

## Dimensions of Pakistan's Foreign Policy: From inception to the 9/11 incident (1947-2001)-An analytical study

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### Abstract

This study deals with the dimensions of Pakistan's foreign policy right from its inception in 1947 up to the 9/11 Incident. Being a founding father of the nation Quaid-i-Azam set the directions for all departments of the newly born state including its foreign policy. Later on the policy was further developed by the first Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaqat Ali Khan and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan Zaffarullah Khan. The regional and international challenges resulted in Pakistan's alliance and reliance on the US and the Western World. Consequently Pakistan joined the US sponsored pacts i.e. SEATO and CENTO in 1954 and 1955 respectively. In 1960s Pakistan's relations with China were developed and border agreement was signed between the two countries in 1963 and during Indo-Pak War of 1965 China supported Pakistan on all stages. In 1970s Pakistan's foreign policy saw the new dimensions in the wake of separation of East Pakistan 1979 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan 1979. These developments influenced Pakistan greatly and brought Pakistan in the laps of US and the Western World. On the other hand cordial and friendly relations were also developed with the Muslim World especially the Arabs. Likewise Pakistan's stance over Nuclear Issue in 1990s, Kargil Crisis and 9/11 Incident is one of the hot issues of present study.

**Keywords:** Foreign Policy, Middle East, Central Asia, Kargil Issue, Bilateralism

### 1. Introduction

#### Pakistan's Foreign Policy in Retrospect

The Muslims of the subcontinent got freedom after a great struggle under the matchless leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who succeeded in getting an independent state within seven years after the Lahore Resolution. Thus Pakistan emerged on the World's map on August 14, 1947.

As a matter of fact; foreign policy of any country is influenced by its history, ideology and geo-strategical location. This has certainly been the case with Pakistan. Apart from history, ideology and geographical position, Pakistan has also deeply affected its foreign policy and its fortunes as an independent state. Had Pakistan been located in some other part of the World, its way of action and policies making after getting freedom might have been entirely different. However, the saying goes, "one can choose one's friends but not one's neighbors". At the beginning, geographically Pakistan was consisted of two wings (East and West Pakistan) having one thousand Miles distance between two wings and hostile India lies between them. The post 1971 Pakistan has borders with India, China, Iran and Afghanistan. Moreover, until 1991 only a narrow 40 KM. stretch of land separated it from the Super Power, former Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, for the greater part, had been close to India. It is also notable that though Pakistan is situated in South Asia, it is linked to Central Asia and Middle East and is located at the mouth of strategically important Persian Gulf. In some ways from Middle East and Central Asia, Pakistan also draws most of its spiritual roots and some of its ethnic and cultural origins. The best natural access to the sea for several land locked countries in Central Asia is via Afghanistan and Pakistan. Western China, which has common border with Pakistan also, has an outlet to the sea via Pakistan. Thus

Pakistan has been surrounded by big countries like India, China and Soviet Union, out these China has been a friend and India has been an opponent <sup>[1]</sup>.

The joint Anglo-Hindu conspiracy to concede Pakistan on such terms and conditions as would, gently speaking, prevent the newly born state from consolidating itself as a sovereign state and consequently force it to join India under the immense pressure of critical circumstances. It's obvious from the hopes of the two powerful members of the Congress, expressed in their statements, Sardar Vallabhai Patel in a letter to the members of Congress Working Committee said, "A strong center with the whole of India---except East Bengal and part of the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan---enjoying full autonomy under the center will be so powerful that the remaining portions will eventually come in". Mr. Nehru nursed the same hope. In the course of a dialogue with Leonard Mosley, he said, "The truth is that we were the tired men and we were getting on in years to..... The plan for portion offered a way out and we took it. But if Gandhi has told us not to, we would have gone of fighting and waiting. But we accepted that portion would be temporary, that Pakistan was bound to come back to us". This was a challenge to the honor and courage of the Muslim Nation and its leader as well and the both accepted it courageously <sup>[2]</sup>.

