

PAKISTAN-CHINA, U.S, AND THE MUSLIM WORLD RELATIONS

Abstract

On 1 October 1949, the people's republic of China has proclaimed after the final defeat of the Chiang Kai Shek nationalist (Jiang Jieshi) forces by the Chinese communists. On 4 January 1950, Pakistan Government announced to recognize as the central people's Government of the Peoples republic of china. When the question of the Chinese representation in the United Nation's General Assembly, India took step and moved a draft resolution that year that the PPC represent China in the United Nations, so Pakistan voted in favour of draft resolution. As senator knows land said that India became the 'floor leaders' in the campaign to seat communist China in the United Nations. In 1948 K. M. Panikkar became the first Indian Ambassador in China and India decided to recognize Mao's era. The Chinese invited to all foreign individuals to establish diplomatic relation Prime Minister Nehru replied 'Couched in a very friendly terms, indicating there would be early recognition and exchange of representations¹. During 1950s to 1960s, the issue did not solve in the General Assembly at every annual session, the US dropped the question about the Chinese representative in the United Nations.

Pakistan China Relations

During the Korea War, the US commanded draft resolution in 1951, and Pakistan did not vote on the resolution brand the people's republic of China as an aggressor in Korea. In 1952, the UN sponsored a resolution for cancel of the chosen of Chinese representation's issue, Pakistan refrained from voting on the resolution on 1954, Pakistan signal SEATO and CENTO, it also affected China's representation in the UN.

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In 1956, at the invitation of Premier Chou En-Lai, Prime Minister Suhrawardy visited China Pakistan still the deferred the representation of the People's Republic of China, from the United Nations. On Taiwan Issue, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto Wrote "Pakistan has turned towards America and while China did not export a great change in Pakistan's foreign policy ... Pakistan sent reply on 1 October 1958 Pakistan had given neither 'de facto' nor 'de jure' recognition to the

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¹ K.M. Panikkar., *In Two Chinas*, (London: Geoge Allen and Unwin, 1955), p. 61.

government in Taiwan... No. Party should take action that would threaten World as well as regional peace...

The juridical position of sovereignty over Formosa is not clear. The problem should therefore be settled by peaceful negotiations. The wishes the local inhabitants should be given due considerationⁱⁱ. In Ayub Khan Period, Bhutto, became commerce Minister, had encountered that “the summary created an impression that our foreign policy had been determined by our acceptance of the US aid and the cause had already been set... The two vital problems for US were the problems of Kashmir and Canal Waters... It seemed quite certain that in case of War with India, USA was not going to help US, we should not be added; necessarily extend the principle of attachment to the United States... The aid given to US by the USA was aimed at helping us maintain our independence in an area which was threatened by communism”ⁱⁱⁱ.

It was bitter fact that Pakistan continuously abstained from voting on the resolution of the United Nation’s General Assembly. In 1960s Pakistan’s foreign policy bent towards the US. On the question that we should show some flexibility in our attitude towards China and work for the acceptance as a member of the United Nation, the reply was that any such attempt on our part at the moment would undoubtedly upset the United States Government^{iv}.

“At every session of the UN General Assembly, from the ninth to the thirteenth that Pakistani delegate invariably followed the cue of the US by voting against discussion of the question of Chinese representation”^v.

On the question of Tibet the US wanted that Pakistan and India joined together in opposing China, President Ayub also offered India to form “joint defence alliance” with Pakistan. Since the Ayub era, Pakistan has been following a policy of improving dependence on the US.

The PRC has always wanted importance to Sino-Pakistan friendly relations and wanted for a change for attitude by Pakistan. The Chinese Government has also avoided to open Criticism and charges and on many accessions through diplomatic channels made friendly representations and lodged protests with Pakistan’s Government.

In the Bandung conference, both the countries adhered to maintain friendly relations with each other. It was regrettable gestures that Pakistan government had not worked in the direction of the Bandung principles. The extremely unfriendly attitude now taken by the Pakistan Government towards the People’s Republic of China could not but affect the development of normal relations between the two countries. It was viewed that “The Pakistani Government should pull up the horse before the precipice, reverse its hostile stand towards the Chinese people and return to the road laid down by the Bandung resolutions and the road of Sino-Pakistani friendship”^{vi}.

ⁱⁱ Z.A. Bhutto, *The Third World: New Directions* (London: Quartet Books, 1977), P. 106.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Ibid.*, P. 106

^{iv} *Ibid.*, P. 106

^v *Peking Review*, 28 July 1959, P. 18-9.

^{vi} *Ibid.*, P. 18-9.

In October and November 1959 raised a dispute between China and India in Ladakh. M. Ayub Khan addressed a press conference and dwelt on the serious threat from the North. 'The subcontinent will be vulnerable to attack within five years. Chinese occupation of Tibet and road construction Activities in Afghanistan posed a serious threat from the north. It was a threat that could not be overlooked by wishful thinking'^{VII}. This substance of this statement was reported not only in Pakistan but also in abroad. For example, the Times of India of 24 October 1959 gave the headlines "threat to India and Pakistan. General Ayub Khan calls for Unity. The Tehran Newspaper, Kahan International also expressed that President, Mohammad Ayub Khan said to its correspondent: Chinese Occupation of Tibet and road construction activities in Afghanistan pose a serious threat from the north. This sort of statement also effects the geo-political situation in Asia.

The Chinese press criticized Pakistan's action in voting for the UN resolution and held that despite recognizing the communist regime, it did double-dealing tactics and unfriendly act'^{VIII}. The Chinese also criticized Pakistan's role on Tibet issue and said as 'Play imperialist propaganda Tunes'^{IX}.

It is note-worthy that whatever were relations between China-Pakistan, the Chinese diplomacy on Kashmir was remarkable. India had an impression that due to her friendly relations with China, China would support India on Kashmir Issue, but China Came out in full support of Pakistan.

