played a major role in the conclusion of Tashkent agreement in 1966. Pakistan took U-turn towards the Developing world and particularly with Middle Eastern countries. In 1967, during the Arab Israeli War, Pakistan developed a strong relationship with the Arab countries and attempted to strengthen its linkages with Iran and Turkey. In 1964, Pakistan became a member of Regional Economic Cooperation for Development and developed a close relationship with Saudi Arabia and Jordon. Bhutto, after taking the control of county, moved towards the establishment of self-reliance foreign policy of Pakistan, and immediately scheduled visits to the twenty (20) Muslim countries of the Middle and formed linkages with the Muslim World (Bhutto, 1965).

Bhutto followed the policy of bilateralism and became the hero of Pakistan at world level. The relationship between Pakistan and United States was not remained successful during the period of 1971 Indo-Pak War. The United States also suspended the military aids to Pakistan during the time of Indo-Pak Wars of 1965 and 1971. Pakistan has got the economic and political benefits from the developed countries on the grounds of bilateralism (Rahman, 2011).

#### **4.7- Causes of the Cold War**

The term of Cold War explains the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. Both the countries engaged in the ideological differences, such as military and political war against each other without waging a real war. An ideological war was started between the Capitalism and Communism to challenge each other (Palmer, 1978).

The United States had the right to approach the Middle East Oil and global markets. The Soviet Union also had the right to control the security belts in the Eastern Europe.

During the World War-II, the Soviet Union and the United States supported the combats against the enemy of Germany and other Axis powers. After World War-II, the differences between the Soviet Union and the United States became more and more dangerous. The competitions and disagreement between two superpower shaped the Cold War. During the Cold War period, the United States and the Soviet Union did not directly fight or use the missile. Both countries used secret agents, mis information and secret operations against each other (Hershberg, 1993).

#### **4.8 Spheres of Influences**

The former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill argued during his famous "Iron Curtain" speech against the dominance of Eastern Europe that had threatened the civilization of the entire world. After few weeks, the Soviet Premier, Josef Stalin explained the factual position of the Soviet Union as "*only protecting itself from the future attack*".

In 1945, Franklin Roosevelt President, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet Leader Josef Stalin agreed to arrange free and fair elections in Poland. It was pointed out that Stalin did not schedule the free and fair elections in Poland as per commitment and did not cast the vote. So that Churchill approached the Soviet Union for the fair elections. However, the Poland and other Eastern European countries sought to elect the communist government. Whereas, Stalin challenged the government and said that we were observing Yalta agreement and Western argued that Stalin had everything. He further explained that Western wanted to do the same things in Eastern Europe (Churchill's, 1946).

#### **4.9 Ideology**

The second element of the Cold War was the Ideology. Both the Eastern and Western Blocks were engaged in the ideological differences and affected the belief system. The

Western philosophy was significant with free market, capitalism, individualism, and personal rights.

On the other hand, the United States, Britain, France, Canada, and most of the Western European countries followed the model of capitalism in the free market system. The Soviet Union adopted the model of socialism. The United States also explained that Soviet Union made its efforts to take each and everything (Zubok, 1989).

#### **4.10 Military Factor**

The third element of the Cold War was the Military issue which created fear among the hearts of people and dominated the ideologies of other nations as well. Particularly, after World War-II, the ideologies left a great impact on the countries and played a key role in World War-II (Mason, 2008).

As a result, Korea was divided into two blocks, i.e., North Korea and South Korea. North Korea became a Communist country and whereas South Korea became a Capitalist country. The North Korea armed forces attacked South Korea and the United Nations sent their armies to South Korea. China sent its armies to North Korea for his support. As a result, in 1953, the war was ended without any success and the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in nuclear arms races. Cuba became a Communist country and the Soviet Union wanted to launch her missile in Cuba. As a result, President Kennedy became afraid of the Soviet Union as they would attack against the United States. The United States sent their warships around Cuba and President Kennedy hoped the blockade would compel the Soviet Union to take away its missiles from Cuba. This conflict was called the Cuban Missile Crisis (Allison, 1969).

#### **4.11 The End of Cold War**

After the collapsed of the Soviet Union and the ends of the Cold War left great impacts on India's foreign and security policies. As a result, the Indian bureaucrats became more

active for the development of their linkages and gradually started the measures to develop their relations with China (Kapur, 2007).

#### **4.12 Pakistan-United States Relations during the Period of General Muhammad Ayub Khan (1958-1969)**

The study examined the roles of Pakistan-United States relationships during the period of General Muhammad Ayub Khan (1958-1969). After assuming the control of the government, he stated that we were most familiar with the United States (Khan, 1967).

This statement showed the keen interest of General Muhammad Ayub Khan's with the United States. He stated that Pakistan could not move towards the development of country if Kashmir issue is not resolved. He further explained that it was not possible for Pakistan to resolve the issue of Kashmir without giving the support of the West (Khan, 2011).

Nevertheless, Pakistan signed the bilateral defense agreement with the United States and agreed to provide the support. The United States promotes the national interest of Pakistan and insists for the peace settlement in the region. The United States stated that any attack against Pakistan would be considered as an attack against the US. The linkages between Pakistan and United States during the Cold War period passed through the ups and downs. Both the countries attempted to promote the world peace instead of communist hostility as India followed an antagonistic approach towards the signing of an agreement between Pakistan and United States (Khalid, 2011).

Both the countries discussed their issues and United States has desired to establish the Camp in the Province of NWFP, (now KP) to monitor the military camps of the Soviet Union. China had felt threatened due to the signing of bilateral agreement by Pakistan and the United States and it to be considered against China, Russia, and Afghanistan. In 1959, the United States had started the delivery of armaments to Pakistan. Besides,

General Muhammad Ayub Khan had demanded the F-104 fighter aircraft from the United States. He informed the United States about the situation created by the Intelligence Services against the Soviet Union from the Bada Ber Camp at Peshawar (Dawn, 1959).

The Dwight David Eisenhower Four Star General of the United States Army became the 34<sup>th</sup> President of the United States on January 20, 1953 and after assuming the control of the country and he declared his theory of "Massive Retaliation" which allowed the US administration to form the new "Northern Tier of defense" as early as possible. The aim of Eisenhower theory was to decrease the involvement of US in the Korean Operations (Hussain, 2016).

So that US administration felt the needs of Pakistan and become helpful for the shaping of a favorable position towards the Muslim countries. The US administration preferred Pakistan as compared to India and developed the close relationship with Pakistan. In 1959, President Eisenhower visited Pakistan wherein he was warmly welcomed by General Ayub Khan and recognized the visit as a major development for Pakistan. He also informed the President Eisenhower about the scheduled visit of India and the solutions of Kashmir issues. He further informed the President Eisenhower regarding the provision of support to India which creates a huge trouble for Pakistan. Anyhow, Eisenhower promised that we would examine the issue of aids and will be placed in the forthcoming meeting. President Eisenhower of the United States first visited Kabul and afterward to India. After the visits, he discussed the matter thoroughly with General Muhammad Ayub Khan and he agreed to negotiate the issue with India. India did not agree to resolve the issue of Kashmir with Pakistan. Nevertheless, President Eisenhower warmly welcomed both the countries. But unfortunately, the 1965 Indo-Pak War fought between India and Pakistan (Cheema, 2015).

In 1960, the Soviet Union Premier Nikita Khrushchev captured the U-2 aircraft of the United States and announced that "United States" spy plane camps were established in Turkey, Iran, or Pakistan. The Soviet Premier also informed the US about the camps available at different places. General Muhammad Ayub Khan opposed the United States an ally of Pakistan as its planes regularly flew over Pakistan territory. General Muhammad Ayub Khan explained the factual position and warned the US of the aircraft if took off in the direction of the Soviet Union, Pakistan would oppose it (Khan, 1967). Dennis Kux stated that all the leaders of the United States, Soviet Union, France, and Britain held an emergency meeting in Paris on May 07, 1960, whereas the United States declared the false statement to the capturing of aircraft. The statement proclaimed that as per weather report, the aircraft was absent during the flying over the Soviet Union. The U-2 aircraft was used for getting secret information about Russia. Pakistan provided the camps to the US for the purpose of military and economic support. As a result, Pakistan got huge support from the Western countries during the five-year plan in 1960. The purpose of support was to strengthen the Pakistan's armed forces and invited to participate in the defense agreement. Disparity started between Pakistan and the United States when Kennedy became the President. It ignored the interests of Pakistan (Kux, 2001).

In 1960, the new change happened in the world system of the countries. The U-2 occurrence of 1960 and Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 forced two United States and the Soviet Union to understand the power of rivalry. Both the countries used the antagonist approached to accomplish the rapprochement and minimize the threatening hazard of war (Hussain, 2016).

The President Kennedy management considered that China was a great factor in the free world as compared to the Soviet Union. General Muhammad Ayub Khan argued

that America was the most trustworthy friend of Pakistan in the South region and this was the only country that was the member of both pacts, SEATO and CENTO. But unfortunately, President Kennedy decided to offer the support to India rather than to Pakistan. General Muhammad Ayub Khan realized that America changed its foreign policy towards the provision of support to India against Pakistan. John F. Kennedy President of the United States has decided to send the Vice President Lyndon Baines Johnson to Pakistan, India, Thailand, South Vietnam, Taiwan, and Philippines. The theme was to review the financial support of the United States and examined the real position of aids in future and only supports those countries that are in favor of China and Communists rebellion. The American Vice President, Lyndon B. Johnson met with General Muhammad Ayub Khan at Karachi in 1961 (Kundi, 2009).

In this regards, General Muhammad Ayub Khan explained the significance of Kashmir issue to American Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson. As a result, Vice President Johnson assured that to resolve the issues of Kashmir on top priority basis and General Muhammad Ayub Khan further explained the Vice President of America Johnson about the economic support provided to India against Pakistan. After the visit, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson declared that United States would require to transforms the Pakistan's army on the grounds of latest technologies. In this regard, General Muhammad Ayub Khan had accepted the invitation of President John. F. Kennedy visit to the United States. However, General Muhammad Ayub Khan visited the United States in 1961, wherein the leaders of both countries go through the complete agenda items and took a keen interest to start the ten (10) years mutual understanding program.

General Muhammad Ayub Khan acknowledged as (Rieck, 2016):

*I desire to pay the special tribute to the open-minded people and leaders of the United States, that are active in the spreading of mutual, cooperation program, and security related issue in the free worlds.*

President John F. Kennedy replied as: *The United States communicate the keen interest regarding the achievement of the second five-year plan in Pakistan and accepted the solid objective i.e., fully supported the Pakistan's efforts to build the successful plan* (Dawn, 1961).

In this regards General Muhammad Ayub Khan replied as:

*In Pakistan, we are focused to the faith of individual liberty, free institutions, and independence for all we want to live in peace and friendliness with all the countries and needs to remain sincere regarding the development of economic growth in Pakistan.*

After the completion of ten (10) years mutual, cooperation program, the dialogue between Presidents of Pakistan and United States was started, wherein, the Director James of the United States and head of the mission to Pakistan issued a report during the closing ceremony of Pakistan and United States friendship program. As a result, Pakistan received \$ 1.5 billion support from the United States wherein James S. Killen said that:

*"During the four years stay in Pakistan, I took the time that the peoples of Pakistan got a significant achievement through the personal efforts of the government".*

He has taken the serious interest about the completion of a five-year plan." Before his visit to the United States, General Muhammad Ayub Khan said: *"Pakistan was upset and disappointment over the United States policy towards the interest of India and ignored the importance of Pakistan that created the great trouble for Pakistan.*

Anyhow, General Muhammad Ayub Khan reached the England and expressed his views on London T.V. if India became more powerful than Pakistan; we would get the support from China and could not reject the request of his neighbor. On July 11, 1961, General Muhammad Ayub Khan has visited the United States, wherein he was warmly welcomed by President Kennedy. As a regard, President Kennedy stated that militarily Pakistan was a powerful country in the region and we praised for Pakistan being the first Muslim country, who has offered the help to United States during the Korean War (Mahmood, 1991).