#### 2. Tracing roots of foreign policy principles: endeavors of the founding fathers 1947-1951

Pakistan's foreign policy was to be formed in the crucible of interaction with its neighbor India, but it was imbued from the beginning with the idealistic vision of country's founding father Quaid-i-Azam. Being a first head of the state, he was a man of spirit, ideals and integrity, committed to the principles of peace with faith and confidence in human capability to resolve the differences through the applications of law and

logic. Liaquat Ali Khan (first Prime Minister of Pakistan) and Sir Zaffar Ullah Khan (first Foreign Minister of Pakistan) were also committed, and men of discipline. Throughout his tenure Sir Zaffar Ullah Khan seek to permute the resolution of International disputes in accordance with the UN Charter.

During one year, he lived after the foundation of Pakistan, laid the foundation of many institutions and proclaimed valuable principles in various kinds of state affairs i.e. administrative, fiscal and economic to constitution making and formulation of foreign policy. A firm commitment to basic principles necessary for the maintenance and promotion of international peace, progress and prosperity, obvious in the following excerpts from his speech:

There lies in front of us a new chapter and it will be our endeavor to create and maintain good will and friendship with Britain and our neighborly dominion Hindustan, along with other sisterly nations so that we together may make our greatest contribution for the peace and prosperity of the world<sup>[3]</sup>.

A. H. Isphahani wrote about the sayings of Quaid-i-Azam in such a way. "Until we gained our independence, we adhered to Muslim League policy which was friendship with all nations of the World and want no enmity with anyone". As an under develop nation just born with countless problems to tackle, we could not afford the luxury of siding with the power or that nor with one group or the other. The Quaid observed in his broadcast to the people of US in February 1948:

Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the Nations of the World. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any county or nation. We believe in the principles of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings, and are prepared to make our contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and depressed peoples of the World and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter<sup>[4]</sup>.

Pakistani leaders expected that law and reason would develop relations between Pakistan and India. Quaid-i-Azam expressed the hope that both countries would develop better relations on the basis of equality, justice and peaceful cooperation. On the occasion of inauguration of Radio Pakistan on August 15, 1947, Jinnah said:

Our object is peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relations not only with our neighbors but also with entire World. We did not have any aggressive design against anyone. We stand by the charter of United Nations and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the World<sup>[5]</sup>.

In an International environment, every nation has state centric foreign policy values which oftenly confront with the supranational values. These values are peace, freedom, democracy, humanity etc. Thus nations joined international organizations and forums and develop relations with other nations<sup>[6]</sup>. This is why after getting freedom Pakistan's foreign policy upheld the fundamental principles of international law, especially respect for independence, non-aggression, noninterference in internal affairs of any country as an

indispensable condition for peace and progress. It developed goodwill towards all states and help for the lawful cause of peoples, the cherishing of the brotherly relations with other Muslim nations and the desire for cooperation with all other states, especially its neighbors<sup>[7]</sup>.

In the very beginning Pakistan exercised to join the United Nations. Pakistan's requisition was treated as a special case by the Security Council and it recommended that the General Assembly admit Pakistan so that it could take its seat in the next session of General Assembly. Thus Pakistan became the member of the United Nations on September 30, 1947. To develop international relations and cooperation, Pakistan also joined some other international organizations and agencies like, F.A.O., International I. about Organization, World Health Organization, The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Apart from this Pakistan also attended the numerous important conferences. A delegation was sent to Cambera to attend the conference regarding the Japanese settlement. Pakistan was also represented at the F.A.O. Conference in Geneva. Pakistan's representatives also participated in an important trade and employment Conference at Havana, the regional I.L.O. Conference and the 2<sup>nd</sup> session of the Economic Commission for the East-Asia.

Diplomatic relations with other autonomous and foreign countries were also taking in hand. High Commissions were exchanged with the United Kingdom, the Indian Union and after that with Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Ceylon. Embassies were established in the US, Egypt, Iran, Burma, Afghanistan, Turkey, the USSR, China and other countries<sup>[8]</sup>.