On 11 November 1965, Bhutto addressed a letter to the President M. Ayub Khan. In this letter, he reminded him that by 'the statements we have made and the entire attitude' we had evinced we could be taken to have tacitly recognized India's authority over the part of Kashmir under its occupation and justify any augmentation of Indian forces in Kashmir, contrary to the United Nations resolutions^X. The President Ayub Khan did not want to weak Pakistan's position on Jammu and Kashmir. He stated that Pakistan would not recognize any arrangement between India and China in Ladakh as the area was disputed territory between Pakistan and India.^{XI}

Bhutto had attempted to improve the friendly relations with China. He wrote to ManzurQadir, Foreign Minister on 14 October 1960 about Pakistan's vote on the question for the Chinese Representation in the UN. Pakistan had to adopt friendly relations with the Soviet and China. How it was possible that the US had not its own reason to give Pakistan political support in Pakistan's dispute with India on a visit of Dr. Henry, Kissinger in 1962 in the Sub-continent, he had observed that 'America had been suffering from pactitis'^{XII}. "Though, the US has certain interests in Pakistan which they wanted to enter American military equipment to be moved to India through Pakistan's territory when India-China war started in 1962. Pakistan and China had dispute over the demarcation of province of Sinkiang. When the Chinese ambassador met with Ayub Khan and asked the

^{VII}*Morning News*, Karachi, 9 November 1959, See also in Z.A. Bhutto, op.cit., P. 112.

^{VIII}*Peking Review*, 30 September 1958.

^{IX}*Survey of China Mainland Press*, No. 2005, 4 May 1959. P. 34

^XZ.A. Bhutto, op.cit., P. 45.

^{XI}*Ibid.*, Pp. 45- 46.

^{XII}*Ibid.*, P. 48.

proposition that the Chinese entry into the UN should be decided on the basis of simple majority rather than two third majority. He replied that “our suggestion of demarcating the undefined between China and Pakistan. He (ambassador) said that was very complicated matter. He told him that if border demarcation was a very complicated matter, China’s admission to the United Nations was even more complicated”^{XIII}.

In a joint communiqué of China Pakistan affirmed boundary between China’s Sinkiang and contiguous areas which was actually under control of Pakistan has not been delimited and demarcated from past. On 26 December 1962, both the sides reached on conclusion. Peking Review wrote that ‘a new starting point in the development of friendship between China and Pakistan as well as important victory for the Five principles of Peaceful coexistence’^{XIV}...

On 2 March 1963 Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs from china and Z.A. Bhutto Minister of External Affairs from Pakistan agreed with a view to ensure the achieving peace on the border to formally and demarcate the boundary between China’s Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan. Chen I minister of Foreign Affairs Stated that “It not only makes news stage in the development of friendly relations between china and Pakistan, but makes an important contribution to the cause of Asian African Solidarity...”^{XV}

AltafGohar stated in this matter ‘the two countries announced their decision to enter into negotiations which started on 12 October 1962, nine days before the first Sino-Indian border Clash conducted in a friendly spirit of mutual accommodation, the talks succeeded within two months’.^{XVI}

China peacefully solved border agreement. “A survey of these other Chinese boundaries, Alistair Lamb, wrote, that “China can make a peaceful boundary settlement with her neighbors and can, as in the Sino-Burmese negotiations culminating in the treaty of January 1960, surrender claim to extensive tracts of territory”^{XVII} Why could there no peaceful agreement between China and India. Nehru remarked in the *Glimpses of world History* that “China did not enjoy parting with territory or granting concessions, she was forced to agree, on every occasion, by displays of naval forces and threats of bombardments. What shall we call this scandalous behavior? Highway robbery? Brigandage? It is the way of imperialism”^{XVIII}

China wanted to compromise, Chou told Pandit Sunder Lal, founder and President of the India-China Friendship Association” You keep what you hold, you take too anything that is in dispute and occupied by neither and we keep what

^{XIII} Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), P. 162

^{XIV} *Peking Review*, 4 January 1963, P. 31.

^{XV} *Dawn* 5 March 1963.

^{XVI} AltafGohar, *Ayub Khan Pakistan’s First Military Ruler* (Lahore: Sang-E-Meel Publications, 1994.) P. 234

^{XVII} Alastair Lamb, *The China-India Border* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1964), p.

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^{XVIII} J. Nehru, *Glimpses of World History* (New York: Asia Publishing House, Inc.) P. 474.

we hold”^{XXIX}. India did not favor such give and take ‘nothing could be more thoroughly unacceptable to this country’. China felt Nehru’s inflexible attitude in terms of ever sharpening class contradictions and social contradictions and the deepening political crises facing the Nehru Government?^{XX} In October, China repeated its proposal that negotiations could be held on the basis of the status quo, but Nehru was committed to dealing with the “Chinese aggression’ that no talks were possible. On October 12 Nehru announced that he had ordered the India army ‘to through the Chinese out’ of the disputed areas. The Guardian described Nehru’s orders as an “ultimatum” while to the New York Herald Tribune of October 15, 1962, it was “Tantamount to a formal declaration of War”^{XXI}

On the War’s effects G.W. Chaudhry also discussed with Bhutto by stressing the “forward policy” to “Liberate Kashmir”^{XXII}.

During the Sino-Indian war, Nehru addressed a general appeal for support and sympathy to all Heads of Governments in the world (Except Portugal and South Africa) asserted that ‘whether the world will allow the principle of might is right to prevail in international relations. He also alerted that India’s struggle was direct to the elimination of deceit^{XXIII}. But the main point was that during Sino-Indian Conflict Pakistan has got an opportunity to take settlement on the Kashmir issue. As Z.A. Bhutto also stated in the National Assembly. We missed a golden opportunity to settle the Kashmir question when there was fighting between China and India. I think that is a very irresponsible and shortsighted view... to take an advantage of the Sino Indian conflict, India is determined to exaggerate its nature and extent. India’s main aim of course is to acquire arms for purposes other than a war with China. In pursuit of that aim war hysteria has been created in India... India has deprived Kashmir of its peace, tranquility and security and turned it into a theatre of war ageist the People’s Republic of China^{XXIV}. These were some tactful notions which Bhutto presented and Pakistan lost that golden opportunity.