The United States administration was not in favor of Pakistan and desired to provide the military support to India instead of Pakistan. General Muhammad Ayub Khan informed President Kennedy as "*if the United States would follow this policy, we will withdraw our membership from the SEATO and CENTO as well*".

On July 19, 1961, General Muhammad Ayub Khan has explained the achievements of his visit to the United States in the News Conference held in Karachi. He also explained the commitment of President Kennedy about the solution of Kashmir issue and provision of military support to Pakistan. President Kennedy further announced in the News Conference held in Washington: "*We want India and Pakistan to live with peace and concentrate on their economies*". He said that we desired to peacefully settle the Kashmir conflict and do not want to put the mud on both the countries. In this regard, President Kennedy wrote a letter to General Muhammad Ayub Khan and Nehru and explained the real position in the letter and accepted the nomination of President Eugene Robert Black, as an arbitrator of the Kashmir issue. As a result, General Muhammad Ayub Khan accepted the nomination of President of World Bank as an arbitrator of the Kashmir issue wherein Nehru rejected the nomination (Ganguly, 2007).

In 1962, the issue of Kashmir was placed before the Security Council, wherein the issue was thoroughly discussed in the meeting but could not finalize up to June 1962. It was further placed in the meeting of the UN Secretary-General and no fruitful result was took place. After the end of meeting, Kennedy has promised with General Muhammad Ayub Khan and assured that United States would continue its efforts till the decision of Kashmir problems (Bangash, 2018).

Second time, President Kennedy met with General Muhammad Ayub Khan during his visit to the United States on September 24, 1962, wherein he has explained the situation in meeting regarding the provision of economic support to India. As India posed a security threats to Pakistan, President Kennedy gave the same remarks as per his previous statement. He stated that supply of economic aids to India would work as a major influence over India to negotiate the Kashmir issue. On October 13, 1962, Sahibzada Muhammad Ali Bogra Foreign Minister of Pakistan met with Secretary of State of the United States and thoroughly discussed the issue. The Secretary of the State has replied that Kashmir was illogical blame that cost Pakistan and India a great deal of money and development works (Iqbal, 2011).

As a result, President Kennedy sent a message to President Ayub Khan regarding the provision of military and economic support to India. General Muhammad Ayub Khan called an emergency meeting of parliament wherein, he discussed the numerous issues of the country and informed the parliament to review the SEATO and CENTO agreements. General Muhammad Ayub Khan was well-aware about the favoritism and said, "Pakistan to be thankful to the United States for the provision of economic and military support. But unfortunately, both the agreements lost their significance and further he explained that, we had two options to settle the Kashmir conflicts through War or by negotiations. But he had preferred the negotiations. According to Kux

Harriman and Sandy, the representatives of the United States met with General Muhammad Ayub Khan and Nehru in New Delhi on November 28, 1962. Pakistan agreed to negotiate with India, but India was not agreed to do so. During the discussion, General Muhammad Ayub Khan argued that plebiscite was not the solution of Kashmir issue and Pakistan was not in favor of the whole Kashmir (Dobell, 1962).

After the Sino-India War, President Kennedy again forced India to resolve the issue of Kashmir. As a result, Nehru informed the Indian parliament about the solution of Kashmir. President Kennedy made his efforts to resolve the issue of Kashmir during the six days talks but could not do so. However, the United States was not sincere to settle the issues of Kashmir. As a result, Pakistan signed the border agreement with China on March 29, 1963, and after the signing of an agreement with China, the administration of President Kennedy imposed the restriction against Pakistan and postponed the support amounting to Rs. \$ 4.3 million for the construction of new airport at Dhaka (Sattar, 2007).

This was the silent protest of the American and held a meeting with Pakistan from September 03, 1963 to September 06, 1963 wherein, General Muhammad Ayub Khan delivered the massive speech wherein, he highlighted the American support to India that was a major source to increase the Indian Influence in Pakistan. He further explained as "we desired to normalize our relations with the neighboring countries like India, China, and Soviet Union and concluded his speech with the remarks as "we do not require a major change in United States we want to fix the limitation on her support to India (Kundi, 2009).

President Kennedy explained the United States in the Press Conference about the proposal of General Muhammad Ayub Khan on September 12, 1963, provided huge amounts to India against China. Due to sudden death of President Kennedy of the

United States, he could not fulfill his dream and after the death of President Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson became the President of United States and nominated the General Taylor Maxwell, Chairman of the United States to visit Pakistan.

General Taylor Maxwell of the United States met general Muhammad Ayub Khan and assured their best efforts to normalize their relations with China and further promised we would develop our sympathies with China. General Muhammad Ayub Khan argued that this was the result of US policy towards China and General Taylor approached General Muhammad Ayub Khan regarding the Pak-China relationships and discussed the issue of the region. As a result, Pakistan wanted to protect the Chinese cause and followed the policy of bilateralism with all the countries. First, he had visited to China and Soviet Union in 1965. During the meeting, the parliament has explained the President General Muhammad Ayub Khan that Pakistan is a small piece of land just like a lamb and major powers are just like a lion (Hussain, 2001).

General Muhammad Ayub Khan acknowledged the statement of parliament Pakistan is a lamb and big powers are lions. Now, this is a time, we required to decide how to survive our lives with the lions by setting one lion against others. He has decided that Pakistan would remain a member of SEATO and CENTO and maintained the cordial relationships with China as well as with Soviet Union. In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson of United States did not allow the scheduled visit of General Muhammad Ayub Khan's to Washington and afterward the linkages of Pakistan with the United States reached to the lowest point (Khalid, 2011).

President Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States stopped the third installment of five years plan of Pakistan and further stopped the arms supply to Pakistan during the period of 1965 Indo-Pak War. General Muhammad Ayub Khan approached the Johnson for the resolution of Kashmir issue and President Lyndon B. Johnson explained that United

States will work under the umbrella of United Nations. In 1965, General Muhammad Ayub Khan visited to America, wherein President Johnson met him at White House in Washington. Even though General Muhammad Ayub Khan has desired to obtain the support from Lyndon B. Johnson on Kashmir issue, but Johnson did not agree to give a positive response. In 1965, General Muhammad Ayub Khan again visited to London and Washington before departure to Tashkent, wherein President Lyndon B. Johnson explained that period of coalition with Pakistan and United States have been expired. President Johnson explained that if Pakistan requires the military support from the United States, then Pakistan would cut off her linkages with the China (Iqbal, 2011). In this regard, Vice President of United States has visited the Pakistan in 1966 and agreed to provide a loan of Rs. \$ 50 million to Pakistan for the import of goods as and when required. The import-export Bank has agreed to provide the support being a loan \$ 152.3 million to Pakistan and Dean Rusk Secretary of the State approached Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, former Foreign Minister of Pakistan to arrange a meeting with the Foreign Minister of China on the issue of Vietnam War but could did, not succeed. In 1967, President Johnson of the United States has decided to send their spare parts to India, and Pakistan.

President Johnson regretted to provide the military and economic support to India and Pakistan and President Johnson met with General Muhammad Ayub Khan at Karachi airport on December 22, 1967, wherein he has agreed to support Pakistan in the shape of supplies of vegetables, oil, and wheat. But Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has resigned from the service of Foreign Minister and in the meanwhile, Main Arshad Hussain was appointed as a new Foreign Minister of Pakistan. The government of President Johnson was ends and General Muhammad Ayub Khan has suffered the various difficulties. In 1969,

Richard Nixon became the President of the United States and General Muhammad Ayub Khan has resigned from the government in March 1969 (Khalid, 2011).

#### **4.13- Détente Period**

The détente is a French word which means released from tension. The policy of arms control was developed by the Soviet Union and period of normalization (1960-70) was started between United States and the Soviet Union. During this period Pakistan improved their relationships with the United States and Soviet Union. The period of late, 1960 to mid-1970 called "the era of détente," a period of relaxing and stability between the United States and Soviet Union (Herman, 2011).

The ideological differences between two countries were settled on the grounds of peaceful coexistence, cooperation, and dialogue. The compromise between the United States and Soviet Union was started altogether on the space project. The United States is the country the only superpower having worldwide military networks. The Soviet Union requires was to obtain more and more power in the northeastern and sub-Saharan Africa regions. Due to these developments, United States felt the threat and loss of Vietnam War which greatly affects the confidence of America. As a result, the Soviet Union improved the military capability and seen as more dangerous. The government of People Democratic Party of Afghanistan was overthrown by the communist government. However, the communist government of Afghanistan became weak and unstable and Soviet Union decided to intervene in Afghanistan. In 1979, the Soviet Union removed the new communist government of Afghanistan and established a new one that would be more loyal to the Soviet Union. Due to these developments, the United States seriously condemned the activities of Soviet Union and United States hoped that Soviet involvement in the conflict would reduce the resources. Owing to these effects, the Americans started the supply to Afghan revolt through the training

and arms. In 1979, the Islamic revolutionaries have seized the Embassy of America in Tehran (Wise, 2011).

The era of Cold War period was a major catastrophic in the history of America. It was an opportunity whether the world would be dominated by the forces of control or led by the Soviet Union. The Cold War was started by the United States, the world superpower. It was designed by the United States, through the military strategy, and economic development, approximately for fifty (50) years. The distinguished Scholars Lee Edwards and Elizabeth Edward Spalding have explained the important proceedings of the struggle and tactics which gradually led to triumph to its freedom (Sykes, 2010).

The nature of Pakistan-United States relationships was remained ups and down in the decade of 70s. As Pakistan was the most allied ally of the United States during the period of 1950, 1980 & 2001. But their linkages were not remained vibrant due to the national interest of both the countries. In 1954, Pakistan became a member of Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and after that he had joined the Central Treaty Organization in 1955. Nevertheless, the SEATO and CENTO could not provide a sufficient guarantee to Pakistan during the Wars of 1965 and 1971 and Pakistan faced the challenges of economically and militarily (Malik,2015).

The former Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan stated that our country would not become the part of any ideological differences. In early, the founder of Pakistan has also explained as "our foreign policy is one of the friendships and goodwill towards all the nations". Pakistan approached the United States for the grant of economic and military support and United States released the amount of \$ 10 million to Pakistan from his relief fund (Ibrahim, 2009).

On the other hand, United States imposed the restriction against Pakistan on account of export of military equipment under the commitment of Pakistan-India over the Kashmir

issue. Even though, the top priority of the United States to join India and afterward Pakistan. India showed her faithfulness partially in the global war and decided to develop the closed relationship with China. The overall relationships between Pakistan and United States were not remained pleasant in the coming year such as in Korean War, wherein Pakistan disagreed with the United States and refused to send their troops to Korea and only agreed to provide the political support for national cause and United States provided the economic support to Pakistan. In this regard, Pakistan established her close relationship with the United States and the former Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan visited to United States, wherein he was warmly welcomed by the United States, wherein, he has explained the position that no ideological difference would stop Pakistan from the linkages of United States (Coutto, 2015).

The policy of United States towards Pakistan during the period of General Eisenhower administration was remained successful. The purpose of President Eisenhower, John Foster Dulles Secretary of State and Admiral Arthur W. Redford to minimize the involvement of the United States in the Korean War. The United States imposed the informal sanction against Pakistan and India regarding the supply of military apparatus. The United States had lifted the embargo against Pakistan and India. The focus of this study was to explain the scope and significance of Pakistan United States relations during the Cold War period. The issues were related to security threats, nuclear, ethical, and religious differences from Indian side and generate the obscurity for Pakistan. Pakistan has emerged being an Eastern Block against the communism. On September 07, 1954, Pakistan and United States signed the military pact to control the communism and legitimates its hostility with India and Afghanistan. The period of late 1960 to mid-1970 was called a détente period, which means a period of peace and strengthened the linkages between United States and Soviet Union. First time, the United States and

Soviet Union would work together on the space project and held the global level of military camps across the world (Khan, 2013).

