

CHAPTER - ONE

PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY. AN OVERVIEW

1. DEFINITION

Definitely like men, states also require neighbor and friends in order to fulfill their social, economical, and political needs. Foreign policy of a country is very important and complex activity because the State in the world achieves their national interests and objectives through foreign policy.

It is desirable to make a study of the behavioral pattern of the various states, as reflected in their policy in order to fully comprehend the inter-state relations.

According to F.S. Northedge implies, "Foreign policy is use of political influence in order to induce other states to exercise their law-making power in a manner desired by the state concerned: it is an interaction between forces originating outside the country's borders and those working within them."⁽¹⁾

There is no unanimity amongst the scholars regarding the meaning of foreign policy and they have offered various definitions in this regard.

ADEL ford AND Lincolin says, "Foreign policy is the totality of its dealing with the external environment."⁽²⁾

While Hume and Gibson define in this way "foreign policy is well rounded, comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of government with the rest of the World."⁽³⁾ According to Hill, "Foreign policy is the content or a substance of a nation's efforts to promote its interests vis-à-vis other nations."⁽⁴⁾

Prof. Hartmann defines foreign policy as "a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interests."⁽⁵⁾

According to Prof. Ruthnaswamy, "Foreign policy now is the bundle of principles and practices that regulate the intercourse of a state with other states."⁽⁶⁾

Though all the above definitions of foreign policy refer to the state action with regard to foreign powers, it is also related with the domestic policy of a state.

According to Clement "the distinction between domestic policy and foreign policy is misleading."⁽⁷⁾

2 AIMS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Basic objectives of the foreign policy of any country are the promotion of its national interests.

The prime objective of the foreign policy of a state, particularly a small state like Pakistan, is to ensure its survival or independence. It is a serious challenge for the states, which are dependent militarily, economically on super powers, being independent, a country should be free within its internal affairs and should have power to express independent views on external issues.

The important aim of the foreign policy of the countries also include to work for the preservation of the present international system and the various rights and privileges inherent in that system. The states realize that peaceful relations,, with other countries are possible only if stable international system exists.

As Northedge has put it, "All countries have a greater or less interest in ensuring that tomorrow's world is not plunged into flames against which no one's house is fire- proof." ⁽⁸⁾

All the states try to work for the improvement of the living standard of their people. This is not only because of the democratization of the foreign policies, but also because "It is obvious that in the last resort living standard will, if necessary be sacrificed for "higher" national interests, as experienced in a world in which states must provide for their security, guns must unfortunately come before butter and the practice of states show that on the whole this maxim is reflected in their policies." ⁽⁹⁾

3 APPROACHES OF FOREIGN POLICY.

There are few kinds of approaches of foreign policy, which help to understand the foreign policy but they are used in different period of the history. There are Historical or Traditional Approaches: -

These approaches have been adopted for the study of diplomatic events of a particular period with accuracy, precision, so as to learn lesson for future on the basis of past experience.

Legalistic Approach

This approach lays emphasis on the study of foreign policy in legalistic term. Efforts are made to study the external relations of the states in the light international law, treaties, constitutional provisions etc.

Descriptive Approach

The scholars adopting this approach pick up some specific problems or conceptual framework, using their own judgement on the weighing of various factors.

Analytical Approach

His approach differs from all other approaches of study not only with regards to the method but also in regard to its general orientation to the field of international politics.

Comparative Approach

The comparative approach for the study of foreign policies is of relatively recent origin and draws inspiration from the study of comparative government.

Ideological Approach

This approach tried to analyze foreign policy as an expression of the prevailing political, social or religious believe. Thus, the policies are classified as democratic or authoritarian; liberal and socialistic, peace loving or aggressive. However, the study of foreign policies purely on ideological basis is not possible because when there is clash between ideology and national interests, the former is abandoned.