On January 1963, a trade agreement was signed between the two countries. Finally when India Pakistan talks on Kashmir had failed. Chou En-Lai said that China would defend Pakistan throughout the world^{XXV}. It was followed by Bhutto, foreign Minister’s well-known statement in the Parliament 17 July 1963, in case of India aggression, Pakistan would not be alone because an attack by India on Pakistan Involves the territorial integrity and security of the largest state in Asia.^{XXVI}

An air transport agreement signed between Pakistan and Chinese airlines to operate in each other’s territory in Karachi on 29 August. It established the

^{XXIX}Neville, Maxwell, *India’s China War* (London: Pelican, 1972), P. 160.

^{XX}*Ibid.*, P. 161.

^{XXI}Felix Greene, *The Wall has Two Sides*, (Revised Ed.), (London: Jonathan Cope Ltd. 1962,) P. 414.

^{XXII}G.W. Choudhary, *Pakistan Relations with Indian 1947-1966*, (London: pall Mall Press, 1968), P. 131.

^{XXIII}A.G. Noorani, *Our Credulity and Negligence*, (Bombay: Ramas G. Bhatl), P. 111.

^{XXIV}Z.A. Bhutto, *Politics of The People*, Vol., 1 1948-1966, *Reshaping Foreign Policy*, A Collection of Articles, Statements and Speeches (Rawalpindi), Pp. 2001.

^{XXV}*Dawn*, 18 June 1963.

^{XXVI}*National Assembly of Pakistan*, Debates, 17 July 1963, P. 1666

Pakistan international Airlines the first international services though Shanghai and increased relations between Pakistan and China. Pakistan sent teachers on Scholarships in China. Both the countries, also signed on a barter agreement in 1966.

Premier Chou En-Lai visited Pakistan and expressed his views on Kashmir issue. The Ayub-Chou En-Lai joint communiqué “Expressed the hope that the Kashmir dispute would be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan^{xxvii}. Dawn commented on it, ‘if which some countries sharing with US the Command ties of Islam and some countries allied to US through pacts and treaties should be a little ashamed^{xxviii}. China expressed the new stand point on Kashmir issue remarkably it could be called against China by those who plead a plebiscite the solution of the Taiwan issue. They believed however that the United Nations could not be considered to be fully representative of mankind until the rightful place of the People’s Republic of China in the organization was restored. Since the 13 Bandung conference that more than thirty new nations had emerged in Asia and African countries and it was therefore time that a second conference of Asian and African countries should be convened^{xxix}. It could contribute to prevent of aggression.

The major feature of the joint communiqué was that for the very first time, Pakistan joined China in directly opposed the US policy of two china’s and voted for the restoration of China’s legitimate rights in the UN. In this reaction, the US had pulled pressure on the Pakistan government to Chang her line of action in the international relations. For example the US withdrew “aid” to build a new airport in Dhaka.

President Ayub Khan arrived in Peking and told that Pakistan and China were agreed to abolish imperialism and colonialism in all their form and Pakistan and China were United to abolish imperialism and colonialism in all their form and Pakistan received to \$ 60 million Chinese loan because it involves sacrifices on the part of China to promote self-Reliance in a fellow of Asian country. They opposed to the scheme to introduce nuclear weapon into the Indian Ocean by opposition. This would pose a threat to the independence of the concerned countries.

On Kashmir issue, they reaffirmed that this dispute should be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir, “as pledged to them by India and Pakistan. In this regard both the countries showed that settlement on the boundary issues between Asian and African countries is possible. They treated each other on equal and friendly bases and abstain from adopt a high nation Chauvinist altitude or impose their specific will on others.

Just before the war of 1965, China Pakistan established cultural co-operation agreement on 26 March 1965 with the same spirit of the principles of the

^{xxvii} China-Pakistan Joint Communiqués on Premier Chou En Lai ‘s Visit to Pakistan, 23 Feb., 1964, In *Pakistan Horizon*, (First Quarter, 1964), P. 85 – 6 ,*Peking Review*, 28 February 1964, 8-9.

^{xxviii}*Dawn*, 26, February 1964.

^{xxix}*Pakistan Horizon*, op.cit., P. 86.

Bandung Conference. They would facilitate each other in the field of Art, Science and culture. Both the countries would exchange of educationists, Scientists, Scholars and experts. Students pursue studies in the territory of other on a certain number of scholarships.

On the other side, US President Lyndon B. Johnson tried to force her into abandoning its independent foreign policy. In this connection, the American president notified her to postpone the July conference of the member countries of the “aid” to give Pakistan. America openly used “aid” as a weapon to bring pressure on Pakistan.

President Ayub Khan reiterated on 15 and 16 July that nothing can make Pakistan barter away its sovereignty and independence. He also declared that his country was resolved to meet all eventualities. Pakistan faced a lot of sacrifices in the past and she would not stop to sacrifice in the future. China supported Pakistan in its just struggle against US imperialist intervention in its internal affairs. According to Bhutto has dropped the American “aid” which is plunder in the name of “aid”. He has developed such cooperation between the Asian-African Countries. As he stated such mutual assistance and co-operation is exactly what has to be developed among the Asian-African countries. “It is most reliable realistic and helpful for their independent development^{xxx}. On the contrary US granted huge military aid. On Kashmir issue, China had joined Pakistan in merely expressing the hope that the dispute would be resolved according to the issue would be solved according to the wishes of people of Kashmir. Foreign Minister Chen Yi assured Pakistani newsman accompanying Ayub That “China would fight against aggressors’ because if our friends are wiped out, how can we exist^{xxxI}. Bhutto also stated in the National Assembly of Pakistan that

This much we know and can say that if God forbid,... India were, in its frustration to turn its guns against Pakistan, the international position being what it is Pakistan would not be alone An attack by India on Pakistan would also involve the security and territorial integrity of the largest state in Asia. This new factor that has arisen is a very important one. I would not at this stage, wish to elucidate it any further... A defeated Pakistan... would not only mean annihilation for US but also cause a serious threat to other countries of Asia, and particularly to the largest state of Asia, From that point of view and as a result of other international factors that have recently come into operation. I think I can confidently say that everything is being done... to see that our national interests and territorial integrity and safeguarded and protected.^{xxxII}

When press reporters asked Bhutto about his this speech, he replied that there was no defence alliance between Pakistan and China, and what he meant was that “in case of a conflict the area’s geopolitics might come into play”.