Nevertheless, the research has explained the nature of Pakistan-United States linkages during the decade of 1970 in historical perspective and described the relationships between both of countries in different period such the era of neutrality (1947-54), the period of first military ruler General Muhammad Ayub Khan (1958-1969). The research further examined the Cold War period, détente period, military as a factor, and ideological difference as well.

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## CHAPTER- 5

### **POLES APART STEPFORWARDINGS TO STRENGTHEN THE LINKAGES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter explains the numerous factors of Pakistan-United States Relations during the period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The relationships based on economic, strategic cooperation, political milieu, cultural, education, and scientific linkages.

#### **5.2 Early Period**

In 1947, after the birth of Pakistan, the economics and security issues compelled Pakistan to join the US block instead of Soviet Union. In the meanwhile, the US was looking for its “friend” in the region who could fight against the spreading of communism and the emerging of China (Sial, 2007).

The founder of Pakistan also aware about the nature of United States and addressed to the Constituent Assembly, wherein he stated that United States is one of the countries who support Pakistan and desired to develop its relations (Mahmood, 2015).

The founder of Pakistan has delivered the speech over the radio to the audience of North America, wherein he has explained the loyalty of Pakistani masses and their faithfulness to the peoples of United States and further explained the importance of Islam that promotes the democracy and ignores autocracy. The country has become a modern state and faces the domestic challenges. He has explained the aims and objectives for the creation of Pakistan and conveyed the message of friendship and wellbeing across the world (Ahmad, 2001).

After, World War-II, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged as a Charismatic leader of the country and desired Pakistan to become a sovereign power in the international arena.

He moved towards the development of security arrangement, economic stability and social unity towards the Muslim countries (Zain, 2012).

The aim of Bhutto's foreign policy was to maintain the close relationships with all the Muslim countries. The second priority was to provide the basic facility to the common peoples of Pakistan such as feeding, clothing, and shelter to the common peoples of Pakistan who had been ignored in the society. The foreign policy is the source of linkages with other countries wherein an individual builds his/her nation on the rights path. He designed the foreign policy of country according to the aspiration of their peoples. The objectives of the country signify the common goals of the peoples and need of the country in national as well as at international level (Razza, 2008).

In 1948, United States established the diplomatic relations with Pakistan on the ground of military and economic support. In, early years country has a multiple, choices either to join the Soviet Union or United States. Pakistan has decided to join the US block for the purpose of military and economic support. Pakistan was more inclined to the United States as compared to the Soviet Union. Although ideological differences were in the way of relationship, Pakistan could not ignore the factor as the ideology of the USSR as Marxism and Leninism. The USSR desired to apply his theory rest on the world. However, the leaders of Pakistan belonged to Western Society and followed the pro-Western policies. As a result, a huge number of bureaucrats joined the cabinet of Liaquat Ali Khan and became the part of decision-making body (Javaid, 2014).

The following are become the members of cabinet such as Malik Ghulam Muhammad Khan, Finance Minister, and Iskandar Mirza Secretary Interior. Although, Liaquat Ali Khan was the pro-Western ally of the United States and presented the demands of Pakistan in the United States. In 1950, he visited the United States on the invitation of President Harry S. Truman.

During the visits, he has explained the real position for the creation of Pakistan to the United States and about the struggle of Muslims for the independence of separate country in the sub-continent (Manzoor, 2018).

He has explained the aims and objectives for the creation of Pakistan as the peoples of Pakistan desired to serve their lives according to the teaching of Islam. The visit of Liaquat Ali Khan's to the United States was remained successful. The other aspect of Pakistan connections with the United States was the geo-strategic position of Pakistan. In 1947, India developed its linkages with the United States being its future ally in the region. However, key objectives of the United States foreign were to acquire the support of India (Amin, 2011).

In 1949, China emerged as a communist country in the region and resolved to fight against the West. However, the Korea War and Indo-China War shaped the new image of their importance towards the United States. Pakistan was the neighbor of China and Soviet Union. Due to its importance, the United States desired to enter through the mutual security pact with Pakistan and soon afterward, Pakistan became the member of SEATO and CENTO (Chaudhri, 1983).

The United States has agreed to provide the military support to Pakistan and later, on dis-agreed. As a result, the United States invited India to become a part of our block. Due to these arrangements, the United States provided the 10 billion dollars to India for the economic development. The purpose was to utilize the support for the development of military equipment as well as strengthened its military capability with the latest technology. Pakistan has no other option to develop its linkages with China. As a result, President Johnson shaped the economic and political pressure against Pakistan to change its foreign policy towards China (Bangash, 2018).

This situation moved towards the terrible position and India attacked in Pakistan in September 1965. The War of 1965 between Indian and Pakistan became the main obstacle for Pakistan and President Richard Milhous Nixon of the United States changed its foreign policy towards China. Soon afterward, President Richard Milhous Nixon has visited to Pakistan and met with General Yahya Khan and discussed the matter of its linkages with China. General Yahya Khan was agreed to schedule the secret visit of President Richard Milhous Nixon Security Advisor to Peking, China (Hussain, 2016).

This alarming position made India apprehensive of the Soviet Union, the United States and China axis. India and Soviet Union quickly moved towards the signing of treaty of peace. The theme was to develop the military linkages between two countries. Due to this development, country faced a critical situation in Pakistan and East Pakistan was separated from the West Pakistan. The immediate effect of crisis was the emerging of India as a dominant player in the region. The former Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto ex-President of Pakistan has signed the Simla agreement and after the signing of agreement, Bhutto made its efforts to improve the linkages with his enemy India. These initiatives moved towards the improvement of relationships with India, but unfortunately, India tested the first nuclear device at Rajasthan, near Pakistani border. As a result, India created a dominant position in the region wherein, Pakistan took a special notice against the testing of nuclear bomb in Pakistan and countered her enemy of India (Harriss, 2003).

Anyhow, President Carter and his advisors recognized the fact that human rights and nuclear non-proliferation are the part of American foreign policy. Furthermore, Carter administration was interested to protect the Oil reservoirs in the Gulf region and decided to engage Iran, to strengthen the security of South Asia. Pakistan has disagreed with the

strategy of Carter that peoples of Iran were not happy with the character of Shah Iran and after the end of Shah of Iran; the Carter administration played a significant role that would become the foundation of Soviet development in the region. During the Carter administration, the relationships between Pakistan and United States reached at the lowest level. The United States fully supported the India and continued the delivery of nuclear armament to India. On the other hands, United States builds the pressure and forced the Pakistan to close the nuclear project and stopped the economic support. The United States approached the World Bank and IMF to follow the instructions against Pakistan (Kheli, 1982).

The nuclear development project of Pakistan was seriously challenged by the United States due to Israeli Lobby in the country. The purpose of Carter administration was to encourage India through the various pacts and maintained the superiority in the region. In 1979, Russian's attack at Afghanistan and brought some changes in the US foreign policy towards Pakistan and offered 400 million dollars to Pakistan for its economics and military business. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq President of Pakistan ignored the US economic and military support and thought as "the small type of support of US" could not improve the defense budget of Pakistan against the capability of Soviet Union forces (Dasgupta, 2002).

Pakistan was born in the era of chaos and confusion and required the political and military support against the hostility of India. During the year of 1954 and 1955, Pakistan and United States signed the different defense pacts. As per agreement, the United States was required to provide the economic and military support to Pakistan but could not to do so. The United States felt the needs of Pakistan on the grounds of its unique physical position and provided the support to Pakistan such as military and economic. Pakistan has faced certain challenges due to its alliances with the United

State particularly the issue of Kashmir. The composite dialogue was held between Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan in 1953. It was decided that Kashmir issues will be resolved through the fair and free plebiscite (Chaudhri, 1983).

Mr. Nehru has desired to understand the factual position of Pakistan in the opening ceremony held with the United States regarding its alliances and explained the solution of Kashmir in August 1953. If the United States will be agreed to provide the military support to Pakistan, then the entire structure of Kashmir would be changed. In 1955, the Soviet Union maintained a neutral position on Kashmir issue, and Pakistan became a member of the Western alliance. As a result, India labeled Pakistan as a follower of a Western lobby (Baloch, 2006).

In 1962, Pakistan United States relations moved towards the worst position. In the meantime, Pakistan developed its relationship with China. Sahibzada Muhammad Ali of Bogra, the former Foreign Minister of Pakistan was the architects of Pakistan's US alliances. In 1962, he explained the role of the United States in the session of National Assembly that was not in favor of the membership of SEATO and CENTO. The President of Pakistan General Muhammad Ayub Khan was unaware about the new American policy shaped in favor of India. The United States did not remain a trustworthy friend of Pakistan during the period of the 1965 Indo-Pak War and supported India against China. However, Pakistan withdrew her membership from the SEATO and CENTO and joined the Non-aligned Movement (Rizvi, 2004).

In 1971, after assuming the control of the country, Bhutto examined the nature of Pakistan United States relationships and described the factual position of Pakistan-United States relationships. In 1974, India blasted her nuclear device and Pakistan became alert of security and signed the agreement with France for the nuclear program on March 18, 1976. The United States made its efforts to stop France and Pakistan from

such types of agreements but could not succeed. After signing the agreement, the relations between Pakistan and United States deteriorated (Hasnat, 2011).

As a result, President Carter's administration became more conscious against the Bhutto government and after the ends of World War-II, the United States engaged in the naval hostility with Britain and Japan, was busy in the development of economic interest in China. The United States involved with Japan in the field of economy and military (Ahmad, 1983).

### **5.3 Political Milieu**

The United States was the first country that recognized the newly born state of Pakistan in 1947 and sent the message of wellbeing and good wishes to Pakistan. Pakistan also developed diplomatic linkages with the United States (Baloch, 2006).

The purpose of relationships was to provide the economic and military support to Pakistan. The linkages between Pakistan and United States broke due to the suspension of its military and economic aids during the period of 1965 & 1971 Indo-Pak Wars. It recognized that the United States did not remain sincere with Pakistan. In 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan visited the United States on the President Harry S. Truman's invitation and met with him (Khan, 2013).

During the visit, he explained the real situation of Pakistan and requested the President Harry S. Truman for economic and military support. The United States considered the visit of Liaquat Ali Khan's as a successful visit, but their relationships had been broken due to Pakistan's refusal to send its armed forces to the North Korea. He stated that we agreed to send our forces to the North Korea if the United States would play its role in the solution of Kashmir issue. The United States has rejected the offered of Liaquat Khan's and similarly, Liaquat Ali Khan refused the offered of the United States. The relationships between two countries further deteriorated (Abbas, 2012).

In 1954, Pakistan signed the treaty of a mutual defense agreement with United States and Pakistani soldiers were sent to the United States for training and similarly the United States established the Military Assistance Advisory Group at Rawalpindi. In 1956, President Dwight Eisenhower of the United States requested the former Prime Minister of Pakistan Suhrawardy to lease the Peshawar Airbase to the American army against the Soviet Union (Hameed, 2013).

As a result, the United States International Development Agency has provided the sufficient support to Pakistan for the development of numerous projects. During the period of 1953 and 1961, Pakistan received \$ 2 billion dollars aids from the United States for its developmental projects. In 1960, the regional War of Pakistan involved India and created the disturbance in East Pakistan (Cheema, 2015).

