

### BHUTTO'S BILATERALISM: ITS IMPORTANCE AND RELEVANCE IN MODERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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**Received:** 18 April, 2024 **Revised:** 15 May, 2024 **Accepted:** 30 May, 2024 **Published:** 15 June, 2024

#### **ABSTRACT**

Bhutto's bilateralism is a concept that has gained significant importance in modern international relations. It refers to the approach adopted by former Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his foreign policy, which emphasized the importance of building strong and mutually beneficial relationships with other countries through bilateral agreements. This approach has become increasingly relevant in today's globalized world, where countries are interconnected and interdependent on each other for various economic, political, and security reasons. Therefore, the main aim of this research is to analyze his stance of counter security by launching nuclear project and to evaluate Bhutto's policy in conducting relations with China and USSR based on bilateralism while using historical, descriptive, and analytical research methodology. One of the main reasons for the relevance of Bhutto's bilateralism in modern international relations is its emphasis on equality and mutual respect in relationships between nations. In today's world, where power dynamics and hegemony play a significant role in shaping global politics. Bhutto's approach offers a more balanced and fair way of conducting international relations. It promotes the idea of sovereignty and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, which is crucial in maintaining peace and stability. Additionally, Bhutto's emphasis on bilateralism also promotes the idea of mutual cooperation and understanding, which is essential in addressing global challenges such as climate change, terrorism, and economic inequality. Overall, Bhutto's bilateralism offers a more effective and sustainable way of conducting international relations in today's complex and interconnected world.

**Keywords:** Bhutto Bilateralism, international relations, Prime Minister, agreements, nations, sovereignty, peace, stability, non-interference.

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Bhutto's bilateralism refers to the foreign policy approach of the late Pakistani leader, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, which prioritized building strong and strategic relationships with other countries through direct one-on-one interactions. This approach was in contrast to the multilateralism approach that was popular during that time, which focused on engaging with multiple countries at once through international organizations like the United Nations.

Bhutto's bilateralism had a significant impact on Pakistan's foreign policy and has continued to shape the country's relations with other nations even after his time in office. In this article, we will discuss the importance and relevance of Bhutto's bilateralism in modern international relations (Ali, B., & Ali, M. 2012).

One of the key reasons why Bhutto's bilateralism was important was its focus on building personal relationships with other leaders. This approach allowed for a more direct and intimate form of diplomacy, where leaders could discuss important issues and come to mutually beneficial agreements. This personal touch often led to more successful negotiations and a better understanding between nations (Bhutto, Z. A. 1974).

Moreover, Bhutto's focus on bilateralism also allowed for a more flexible approach to foreign policy. Rather than being bound by the decisions of international organizations, Pakistan could negotiate on a case-by-case basis and tailor its policies according to the needs and interests of each individual country. This gave Pakistan more autonomy in its foreign affairs and allowed it to pursue its national interests more effectively.

Additionally, Bhutto's bilateralism also helped in strengthening Pakistan's relationships with its neighboring countries. By directly engaging with neighboring nations like India, China, and Afghanistan, Bhutto was able to build trust and cooperation, which had a positive impact on regional stability and security (Khan, M. I., & Raza, A. 2011). Bhutto's bilateralism continues to be relevant in modern international relations, especially in the current global political climate. With the rise of protectionism and the shift towards a more nationalist approach in many countries, bilateralism has become a more popular and practical approach to foreign policy.

In a world where multilateral organizations like the UN are facing challenges and divisions among member states, bilateralism offers a more efficient and effective way of addressing global issues. It allows for direct communication and negotiation between nations, which can lead to quicker and more practical solutions (United Nations, 2014).

Furthermore, Bhutto's bilateralism is also relevant in the context of regional dynamics. In South Asia, where tensions between India and Pakistan remain high, bilateralism can play a crucial role in deescalating conflicts and promoting cooperation. The recent revival of bilateral talks between the two nations is a testament to the enduring relevance of Bhutto's approach to foreign policy.