With the passage of time, it becomes evident that the newly born state was making good progress. Other nations began to note that Pakistan was making its mark. Moreover, the birth of Pakistan was coincided with the advent of cold war between two big powers, the US and the former Soviet Union. Both were trying to increase their influence all over the World. This is why the Soviet Union invited Liaquat Ali Khan in 1949, to Moscow and although the invitation was not refused but was not pursued. It's to be doubted whether Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan or any other Pakistani statesman ever inclined towards an alliance or pact between Pakistan and the Soviet Union and Pakistan. It is also important to note that within two years of its creation Pakistan had thus far impressed the Soviet Union. There are important differences of outlook between Pakistan with its Islamic background and the Soviet Union, with a background of Marxism. It was a question mark for Pakistan to become the ally of the Soviet Union. There was also a threat of possible Soviet advances towards the warm waters of Indian Ocean and oil rich areas of Persian Gulf and interestingly it was an alarming situation for the West and the US. Furthermore, there was a question whether Soviet Union could supply the aid, both material and technical, which Pakistan was urgently required. For these reasons an alliance between the two countries was 'ab initio' improbable.

### 3. Pakistan's inclination and joining of US bloc

Thus Pakistan decided to join the US Bloc and in 1950 Liaquat Ali Khan visited the US where he was warmly welcomed. If Pakistan had previously been an area of doubt, it now ceased to be one. It was obvious that Mr. Liaquat's visit laid the foundation of friendship which was to grow stranger before many more years had passed<sup>[9]</sup>.

Pakistan and the United States signed the first defense agreement on May 19, 1954. According to this pact the US would provide defense equipments to Pakistan 'exclusively to balanced its internal security' its legitimate defense, or to allow it to participate in the defense of the region. On the other hand Pakistan would cooperate with the US in order to restrict trade with nations which threaten the maintenance of World peace. Regarding this pact, Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra said: "The two countries have a great deal in common, they shared convictions regarding freedom and democracy and spiritual strength to fight the totalitarian concept"<sup>[10]</sup>.

After that in order to check the advancement of Soviet Union and influence of communism, the US launched the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Pakistan was offered and she joined the Pact regarding its security interests. The SEATO Pact was signed in Manila on September 08, 1954 by the following countries: Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and UK. The SEATO claims the adherence of the members states to the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes and declares their intentions for collective defense against aggression. As for as Pakistan was concerned, effectiveness of the organization was tested during the time of the September war of 1965 with India, when not even a single finger was raised in support of Pakistan by the SEATO members<sup>[11]</sup>.

Initially, the Bagdad Pact was founded by the Turkey and Iraq in February 1955, at Bagdad through signing a Pact of mutual cooperation for security and defense purpose. In the beginning Pakistan was not enthusiastic over the invitation of Turkey and Iraq to join the Pact, but later on Ayub Khan (then Defence Minister of Pakistan) accepted the invitation and visited Turkey, Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Mendres and Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri saad convinced Mr. Ayub Khan to join the Pact. Thus keeping mind he interests of Pakistan, on 23 September 1955 Pakistan signed the Pact of mutual cooperation in Bagdad. Later on Iran and Britain also joined it but the US did not become a full member.

In 1958, the Iraq regime's was over thrown in a bloody coup and the Country was pulled out of the Pact named after its Capital. This is why after the withdrawal of the Iraq; the Pact was named as CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) on 24 March 1959. Like SEATO, it was a treaty of mutual aid and peaceful intentions and mutual consultation among the member Countries<sup>[12]</sup>.

In March 1959, bilateral defense cooperation agreement was signed between Pakistan and US. In this Pact US clearly committed that the United States, 'regards as vital to its national interest and to World peace, the preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of Pakistan'. Furthermore there was also same assurance to Pakistan by US officials though not in form of written agreement that 'in case of Indian aggression against Pakistan, the US would assist Pakistan'<sup>[13]</sup>.

Throughout the 1950s, both the big powers (US and USSR) continue to strengthen their relationships with the South Asian States. It was not until the advent of 1960s that brought dramatic changes in the whole World scenario, such as the introduction of intercontinental missiles, thaw in the cold war, and Sino-Indian border war of 1962. Despite warning and protest of Pakistani leaders that "west weapons would be used against Pakistan and India is not able to defeat China", the West continuously rushed arms aid in response to Indian request following the Sino-Indian war of 1962.