General Muhammad Ayub Khan allowed the Peshawar Airbase to the United States to complete the action against the Soviet Union. The linkages between Pakistan and United States broke during the Wars of 1965 and 1971. The United States imposed the military restrictions against Pakistan. Despite arms sanction, President Richard of the United States supported Pakistan. Later, on Jimmy Carter of the US became the President of Pakistan and imposed sanctions against the Pakistan nuclear program (Pandey, 2018).

However, Bhutto continued his efforts to complete the nuclear project within the stipulated period, but President Carter and his administration forced Bhutto to withdraw the nuclear program otherwise amount will not be released to Pakistan. In 1979, the scenario was totally changed when the Soviet Union attacked in Afghanistan. The United States considered that Pakistan was the only country who could safeguard from the Soviet aggression. As a result, during the five years plan, the United States provided the \$ 3.2 billion economic and military support to Pakistan (Hameed, 2013).

The linkage between Pakistan and United States was remained successful during the period of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq President of Pakistan, on ground of military and economic development. The purpose was to stop the further interventions of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. As regards, the United States provided the enough military and economic support to Pakistan. After the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan, the United States President G.W. Bush has explained that Pakistan would not be allowed to continue her nuclear program (Malik, 2012).

In 1985, the Pressler amendment of the US banned aid in the domain of the military and economic development of Pakistan and remained aloof from Pakistan during the period of 1990. In 1992, the relationships between Pakistan and United States became miserable. Ambassador Nicholas Platt of the United States informed Pakistan to be careful about the provision of support to the militants in Afghanistan (Hasnat, 2011).

In 1995, the ex- Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto visited the United States and met with President Clinton. She also requested the President of United States regarding the lifting of embargos against Pakistan. In 1995, Brown amendment was passed by Congress and agreed to release the previous \$3 68 million aids to Pakistan for its military equipment. In 1998, the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif has tested the nuclear device at Chaghi, near Baluchistan. As a result, President Bill Clinton imposed the Glenn Amendment restriction against India and Pakistan. The Glenn Amendment comprised on the suspension of aid, including the economic development support program. However, the United States lifted the restrictions against India and Pakistan (Pandey, 2018).

After the terrorist attack in the twin towers of America on September 11, 2001, the events were brought the changes in the international systems. Pakistan under the leadership of General Pervaiz Musharraf moved towards the settlement of situation and

required to follow the US foreign policy towards the solution of terrorism in all over the world. On September 19, 2001, President General Pervaiz Musharraf addressed to the nation wherein, he stated that we would follow the decisions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly (Hussain, 2013).

As a result, President George W. Bush and Colin Luther Powel United States Secretary of the States arranged a special meeting with the President of Pakistan General Pervaiz Musharraf and discussed the issues. Both the leaders told the President of Pakistan General Pervaiz Musharraf to think over the five points of the agenda including handing over the camps to United States fighter planes. The newly inducted ambassador of the United States met with the President of Pakistan General Pervaiz Musharraf and conveyed the message of President George. W. Bush on the following agendas (Armitage, 2016):

1. To stop the Al-Qaida operations in Pakistani border and cut off the arms supply points of Osama bin Laden.
2. The rights of blanket and landing flight of the US planes
3. The admission to Pakistan's naval camps, air camps, and borders
4. To immediately inform the intelligence and immigration departments
5. To control all the domestic linkages of their expression of support of terrorism against the United States, its friends, and allies.
6. To cut off the fuel supply of the Taliban and stopped the Pakistani volunteers who were going to Afghanistan and joined the Taliban militant.
7. Pakistan would close the diplomatic relations with the Taliban and supports the United States against the Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaida network.

General Pervaiz Musharraf President of Pakistan was not agreed with the above-mentioned agenda points of the United States, on the grounds of solidarity and national

interest of the country that are most important. He informed the nation about the decision of United States and stated that Pakistan comes, first and other thing come later. As a result, both the countries agreed to facility each other and developed the state of affair with each other. Later, on he decided to join the international forum against the eradication of terrorism and safeguard the country from the enemies of the state (Hussain, 2005).

#### **5.4 Pakistan-United States Linkages**

The linkage between Pakistan-United States was developed on the ground of geostrategic position and it was the result of World War-II when all the countries became independent. After the independence of Pakistan, it was announced by the founder of Pakistan that the urgent needs of Pakistan armed forces would be updated with the latest possible technology (Hussain, 1987).

In 1950, the security arrangement started between Pakistan and United States. However, it was broken in the mid of 1960, when the United States imposed the arms constraints against Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan developed its close relationships with the People's Republic of China and got the maximum support from him (Mustafa, 2014).

However, the relationships between Pakistan and United States did not remain pleasant during the 1960. Bhutto made its efforts to defend the country from the Indian hostility and United States was engaged in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. The United States felt the needs of Pakistan on the grounds of its geostrategic position and faced the challenges from India as well as from the Soviet Union. Pakistan required to make its security alliance with the United States and became a member of the South Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954. The United States, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan were its members (Saif, 2007).

The purpose of alliance was to provide the military and economic support to the member countries. The United States could not provide the military and economic support to Pakistan mainly during the crises of Indo-Pak Wars of 1965 and 1971. However, Pakistan left the membership of SEATO early in 1970 and formally left in 1973. The country was enabled to modernize its armed forces with the latest technology and got the opportunity from others. In 1962, Nehru created the conflicts with China to criticize China and challenge its power. He has examined the Pakistan-United States linkages and made its efforts to break Pakistan-United States relationships with the help of democratic government and partially succeeded in the mission. The United States violated the defense treaty SEATO and provided the arms support to India instead of Pakistan (Bhutto, 1968).

Similarly, United States further violated the military pacts during 1965 & 1971 Indo-Pak Wars and provided the arms support to India. As a result, Pakistan drew the membership of CENTO from the United States. In 1979, the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan required the United States to get the support from Pakistan and established a camp in Pakistan near Peshawar (Bada Ber) wherein, the neighbor's countries created the troubles for Pakistan. The purpose was to develop the networks of communications in Balochistan and NWFP (KP) and takes the action against the United States policy towards Pakistan's launching a nuclear network became complicated. Pakistan faced the problems of security and moved towards the membership of European Asian countries. It was added that the peoples of Pakistan were not happy with the United States defense pact. Because, they had got the lessons from the history and no longer willing to require the support of United States. She was not sincere with the Pakistan and always performed the actions against Pakistan (Hussain, 1987).

Pakistan-United States security arrangements were limited and every state desired to gain its interests for the well-being of their nations. The United States during the linkages with Pakistan was remained more careful. India was the major security threat for Pakistan and United States used the territory of Pakistan against the Soviet Union. The aims and objectives of both the countries are unlike. The overall security linkages between Pakistan and United States were not remained pleasant (Cohen, 1987). Sometimes, it remained most important and sometimes it remained less important. In 1954, Pakistan joined the US military pact for the purpose of collective security arrangements, but United States was failed to support the Pakistan during the Wars of 1965 and 1971. As a result, Pakistan withdrew its membership from the SEATO and CENTO. The security interests of the two countries were dissimilar. The United States provided the military and economic support to Pakistan on the ground of its own interests and used the Pakistani land at Peshawar near (Bada Ber). Last but not the security linkages between Pakistan and United States were remained ups and downs on different occasions. As the United States used the Pakistani land against the communist block and captured the Soviet holds (Hilali, 2006).

In 1979, after the revolution of Iran, Pakistan had withdrawn the membership of CENTO and joined the Non-Aligned Movement. The United States partially lifted the arms sanction against Pakistan in 1973 and completely disbanded in 1975 (Khan, 1990). In 1979, President Jimmy Carter of the United States has stopped all the development funds of Pakistan on the grounds of publication of report in the daily newspapers as well as other documents received by the United States relates to Kahuta Uranium development project (Malik, 2012).

In the meanwhile, 1979 Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan change its policy toward Pakistan and involved in Afghanistan that was a serious challenge to the United

States. In 1980, the relation between Pakistan and United States became pleasant to control the conflicting position of Afghanistan and showed the satisfaction toward the development of peace and stability. The military actions of the United States in Pakistan somehow reduced the security issues with India. Anyhow, it kept continue to check the growth of Pakistan nuclear explosive apparatus. On the other hand, American's economic support to Pakistan acknowledged the significant achievement of Pakistan. The relationship between Pakistan and United States was remained ups and downs on different occasions. Pakistan did not hold a specific position in the domestic politics of the United States that had been enjoyed by Israel, Japan, South Korea, and even Saudi Arabia. The United States was not given any rights to expatriate Pakistani to establish the domestic group or Electorate College. The Pakistani American society was very small in number and limited control in American decision-making body. The linkage between Pakistan and United States was designed with reference to America's relationships with Soviet Union and China. In 1980, the relationships between Pakistan and United States became more fruitful as compared to the alliances of 1950 (Thornton, 1988).

In 1979, the Soviet attack in Afghanistan focused on the common interest of Pakistan wherein, the United States and Pakistan has agreed to provide the \$ 3.2 billion military and economic support to Pakistan. The purpose of support was to help Pakistan against the security threat from India and its economic needs in the region. In 1986, both the countries further agreed regarding the provision of support to the second phase of security and economic development in South Asia. The United States provided the \$4.0 billion to Pakistan and Pakistan supported the United States in the Global war on terror (Hussain, 2005).

After 9/11, Pakistan fully supported the United States against the War on terror. As a result, the United States provided a huge economics assistance and released the balance aid relates to education reform policy. In 2003, President of Pakistan General Pervaiz Musharraf visited the United States and met with President Bush. In this regard, American President Bush announced the \$ 3.00 billion dollars to Pakistan for its economic and military might (Hamilton, 2016).

In 2005, earthquake disaster, the United States further released the \$ 410.00 million dollars to Pakistan. In 2006 President Bush visited to Pakistan wherein he met with President General Pervez Musharraf and assured the deep commitment with Pakistan. He further agreed to help Pakistan in number of issues, such as War on Terror, security strengthening, development of democratic institutions, trade and investment, education, and other earthquake reconstruction activities (Daniel, 2005).

In 2006, President General Pervaiz Musharraf visited the Washington, wherein he holds a bilateral meeting with President Bush and joined in a trilateral gathering with President Bush and President of Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai. Pakistan-United States strategic partnership was formed on the ground of common interests of the United States and Pakistan. Both the countries made their efforts to promote peace, security, stability, prosperity, and democracy in the south region. In 2011, serious tension generated between Pakistan and United States in the bilateral relationship. As a result, Pakistan's military leadership decided that it would not allow the United States to do the operations in Pakistani territory. General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani also explained that Pakistan would not allow any country to do the operations inside the Pakistan territory. It was just to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan (Kronstadt, 2011).

As a result, the massive pressure was built against Pakistan-United States relationships as well as the CIA's drone attacks from the Shamsi Airbase commonly known as Jacobabad Air Camp. The enmity between Pakistan and United States was again started, when Raymond Allen Davis was released by the court from the jail in 2011, in the murder case of two Pakistanis peoples. After the pardon of family, Raymond Allen Davis was released by the court and handed over the death compensation to the accused party (Kronstadt, 2012).

On July 10, 2011, the United States suspended the \$ 800 million military support of Pakistan and builds the pressure against Pakistan for the maintenance of good linkages. The leadership of Pakistan armed forces was not in favor of the terms and condition mentioned by the US. The issue was resolved on the grounds of statements recorded in the visas policy and allowed the United States personnel for military operations wherein Pakistan was looking for a settlement (Kennedy School, 2011).

On November 26, 2011, Pakistani officials has told that NATO helicopters and jet airplanes attacked over the military camp near Afghan border wherein, twenty-six (26) Pakistani soldier are killed, and more than fourteen (14) persons were injured. Pakistan condemned the actions of NATO forces and stated that it would completely unjustifiable and closed the supply border of NATO from Khyber Pass to Afghanistan and immediately vacate the Shamsi Airbase. Anyhow, Pakistan would boycott the Conference held at Bonn, Germany in December 2011 (Kronstadt, 2012).