4. PRINCIPLES OF PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

The principles of Pakistan's foreign policy are firmly based in then country's Islamic Ideology, its rich cultural heritage and historical background, especially the intense struggle for freedom. As an Islamic and non-aligned country Pakistan supports, with all its hearts. "The Islamic causes and upholds with will the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of states".⁽¹⁰⁾

Phases of Pakistan's Foreign policy.

Pakistan's domestic politics started in 1947 and ended in 1949. This phase is called as an era of neutrality /non-aligned. This was period when strategy and not ideology, dominated Pakistan's domestic scene. The balance on the fulcrum of policy making remained tilted heavily in favour of strategists.

Pakistan did never exist before 1947 as successor colonial unit it was part hole sub continent. When separated from the same, it was also separated from the vast administrative, economic and defensive structure which used to have their nucleus center in New Deli as such the infant state of Pakistan having extremely meager resources, had to rebuild its own structure from scratch. Linked with these development was the influx of nine million refugees from India this mass, unknown in the past history of the world, made it essential for the liberal strategists to depend on the pre existing westernized bureaucracy for both the rehabilitation of refugees and the maintenance of general law and order in the country. Similarly the Indo

Pakistan war over Kashmir in 1947- 48 taxed the national administration. It created an emergency in which the liberal strategists at the helm were not supposed to be conservative they had to apply modern laws of war to oppose Indian threat, which also included the formation of close liaison with westernized military leaders. ⁽¹¹⁾

The International system that emerged after the Second World War was characterized by cold war and tight bipolarity. The foreign policy of the first few years of the existence of Pakistan can be labelled as the non-aligned years, because Pakistan was essentially trying to maintain neutrality in the on going cold war during this period. Both the USA and USSR were inviting Pakistan for support in the cold war alignments. However, Pakistan was itself beset with the task of putting things together in the Promised Land. It was confronted with all sorts of economic, political and religious problems. So it was not in a position to set for itself an important role in the international arena. ⁽¹²⁾

- i. Foreign policy in 1950s and 1960s- during this period Pakistan was part of the defence treaties sponsored by the west
- ii. Foreign policy in 1970s – during which emphasis was laid on bilaterlism and there was a marked shift on part of Pakistan from South Asian sub-system to the Middle Eastern sub-system and Paksitan sought to forge economic and political ties with the Middle Eastern and West Asian Muslim countries.

- iii. Foreign Policy in 1980s – in which there was revival of a close alliance with the West and the USA.
- iv. Foreign policy in the 1990s – this era covers shifting trends in the foreign policy in the wake of changing realities in an around Pakistan. A distinct feature of this era seems to be “regionalism.”

Foreign Policy In 1950s

Kashmir dispute and fear of Indian aggression and Pashtun problem had been the cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy since India had not yet reconciled herself to the emergence of Pakistan. This fear was further strengthened by the September 1965 war. Congress leaders had thought that Pakistan would collapse sooner or later. They left no stone unturned to undo Pakistan after the partition. The Indian Government stopped canal water, and encouraged the “Pushtoonistan” movement just after the achievement of Pakistan. All this was not an isolated expedient, but a deep conspiracy to undermine the foundation of this newly born state. On the other hand India invaded Junagadh and entered Kashmir, violating all principles of justice. Communal riots and pushing refugees into Pakistan was another indication of Indian policy towards Pakistan.⁽¹³⁾

Realizing all the grounds facts Pakistan join SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) in 1954 and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) in 1955. In 1959, Pakistan and the US signed a Defence Pact in which the later guaranteed the security of Pakistan in the event of a communist attack. Pakistan's inclusion in western alliance system offended

India, Afghanistan, Soviet Union and Egypt. Pakistan was termed as a 'US protégé' during period of alliance. Pakistan Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Shorwardhi was so overwhelmed that he declared Pakistan to be the "most allied ally" of the United States. Pakistan received substantial economic and military assistance form existing. However, Pakistan could not achieve its main objective i.e. security by joining these alliance system. Although CENTO and SEATO were directed against the communist powers, yet Pakistan hoped to acquire western support to solve the Kashmir issue. The US did not put any pressure on India to hold plebiscite in Kashmir. Moreover, few important developments forced Pakistan to reconsider its pro-western stand.