Pakistan’s China relation during 1960-63 was not friendly. However it should remind that Ayub’s government was with western and American

^{xxx}*Peking Review*, 23 July 1965, P. 17-8.

^{xxxI} S.M. Burke, *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis* (Karachi: Oxford University Press 1973), P. 297.

^{xxxII}*National Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, Vol. II, Part II, 17 July 1963, P. 1666.

orientation and as such in order not to displease the US too much. Till 1967, foreign policy remained Pro-American which was unpleasant and contradictory to Pakistan's friendship with China.

President Ayub Khan's stance on the issue of Taiwan was very serious and rigid against China's national interest like the other communiqués of the Chinese among Afro-Asian nations in the Ayub Chou En-Lai communique, Taiwan issue did not discussed. Ayub Khan stated that the Chinese Premier list his grievances" but" I told him that the US also has her grievances" "After all" Ayub told, "The Americans are committed to defending Taiwan and it is an honourable commitment"^{xxxiii}.

Relations with the Muslim Countries

After the separation of East Pakistan, Pakistan focused its attention on the Muslim world. The Muslim world proved source of support, political, moral and had emotional ties with Pakistan when he became President, visited the Muslim countries and when he was in trouble on his last visit in June 1977. The high point was reached during the Islamic Summit in Lahore in February 1974. The first Islamic summit at Rabat had been attended by twenty four countries. The second summit at Lahore had been attended thirty-eight States. Stanley Wolpert wrote that "thanks to Zulfi's strenuous personal efforts and singular energy... and prove to be Bhutto's greatest diplomatic triumph"^{xxxiv}. Simultaneously, Pakistan improved renaissance in the Muslim world and strengthened rapport of the Persian Gulf-dominated organization of Petroleum exporting countries (OPEC).

After three weeks, when he became President, he visited Afghanistan where he started a dialogue with leaders to on the matter of relations between their two nations. In January 1972, he visited on a 'Journey of Renaissance' to Iran, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Syria. In May he visited to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Nigeria, Guinea and Mauritania. The Main aim was to establish direct and close relations between Pakistan and the Muslim world. Its most certain purpose, was keyed to impact on the Pakistani nation, to uplift nation morale after the dismemberment of East Wing. Z.A. Bhutto started a creative phase in Pakistani diplomacy. The Pakistan Foreign office established guidelines for improve policy toward the Muslim worlds these are:

- Pakistan considered Arab Nationalism, Iranian nationalism and Turkish nationalism no more antithetical to Islamic solidarity that Pakistani nationalism.
- Pakistan remained scrupulously impartial in all inter-Arab disputes.
- Pakistan followed the principle of 'Bilateralism' in its relations with all nations, including the Islamic states. The Government emphasized its intention to maintain friendly relations with one state or group of states without antagonizing others.

^{xxxiii} *Dawn*, 9 October 1963, and also Quoted in S.M. Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, op.cit., P. 294.

^{xxxiv} Stanley Wolpert, op.cit., P. 224.

- Pakistan intended to maintain relations with fraternal Islamic states irrespective of variations in political systems, International alliances or ideology.
- Pakistan's relations with Muslim states would be expressed through the establishment of permanent international institutions.
- Pakistan would promote the Arab cause at every opportunity and raise the issue of Palestine from a regional to a universal plane.
- Pakistan would avoid becoming embroiled in conflicts between rival Muslim states but it would urge bilateral settlement of disputes, or provide good offices or mediation of called upon^{xxxv}.

Bhutto publicly renounced H.S. Suhrawardy's statement in 1956 that the Muslim countries of the Middle East nothing more than zero plus Zero. Bhutto also repudiated Ayub's reaction to the Arab-Israel war 1967, calling it, lukewarm and lackadaisical'. Bhutto announced that Pakistan was committed to a diplomatic initiative that focused on a United approach to the Middle East issue. During the Ramadan war, Pakistan gave both material and political support to the Arabs. At a press conference in Karachi on 20 October 1973 he declared that the whole of the Muslim world is on trial'.

The Islamic summit also brought together the leaders of the PLO. The Summit's objective, Bhutto reiterated was peace not war, and a balanced world order for all peoples. In a final address Bhutto stated "I declare here today that we, the people of Pakistan, shall give our blood for the cause of Islam... the people of Pakistan are soldiers of Islam and its armies are the armies of Islam. Whenever any occasion arises the Islamic world will never find us wanting in any future conflict^{xxxvi}. The leaders viewed the building of a framework of political and economic co-operation to promote true Muslim unity. The leaders agreed to form a committee of representatives and Experts and an Islamic Solidarity Fund. The aim of these institutions was material and cultural assistance for the Muslim states.