On August 01, 2012, Pakistan and United States signed the memorandum of understanding regarding the restoration of supply routes of NATO forces in Afghanistan. The purpose of MOU was that there would be no arms transportation and arsenal for the foreign troops deployed in Afghanistan through Pakistan. The NATO supply was suspended due to the bombardment of United States near the check post and

supply routes are also closed for seven (07) months. In 2016, the United States has reduced the financial and military support released to Pakistan. The key objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy were that to defend the territorial integrity, viable political-economic system, and regional reliability. The Pakistan-United States military training arrangements was the dual program that would lead to further cooperation (Mustafa, 2014).

### **5.5- Pakistan-United States Unavoidable Economic Circumstances**

The economics linkage between Pakistan and United States was started in 1947. The United States played the key role in Pakistan's economic development and foreign private investment sector (Kemal, 1990). Pakistan and United States had a vast history of economic development and signed a treaty of friendship and Commerce on November 12, 1959 (Iqbal, 1988).

The economic cooperation between Pakistan and United States was remained cordial in 1960 and 1970. The economics linkages between Pakistan and United States were governed on the ground of mutual understanding. These relationships were based on political, social, and economic requirement of two countries. Due to these measures both the countries enjoyed the friendly relationships with each other and changed with the passage of time. The United States further provided the support to Pakistan for the numerous purposes such as economic development and domestic usage (Iqbal, 1988).

This financial support of the United States has become the major source of Pakistan to improve the growth of economic development and agricultural sector. The United States also supported the Pakistan about the establishment of a Basic Health Unit Center (BHUC) in Pakistan. Although, the United States economic assistance program would help Pakistan to achieve the goals; improve the poverty and further promoted the health facility including the social and economic transportations. Even though the

establishment of food support program in the country may reduce the inflation rate and it may lead to the development of domestic agricultural production. The foreign aid improved the growth of the economic development and its technical expertise. It is added that US provided the economic support to Pakistan in the following area such as the formation of an indoor marketing facility to arrange its agricultural excess. The major areas for the expansion of economic growth are International Trade and Finance Investment. The importance of the United States program was a source of imports which decreased with the passage of time (Zuckerman, 1988).

In 1979, the Soviet Union landed its troops in Afghanistan and Pakistan got the significance being a frontline partner. The economic cooperation between Pakistan and United States was again started during the year of 1984-85. As, the United States was the key aid donor to Pakistan from 1951-1960, its total share comes about 68% which decreased approximately 57% during the year of 1960 and 1971-72, it has increased up to 15% (Dawn, 2012).

The following areas became the major source of economic development between Pakistan and United States such as trade, private foreign investment, and the transfer of technology. The economic linkages developed by Pakistan due to the dare needs of the country (Sridharan, 1999). The United States was the first donor country who has provided the maximum support to Pakistan during the period of 1951-52 and 1987-88, as 19.3% loans and 40.8% grants. During the period of 1977-87, only \$ 558 million amount was released on a net basis which comes to \$55.8 million each year as average. The decreased was start during the year of 1965, immediately after the War with India and the year of 1977 has become more important, because when Pakistan was established its nuclear technology (Hilali, 1979).

After 1981, Pakistan United States relations were again started when the Soviet Union was attacked in Afghanistan and forced the United States to offer a new support program for Pakistan. The United States supported the Pakistan in different areas such as irrigation which is one of the largest and most complicated areas of Pakistan and second, construction of Mangla dam, Tarbela dam, including the different barrages. The United States sponsored projects are headed by Pakistan through the irrigation and water management systems (Marcy, 1964).

### **5.6 The United States Private Investment**

The foreign private investment sector of the United States was remained the major source for the income of Pakistan. The purpose was to transfer the technology and produced the capital development in Pakistan. The United States provided the different types of support to Pakistan and promoted the foreign private investment in Pakistan. The other area of cooperation was the deduction of income tax from the investors and improved the standard of developing countries. During the period of 1977-78 and 1986-87, the total private foreign investment comes to Rs. 4288 million out of which only 0.7% total savings of the country. It was the outcome of improvement in the share of United States during the years 1961-65 and 1984-86 (Hasnat, 2011).

### **5.7 Trade Linkages**

Bhutto played the important role in the creation of trade linkages between Pakistan and United States. The US was the second trade largest partner of Pakistan. During the period of 1960 & 1970, it became the largest export country in Pakistan. The shares of export reduced in the second half of 1960 and 1970 century and later, on increased. On the other hand, the share of the United States import was fixed one third in the mid of 1960. The following are the areas of Pakistan exports to the United States such as cotton, garments, fish, cutlery, and surgical instruments. These exports were carried out

from Pakistan to United States as per rules. Although, the duty rate of the United States was not a reasonable as per tax composition which are different from the export of goods sent to other countries as compared to US. The United States produced the centralized system of income tax that provided the duty-free access almost 2,900 agriculture and industrial sector of the developing countries. The products are not allowed under the policy of textiles and watches, import-sensitive electronics, steel, glass, footwear, petroleum products, wood, leather, and chemical manufactured goods (Cohen, 2008).

## **5.8 Cultural Relations**

The cultural relations between Pakistan and United States were not limited to the specific area of academics and profession. It was also included to Sports, Music, Folk arts, painting, and others based on popular concentration of two countries. For instance, the organization and development of basketball game in Pakistan developed a prominent exchange with US coaches mainly on the visit of Springfield College basket team in 1960 (Ahmad, 1990).

Apart from the Decathlon Champion such as Bob Mathias and Rafer Johnson arranged the clinical Workshops in Pakistan. It was also stated that American Track and field coaches have also been trained in Pakistani Athletes games for the participation of International Olympic and the Asian Games competitions. The well-known choreographer Martha Graham and singer Marian Anderson always remembered on the ground of their excellent performance in Pakistan. The United States Theater and drama experts often scheduled the Workshops and arranged the presentation techniques in consultation with Pakistan National Council of Arts in Pakistan. Particularly, in the music, the most important music of Pakistani was qawwali, welcome in the United States. The second, popular figure of Pakistan was the Sabri Brothers, sponsored by

Asian Society, New York. The top sixty (60) popular Pakistani folk artists, singer, dramas, takes part in the esteemed Mall festival in Washington D.C. to celebrate the American Independence Day. The Pakistani show was also welcome in the major cities of the United States. The distinguished among these was a painting and graphic arts which were the most interesting areas. In 1983, the Islamic Asian Calligraphy exhibition was held under the supervision of Freer Art Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. In 1987, an exhibition of Kashmir Shawls was displayed at the Textile Museum in Washington D.C. (Maskiell, 2002).

## **5.9 Education Exchange**

The Centre for Pakistan Studies Chair was established at Columbia University, New York in 1951. The theme of the center was to train the limited numbers of highly talented American and foreign students in a Pakistani language, both the countries had developed the historical relationships with each other. However, the students got the knowledge and enable us to do the jobs in the various departments of the government. The students also continued their academic education including the research activities in social sciences. The government of Pakistan runs the studies chair Centre in collaboration with Columbia University. In the early years, the chair was occupied by the eminent scholars of Pakistan Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi and Dr. Muhammad Hussain who had remained the Federal Ministers and members of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. The other eminent scholars such as Ch. Zafarullah, Dr. S.M. Ikram, and Khawaja Sarwar Hussain also associated him with the Centre. During the period of 1951-65, these scholars are produced the innovative research in Pakistan (Ahmad, 1990).

The studies Chair Centre was suspended by the United States during the period of 1965 Indo-Pak War. In 1973, the matter of studies Centre was reviewed by the ex-prime

minister of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto during his visit to the United States and the US was agreed to support the Studies Chair Centre of the Columbia University established at Pakistan. Later, on the name of the Centre was changed as "Quaid-i-Azam Distinguished Professor of Pakistan Studies". Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also established the similar types of Centre, some other parts of the countries. This Centre provided the valuable academic opportunities to the American students who were interested to explore the quality research.

For this purpose, the MOU for the exchange of education program in the name of Fulbright was signed by Pakistan and United States in 1950. As a result, 1056 Pakistani scholars, academicians and students have joined the institutions of higher learning of education in the United States from 1951-86. Similarly, in the same years, 363 American teachers and researchers further joined the various institutions established in Pakistan. The following were the key functions of the Centre:

- Pakistan Fulbright Research-ships**

The eminent scholars of Pakistan are selected for the advance research program in the United States.

- Pakistan Fulbright Postdoctoral Research-ships**

This program is started for the energetic young Pakistani scholars who had accomplished their PhD degrees during the last five years, particularly outside the United States.

- US Fulbright Senior Lectureships**

According to this program the qualified professors of American were inducted in the various Pakistani Universities. The maximum period of the study was for nine (9) months and to train the selected institutions in Pakistan and improve the quality of mutual exchange program.

- US Fulbright Senior Research-ships**

In this program, the renowned scholars of America produced the variety of education to the researchers of Pakistan. The US department of education has offered the postdoctoral research program in language through its faculty research abroad program. The duration of program was three (03) to nine (09) months in the affiliated institution of Pakistan.

- US Fulbright Pre-doctoral Research-ships**

This program is sponsored by the Institute of International Education and Area Studies Centre, under the umbrella of US Department of Education's Doctoral Dissertation abroad program. The programs produced the quality of education in the relevant area.

- US Fulbright Teacher Awards**

Six-week summer study program was designed by Pakistan for American Secondary School and College's teachers. The program was based on lectures, demonstrations and reading material. The participants are become able to know the history of Pakistan's and culture.

## **5.10 American Studies Centre in Pakistan**

The Area Studies Centre for America, North and South America was established in 1975, under the Government of Pakistan Act No. XLV. This Centre is an autonomous body headed by the Ministry of Education through the University of Grants Commission, now (HEC). The Centre is affiliated with Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. Apart from this, the Centre also arranged the national seminars and symposiums in Pakistan relevant to Pakistan United States relationships. This Centre is further organized the international conferences relates to Pakistan United States security matters in South Asia (Ahmad, 1990).

Due to limited resources, the US Educational Foundation awarded the traveling grant to the faculty members of North and South America for their training in American Studies of the United States. This Centre is also provided the job of one Fulbright visiting lecturer in every year since 1982. This Centre is published the variety of books relevant to Pakistan United States relations. The Centre is published the material of Pakistani Journal of American Studies since 1983.

### **5.11 Pakistan Studies Centre in the United States**

In 1973, Pakistan Studies Centre was established in the United States. This Centre is a non-profit, tax-exempt, non-partisan educational institution and affiliated with the Council of American Overseas Research Centre. The functions of the Centre to encourage and support the research issues relates to Pakistan. This Centre is also improved the quality research in the United States and Pakistan. This Centre is also designed the refresher courses for the earlier researchers to remain update with Pakistan. The governments of Pakistan and Iran arranged the international Conference with the cooperation of Rockefeller Foundation and Study Centre in Bellagio, Italy. The purpose was to call the international eminent scholars. The Centre is also developed the Urdu language program and managed by the University of California, Berkeley (Ahmad, 1990).

The Institute of Pakistan Studies was governed by the Board of Trustees. The function of the Board of Trustees was to grant the approval regarding the appointment of executive committee and officers. Professor Farhat Haq was appointed as President of the Centre for a period of three years. She was the first lady who holds the distinguished position and served the Centre for almost 20 years.