Foreign Policy In 1960s'

- i. The U-2 (the US spy plane) incident of 1960 had exposed the insecurity of Pakistan in the event of the Soviet attack. The Khrushchev threatened to wipe out Peshawar from where U-2 had flown over the Soviet Union. The American bases in Pakistan had created embarrassment for Islamabad.
- ii. The 1962, Sino-Indo border war forced Pakistan to seek alternate options than depending on the western alliance system. The US massive military support to India, notwithstanding reservations shown by Pakistan, added frustration among policy makers in Islamabad. Pakistan protested to the US that the American/ Western military assistance to India would be used against Pakistan.

- iii. After 1962, the global political climate had changed from cold war to détente and peaceful coexistence – CENTO and SEATO were the legacies of the cold war and after a political settlement between the US and the Soviet Union, many countries began to delink themselves from super power rivalry. Realizing the new situation, Pakistan also reoriented its foreign policy on practical and relational lines.⁽¹⁴⁾

Pakistan's fear that American aid would disturb the Indo-Pak military balance came true when in September 1965, India attacked Pakistan and used the military arms against her which were obtained for using against China. UN intervened and a cease-fire was agreed by both the States. Then Russia offered her good offices to mediate between India and Pakistan, which were accepted. President of Pakistan and Prime Minister of India visited Russia in January 1966, where the Tashkent Declaration was signed by both the Heads of State, Armies were withdrawn to the previous positions and diplomatic relation were restored. Though relations between the two States became normal but the situation along the borders remained explosive. Pakistan had certain expectation from the Tashkent Declaration. She thought due to Russian influence and mediation Kashmir dispute would be solved, but Russian's cold attitude disillusioned her. It neither won her Russian friendship, nor it neutralized her attitude because Russia continued giving military aid to India. President Ayub clearly stated many times that there could be no friendship with India until the Kashmir problem was solved.

Pakistan is an ideological State. The ideology of Pakistan is based on Islam. One of the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy was to promote

brotherly relations with Muslim countries. But the efforts of Pakistan Government did not bring the desired results. On the other hand she could not joined hands with the Communist bloc because of here ideology, Pakistan had to search for friends who could ensure here security. All these factors led Pakistan join the Western bloc. Liaquat Ali Khan was invited by both USSR and USA but he preferred to visit USA which indicated Pakistan's till towards the West. Her relations with USA were guided by two principles. Firstly, USA was on of the major powers of the world. The pattern of her relations with USA was not likely to affect her role and relations with other countries. Secondly, USA was in a position to make contrib0ution towards Pakistan's economic development and ultimately to her national security. On the other hand, USA also wanted to establish cordial relations with Pakistan, because of her geopolitical situation and proximity to USSR, which could be used for containment of Communism.⁽¹⁵⁾

Foreign Policy In 1970s

December 1971 was a critical juncture in Pakistan's national history. Seldom had a nation faced a crisis of the type that Pakistan had to face on December 20, 1971. With one part of our country torn away as a result of a humiliating defeat at the hands of India. The morale of the nation was at the lowest level. More than 90,000 of her valiant soldiers were held captives in India, which also occupied 5,000 miles of land in West Pakistan. There were more than 12 Lac shelter less people in the refugee camps, who had lost their homes and heaths.

Such was the situation Zulifkar Ali Bhutto took over the reins of the Government of Pakistan. He was the architect of the foreign policy adopted during the sixties based on "Bilateralism". As the President of Pakistan, he gave it a concrete shape recognizing the emerging realities in the sub-continent and the changing situation in the world real world politics. The basic principle remained to serve the best interest of Pakistan by maintaining friendly relations with all the countries.