Z.A. Bhutto remained relations with Iran and Turkey in the Regional cooperation for Development (RCD). As prelude to summit in Izmir, in a signal article RCD: challenge and response, published on 19 April 1976, he emphasized that Iran, Pakistan and Turkey constitute a single civilization. New situation created by détente between the two superpowers, he finalized' if we miss the opportunity to mobilize and integrate our resources in order to face contemporary challenges the world will take no note of either our heritage or our aspirations.^{xxxvii}

During the Fifth Islamic conference of foreign ministers approved the agreement of the Islamic development Bank. At the six Islamic conference of foreign ministers convened in Jeddeh, Pakistan was elected to serve the Jerusalem committee and to develop strategies for the 'liberation' of occupied Palestine and

^{xxxv} *Pakistan's Relations with The Islamic States: A Review*, (Islamabad: Minister of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 21 February 1977), Pp. 20-21.

^{xxxvi} *The Pakistan Times*, 23 February 1974.

^{xxxvii} Z.A. Bhutto, "RCD: Challenge and Response, in *Pakistan Horizon*, 29 (Second Quarter 1976), Pp. 3-6.

the 'Holy city'. At the seventh Islamic conference of foreign Ministers Pakistan won the conference's support for a programme to provide material assistance to liberation movements in newly independent states and Africa. In the Seventh Islamic conference of foreign ministers Pakistan adopted her call to assist the Turkish Cypriot Community Pakistan participated the first session of the new Islamic commission for economic, cultural and social affairs in 1977. The members of this commission praised Bhutto's devotion to Islamic unity and Muslim development Bhutto's promotion of joint ministerial commission among the Islamic states also encouraged his policy of bilateralism and programmes were started between Islamabad, Tehran, Riyadh, Tripoli, Kuwait, Baghdad and the UAE. These programmes facilitate the Pakistani Labour to the oil-producing states of the Middle East.

Pakistan also played a key role of military cooperation with other Islamic states. From 1972 to 1977 Pakistan resulted military protocols with Kuwait Iraq, Oman, the UAE, Libya and Saudi Arabia and gave military services to Bahrain, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan, Malaysia, Qatar, Syria Sudan and Turkey.

During the Bhutto Era, Pakistan had closely related with Libya Pakistan was rumored to have managed with Mummer Qaddafi of Uranium for Pakistan's nuclear programme. Bhutto discouraged the International efforts aimed at preventing a Muslim country form getting such capability. Bhutto spoke about the need of the "Islamic bomb, and especially Pakistan's effort for security which was now even more threatened by India's demonstration of atomic power"^{xxxviii}.

In the context to develop relations with the Islamic states, Bhutto visited S. Arabia four times. He visited Turkey fives times, the UAE and Kuwait two times. Z. A. Bhutto's Middle East policy established cultural ties and made Pakistan the recipient of economic and financial assistance. Pakistan received funds from the following countries^{xxxix}.

Iran	\$ 730.00 Million
UAE	\$ 100.00 Million
Libya	\$ 80.00 Million
Qater	\$ 10.00 Million
OPEC	Special Fund \$ 21.45 Million

In the Second category, Project assistance, Pakistan received from

Saudi Arabia	\$ 130.00 Million
UAE	\$ 92.00 Million
Iran	\$ 75.00 Million
Libya	\$ 10.00 Million
Kuwait	\$ 45.00 Million

In the third category, Relief grants.

Libya	\$ 16.00 Million
S. Arabia	\$ 10.00 Million

^{xxxviii} G.S. Bhargava, *South Asian Security After Afghanistan*, (Boston: Lexington Books, 1983), Pp. 134-6.

^{xxxix} *Pakistan's Relations with The Islamic States*; op. cit., Pp. 28-9.

UAE	\$ 8.00 Million
Kuwait	\$ 5.00 Million
Qatar	\$ 1.00 Million
Iran and Others	\$ 2.70 Million

During the Bhutto Era, the Muslim States becomes Pakistan's largest market for exports, increasing up from a twenty percent share to more than one third Cultural cooperation agreements were participated into with Libya, Algeria, Sudan, Kuwait, Mauritania and Iraq. Bhutto also promoted the teaching and use of Arabic and Persian language in Pakistan. He finished the arrangements with S. Arabia for the construction of the King Faisal Masque and co-sponsored with Riyadh the establishment of an Islamic center. Bhutto intensively pursued improved relations with Afghanistan and Afghanistan was the first country he visited after becoming to president. The 1973 coup in Kabul that ousted the monarchy, Bhutto moved fastly to recognize the new government of M. Daud sought an independent homeland for the Pathans of the northwest frontiers. Bhutto stopped the situation by offering friendship to the new government, while at the same time wiping out an insurgency allegedly engineered from Kabul in Pakistan's Balochistan Province.^{XL}

He allowed the over flight of Pakistan region by Afghanistan aircraft. He gave the right of Afghan traders to work their trucks through Pakistan to India. He supplied relief to Kabul to counter the effects of the 1972-3 famine. In 1976, when an earthquake, relief supplies were again sent M. Daud also visited Islamabad in 1976, after a long period of thirty years of unpleasantness, Pakistan-Afghanistan relations became more practical and realistic in 1977. Bhutto was determined to make the Muslim States into a potential association and the results of these efforts would meet positively may of Pakistan's objectives.

Bhutto envisaged a foreign policy which was free from American dependence. There was no debut that Pakistan was allied ally of the US but the US was not restored the status quo. It was a time for a new framework to encourage the nation's foreign policy. Z.A. Bhutto, was always faced challenges. Bhutto reshaped his foreign policy 'Bilateralism'.^{XL1} Pakistan would stop taking sides in the cold war, would balance with the superpowers, would increase its ties with China, communist countries in Eastern Europe and with North Korea. Bhutto described that the US had stopped aid to Pakistan during the 1965 war. Bhutto did not feel the Americans deserved special consideration his efforts at distancing Islamabad from Washington marked him as a truly independent.

In 1949, the US felt that India was the only country which counters the communist China 'the world's largest democracy'. When Nehru visited, USA, the time magazine said, "Washington wants India to be a bulwark against communism". Secretary of State Dean Aches ranked the Indian leader with Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson.^{XL11} The Korean War,

^{XL}*Government of Pakistan, White Paper on Balochistan (Islamabad: 19 October 1974).*

^{XL1}Lawrence Ziring, "Bhutto's foreign Policy, 1972-73, Henry Korson, (ed.), *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), Pp. 56-80.