## 5.12 Person to Person Links

Person to person contacts one of the most powerful tools of communication between two countries. The purpose of peoples to people linkages was to strengthen the academic, professional, and cultural partnership program of both countries. The exchange program was started in Pakistan and North Carolina to provide the opportunities to educators, students, and community to get the first-hand knowledge from the others. The newspaper and magazines of America are also available in the Pakistani libraries. Besides, the popular radio program of US, the Voice of America is one of the major sources of listening in Pakistan that transmits the Urdu program for a long time. The Studies Centre of America are situated in Pakistan shared the major significance of the America image in Pakistan and produced the person to person's contact between two countries (Raza, 1997).

The other source of communications was the newspapers and magazines in English, Urdu, and Gujarati, including video cassettes of Urdu television dramas and other popular events are available in the major cities of the United States. The video cassettes of Pakistani television dramas and popular shows were accessible in the big cities of America. The new events were appeared in the multicultural society of America such as the organization of Islamic cluster and Islamic Centre. In Chicago, there were approximately 100,000 Muslims of Asian and Arab origin including five (05) mosques and community Centre in the city areas and seven Centers are situated in the Sub-urban areas. The regular functions of the Centre's were based on Sunday Quran schools, celebrations of religious events, and community celebrations. The non-Muslims were invited to join the Muslim community Centre being viewers. The Muslims communities are also participated in the city elections as well as in the social events and cultural festival. The Pakistan and South Asia Study Centre became the major source of income

in twenty-three American Universities, wherein the Urdu languages were taught as a foreign language in nine (09) Universities of the United States (Ahmad, 1990).

### **5.13 Bhutto's Foreign Policy: A Paradigm Shift**

The foreign policy of Bhutto was focused on self-reliance and developed the close linkage with all the Muslim countries. Due to not sure the enough guarantee of defense to Pakistan's dependability although it was the binding force between two countries. Owing to these reasons, Bhutto has decided to leave the defense pact and takes the guidance from the masses of the country. He had established the independent foreign policy of Pakistan and believed in the self-reliance foreign policy of the country which is the basic principle of independent sovereign state. The armed forces of the country would be able to defend the country from the enemies locally and internationally. He has explained that economic capability of the country should address the needs of poor peoples and developed the insightful relationships with the competitor of the country (Zain, 2012).

Bhutto developed the close relationships with the Soviet Union and China. These linkages helped Pakistan in, the area of infrastructure, building and manufacturing sectors. The period of Bhutto's government has considered the distinctive era of Pakistan. The country under the leadership of Bhutto had changed the pattern of its foreign policy towards the other countries. During the crises of East Pakistan, Bhutto resolved the matter of Pakistan very tactfully. During the Cold War period, Pakistan and the United States were developed the close ties-ships but could not remained successful due to give the preference by the US to India. The Bhutto's period could not be understood without the discussion of Pakistan's nuclear program, started in the mid of 1950s. Bhutto was too much opposed by the US due to its nuclear development program (Baqai, 2016).

The purpose was to acquire the scientific knowledge in, the area of agriculture and health Sector and met the energy requirement of its upward economy. Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission has obtained the approval of megawatt research program from the United States in 1962. In 1972, the Atomic Energy Commission of Pakistan was purchased more than 120-megawatt nuclear power project from Canada. India became alert to acquire the nuclear project and forced the Pakistan to reconsider the nature of its nuclear project. During the War of 1965, Bhutto declared that if India built the atomic bomb, we would also do so, even if we had to eat grass.... Bhutto further stated that atom bomb can only be used against the atom bomb so that immediately released the fund for Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission to construct the project. However, Bhutto has approached to France for the provision of raw material and its expertise towards the construction of a power plant. As a result, the United States forced Pakistan to cancel the contract with France (Bhutto, 1974).

In 1974, India tested the atom device and blamed the Pakistan on the grounds of permanent containment of its nuclear program. Bhutto announced that “it was significant for Pakistan to give the utmost possible notice to the nuclear technology, rather than allow itself to mislead by an international treaty warning this restriction to the current nuclear powers” (Zain, 2012).

Pakistan used the other source of fissile material for the manufacture. Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan launched the project at Kahutta wherein the USA and other nuclear agencies refused to provide the non-nuclear equipment to Pakistan. It was the big challenge for Pakistan’s nuclear capability towards the development of country. Bhutto was not in favor of the involvement of United States that could dictate him and disagreed to join the US defense pact. He had led the foundation of independent foreign policy of

Pakistan, and it becomes the symbol of progressive development of the country and indicator of the West (Norris, 1984).

As a result, Henry Alfred Kissinger made its efforts to discourage Bhutto from the obtaining of nuclear capability but could not succeed in his mission. Later, on he was saying that “we will make a horrible example for you”. The United States moved towards against the Bhutto and created the disturbance in the country. Bhutto desired to achieve the socio-political and socio-economic goals, where we need to follow the neutral and peaceful foreign policy that could save Pakistan's interest. Bhutto had development the close relationships with China; Soviet Union, East European and Latin American countries achieved the objectives without the help of United States (Bhutto, 1967).

In 1977, the political crisis was started against the result of Bhutto elections and Carter slogan near the American Centre at Lahore was produced the anti-Bhutto religious protests. It would be clear that Bhutto was blamed on the grounds of nuclear restriction. Bhutto desired to resolve the disputes without the involvement of any disagreement with the United States. As a result, Bhutto's priority for the interest of country was a move towards the War (Ashfaq, 2017).

### **5.14 Bhutto's Unity towards the Muslim Countries**

After assuming the control of government, Bhutto first, priority was to unite the Muslim countries at one platform. The purpose was to establish the Socio-political, Scio-economic unity towards all the Muslim countries. First, Bhutto visited Iran, Saudi-Arabia, Kuwait, Syria, Libya, Egypt, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Malaysia, Jordon, and United Arab Emirates. The country under the leadership of Bhutto made all possible measures to intact the past trust of the Muslim countries and established the linkages with all the Muslim worlds. The purpose was to balance its foreign linkages with the

superpower and believed that all the independent Muslim countries should protect the mutual trust of the unity and promote the freedom of expression (Hussain, 1977).

Bhutto got the importance in the Arab World, particularly the Shahin shah of Iran who gave the much more significance to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's personality. Particularly Iran and Turkey helped Pakistan and know the reality of Bhutto. Turkey and Iran, being members of the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) helped Bhutto during the economic crisis, in Indo-Pak War of 1971. Saudi-Arabia was also provided sufficient economic support to Pakistan. Bhutto immediately visited the Islamic countries and united the Muslim communities at one platform for the cause of Islam. He also organized the second International Conference of the Muslim Countries in Pakistan at Lahore in 1974 (Hussain, 1977).

All the heads of States and representatives of the Muslim countries had joined the Conference. As a result, Bhutto made its alliance with the Muslim world and got the popularity at International level. He never gained the personal interest. He worked for the well-being of the country and joined the Muslim leadership to work against the capitalist system. He was the first leader, who imposed an oil embargo against the western and he was also the architect of oil blockage against the West. As a result, Muslim countries get together at one platform and recognized the role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Burki, 1988).

Anyhow, the research examined the different features of Pakistan-United States linkages during the period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-77) such as, economics cooperation, security arrangements, political environment, cultural, education and scientific development. The key areas of growth were the economic expansion, security cooperation and political arrangements. The study also evaluates the Bhutto's self-

independence foreign policy toward the development of linkages across the world and further illustrated the role of Bhutto's towards the unity of Muslim countries.

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## **CHAPTER- 6**

### **ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO'S EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH THE STANDBY TIES WITH THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter Bhutto made it's an effort to establish and strengthen the parallel/standby ties and its relations with the Muslim countries of the world. The study also explains the period of Pakistan and Non-Aligned Movement, Pakistan and Post Cold, War Era and Pakistan and the Global Anti-Terrorism Regime.

#### **6.2 Background**

He had a philosophy behind the effort that whenever Pakistan wants to have an alternate need of any support, it should be over then and there. No doubt he concentrated a lot upon the development of linkages between Pakistan and the United States, specifically. Anyhow, on the other hand he did made its effort to have an alternate and reliable chain of ties with the other world powers. So that at the difficult hours, whenever faced upon, the identical might be availed to avoid the un-toward situation. By this way, Pakistan upto maximum stood successful to get added much more parallel and stand by support on the existing status through the relationship with other countries.

#### **6.3 Peoples Republic of China**

Bhutto developed the close linkages with China, mainly during the period of Indo-Pak War of 1965. On March 23, 1966, China has provided the MIGs and tanks to Pakistan and after the lapse of three days; Chinese President Liu Shao-chi planned an official visit to Pakistan including the Foreign Minister Chen Yi, wherein he was warmly welcomed by the Pakistani high-ups. He also visited the famous places of Pakistan such

as Shalimar Garden in Lahore. The news about the visit of Chinese President was published in the daily Hindu weekly and quoted the remarks as "President General Muhammad Ayub Khan could not welcome the Chinese President".

On October 22, 1970, General Yahya Khan addressed the General Assembly wherein he explained the friendly relationships with China that were the cornerstone of Pakistan foreign policy. General Yahya Khan appealed the United States, the USSR and China to develop their relationships with Pakistan for the promotion of world peace. General Yahya Khan visited to China on five days, official visit in the month of November 10, 1970. He was welcomed warmly by the Chinese President. During the joint session, the Pakistani leaders stated that the rights of self-independence may be provided to everyone and confirmed that Taiwan as an un-challengeable territory of China and agreed him with China (Carolan, 2018).

As a result, China has provided the \$ 60 million support to Pakistan during the period of 1965 Indo-Pak War and granted \$ 40.5 million advanced in 1969 and further released the \$ 6.90 million to Pakistan. During the visit of Peking, China provided the 500 million yuan to Pakistan for her "Fourth Five Year Plan" and Pakistan was fully aware about the role of China and helped the Pakistan over its vital issue of Kashmir (Bukhari, 2014).

#### **6.4 Relationship with Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

The overall relationship between Pakistan and Soviet Union was not remained fruitful. In 1971, the Soviet Union supported the India against Pakistan for its defeat and dismemberment. In 1972, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had visited to Moscow and developed the close relationships with the Soviet Union. The linkage between two countries was remained normal and agreed to restore the trade and other relations that had been suspended in 1971. In 1974, Bhutto went to Moscow and signed an agreement with the

Soviet Union amounting to Rs. 4.5 billion to help Pakistan for the construction of Steel Mill at Karachi in Pakistan (Bhutto, 1974).

Bhutto further stated that Pakistan Steel Mill would start production and had to hire some persons to assess the development of Port Qasim. However, this was not completed during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's period. On June 30, 1977, the Soviet Union agreed to release a sum of \$ 517.64 million as a loan to Pakistan. However, she only released \$ 82.49 million to Pakistan. The Steel Mill of Pakistan had been completed and was ready for its production. Therefore, Pakistan relations with the Soviet Union did not remain successful, because the Soviet Union developed their relationships with India and Afghanistan. As a result, the linkages with India and Afghanistan became more vibrant (Shah, 2011).

Most of the Muslim countries adjacent to Pakistan from Indonesia to Morocco comprised the Muslim population. The significance of Muslim relationships lies in the Islamic ideology and it was the result of two nation theory. Pakistan is the sole atomic power country in the Islamic World and developed the religious, political, economic, social, and cultural relationship with the other countries of the world. Pakistan further makes its efforts for the cause of Muslim unity in the world. There were 58 Muslims independent states in the world having a fertile land and rich mineral resources. The relationships of Pakistan with the major power would be examined on the ground of understanding of their political, social, economic, and military cooperation (Abideen, 2015)

## **6.5 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**

After the birth of Pakistan, the relationship between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia was started and both the countries had developed their closed relationship with each other. Besides, the two holy places namely the Harmain Sharifain hold a lot of significance to

Pakistan. Both the countries established a strong bond of their unity towards the Muslim World. Particularly the period of King Shah Faisal was considered as one of the landmarks in the history of Pakistan and the monument of Faisal Mosque at Islamabad (Pakistan) was the symbol of Bhutto era (Bhutto, 2002).