The major steps, indicative of radical changes in the foreign policy of Pakistan were:

- i. Withdrawal from the Commonwealth.
- ii. Recognition of East Germany, Democratic Republics of Korea and Vietnam, the Republic of Guinea Bissau, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.
- iii. Withdrawal from SEATO and UNCURK.

The main objective of the foreign policy were as follows:

- i. Restoration of the confidence of friendly countries and rebuilding the morale of the people.
- ii. Establishing friendly relations with all big powers.

- iii. Elimination of the consequences of 1071 war and settlement of outstanding issues with India on honourable basis.
- iv. Restoration of ties and contacts with the authorities and people of Bangladesh.
- v. Restoration of foreign aid for immediate and future needs.
- vi. Re-establishing the lost prestige of Pakistan in foreign countries specially in the Western World.⁽¹⁶⁾

With assumption of power by Z.A. Bhutto, Pakistan charted a new course in its foreign relations. Immediately after coming to power, he took a tour of 20 Muslim countries of the Middle East, which he called a mission of renaissance of relations with the Muslim world. In 1972, Pakistan withdrew from the Commonwealth, SEATO and recognized the Socialist Government of North Korea and North Vietnam.

Bhutto missed no opportunity to extended total support for Arabs during the Ramazan war of 1973 against Israel and readily exploited the situation to enhance Pakistan's role in the Islamic world by hosting the second Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore in 1974.

It is very interesting to note that Pakistan followed the policy of bilateralism while maintaining its membership in CENTO. Except the sympathetic policy of Nixon administration towards Pakistan during the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war, Pakistan-US relations were not as cordial as they

were during 1950's and early 1960's. Twice the US suspended military aid to Pakistan, i.e. during 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pakistan wars. One of the advantages which Pakistan achieved in following the policy of bilateralism was its increasing economic and political relations with the Third World and the Socialist Countries.⁽¹⁷⁾

Foreign Policy In 1980s

Pakistan's relations with US had deteriorated especially after the suspension of American economic aid in 1979 as protest against Pakistan's nuclear program. But the situation dramatically changed after Russian intervention in Afghanistan, which forced USA to reorient its relation with the Pakistan. Asia emerged as a region of high priority for the US policy-makers. While maintaining its membership in the NAM, Pakistan signed a 3.2 (1982) and 4.02 (1986) billion dollar package deal with the US. After Russian intervention in Afghanistan, the US did not object Pakistan's nuclear program- in fact it received a big boost.

During this period, following were the main objectives of Pakistan foreign policy:

- i. Friendly and cordial relationship with the people's Republic of China
- ii. Close relations with the United States.
- iii. Better economic and political ties with the Muslim countries
- iv. Policy of Non-Alignment in world affairs.

v. Security⁽¹⁸⁾

Iran revolution and Soviet Union intervention into Afghanistan posed serious threat to west and United States interests in South Asia and Middle East. So United States realizing the gravity of situation informed the Pakistan that America recognizes the Durand Line as the Pakistan-Afghanistan boundaries. It offered Islamabad an economic and military package to Pakistan and sent delegation headed by Dr. Brzezinski and Mr. Christopher to Pakistan in February 80s. Dr. Brzezinski emphasized that Soviets should not be allowed to consolidate in Afghanistan. US authorities told Pakistan that US law would be amended if Pakistan cooperates with the Washington to resist the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. This marked new era between Pakistan and United States.

5 DETERMINATING FACTORS OF PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY.

In fact, the foreign policy is merely an extension of nation's domestic policy. A state has to determine its foreign policy keeping in view its own domestic compulsions. No doubt the global political developments also exercise influence in the determination of a country's foreign policy, but this influence is mainly at the outer fringes.

It cannot be denied that a continuous interaction goes on between international milieu and the domestic factors so far that the determination of the foreign policy of a state is concerned.