Consequently, Pakistan's attachment with West begins to drift away and started to search for new friends in order to maintain the balance of power visa-a-vis India. In these circumstances China positively responded Pakistan in search of new friends and allies. Thus, Soviet Union began to realize that Pakistan's sense of insecurity might push them too deeply into the China's lap, began to seek ways to prevent Pakistan's growing friendship with China and simultaneously weaken its pro-west policy. While the Soviet Union began to continuously smiling at Pakistan, and continuous to strengthen their ties with India. At the end of 1960s the Soviet Continuous smiles also vanished following the rejection of Brezhnev's proposal of an Asian collective security system by the Pakistan's president, Mr. Ayub Khan. Apart from this the U-2 incident also broke the hopes of developing relations between Pakistan and USSR, while Pakistan's relations with China continued to strengthen<sup>[14]</sup>.

#### **4. Sino-Pak: Entente Cordiale**

Pakistan approached China in November 1959, with the proposal to demark the border between the two countries. Because, it was desirable to do this in order to tackle any kind of problem. Thus on May 4, 1962, the two countries announced agreement to begin negotiations which started on October 12, 1962. The talks were conducted in a friendly atmosphere and within two months the two countries reached on an agreement regarding the border demarcation. Zhou generously agreed to give an area of 750 Square Miles to Pakistan and this thing strengthens the relations between the two countries<sup>[15]</sup>.

By changing the scenario of the World, the ally's countries of CENTO, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey began to feel the need to supplement and enlarge their dimensional military contacts. At a meeting at Istanbul on July 22, 1964, the heads of the three states agreed to promote cooperation in economic and cultural fields and to form an organization, of Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). Despite this Pakistan also developed relations with Indonesia, which led the two countries to form Indonesia-Pakistan Economic and Cultural Cooperation (IPECC), in August 1965. Like RCD, it has continued to provide forum for the promotion of cooperation between the two countries<sup>[16]</sup>.

Pakistan had faced two major crisis of its history, first in the mid of 1960s, the war of 1965 with India, and second in the early 1970s, the separation of East Pakistan as a result of 1971 war. All the assurance of assistance from West against any aggression towards Pakistan proved faked stories. Thus due to the non-supportive attitude of the West and especially US in the wars of 1965 and 1971, Pakistan's foreign policy was reshaping and turning into an era of bilateral relations and nonaligned level. In this phase Pakistan withdrew from SEATO and CENTO and Common Wealth and joined Non-Aligned movement. This thing resulted in good relations with Middle East countries and improved as economic support and diplomatic assistance. However, Pakistan was experiencing very poor relations towards US as Pakistan successfully made an agreement with France for the acquisition of the Nuclear Technology Plant. It's also promoted better relations with the Muslim World like Egypt and Saudi Arabia who disliked Pakistan entry in SEATO and CENTO. Pakistan also hosted the second Islamic Summit in 1974 and the Media of Islamic World projected Pakistan as an energetic, friendly and peace loving country. Pakistan ties with the Islamic World and

especially with the Middle East Countries were strengthened [17].

### 5. Foreign Policy during Fervent Seventies

In the late 1970s, Pakistan gained importance not only from the development of its nuclear capability but also due to two important developments in the region. First, in Iran, the pro-west regime of Raza Shah was overthrown by the Islamic Revolution led by Ayatullah Khomeini in February 1979, who adopted a fiery anti-US posture and looking forward to destabilize the other conservative regimes as well. Apart from this a deadly war broke out between Iran and Iraq, which added uncertain security situation in the region. Secondly, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, which conveys alarm, bells to the Western World because Russia could be in a position to occupy the Persian Gulf via Afghanistan and Pakistan, which is a matter of life and death for the Western World. Against this background, the importance of Pakistan gained new significance in the eyes of the West as well as the oil producing Persian Gulf states and also for the non-communist World [18].