In 1973, the Prime Minister of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto visited Saudi Arabia and discussed the issue of Arab Israel War. He also arranged the Second Summit of Organization of Islamic Conference at Lahore in 1974. It was the personal efforts and interest of King Shah Faisal who had developed the unity and cooperation among the Muslim World. Both the countries helped each other as and when needed. Pakistan faced the numerous challenges before the establishment of nuclear technology in Pakistan. Saudi Arabia is the only Muslim country in the world affairs that helped Pakistan. Both the countries helped each other in the numerous development projects, such as economic, defense cooperation, real estate, auto industry, and telecommunication. On the grounds of these developments, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia enhanced the mutual interest and resolved the international crisis, ideologies, and harmony (Shabbir, 2014).

## **6.6 Republic of Turkey**

Turkey was the main hub of Muslim unity wherein 97% population in Europe and 3% population in Asia. Pakistan and Turkey helped each other on different issues including Kashmir and Cyprus. In 1964, an agreement for the Regional Cooperation for Development was signed by Pakistan, Turkey, and Iran. Later, the name of RCD was changed into Economic Education Cooperation. For these purposes, various types of agreements related to Culture Technology, Trade, Communication, Defense, Economy, Education, and Science were finalized (Ahmad, 1981).

## 6.7 Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

The linkage between Pakistan and Afghanistan was not remained viable after the birth of Pakistan except during the period of Taliban. Even though, Afghanistan is the neighbor of Pakistan, yet Afghanistan always remained inimical to Pakistan particularly on Durand line issue. It was the only country who voted against Pakistan's joining to the United Nations (Khan, 2012).

In 1958, the Afghan leader Zahir Shah was visited Pakistan and met with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Feroz Khan Noon, and former President of Pakistan Iskandar Mirza. During the War of 1965, Zahir Shah was remained neutral. India and Soviet Union attempted to make him attack against Pakistan, but he refused. Zahir Shah's government was overthrown by military ruler on July 07, 1973. As a result, Sardar Daud came into power and changed the direction of Afghan policy towards Pakistan and followed the violent behavior against Pakistan. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has desired to arrange talks with Afghan government to end differences and immediately scheduled the meeting with the Afghan government. In 1976, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Prime Minister of Pakistan visited to Afghanistan and improved the relationships (Bhutto, 1978).

In 1979, Russia entered in Afghanistan and wanted to come to the Arabian Ocean. Pakistan helped the Afghanistan and made its efforts to resolve the issue of Afghan as soon as possible. As a result, the agreement was finalized on April 14, 1988, at Geneva wherein the representatives of America, Russia, Afghanistan, and Pakistan signed the agreement. On the grounds of these pacts, the Russian army was required to leave Afghanistan. Pakistan played a significant role in the Geneva accord. The Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference has desired to remove the confusion among the countries. As a result, the Secretary-General of Islamic Countries

held discussion with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Sardar Mohammad Daoud. Both the leaders decided to develop the cordial relations with each other. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan made the necessary arrangement for the provision of support to Afghan peoples as they were suffered in the earthquake disasters and huge causalities (Mustafa, 2019).

Sardar Mohammed Daoud Khan invited the Prime Minister of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to visit Afghanistan. He accepted the invitation of Sardar Mohammed Daoud Khan and visited to Afghanistan. During the visit, Bhutto emphasized the importance of visit and agreed to develop the friendly linkages with each other. Similarly, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto invited the Afghan President Sardar Mohammed Daoud Khan to visit Pakistan wherein has accepted the Bhutto's invitation (Hanif, 2012).

On August 20, 1976, Sardar Mohammed Daoud Khan visited to Pakistan, wherein he has exchanged his views with Bhutto and expressed great aspiration for the maintenance of relationships with Pakistan. After the visit, the linkages between Pakistan and Afghanistan were improved. But unfortunately, Sardar Mohammed Daoud Khan was assassinated and Noor Muhammad Tarakai came into power. He desired to establish a friendly relationship with Pakistan but soon he was killed and Mr. Hafeez-Ullah Amin assumed the control of country and could not rule the country for a long time. As a result, peoples started the strikes against the brutal action of Russia. The Barak Karmal was appointed as a head of the government and Mujahedeen fought against the enemies of his country. The government of Pakistan provided the maximum support to Afghan Mujahedeen and provided shelter to the peoples of Afghanistan and refused to accept any type of government established under the control of Soviet troops (Prakash, 1999).

## **6.8 Islamic Republic of Iran**

Iran was the close neighbor of Pakistan and it is situated in the South West of Pakistan. Since 1947, the relationships between Pakistan and Iran are remained cordial. In 1958, the issue of boundary was settled by two countries in a peaceful manner. During the 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pak Wars, Iran has openly supported the Pakistan and helped him on the Kashmir issue. In 1998, when Pakistan testes its nuclear technology, Iran was the only country who helped Pakistan during the critical situation. Iranian President Khatami Rafsanjani also visited Pakistan and signed the numerous agreements with Pakistan such as gas pipeline and others project (Akbarzadeh, 2018).

## **6.9 People's Republic of Bangladesh**

In 1971, East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan and became the independent state of Bangladesh. The relationships between Pakistan and Bangladesh were remained balanced.

In 1999, President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf has visited to Bangladesh and ensured to start the friendly relationships. As a result, the numerous agreements were signed by Pakistan and Bangladesh such as in the field of Science & Technology, Education, Culture, and Agriculture development (Mahmood, 2015).

## **6.10 Arab Republic of Egypt**

The linkage between Pakistan and Egypt was not remained pleasant during the period of President Gamal Abdel Nasser's. It was remained up and down on different occasions and remained fruitful after the death of President Anwar-ul-Sadat. The President Sadat has participated in Second Islamic Summit Conference held at Lahore in 1974, wherein different kinds of agreements were signed by Pakistan and Egypt. The purpose of agreements was to develop the mutual understanding and good will between two countries. After, President Sadat's assassinations, Hosni Mubarak became the President

of Egypt and he has expressed the great expectation to develop the close linkages with Pakistan. The President of Pakistan General Zia-ul-Haq had played a significant role in the membership of Egypt in OIC and restored the membership of Egypt in OIC (Rabbani, 2015).

### **6.11 Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya**

The linkages between Pakistan and Libya were remained successful during the period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. In 1951, Libya has got the independence from foreign rule wherein, Pakistan supported the freedom struggle of Libya. Needless, the masses of both the countries became closer with each other and showed a keen interest in the development of their relationships. As a result, the President of Libya Col. Gaddafi attended the Second Islamic Summit Conference held at Lahore in 1974. Wherein, both the countries enjoyed the vital relationships with each other and signed the various agreements such as in the sector of Banking, Insurance, and Shipping. In 1977, President General Zia-ul-Haq has visited the Libya and discussed the bilateral issues with President Col. Gaddafi. Abdul Salam Jalood, Vice President of Libya has visited to Pakistan and explained the significance of Pakistan with the Muslim world (Bhutto, 1978).

### **6.12 Republic of Indonesia**

The linkages between Pakistan and Indonesia were started before the independence and further developed when Indonesia has desired to support the President of All India Muslim League. As a result, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali, Jinnah founder of Pakistan has sent 600 hundred soldiers to Indonesia for their support and most of the soldiers were lost their lives in a War. However, Indonesia expressed the great compliments over the sad demise of soldiers and mentioned the bravery of soldiers in the gay née book titled, "The six hundred brave Pakistani soldiers"(Hussain, 2014).

In 1950, President Soekarno visited Pakistan on an official visit, wherein he was warmly welcomed by the peoples of Pakistan and exchanged his views with Liaquat Ali Khan Prime Minister of Pakistan. He thanked the people of Pakistan and government for showing the keen interest regarding the sending of its troops to Indonesia. As consequence, both the countries signed the treaty of friendship and strengthened their relations. In 1955, cultural relationships were developed by Pakistan and Indonesia to improve their culture and decided in the treaty of friendship to promote trade and commerce linkages with each other (Bhutto, 1967).

### **6.13 Pakistan Relationship with United Arab Emirates**

The relationships between Pakistan and United Arab Emirates were remained pleasant wherein UAE has started the numerous projects in Pakistan such as Urea, Oil refinery, dairy farming, and 320 mega power plant, etc. The President of Pakistan General Muhammad Ayub Khan also established the exemplary bilateral linkages with UAE and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto further strengthened their relations with Sheikh Zayed. As a result, the United Arab Emirates played an important role in the economic development of Pakistan (Stiftung, 2014).

### **6.14 Relations with Central Asian and Muslim Countries**

The relationships between Pakistan and six Central Asian Republics were remained significant and Pakistan was linked with these countries. Historically, Pakistan developed the cultural and economic linkages with these countries. The following were the countries such as Tajikistan, Kirgizstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan. Pakistan has developed economics, military and mutual of cooperation with these countries. Pakistan is the neighbors of all the Central Republican Asian countries and signed the several memorandums of understanding relates to economics

and other sectors. The purpose of mutual cooperation's was to improve the economic infrastructure and transportation system in the region (Asif, 2011).

## **6.15 Pakistan and Non-Aligned Movement**

In 1979, after the revolution, Iran decided to withdraw the membership of SEATO and CENTO because it became ineffective in the South Asia, owing to the preferences of the United States in the Middle East as well as in the Gulf region. Pakistan also decided to withdraw the membership of Central Treaty of Organization and seemed no restrictions for Pakistan to join the Non-Aligned Movement. However, the name of Pakistan was included in the coming Non-align Movement (NAM), Conference held in Havana in 1979. Pakistan has joined the Non-Alignment Movement on the grounds of three major causes (Bhutto, 1968).

Due to the changing of geopolitical position in South-West Asia, Islamic revolution in Iran and Marxist revolution in Afghanistan forced Pakistan to cut off from the Western alliance. The unproductive CENTO also forced Pakistan to withdraw its membership. It was further stated that Pakistan did not want to remain far away from the participation of politics in the developing countries and expected to acquire the recognition and prestige of Pakistan in the developing world by the joining of Non-alignment movement.

- Domestically, the number of political parties gave the suggestions for the withdrawal of membership from the Western alliances and desired to join the Non-alignment movement. In 1979, after the suspension of American aid, Pakistan-United States relations got deteriorated due to its nuclear program. After the involvement of Russia in Afghanistan, the situations drastically changed and South Asian region appeared as a creative region for the policymakers of United States. After Russia intervention in Afghanistan, the US

did not reject the Pakistan's nuclear program due to its advantages from Pakistan. The following were the key objectives of Pakistan foreign policy towards the development of goals (Akhtar, 2012).

- To develop friendly relationships with the Peoples of Republic of China.
- To expand the closed linkages with the United States
- To maintain suitable economics and political relations with the Muslim countries.
- To launch the policy of Non-Alignment in the world affairs.
- To make the security measures.

## **6.16 Pakistan and the Post-Cold War Era**

The period of Post-Cold War (1990-2001) was considered as a peaceful world era. After the withdrawal of Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar system, a remarkable change appeared in the world system. The United States being a Superpower led the foundation of democracy and peace settlement. The American involvement in the Gulf region (1991), Somalia Civil War, Libya Civil War, Iraqi War, and most significant Terrorist attack at World Trade Centre in the United States on September 11, 2001 or 9/11 are the incidents in the world politics (Khan, 2015).

As a result, the rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union was started and both the countries openly fought with each other and feared that hostility could be changed into a hot War. This gave way to Weapon Mass of Destruction between the two superpower. There was a War of ideological differences between the United States and Soviet Union. The United States supported the capitalist block whereas the Soviet Union preferred the communist bloc. However Cold War was ends and Post Cold, War was starts. The United States was the only country that could desire how to rationalize its power at World level. Although, the purpose of United States was to establish the

new world order in the Post-Cold War era and made its efforts to expand the democracy at world level (Muzaffer, 2008).