According to Roscoe Pound, "Domestic policy is social control through law; foreign policy is the use of political influence in order to induce other states to exercise their law making power in a manner desired by the state concerned."⁽¹⁹⁾

These were all the opinion of scholars in which we knew the meaning definitions and importance of the foreign policy. But being student of international relations, if we want to discuss the foreign policy of a particularly country, it will be essential to understand the aims, objectives and the Approaches of the foreign policy.

Which advocated that Hindu and Muslims were two separate cultural and religious communities and could not coexist in a single country. Pakistan being a Muslim state had ideology in its foundation. The ideological factor therefore has been a very important factor in determination of its foreign policy.

Each and every state has its own determinant while formulating or making the foreign policy. There are also certain factors, which determine the course of foreign policy of Pakistan.

Ideology as A Determinant Factor.

As mentioned above, Ideology is one of the important factors in formulating the foreign policy of a state. Pakistan's foreign policy is based on Islamic ideology because of the two reasons, first more than 85% population is Muslim in Pakistan and Pakistan was created to meet the

irresistible demand of the Muslims of the sub-continent. It was duty imposed by the Islam not to associate or merge their identification and individuality in an alien society.”

Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan highlighted the same said “*It was not possible for the Hindus and Muslims to progress as a single nation... I am convinced that both nations will not join whole heartedly in any thing...he who lives will see.”⁽²⁰⁾

Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal committing on this said in his presidential address in December 1930 “ Personally I would like to go further than the demand embodied it. I would like to see the Punjab; Northwest Frontier province, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self government within the British empire or without the British empire, the formation of consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslim at least of the Muslim at least of the North West India.”⁽²¹⁾

The late Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaqat Ali Khan opined (The underlying idea of the movement for the achievement of Pakistan was not just to add one more country to the conglomeration of countries in the world or to add one more patch of color to the multi-colored global map. Pakistan came into being as a result of the urge felt by the Muslims of this subcontinent to secure a territory, however limited, where the Islamic ideology and way of life could be practiced and demonstrated to the world. A cordial feature of this ideology is to make Muslim brotherhood a living reality. It is, therefore, part of the mission which Pakistan has set before

itself to do every thing in its power to promote closer fellowship and cooperation between Muslims countries.”⁽²²⁾

While Quaid-e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on the eve of his visit to the USA underlined the importance of the in his address in February 1948 Ideological factor.

“The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of the constitution is going to be but I am sure that it will be a democratic type embodying the essential principles of Islam.”⁽²³⁾

So in the light of above citations it is important for policy maker to incorporate Ideology as an essential factor in determination of Pakistan’s foreign policy. It is therefore obvious that Pakistan associated it self with democratic and Muslim countries and will do the same in future It was therefore on the basis of ideological unanimity that Pakistan chose to align with United States led bloc since inception. In the beginning at the time of Afghanistan war USA and Pakistan supported Afghans with different purposes.

USA has to contented USSR in Afghanistan and takes the revenge of Vietnam War and Pakistan had to help Muslims brothers in Afghanistan on the ground of Islamic ideology.

Geographical Factor

Geography dominates the political environment of a country. It has permanent influence on the foreign policy of a country and it is the matters of honor and respect of a particular state in Modern International politics. According to Dr, Eayrs "Pacts may be broken, treaties unilaterally denounced; but geography holds its victims fast." (24)

Geography controls political environment of country and the prize of modern international politic is the earth. The term may also be used to describe political geography considered interns of the structure of the world ant its components states. Napoleon aptly said about 175 years ago that the foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography – the political significance of an area bears a well-defined relation to its climate, landforms and natural resources. (25)

It is the main reason that Pakistan's foreign policy mostly begins and ends at her borders more particularly with Indians border and Afghanistan, The map of Pakistan shows that roughly half of Pakistan's land meet with India almost one third with Afghanistan, one sixth with Iran and very small strip with China, Before the disintegration of Soviet Union of was very closest. Afghanistan was buffer state between Pakistan and USSR. Geographical location in the south of Pakistan lies Arabian sea and gateway both to the Persian gulf and Gulf of Adan which links Arabian sea with Meditorian sea via red sea and Swiss canal, This is the main trade route between Europe and Asia.