^{XL11}Jawaharlal Nehru, *Jawaharlal's Discovery of America*, (Delhi: East and West Publishers, 1950), P.

the Japanese peace treaty and china's seat in the UN India policy was announced closer to that of the Communist powers.^{XLIII} The Americans had started to despair of J. Nehru. The US began to close toward Pakistan by granting military assistance. When Ayub Khan declared that "we are no more short of men and material... if we are to hit a target today, it will not be the same tomorrow."^{XLIV} The US gave a gift of 700,000 tons of wheat in 1953 saved Pakistan from a threatened famine and increase economic assistance. "Nirad C. Chaudhuri, commented that: "India held the pistol at the head of Pakistan Until in 1954, the American alliance delivered the country from that nightmare"^{XLV} Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto also agreed with Nirad's argument and he stated in the National Assembly on December 21, 1973, American military assistance to Pakistan had been "colossal" It maintained a balance of power in the subcontinent, it prevent India from daring to pursue an adventurism policy toward Pakistan".^{XLVI} But in 1965, In the US did not supply military assistance and Pakistan-US ties did not improve until Richard Nixon took power S.M. Burk wrote that Yahya's decision to use military force in East Pakistan was not only a disastrous error domestically but was also a foreign policy blunder.^{XLVII}

If the political failure is recognized now, the country's foreign policy was not successful may be challenged. Wayne Wilcox wrote on Pakistan's foreign Policy that "had been creative and successful" – although by no means so successful as to enable. It realize to all its objectives.^{XLVIII} After the 1971 war, Wilcox wrote that Pakistan's foreign policy has faced domestic problems and insufficient resources, this prospect is not new... what is clear, however, is that Pakistan will continue to prove to be a dynamic state in the world politics. Its setting structure, domestic politics and need for external resources are two great for it to become isolationist, And the spilled blood of the communal riots, wars and clashes between India and west Pakistan do not appear to make a foreign policy of "subordinate reconciliation" possible. Neither peace nor war, but cold war will most probably continue to divide the two great countries of South Asia in the next decade^{XLIX}, whenever the Kashmir dispute will not solve.

If anybody take the real meaning of foreign policy and how it interact with domestic politics and how would develop political development. As Samuel P. Huntington wrote: "Political modernization and development with the observation that organization not only opened the road to political power but provided the preconditions of political stability and liberty. "In the modernizing world he controls the future who organizes his politics."^L Bhutto used the term

^{XLIII} S.M. Burke., *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, op.cit., P. 126

^{XLIV} Aslam Siddiqui, *Pakistan Seeks Security*, (Lahore: Laongmans, green, 1960), P. 118 and Dawn Jan. 31, 1957.

^{XLV} Nirad. C. Chaudhuri, *The continent of Circe*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965), p. 244.

^{XLVI} *Dawn*, January 14, 1974.

^{XLVII} S. M. Burke, "The Management of Pakistan's Foreign Policy", In Lawrence Ziring, Ralph Braibanti and W. Howard Wriggins, (eds.), *Pakistan: The Long View*, (Durham: Duke University press, 1977), P. 361.

^{XLVIII} Wayne A. Wilcox, "Pakistan in Wayne A. Wilcox, Leo, E., Rose, and Gavin Boyd, (eds.), *Asian and The International System* (Cambridge, Mass: Withrop, 1972), P. 113.

^{XLIX} *Ibid.*, P. 115.

^L Samuel. P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University press, 1968), P. 461.

“Islamic socialism “which has been current in Muslim political discourse in the Indian subcontinent and the Arab world for several decades. In an article published in 1920, Rashid Riad (1865-1935) saw socialism as a way of liberating workers from governmental and capitalistic oppression and thought Muslims must hope for its success”.^{L1} Abdel Moghany said, a contemporary Arab socialist intellectual observes that Arab socialism is rooted “deep in the soil of Islam and the cultural Heritage of the Arabs.^{LII} But in manifest remained the party’s policy is the attainment of a classless society, which is only possible through socialism. When internally circumstances change of a country then it also effects the external situation. Norman D. Palmer wrote in the long search for foreign policy, “Changes in a country’s foreign policy are a consequence of changes in its internal situation and its international environment.^{LIII} It is true, after the war of 1971, Pakistan existed in smaller size. In new Pakistan, she has left the commonwealth membership and SEATO. Norman throws light on Pakistan’s foreign relations with current methodological and conceptual tools, “Such well-trodden and undoubtedly, relevant subjects as the linkages between the internal and external environment, decision-making in foreign policy and the role of decision-making elites..., the process of nation building and the concept of political development as the part of the total developmental process.^{LIV} Foreign policy, therefore, is closely related to political development and the internal environment of a political system, as well as to external behaviour of a State. But foreign policy is a behavior of the internal issues of a political system and has no independent existence. As Rudolph Rummel has noted that “participation in the international system is internally derived behavior. Participation is a resultant of the properties of a nation.”^{LIV} These situations about the relationship of foreign policy and political development have a particular relevance to Pakistan.^{LVI} Pakistan’s foreign policy can be analyzed from the point of view the indo-Pakistan conflicts on the internal politics, the impact of external pressures on internal politics, the relations of internal and external conflict behavior, it was noteworthy that during crisis of 1971, which began as internal conflict, speedily expended into a major, crisis in Indo-Pakistan relations and took on large international attention.

Z.A. Bhutto analyzed perception of Pakistan’s security needs and foreign policy goals effected the pattern of civil-Military relations. He played a role in terms of security needs, geopolitical location, relations with great powers, historical ties with Muslim world and advocacy and support for third world causes. Z.A Bhutto envisaged an independent foreign policy for Pakistan. Saeed Shafqat also wrote how his perception of foreign policy influenced the pattern of civil-

^{L1} Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in The Liberal Age 1798 – 1939*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), P. 304.