Moreover, Bhutto's bilateralism can also be applied to economic relations between nations. In today's interconnected global economy, building strong and strategic bilateral ties can lead to increased trade and investment opportunities, which can benefit both countries involved.

#### 1.1 Literature Review

"The Myth of Independence" written by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is a very relative book which clearly presents the perception of Bhutto towards international relations. This book is more or less concerned with the thought and perception of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on

the international regimes leading the world order. He shed light on the relationship of major powers with the third world and underdeveloped nations. It was written in 1969 when he was no more a part of legislative structure. Because this book was written before assuming the full power by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto so there is no work available regarding his governing era. This incredible book offers its reader to explore and study his thoughts, ideas and perceptions in foreign policy making, as my area of interest and research is "foreign policy making and foreign policy of Bhutto". This book proved very helpful for me in understanding the mindset, ideas and ideology of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in foreign policy making. This book has also proved very fruitful in presenting his approaches that while formulating the foreign policy what should be the priorities for a State and how to achieve the national objectives in international diplomatic environment.

In this book, Bhutto has mentioned three principal objectives in pursuing foreign policy.

- 1. Policy of friendship and good faith with China, Great Powers and neighbouring country.
- 2. Good relations with United States and Soviet Union but on the basis of non-interference and also with nations of Eastern and Western Europe especially France, Germany, Britain, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland.
- 3. The strengthening of Third World States and particular develop friendly relations with Muslim Nations and Neighboring Countries.

As far as relations of Pakistan and China are concerned, they began to develop after 1962. In this book, Bhutto not only analyzed the factors behind SINO-PAK Relationship but also has mentioned the basis on which both the states should continue to develop more friendly relations i.e., good and friendly relationship with its neighboring countries on the basis of equality and friendship, there is no territorial disputes b/w both countries. China is not only a resourceful neighboring state but its emerging position in Asia also provided a good ground for friendship. Being the members of Asian and African community, both countries are interested in developing AFRO-ASIAN solidarity. But the relationship between China and Pakistan had been criticized on the ground that there are ideological differences. Bhutto defended this relation by saying that ideological differences have never been the hurdle in development of relation with any country.

Moreover, Pakistan has not only focused on developing its relations with Muslim countries only. Second point that Bhutto has mentioned for the development and maintenance of the relationships with UNITED STATES, SOVIET UNION and other Great Powers is based on the principle of noninterference. It is not only the case of Pakistan but most of the underdeveloped countries rely on foreign assistance. Foreign assistance should be for the development of under developed countries but foreign interference leads the underdeveloped countries towards the dependency. This dependence does not help them in achieving development or make them economically sufficient. Here Bhutto suggests that Pakistan should go for alternative measures. Pakistan should rely on its natural and agricultural resources. It should be favourable for Pakistan to conclude treaties with China and Soviet Union as it had never been in dispute with both these countries.

Since independence Pakistan has emphasized on developing and establishing relations with neighboring countries. With the formation of RCD, Pakistan has presented a model relationship with Iran and Turkey. Fortunately, these countries are Muslim countries as well. Thus, this Fraternal association is an increasingly a powerful factor in Asia. This association is on the basis of equality, mutual relationship and friendship. Pakistan has also developed good relations with Afghanistan and this association also proved fruitful in fulfilling Pakistan's vital interest.

As far as the relation with India is concerned, there have always been many ups and downs. Both these countries had fought three wars, Kashmir issue has been the bone of contention between both countries. These countries have continuous border tensions and issues. Besides these neighboring countries, Pakistan should also try to develop relations with the countries of Latin America. This relationship would help in two major spheres i.e., international trade and economic development. Similarly, relationships should be developed with Indonesia. The primary objective of every country's foreign policy is to maintain good relations with its neighboring countries so that peace can be ensured in the region. Likewise, Pakistan is also interested in developing relations with its neighboring countries e.g., Iran, China, Afghanistan. Efforts are also going on to normalize the relation between India and Pakistan.