World reputed and renowned economist Dawn Shahid javed barqi described the geo-political importance of Pakistan in this way "Thus

Pakistan has an attentive geographical location sumprisingly it sits right in front of number of important gateway it is at the gateway to the resource rich countries of central Asia and Middle East it is linked to western provinces of China by all weather road that traverses a landscape of extra ordinary beauty, we should not discount fact that Pakistan one day will provide a link between resources rich countries of central Asia and India which is facing growing energy deficit."⁽²⁶⁾ will come to Pakistan so this is the another determinant factor, which determined the Pakistan's foreign policy.

Economic Factor.

Economy plays very important role in shape of stabilizing country - Pakistan at the time of its creation, faced number of difficulties in economic sector - got very little during partition plan. Was looking to develop that sector and this was the main reason that premier Liaqat Ali Khan visited United States instead of USSR. Because at that time USA was very much dominated in the world Politics and granted economic country assistance is group Africa, Asia and Latin American countries controlling world's sea roots. So it provided better chance and opportunity for Pakistan to have better relations with USA and through it she succeeded in joining relations with the SEATO, Cento and other pacts with Washington, western Europe and got considerable aid in military and economic sector.

Besides, Pakistan joined the international institutions like IMF, World Bank and maintained extremely cordial and friendly relations with Muslims countries from where economic assistance in the shape of cash and other products like crude oil to Pakistan in time her need. Now Pakistan

continuously is trying to develop economic soundness to reduce dependency on west and industrial nations. Pakistan's policy in concern of Economic is based on the following two principles.

- Joint venture project with neighboring nations.
- Establishing regional organizations like ECO for rapid development throughout the region and SAARC.

Security Concern.

Defence has been a major determining factor of Pakistan's foreign policy. Since its birth in 1947. Soon after independence country was faced with two serious issues in this regard.

Firstly, it had to win recognition in the community of nations to establish itself as an existing reality on the earth.

Secondly, it badly needed a viable defence to ensure its territorial Sovereignty.

In fact it was on the basis of serious threat to the survival of newly born state, that Pakistan was in hectic search for a superpower co-operation defence Umbrella Particularly keeping in view the mutual fold might of India and Afghanistan.

The two countries fought three wars against each other in which was offensive. Both countries have made latest weapons and nuclear technology. Due to tension of both countries a major part of Pakistan's budget for defence because in this situation the military strength of a country also determines of its foreign policy like Israel.

In fact it was the British imperial withdrawal from the region of South Asia, that created the vacuum and both super powers of post war i.e. United States and Soviet Union tried to fill it up. The interest of super powers in the area was reflected in the fact, that President Truman invited Jawaharlal Nehru to pay official visit to the United States while Soviet Premier Josph Stalin sent the invitation to Pakistan Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan for the Soviet Union.

However in a very short period, India gravitated towards Soviet Union. Pakistan chose the United States as a security guarantor in face of an India threat. Pakistan signed the Mutual Defense Assistance agreement with the United States. After signing Mutual Defense Assistance agreement with the United States. Pakistan also became member of South East Asia Treaty Organization. In 1955 Pakistan acceded to the "Baghdad Pact".

Agha Shahi says, " from 1955 to 1960 Pakistan enjoyed a kind of honeymoon relationship with the United States." However he is of the opinion that military aid was kept carefully limited so that Pakistan may not achieve military parity with India." ⁽²⁷⁾

United States policy towards Pakistan little bit changed during the President Kenedy period because he had reserved Dulles policy, Kenedy had suggested that non-alignment nations should play role of bridge builders between two antagonist military bloc NATO- WARSA. Pakistan was worried when Kenedy sent military assistance to India including United States air force cover, after India- China clash in 1962.”⁽²⁸⁾

Although Pakistan was a reliable United States ally, it was shocked when United States President Johnson imposed an arms embargo against Pakistan during 1965 war with India. On the other hand India took the benefit of Americans softness towards her.