^{LII} A. M. Said, *Arab Socialism* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1972), P. 24.

^{LIII} Norman D. Palmer, “Pakistan: The Long Search For Foreign Policy”, in Lawrence Ziring, Ralph Braibanti, and W. Howard Wriggins, (eds.), *Pakistan: The Long View*, (Durham: Duke University, Press, 1977), P. 403.

^{LIV} Norman D. Palmer, “Foreign Policy and Political Development: International and comparative Dimensions”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, XXXIII (July-September. 1972), P. 253.

^{LIV} Rudolph. J. Rummel, “Some Dimensions in the Foreign Policy of Nations”, In James N. Rosenall, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, (Revised ed.), (New York: The Free Press, 1969), Pp. 611-12.

^{LVI} Khalid Bin Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), P.289.

military relations. These foreign policy changes had an impact on the ideological consciousness of the people, gave popular legitimacy to the regime and reinforced Bhutto's radical-Nationalist image.^{LVII} Pakistan was depended upon imperialism. Bhutto took publicized actions such as he recognized the Democratic people's republic of Korea and the German Democratic republic and revolutionary governments of Vietnam and Cambodia. Moreover he developed ties with China, Romania, and the PLO the relations with the Soviet Union and other eastern bloc countries were positively improving.^{LVIII} He also developed relations with the Muslim world. Bhutto reshaped the nature of US- Pakistan relations when he took over power in 1971. He explained this change in objectives, conditions and geo-political realities.^{LIX} From 1967 to 1971, he denounced Pakistan's membership of the US Pakistan SEATO Pact.^{LX} When he was in power, demanded a continued alliance with the US. In front of reality the Indo-Soviet treaty, China- US relationship and the Pakistan military's need for the US equipment. But in 1977, when his regime was overthrown by the military, there were reports of the US having encouraged the military takeover^{LXI}. In the Bhutto era, he reshaped military institution according to his own whims.

When Bhutto came to power, many Islamic parties favoured again political role for the military. When General Tikka Khan was appointed Chief of Army Staff. Mian Tufail Mohammad, the chief of Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) called upon the military to abolish Bhutto's Government, as it was corrupt and evil. Those who felt that Pakistan is an ideological state, the relationship exist between the state, Islam and the military.^{LXII} He assured that in the Ideological state, "the military was a part of the political system and as such, its take-over of the political arena could not be termed intervention as such.^{LXIII} It totally consists of error. Many Pakistani military regimes have used the name of Islam to legitimize their rule, and institution such as military has remained its hegemony in politics as a "saviors of the state and declaring to promote national integration. When Bhutto came to power, he brought the military under civilian rule.

According to Fazal Muqueem, officers were known of their loss of reputation. In the public they have completely lost their confidence. A feeling of dismay, depression and despondency was widely spread among the forces.^{LXIV} In addition, the newspapers criticized the army generals and not the military as an

^{LVII}Saeed Shafqat, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*, (Colorado: West View Press, a Division of Harper Collins Publishers, Inc. 1997), P. 182.

^{LXIII}Ajaz Ahmad, "Democracy and Dictatorship", Hasan Gordezi and Jamil Rashid, (ed.), *Pakistan: The Roots of Dictatorship the Political Economy of a Praetorian State*, (London: Zed Press, 1983), P.115.

^{LXII}Shirin Tahir, Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan. The Evolution of an Influence Relationship*, (New York: Praeger, 1982), Pp. 54-55.

^{LXIV}Z. A. Bhutto, *Marching Towards Democracy*, A Collection of Articles, Statements and Speeches (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1978), Pp. 111-113.

^{LXI} Lawrence Ziring, "Pakistan and India: Policies, Personalities and Foreign Policy", *Asian Survey*, Vol. VIII, No.,7 (July 1978) Pp. 717- 725.also Shirin Tahir Khali, op. cit., Pp. 127-128.

^{LXII}Asaf Hussain, *Elite Politics in an Ideological State: The Case of Pakistan*, (Folkestone, Kent: Dawson, 1979), Pp. 132-133.

^{LXIII} Ibid., P. 133

^{LXIV}Fazal Muqueem Khan, *Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership*, (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1972), P 251.

institution. Nawa-i-Waqt wrote “the Nation cannot believe that the army which was considered one of the best in the world can surrender in Dacca without putting and defenses... it is a defeat of bureaucracy but not of the army of the people.^{LXV} In another news daily: now the general rule should end forever. Pakistan should not allow its military to get involved in politics.^{LXVI} Daily Mussawat wrote. “The people want to know what caused the defeat of Pakistan army in East Pakistan.^{LXVII}

He purged 43 senior officers and the total number of the rank of brigadier was 120. He was careful not to pursue a general purge. His goal was to create professional but docile military establishment with adequate fighting capabilities.^{LXVIII}

In this way, he wanted to impose checks on the political role of the military and in the other way, he increased defense expenditure due to internal and external causes. This way of restricting the political role of the military and increasing its budget needs created bad impacts. Bhutto imposed civilian control over the military that he failed to pay adequate attention to civilian political institutions (political party).^{LXIX} He adopted to establish civilian control through constitutional ways. His aim was to define the role of the military to defense and territorial security. In the 1973 constitution described the functions of the military.

The constitution declared that under the direction of the federal government, the military was required to defend Pakistan against external aggression on threat of war and subject to law act in aid of civil power when called upon to do so.^{LXX}

In military structure, he established civilian supremacy over the military. In March 1976, his regime issued a white paper on Higher Defense Organization.^{LXXI} The Prime Minister was the Chief Executive of the state some changes were introduced in the Military. The incharge of the heads of the three services were changed from the C-in-C of the Army, Navy and Air force to the chief of Army staff. These chiefs were kept under the command of the joint chiefs of staff committee, with the president as C-in-C. The chief of staff of army put incharge of planning and conduct of war. The tenure of the Chiefs of Staff was initially fixed at four years. Later in 1975 it was decreased to three years. To promote defence system the post of JCSE was established on permanent basis. General Mohammad Shariff was appointed as a first Chairman. The JCSE was considered as the high body” for considering all problems bearing on the military aspects of national defence and rendering professional military advice thereon.