Another book "Pakistan leadership challenges" proved very relevant to my research. This book has been written by Lt-Gen. Jahan Dad Khan, who has discussed the challenges faced by leadership of Pakistan, Chapter No.6 of this book is very relevant to my research i.e., BHUTTO-GENIUS WITH a TRAGIC END. In this chapter, the author has discussed those qualities, Bhutto possessed. The author had spotted a light on Bhutto's career, from his foreign ministry to his regime. The author has also shared his experiences as he was firstly made officer-in-charge Lahore ISI organization, then he was appointed as Military Secretary to Nawab Kalabagh, Governor of West Pakistan and then finally as Martial Law Administrator of Sindh. All these posts provided author with opportunities to come into close with Bhutto and understand his thinking and approach towards politics.

The author writes," Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was like a comet that swept into national orbit from nowhere, reached the apex of brilliance within thirteen years, and lost his life seven years later." He also called Bhutto a Machiavellian streak, who knew how to exploit his opponents. A leader must be capable enough to tackle his enemies and opponents.

mentioned The author has the successes, achievements and developments made by Bhutto and also explained those factors that caused to his downfall. As a foreign minister, Bhutto brought many changes in foreign policy and also introduced new dimensions in foreign relations of Pakistan. He led foreign policy towards a new dimension. He developed friendly relations with China and made a strategic link for Pakistan with China through Karakoram Highway, an oil and gas exploration agreement were signed b/w USSR and Pakistan, which initiated a new start in commercial and economic relations b/w both countries. Moreover, Soviet Union funded Pakistan Steel Mills complex at Karachi. He made Pakistan part of NAM due to which Pak-U. S relations were deteriorated. Tashkent Declaration resulted in differences b/w Bhutto and Ayub. Bhutto resigned from Ayub's cabinet. After coming into power Bhutto made many achievements included Simla agreement, the return of prisoners of war, Islamic Summit and the drafting of 1973 constitution, nuclear project. The alliance of nine religious parties termed as PNA, started agitation against Bhutto which caused to his downfall.

"Zulfi my Friend" is a milestone written by Piloo Mody. Piloo Mody was an Indian architect and

politician. He also founded his political party, named as, Sawatantra party. He was Parsi by faith and religion. He had been a close friend of Bhutto. Yet they didn't share common religion, traditions and customs but these did not make any difference.

This book is a milestone for me as it provided me the opportunity to know the biography and personality and psyche of Bhutto. The author has shared his personal experiences of Bhutto. The author has not only explained his personal life but also his political efforts. How did he get a break in politics and then became a civilian P.M. The author has discussed Bhutto's perceptions towards Indo-Pak relations. The author has also explained the factors behind the debacle of Bangladesh and also revealed the efforts done by Bhutto from preventing East Pakistan crisis. The author has also depicted and exposed the events of Simla agreement.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto supported Quaid-e-Azam during Pakistan movement. He idealized him very much. But the difference was Quaid-e-Azam enjoyed the people's support while Bhutto was not famous amongst Bengalis in 1971. After completing his school from Bombay, Bhutto got admission in University of South California at Los Angles and then Oxford University. After that Bhutto went to London to complete his bar examination. Bhutto returned to Pakistan in 1953 and took charge of his family affairs. Bhutto started to practice politics when he was appointed as President of Sindh Youth Front. Bhutto also represented Pakistan on many International forums. He got break when he was appointed as a federal minister in Ayub's cabinet. It is interesting to know that author suggested the name of capital "Islamabad". The author wrote this book when Bhutto was alive. If it was written after Bhutto's death then fine details of War of 1971 and Simla agreement might have been skipped.

"Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times" is another milestone written by Stanley Wolpert. Stanley Wolpert is an American academic and Indologist. He was born in December 1927. In this book, Stanley Wolpert told the story of remarkable life of Bhutto in an intense, insightful narrative. This volume has traced the life of this remarkable figure from the colourful days of his feudal ancestors to his imprisonment and hanging at the hands of a military dictatorship. Wolpert wrote that Bhutto was a charismatic and contradictory man, climbed to the heights of power with amazing swiftness, winning a seat in the central Cabinet of Pakistan at the

unprecedented age of thirty. The story of Bhutto's sometimes vivid, sometimes idealistic career is a fascinating one, and Wolpert tells it Well, through Bhutto's triumphant years in the mid-1970s, the military coup in 1977, and his deceitful imprisonment and execution in 1979.

The article "A Survey of Pakistan's Foreign Relations-1973" helped me a lot in knowing the efforts that have been made in the betterment of Pak-USSR Relations. The author of this article is Khalida Qureshi. She has shed a light on the efforts and steps that were taken by Pakistan's government for the improvement of relations with USSR by the year of 1973. The author has also discussed those factors which compelled Bhutto's government to develop closer ties with USSR. The author has also explained the USSR's interests in Pakistan. The benefits which Pakistan gained through this relationship had also been explained in this article.

Pak-USSR relations were deteriorated due to following factors: the signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty and USSR's attitude towards East Pakistan crisis. Z.A.Bhutto also claimed that policies of President Yahya Khan were also responsible for the deterioration of Pak-USSR relations. The factors which compelled the Pakistan government to improve its relations were: massive military supply from USSR to India, secondly Soviet Union's strategic and economic interests in South-Asian subcontinent.

USSR wanted to normalize its relations with Pakistan due its following interests i.e., Asian collective security pact, Pakistan's strategic location and USSR was also afraid that if USSR would not improve its relations with Pakistan, then Pakistan might go with option to develop closer ties with USSR's adversaries, U.S and China.

When Bhutto came into power, he emphasized on normalization of Pak-USSR relations. It is to be noted here that it was declared in foreign policy objectives in 1973 that Pakistan would be neutral and maintain its diplomatic relations with all big powers particularly U.S, USSR and China. Z.A.Bhutto wanted USSR to respect Pakistan's integrity and dignity. USSR was friendly towards Bhutto because of his following reforms; the nationalization of enterprises, Pakistan's decision to withdraw from SEATO, her recognition of German Democratic Republic, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, signing of Simla agreement. Diplomatic relations developed through exchange of number of visits included visits

of Pakistan's Central Minister for Education Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, an official 5-member delegation headed by Central Labor Minister Mohammad Hanif, a delegation of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization of USSR, a number of Soviet Government officials and experts, which concluded many agreements and treaties, resulted in developments in the political, economic, scientific and cultural fields. Pakistan and USSR also signed debt relief accord. But two factors slowed down Pak-USSR détente process; Pakistan's participation in CENTO and Bhutto's Visit to UNITED STATES. Bhutto made it clear that friendly relations with U.S will not be at expense of relations with USSR and China.

Most important achievement was the inauguration of Pakistan's first steel mill project with the help and assistance of USSR. USSR also provided relief to Pakistan when floods came in Punjab and Sindh. In order to develop trade relations a three-year trade agreement was established. Pakistan exported goods to USSR like textiles, sheets, towels, carpets etc. and imported pig iron, dyes, chemicals, urea etc.

Another article "Pakistan in 1974" also provided me substantial knowledge regarding my research. This article is written by Herbert Feldman. In this article, the author has discussed the developments made in foreign affairs of Pakistan by the year of 1974. The remarkable achievement and success in 1974 were the holding of Islamic summit Conference in Lahore during February. No doubt, it raised the respect of Bhutto, but its major credit goes to Saudi Arabia's King Faisal. It was great triumph as Pakistan was succeeding in gaining its objective i.e., changes in mindset of Mujib-Ur-Rehman and return of POW's. Mujib was very much impressed that he offered Bhutto to come to Bangladesh. Then Bhutto also visited Dacca in June.