### 6. Nervous Nineties & Foreign Policy Dimensions

During the period of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan was deeply affected. But geo-strategic location of Pakistan made it more significant. This is why during the crisis US extended its military and economic assistance to Pakistan. The Islamic World, China and West also supported Pakistan. This is the reason that Pakistan was succeeded to stop Soviet invasion with the joint efforts of Taliban. Consequently Geneva Accord was signed in 1991 for the peaceful settlement of Afghanistan, which served as a sigh of relief for the Western World and the region as well. In the era of 1990s, four major issues dominated Pakistan's foreign policy. These were: a drift in Pakistan-US relations, the Afghanistan problem, the Kashmir insurgency and its impacts on Indo-Pak relations and the nuclear explosions in May 1998 [19].

### 7. Indo-Pak Relations: Wake of Nuclear Tests and Kargil Crisis

In May 1999, the Subcontinent suffered through a very grave crisis, when according to the Indians some 'Pakistani intruders' had penetrated across the Line of Control in the Kargil sector. While according to the Pakistan these intruders were the Mujahedeen (the freedom fighters in Kashmir). The Indians were thinking it not only as the most serious penetration and violation of the Line of Control ever by the Pakistan side but also one that warned their strategic highway to Ladakh and access to Siachen. This thing resulted in a serious clash between the two countries. In this case both the countries has to face and bear casualties, but in the process, the Indians bore heavy losses. The official count was nearly four hundred casualties, which was a high number than Mujahedeen. The US President, Bill Clinton was directly involved in it and pressurized Pakistan. Thus the withdrawal of the Mujahedeen was eventually secured through a political decision. At last, Pakistan was bound to withdraw, with unfortunate misconceptual policies and actions which not only isolated Pakistan Internationally but also gravely damaged the heroic freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people. If the Kargil episode exposed Pakistan to International censure, it's also created a rift between the Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif and the Army

Chief, Pervez Musharraf. Nawaz Sharif was reported to have blamed the Army for keeping him unaware from the plan of Kargil operation. Few months later Nawaz Sharif dismissed the Chief of the Army staff, who was on his way back from a visit of Sri Lanka and ordered the refusal of landing the plan of Pervez Musharraf. However, Musharraf refused to be diverted to any other optional place and the Karachi corps commander intervened to save the passenger and crew as the plane ran low on the fuel. On return, the Chief of the Army staff took over the government through a coup detate on October 12, 1999 [20].

### 8. The 9/11 Incident: In Pursuit of Terrorism

The havoc terrorist attack in New York and Washington on 9/11 (September 11, 2001) by Al-Qaeda (an Islamist extremist group) brought about a fundamental changes in the global politics. American foreign and defense policy took a new shape. President George W. Bush. Backed by the US Congress, launched a global "war on terrorism" that was directly against Al-Qaeda especially but included Islamic extremism in general. The US demanded Osama Bin Laden from Afghanistan but this was turned down by the Taliban government. This thing resulted in US along with the NATO forces invasion of Afghanistan. Until 9/11, Pakistan had maintained friendly relations with the Taliban regime. However, US President Georg W. Bush put a blunt question to Pakistan: 'are you with us or against us?' Pakistan's President and military leader, General Pervez Musharraf came under immense US pressure to extend support to its military campaign against the Taliban in Afghanistan. Thus Pakistan stand with US war against Terrorism and got a status of non-NATO ally [21]. This thing change the whole scenario and the Pakistan's foreign and defense policy adopted a new shape to tackle the upcoming challenges being as US ally against the war on terrorism—the key of defense and foreign policy of Musharraf regime.

### 9. Conclusion

The discussion in hand clearly shows that Pakistan's foreign policy which was based on cordial relations with all the nations of the world on equal footing was soon reshaped under its terrestrial constraints and compulsions. "India factor" remained dominant up to the Nuclear Tests 1998 which resultantly created a "Power Equilibrium". However; Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan 1979 and later War against Terrorism in the wake of 9/11 Incident change the dimensions of Pakistan's foreign policy and resulted into new defense and foreign policy paradigms.

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