1971 war was also a bitter experience for Pakistan as a United States did not move to help in a crucial period of Pakistan’s history. Pakistan lost Eastern Province in this war. Where as Indo- Soviet Treaty in August 1971 provided a solid support to India and prevented China from assisting Pakistan effectively in wake of naked Indian aggression.

Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto in view of Pakistan bitter experience with the super powers so called friendship tried to give new directions to both foreign and security of the country. His nuclear program and efforts to unite the Muslim World on the basis of Islamic and economic consciousness annoyed the “ old friend” United States, as a result he was not only over thrown but also hanged. Ousted Bhutto had alleged that “ White Elephant” was behind conspiracy to topple his government.

In 1979 with Dauad's removal and killing in a leftist military coup and subsequent intervention of Soviet Union in Afghanistan changed the Geo- political situation of the region, when red army occupied Pakistan's neighborhood Americans perception of front line states revitalized. After all Newyork incidents Americans mission of Afghanistan, Pakistan has become again front line state. Whatever zigzag relations end experience America is most important determinant factor of Pakistan's foreign Policy.

6 INDIAN THREAT AS SPECIAL DETERMINENT FACTOR OF PAKISTAN'S POLICY.

Since its birth Pakistan has been facing Indian antagonism. Indian factor, has therefore been a fundamental determinant as for as Pakistan's foreign policy is concerned.

Robert Schuman, Former Prime Minister of France said that since 1871, the French foreign policy has been continuously dominated by one main pre occupation that of ensuring her security and independence from its neighbor, Germany.⁽²⁹⁾ This is equally true about Pakistan. The main pre occupation of Pakistan from very beginning has been to ensure its security from India.

Because every head of state has pin pointed this factor for instance, two nations or neighboring countries have fought three wars during the period of five decades (1948, 1965, 1971)

Again on 26th September said Pate threatening to Pakistan said on 26th September 1947, he threatened that, " If Pakistan persistently refuses to see its proved error, and continues to minimize it, the Indian government would have to go to war against it."⁽³⁰⁾

Same was the attitude of other Indian leaders, which is apparent from the Congress President, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, said " We have to liberate the occupied areas in Kashmir. We are postponing the issue that we do not accept the cease fire line as a permanent solution." He expected the people in "occupied areas" of Kashmir to struggle to rid them selves of the usurper and "within a short period of time the Government will choose the correct time to liberate that part of Kashmir also it had done in respect of Goa." (Statesman, 5th January, 1962)⁽³¹⁾

The late Prime Minister Nehru said: "So far as China and Pakistan are concerned, India is determined to vacate their aggression."⁽³²⁾

7 KASHMIR AS A FOCAL POINT OF PAKISTAN'S POLICY.

No one can doubt the fact that Kashmir is the flash point not only of south Asia but also of world today. In Pakistan's foreign policy its position is that of a soul with out which body is unless. It will be appropriate to discuss this problem in detail before locating its position as a major determinant factor of Pakistan's foreign policy. Kashmir is disputed territory between Pakistan and India. Since the birth of Pakistan, According to 3rd

June 1947 partition plan each state was given the choice to join Pakistan or India.

Jamu & Kashmir were newly created state on the behalf of treaty of Amartasr and her ruler was Gulab Singh. He was succeeded by Maharaja Partab Singh, during the partition time Hari Singh was the ruler of Kashmir,. Due to the geographical location and majority of Muslims were there, therefore this state should have become a part of Pakistan but Indian conspired and made a plan that how to control on Kashmir valley. Therefore, they Indian decided and forced upon Hari Sing to announce the merger of Kashmir with India.