In May, Bhutto went China to discuss issues included recognition of Bangladesh by China and the prospects economic and military assistance. In October, Bhutto also paid visit to Soviet Union so that Soviet Union could help in reducing the hostile attitude of Afghanistan and restrained Afghanistan from interference in Baluchistan and Frontier Province. In June, Kissinger came to Islamabad and the question of supplying arms was under discussion. In the junks of foreign policy, Islamic Summit was a great and remarkable achievement. Besides this, another success for Pakistan in 1974 was to patron a

resolution on nuclear issue and serious participation in the debates on Palestine.

"Pakistan-United States Relations: The Recent Phase" is another article, written by Mehrunnisa Ali. Mehrunnisa Ali has done her Masters in Political Science from University of Karachi and then she went to from the University of Alberta, Canada for further studies. She has been a research assistant at the University of Alberta, and also worked as the research officer at the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi. She has written numerous research papers to national and international journals of repute. Her famous contributions are Pak-Afghan Discord: A Historical Perspective (Documents 1855-1979), Politics of Federalism in Pakistan, and Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy 1971-1998.

This article is about the stance of United States towards Pakistan, ups and downs in the relations b/w Pakistan and United States. The response of United States towards Pakistan's nuclear program and the restrictions which were put by U.S on Pakistan has also been discussed in detail. Pak-U. S relations have been determined by the external as well as internal set up of U.S.A. "Special relationship" b/w these countries came to end in 1967 when U.S terminated its arms supply. Even in 1971, during East Pakistan crisis, U.S stopped its military and arms supply to Pakistan as U.S did not want outbreak of third war. Then there came a flexibility in U.S stance towards Pakistan with the change in international scenario i.e., Indo-soviet alliance and Pakistan reactivation in Moreover U.S CENTO. also wanted normalization of Indo-Pak relation; it also appreciated the signing of Simla agreement and the rebuilding of ambassadorial relations b/w India and Pakistan. President Nixon was also very sympathetic to Pakistan regarding the return of POW's. United States also contributed \$2 million in November 1973 to arrange for the repatriation flights of stranded Bengalis from Pakistan and Pakistanis from Bangladesh. U.S also supported Pakistan in facing the financial problems which it had to bear due to East Pakistan crisis. When flood disaster came to Pakistan, U.S provided relief fund by giving \$ 30 million, 160,000 metric tons of wheat etc. As president Nixon resumed the aid to Pakistan that was ceased during Yahya regime. U.S aided \$ 300 million b/w January 1972 to May 1973. Bhutto also visited United States in 1973 and he was assured the aid worth \$77 million. But still the President Nixon was

not ready to ease the arms supply to Pakistan. After the Bhutto's repeated pleas, U.S relaxed the embargo on arms supply considering the Simla Agreement. Again, the U.S stance became rigid towards Pakistan due to its pro-Arab policy, hosting of Islamic summit. Henry Kissinger deterred Bhutto from hosting Islamic Summit. Situation became more serious and critical when Bhutto decided to make Pakistan a nuclear power after the successful nuclear blast of India. In the late 1976, this issue has emerged as a major irritant in Pak-U. S relations when Pakistan concluded agreement with France and IAEA had also approved the agreement. President Carter opposed it. Then Henry Kissinger visited Pakistan to persuade Bhutto to abandon his nuclear program. After the refusal of offer, A-7 planes by Bhutto, U.S started anti-plant campaign. U.S also put pressure on France and Canada. As a result, Canada abrogated its agreement and stopped providing fuel, spare parts and technical assistance for the Karachi atomic power reactor whereas France declared that it will continue with it until Pakistan wished to continue. Bhutto also claimed U.S for overthrow of his government and accused U.S for supporting PNA.