^{LXV} *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, 8 December 1971.

^{LXVI} *Imroze*, Lahore, 18 December 1971.

^{LXVII} *Mussawat*, Lahore, December 1971.

^{LXVIII} Stephen, P. Cohen, *The Pakistan Army* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), P. 73.

^{LXIX} Maleeha Lodi, *Bhutto, The Pakistan People's Party and Political Development in Pakistan, 1967-1977*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London; 1981), P. 658.

^{LXX} The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Passed by The National Assembly of Pakistan on 10 April and authenticated by The President of The National Assembly on 12 April 1973, P. 117.

^{LXXI} *White Paper on Higher Defence Organization, Government of Pakistan*, 1976, See Appendix I and See also *Defense Journal* Vol. H., Nos. 7-8 (July-August 1976), Pp. 16-22

Bhutto viewed that the chairman of the JCSE would made him too powerful and military was too closed for a civilian defenses Minister who had the right to veto a promotion. He used this veto a few times. But the service chiefs continued force in doing appointments.^{LXXII}

In March 1976, he appointed Zia ul-Haq, a junior corps commander to chief of Army Staff, ignoring seven generals. His contemporaries have stated about him as a devoutly religious person.^{LXXIII} Bhutto also shifted the naval headquarters from Karachi to Islamabad. Bhutto was able to enforce them indicated that the military elites were weak and reluctantly accepted civilian supremacy.^{LXXIV}

These sorts of steps developed a agitation among the senior officers, they thought much interference in the matters of the military: Nordlinger has hypothesized a correlation between civilian interference in the affairs of the Military and coup d'etat.^{LXXV} In Egypt in 1952, King Farouk was overthrown by the army because he intervened in the internal affairs of the army. In 1964, Brazilian President Goulart was overthrown by the Military as the above reason. March 1973, military officers led by retired Brigadier F.B. Ali and colonel Alim Afridi, engaged a coup against Bhutto. The leaders aimed at not only overthrowing Bhutto but also unseating senior commanders who were collaborating with Bhutto.^{LXXVI} Whenever every civilian government has been overthrown called "civil war" in Pakistan. In 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan, stopped the attempt coup d'etat of Maj. Gen Akbar Khan. It was called the Hyderabad conspiracy case. In 1971 when Civil War ended with separation that was called the Attock Conspiracy Case. In thirty years of the existence of Pakistan:

- 1- Two attempted military coup d'etats.
- 2- Two semi military coup d'etats.
- 3- Three were completely military coup d'etats.

According to H.A. Rizvi, "Bhutto's Civilian government neither faced crisis of legitimacy nor it relied on military's support for its survival, it was able to assert its leadership over the military."^{LXXVII} He often described Bhutto as a man of the people "their brother friend and comrade."^{LXXVIII} He made direct way to the people for support of his policies and the PPP lacked organizational and institutional mechanism. The party has lost charisma of their leader; he was

^{LXXII} Shahid Javed Burki, *Pakistan Under Bhutto 1971-77*, 2nd (ed.), (London: Macmillan, 1988), P.103.

^{LXXIII} K.M. Arif, *Working with Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995), P. 120.

^{LXXIV} Maliha Lodi, op.cit., Pp. 650-651.

^{LXXV} E.A. Nordinger, *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Government* (Englewood Cliff, N.J: Prentice Hall, 1977), Pp.71-73.

^{LXXVI} In 1973, It Was Called Attock Conspiracy Case, See in. M. Lodi, op.cit., Pp. 649-651, and Z.A. Bhutto, *If I am Assassinated...* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1979), Pp. 103-104 and Air Marsha Mohammad Ashghar Khan, *General in Politics, 1958-1982*, (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1983) Pp. 42-94.

^{LXXVII} Hasan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, (Lahore: Sang-E-Meel Publications, 2000), P. 236.

^{LXXVIII} Anwar Hussain Syed, "Z.A. Bhutto's Self-Characterization and Pakistani Political Culture, *Asian Survey*, Vol. XVIII No. 12, December 1978, Pp. 1250-1266.

depended on the suppressive laws, the FSF and the police, these were reasoning to shift government from the civilian leaders to the Army. He interfered in the matters of the military. The armies already were conscious of their dim reputation. He failed to understand the organizational rules of the military especially at the highest level where relations among generals are of a political rather than as on typical disciplinary lines.

By superseding eligible generals he threatened the geronto logic arrangement' within the armed forces.^{LXXIX} He created Para military forces, which produced a sense of deprivation among the military elites. Nordlinger says that the military is provoked when its corporate interest are challenged and Wlech says that the military can also be provoked if the legitimacy of civilian political institutional is weak.^{LXXX}

In the 25 Years of Pakistan's history. Bhutto was the only bourgeois's politician who had a fundamental and passionate sense of the limits Aijaz Ahmed also wrote he was not a "revolutionary, Nor even a consistent nationalist, but in that mire of degradation which is the history of our ruling class, he was the only one who had a sense of that honour, even national honour exists, that endurance is possible, that certain stakes are worth the price of one's life and that in the third world, in times of ultimate danger one turns, not to imperialism but to the masses.^{LXXXI}

^{LXXIX} Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military* (London: Hollios and carte, 1959), P. 297.

^{LXXX} E. Nordlinger, op.cit., P. 75 and ClavdeE. Welch and Smith, *Military Role and Rule*, (Belmount: California University Press, 1976), P. 249.

^{LXXXI}Aijaz Ahmad, "Democracy and "Dictatorship", op. cit., P. 126.