On October 25th 1947 the Maharaja announced the accession of the Kashmir to the Indian union. India immediately land her forces in Kashmir on 27th October 1947. Quaid-e-Azam reacted that why Indian troops landing in valley and he ordered the acting Commander In Chief to send her troops to Srinagar but commander In-chief refused. Mountbaten than governor general of India was in favour that both countries solve the problem through negotiation, as a result and meeting was held at Lahore. Nehru because suddenly ill, Mountbaten came Lahore alone. Jinnah proposed that two Governors General should jointly conduct a plebiscite in Kashmir while Mountbaten said a plebiscite should be held by the United Nations, and the meeting ended inconclusively. Campbell-Johnson has explained that 'Jinnah's objection, which he made quite clear at the Lahore meeting, was not to the idea of a plebiscite as such, but to the presence of Indian troops in Kashmir during plebiscite held, which he claims likely to prejudice chance of its being impartial.'⁽³³⁾

Actually Pakistan wants to solve the problem through negotiation or international atmosphere but India did not do in this way.

“Nehru also agreed and promised that the referendum in Kashmir would be held under international auspices like United Nations.”⁽³⁴⁾

On 1st January, 1948, India formal complaint against Pakistan in Security Council and allegation was that Pakistan is “aggressor” in Kashmir dispute, her petition was in Security Council under the section 35 of chapter VI, which relates to “Pacific settlement of dispute”. Not under chapter VII which deals with act of aggression.

Security Council was made the commission and passed the many resolutions to solve the dispute through pacific settlement. India refused to accept the proposals.

In November 1951, Security Council directed Dr. Graham to go back to the Sub- continent and reconciled the differences of two parties, Dr. Graham resumed talks with in 1952, but he failed to find any compromised formula.

On February 1953, talks were held between India and Pakistan in Geneva on the Kashmir issue in which decided for holding plebiscite, but India refused the proposal.

In 1954, India totally changed her policy. She did not like the interference of western power in South Asia.

On July 1955, Indian Prime Minister said that "the question of plebiscite in Kashmir was now out of date, He gave the following reasons.

- American aid to Pakistan
- Economic development of state
- Creation of the constitution Assembly in the occupied Kashmir.
- Pakistan's membership of SEATO & CENTO. ⁽³⁵⁾

Pakistan decided to go to the Security Council once again. On 2 January 1957, decided in the meeting that in January 1949, Security Council was already passed the resolution in which Kashmiri people would be decide by free and impartial plebiscite to be held under the United Nations. Pakistan has faced two wars 1965 and 1971. It has lost its one wing East Pakistan. Consequence Kashmir is the focal point and very important determinant factor of Pakistan's foreign policy.

Present situation is critical, freedom fighters are fighting against the Indian army for freedom. Indian troops have martyred thousand Muslims people in Kashmir, thousands are missing their homes. India is calling them terrorist and allegation is that Pakistan is supporting them.

Pakistan's policy is that dispute should be solved according Security Council resolution of United Nations and Pakistan will give diplomatic support of Kashmiri people in all international forums. As a result of this situation we shall not be wrong if we say that only Kashmir is the determinant factor of Pakistan's today's foreign policy.

Liaqat Ali Khan was the first Prime Minister of Pakistan who clearly outlined the relationship between Islam and Pakistan's Foreign Policy. He said Pakistan came into being as a result of the urge felt by the Muslims of the Sub-continent to secure a territory, However limited, where Islamic ideology any way of life could be practiced and demonstrated to the World. A cardinal feature of this ideology is to make Muslim brotherhood a living reality. It is, therefore, part of the mission which Pakistan has set before itself to do every thing in its power to promote closer friendship and cooperation between Muslim countries.”⁽³⁶⁾

In the light of these views that Pakistan's Foreign Policy is clearly from beginning to and up to this time that to develop the close relations with Islamic World and Muslim neighboring countries. This is the cause of the Pakistan's foreign policy and basic determinant factor of the foreign policy.

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