"Pak-U.S. alliance" is a report that has been published in "Pakistan Forum". It seems that Bhutto had noticed that India will try to dominate the region and it was certainly doing that. At the time of elections Bhutto stood at socialist stance with the determination to guit SEATO and CENTO. But he wished to counter the influence of India and for that he needed military alliances, arms etc. In an interview, Bhutto legally validated the bilateral pacts with U.S. but he pronounced them politically and militarily ineffective. He called for re-establishing bilateral relations with the United States. He perceived the increasing role of India in the region as threat. He based his thinking on the agreements between Soviet Union and India. His point was that India entered into Dacca because Soviet Union was backing it. Bhutto said that India cashes U.S and S.U. and always complaint about receiving little from U.S. while Pakistan needs arms desperately for its protection.

The writer "A.G.Noorani" has mentioned three articles written by Bhutto which were published in daily newspapers. Abdul Gafoor Abdul Majeed Noorani is an Indian Lawyer, Historian, Author and Political analyst. He is Secular Indian Muslim. He is author of history books and lawyer in Supreme Court

of India, born in 1930. He favoured China in the Indo-China border dispute and supported Kashmiri separatists. He has written many columns in Hindustan Times, The Hindu, Frontline, Economic and Political Weekly and Dainik Bhaskar. He has written a number of famous books; 'The Kashmir Question', 'Brezhnev's Plan for Asian Security', The Trial of Bhagat Singh etc.

These articles, mentioned by A.G.Noorani, indicate the start of Bhutto's policy towards carrying relations. Bhutto in his first published article went for a political entity comprised of Iran-Turkey and Pakistan. In second article, he tried to rationale for third world summit. Bhutto, in third article, regarded bilateralism as "guiding principal of Pakistan's foreign policy".

Seventeen documents were supplied by the cabinet division and the ministers of foreign affairs and information. These white papers are significant for students of foreign policy. Bhutto was the prime architect of re-orientation of foreign policy in the early sixties. In third world, Bhutto certified Pakistan's non-alignment. He notified bilateralism of U.S and China is carried cause of mutual dependence. Bhutto demonstrated that he has been an advocate of rapprochement with Soviet Union as with China and that difference of opinion need not impede the development of friendly relations between Soviet Union and Pakistan. Bhutto was the advocate of bilateralism as it leads to interdependency and it is on the basis of equality. Bhutto believed that alliance with one might lead to disruption of relations with another. States can escape identification the total strategic interest of one superpower at the expense of other's interests. Bhutto praises Nehru's historic contribution to the evolution of world affairs by articulating the principal of non-alignment. In bilateralism there should be no discrimination and non-reciprocity.

Pakistan alienated Russia while seeking quest for security. Pakistan to reorient ate policy by using advantages from both countries. Pakistan's relations with China and Soviet were developed by Bhutto. Bilateralism is not incompatible with alliance. Relations with superpower affects regional balance of power. When there are no regional imbalances then the bilateral relations between the great power and developing nation are free from strain. There can be friendly feelings with great powers except on the issue of conflict. Alliances with great powers cannot

be in line because of repeated occurrence of clash of interest.

"Pakistan's Search for a Foreign policy after the invasion of Afghanistan" is an article written by W. Howard Wriggins. W. Howard Wriggins was U.S diplomat, author and Professor of political science and international relations at Colombia University. He was also the Director of Southern Asian Institute at Colombia University. He got education from Darmouth College, the University of Chicago, and Yale University. But his studies were interrupted by WWII as he was assisting American Friends Service Committee to provide relief activities. President Jimmy Carter appointed him as ambassador to Srilanka and Maldives. His interest in South Asia, especially Srilanka, continued in his entire life. His first publication "Ceylon" became his landmark work. His other books include Dynamics of Regional Politics: Four Systems on the Indian Ocean Rim, Pakistan: The Long View etc. He has also written many articles.