The United States being superpower in the Cold War required the implementing the policy of “New World Order” in the entire world on the grounds of peaceful settlement. The global issue of War on Terror was appeared on the world level as a result, of 9/11 event. The period of Post-Cold War had produced many challenges for Pakistan vis-à-vis its relations with India, United States and China. By the end of bipolar system, the geopolitical situation of South Asian and West Asia was totally changed. The United States linkages with India and Beijing remained very fruitful. In the words of President of Pakistan Ghulam Ishaque Khan if the purpose of New World order was to maintain the monopoly of superpower over the rest of the world then it would not be accepted by Pakistan. Pakistan and other non-Western countries were not in position to challenge the unfair dealing of the superpower. Due to these situations, the developing countries, mainly the less developed world should take the guidance from the other countries and follow the policy of resolution of their disputes and endorsement the cooperation in the required fields. On the other hand, the weak and small countries established the hostile relations with each other and remained dependent with the Western block. It was difficult for weak and smaller states to change their position in the world politics. In 1998, Pakistan has successfully testes its nuclear weapons at Chaghi, Baluchistan in the reaction of Indian nuclear blasts. As a result, the United States imposed economic and military constraints against Pakistan. The next two years has remained as witness for the development of Pakistan's foreign policy. These measures were taken by the former Prime Minister of Pakistan Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (Khan, 2012).

## **6.17 Pakistan and the Global Anti-Terrorism Regime**

After the 9/11 terrorist attack, Pakistan faced the dilemma of security issue in the South region and Pakistan's involved in the activities of Taliban and Islamic Jihad. Anyhow, Pakistan decided to join the international forum against the War on Terror. In 2001, the United States deployed the multi-national forces in Afghanistan against the removal of illegal government of Taliban and attempted to install the multi-ethnic interim government of Hamid Karzai in Kabul. Once time Pakistan has given its sites to the United States for the launching of its military operation against the government of Taliban in Afghanistan. In 2003, United States and Great Britain had attacked in Iraq and removed the anti-American Saddam government. In these two incidents, the Presidents of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf and Asif Ali Zardari fully supported the United States. Pakistan made its efforts towards the receiving of distinction position at world level and left a great impact in world politics. Pakistan acquired the respectable position at global level and required to examine the roles of foreign policy and compared the foreign linkage among the leaders of countries through dialogue (Ahmed, 2014).

Anyhow, study has examined the different phases of Pakistan-United States relationship such as the periods of neutrality, alliances, bilateralism, Post-Cold War and Period of Global Antiterrorism.

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## CONCLUSION

In this study, the research has explored and investigated the role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's in foreign-policy making with reference to Pakistan-United States Relations 1971-1977. The objectives of Pakistan-United States relationships during the period of Bhutto are economic development; security challenges, establishment of democracy, freedom and openness in the society. The interest of Pakistan's was to obtain the economic and military assistance from the United States in order to compete, India. Meanwhile, the United States was also searching for an ally in the South Asia to fight against the communism during the Cold War era.

Both countries maintained their relationship to provide national interests. In 1973, Bhutto visited the United States and made efforts for economic and military aid. As a result, the US agreed to provide the economic and military support to Pakistan however, later on imposed the sanction on Pakistan due to development of nuclear program. The United States policy during the period of Bhutto was remained impulsive and imaginary.

In 1974, India tested atomic technology which created the security threats in the region. In response, Bhutto took guidance from the nuclear Scientists Dr. Abdus Salam and Munir Ahmad Khan for the development of nuclear technology to compete India. Bhutto laid the foundation Pakistan's nuclear program and signed the agreement with France for technical support. Pakistan got the expertise and material essential for nuclear technology from the France for construction of a reprocessing plant. In this wake, the United States imposed sanction against Pakistan on starting of its nuclear program.

Bhutto re-acted the action of American administration and diplomatic relations of Pakistan-United States affected. On the other hand, Bhutto continued efforts to complete the project as soon as possible.

Bhutto followed a neutral and peaceful co-existence policy about the establishment of socio-political and socio economic development of the country. Bhutto achieved number of goals without the support of the United States. He led the country to became a sovereign player at the global level and bring the economic, security stability and social linkages with other countries. He pursued the multiple policies against all the challenges.

The causes for the shortcoming of foreign policy of Pakistan were the separation of East Pakistan from the West Pakistan. As far as Pakistan foreign policy is concerned, the relationship between Pakistan and the United State was not remained cordial due to national interest of both countries. The linkages between Pakistan and the United States were broken due to non- provision of support to Pakistan. Secondly, the United States challenged the Pakistan nuclear program and imposed the ban against Pakistan.

He had developed the relationships with other countries and protected the national interests of Pakistan at global level. The foreign policy of a country told us how to develop the relations with other countries by economically, socially, politically, and militarily. The foreign policy is the combination of certain aims and objectives consists of short range, middle range, and long-range objectives. The key objectives of Pakistan foreign policy were the protection of peace and prosperity in the region. It has focused on the effective plan of the individual and understands the role of the individual in policy making. The individual has responsible to design the foreign policy of the country in a proper way and its decision's implementation in its true letter and spirit.

After the independence of Pakistan, the country faced the different challenges such as economic crises and security might. Pakistan has the multiple choices either to join the Soviet Union or the United States. Nevertheless, the United States was looking a friend in South Asian region against the spread of communism. As a result, Pakistan decided to join the US bloc instead of the Soviet Union. The founder of Pakistan was also well-aware of about the role of the United States and decided to establish the linkages with the United States. The founder of Pakistan further described the importance of Pakistan-United States relations and stated that basic theme of Pakistan linkages was the development of democracy and not an autocracy.

Bhutto had expressed the message of friendship towards the development of cordial linkages with all the countries. He had emerged as a Charismatic leader of the country and represented the Pakistan image as a sovereign state at the world level. He had hold, the strong communication skills. The communication is an integral part of Charismatic leadership. Bhutto followed the policy of Islamic socialism for the welfare of the country. The status of Charismatic leadership is commonly determined by the behaviors of leader. Bhutto had belonged to feudal landlord family and promised with the masses of country for the re-distribution of Pakistan's economy which was lying in the hands of few wealthy persons.

The study has critically examined the Pakistan-United States Relations during the period of Bhutto (1971-77). The major areas of cooperation were the economic development, military might, and diplomatic linkages. The United States was the first country, who had established the diplomatic connections with Pakistan in 1948. The linkages between Pakistan and the United States were not remained successful during the period of Bhutto and it has passed through ups and downs on several occasions. Although, Pakistan was the member of SEATO and CENTO, and later on he had

withdrawn the membership of Pakistan from the United States. According to these Pacts, the United States has bound to provide the military and economic support to Pakistan during the 1965 & 1971 Indo-Pak Wars but she could not do so.

Anyhow, the relationship between Pakistan and the United States broke away and the United States imposed the economic and military sanctions against Pakistan. Although, Pakistan was the ally of the United States during the Cold War era, however, she did not remain the trustworthy friend of Pakistan. The Richard Milhous Nixon President of the United States was remained the close friend of Bhutto.

After that, Jimmy Carter became the President of the United States and imposed the embargo against the Pakistan nuclear program. Bhutto has decided to complete the nuclear project within the stipulated period and President Carter forced Bhutto to withdraw the nuclear project. Otherwise, the financial support would not be released to Pakistan. In 1979, the situation was totally changed when the Soviet Union attacked at Afghanistan. The United States has argued that Pakistan was the only country that could help against the Soviet aggression.

The security arrangements between Pakistan and the United States were established on the grounds of geostrategic position and it was the result of World War-II when all the States are become independent. The relations between Pakistan and the United States were remained successful during the period of 1960, and 1970. The rest of the period was remained under the suspension of arms supplies and sanctions. The security linkages between Pakistan and the United States remained limited due to the national interests of both countries. India was an enemy of Pakistan and the United States desired to utilize the land of Pakistan against the Union of Soviet Socialist of Republic. The overall security situation between Pakistan and the United States did not remain successful.

The economic linkages between Pakistan and the United States were started in 1948. The purpose of economic assistance was to stop the growth of the communist bloc and formed the military alliances that could fight the communism hostility. The economics collaboration between Pakistan and the United States remained fruitful during the period of 1960 and 1970. It is stated that the United States was the second largest trade partner of Pakistan.

The cultural relations between Pakistan and the United States were established in the following area such as Music, Folk arts, and painting. The most important cultural area of Pakistan was the Qawali that liked in the United States. The second was the Pakistani Folk artists, singer, and drama. The third was the painting, and fourth was the graphic arts. The Educational exchange program between Pakistan and the United States was started by launching of Pakistan Studies Chair Centre at Columbia University, New York in 1951. The functions of the Centre to qualify the maximum number of highly talented Americans as well as other foreigner students, and delivered the basic knowledge related to Pakistan. These students would be able to understand the Pakistani knowledge. Bhutto had established the similar type of Centre in some other parts of the countries. As a result, these centers are become successful to provide academic acknowledge to American students.

In 1975, the Area Studies Centre for North and South America was established by the government of Pakistan and funded by the Ministry of Education through the University Grants Commission, now Higher Education Commission. This Centre is affiliated with the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and delivered the teaching and research activities to the students. In 1973 the American Institute of Pakistan Studies Centre has established in Pakistan and became the part of Council of American Overseas Research. The aim of this center was to facilitate the students in research activities related to

Pakistan. The center has also started the Urdu Languages program for the students of the United States which is run by the University of California, Berkeley.

The primary source of relationships between Pakistan and United was person to person contact. The aim of interaction was to develop the academic, professional, and cultural linkages between two countries. The key source of contact was the development of a radio program, "The Voice of America". This Centre has promoted the person to person links between both countries during Bhutto regime.

The significant of Bhutto in foreign policy making has recognized the facts and he was considered the national oriented leader of Pakistan at world level.

The study has made unearth the role of individual in foreign policymaking through the Case Study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality. It is stated that personal behavior of the individual as well as his past, experience had left the huge impact on foreign policy making. Bhutto has changed the direction of country from isolation to bilateralism. Before 1971, Pakistan followed the policy of pro-western countries and after 1971, the direction of Pakistan foreign policy was totally changed. Bhutto laid down the foundation of self-reliance foreign policy of Pakistan without the interference of superpower. The foreign policy of Pakistan became fruitful on the grounds of cordial relationship with other countries. Owing to these measures the role of individual in foreign- policy making has affected the behaviors of the other countries. The state of isolation was converted into a state of friendships and good will. Before 1971, most of the smaller states and major powers were either directly or indirectly supported India. On the other hand, Pakistan was supported by all the Muslim countries. During the period between 1970 and 1980, Pakistan has faced some acute problems at national as well as at International level. Thus credit goes to Bhutto.

As a result, the Muslim countries played a vital role in the shape of aid, grants, and loan provided to Pakistan and handled the situation by peacefully. It was the achievement of individual who had led the foundation of the independent foreign policy of the country on the right path. Bhutto's got the significant towards the unity of Muslim countries. It is stated that personal behaviors, experience, and leadership style move towards the stability of country. Bhutto's role in foreign-policy making with reference to Pakistan-United States relations during the period of (1971-77) could be summarized as:

- Reassessing relations with the US on equal footing
- Policy of self-reliance
- Peaceful settlement of issues with India
- Struggle for Unity among the Muslim state vis-à-vis western States
- Bilateralism
- Transformation of pro-western policy and adoption of a new policy
- Economic relations with USA
- Peaceful co-existence
- Role in the formation of international organization

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