W. Howard Wriggins in this article has discussed the Pakistan's foreign policy after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and has also shed a light on Pakistan's foreign policy during Bhutto era. He has discussed that how Z.A.Bhutto lead the foreign policy after the separation of East Bengal. It was the time when Pakistan was suffering isolation from international community then Bhutto gave first priority to make better relations with other countries in order to take out Pakistan from this isolation. He made relations with Gulf and Middle East States and made associations with Non-aligned nations. He also made Pakistan part of Group of 77 and also hosted Islamic Summit in Lahore in order to develop close ties with Islamic Countries. Relations b/w Pakistan and Iran were also improved and Bhutto also tried to resolve issues with Afghanistan with the help of Iran. Pakistan and China also benefited from each other. Similarly, relations between Pakistan and India also got better after Simla Agreement. After the overthrown of Bhutto's government Pakistan's foreign policy became more differentiated and far less hostile against India.

David Dunbar, the pseudonym of a Western observer with long experience of subcontinent, in his article "Bhutto-Two Years On" has discussed the challenges faced by Bhutto when he came into office of President on 20 Dec, 1971 and developments which were made within two years of his presidency.

David Dunbar visited Pakistan during regime of Z.A.Bhutto.

The author has also described his priorities and approaches towards different issues especially foreign relations because in 1971 Pakistan was suffering internationally isolation. When Bhutto took the oath of President in 1971, he gave attention and priority to basic issues e.g., curbing the military role in politics, drafting of a new and permanent constitution, balancing the powers of centre and provinces, relations with India and world. No doubt. since independence military had been playing indirect role in politics but after the Ayub's martial law, military had direct role in politics. In order to curtail the role of military in politics, Bhutto first of all dismissed all those officers who had been responsible for military failure in Pakistan. He dismissed Lieutenant General Gul Hassan and Chief of Air force, Air Marshal Rahim Khan and appointed them to ambassadorial posts in March 1972. Bhutto also replaced the title of commander-in-chief with 'chiefs of staff.'

Another big challenge was drafting of a new ad permanent constitution. There were two big issues in this regard, the definition of an Islamic state and the relative powers of central and provincial governments. Bhutto presented the parliamentary form of government, though he wanted the presidential form of government. He also made provisions to make office of prime minister secure. The President is figurehead who may act only on the advice of Prime Minister. As far as balancing the powers between central and provincial governments is concerned, in new constitution two lists were made i.e., federal list and concurrent list.

After the debacle of Bangladesh in 1971, Pakistan was suffering from isolation. In order to take Pakistan out of this isolation, Bhutto visited U.S.A, China, London, U.S.S.R and Middle East. In order to normalize relations with India, Bhutto took two major steps. The first was the Simla meeting in 1972 and the next was the agreement signed between both the States in August 1973 regarding the return of prisoners of war.

"Soviet Policy towards Pakistan" is an article written by V. T. Patil who was education reformer and Indian Politician. V.T. Patil was born in British India on 31<sup>st</sup> July 1900. He got the degree of law from University of Bombay and became the Member of Parliament in 1962. He is the author of many popular books including Gandhi, Nehru, and the Quit India

movement, a study of Nehru's ideas, Mahatma Gandhi and the civil disobedience movement, Human Rights Developments in South Asia etc. He has also written many articles.

In this article, the author has analysed Soviet approach towards Pakistan and has also discussed the factors behind ups and downs of Soviet-Pak Relations since independence of Pakistan. Firstly, the different nature of ideologies of both States could not lead to establishment of good relations. Ideology of communism was based on power and materialism whereas Islamic ideology was based on religious nationalism. Secondly, Soviet Union regarded Pakistan as an artificial State and they even did not believe that Pakistan would be in position to survive as independent and economically stable state. On the other hand, Pakistan was of the view that Soviet Union was not in position to provide such economic assistance that could meet the needs of Pakistan as Soviet Union was engaged in its internal stability after WWII. That's why Pakistan preferred to make military alliance with west i.e., United States in order to meet its security and economic challenges. Thirdly, Pakistan also did not support the communist movement.

President Ayub Khan reoriented Pakistan's foreign policy towards Soviet Union. Moreover, Soviet Union also showed good gesture on Kashmir issue and was ready to displease India. The relations between both States were more improved in war of 1965. Afterwards economic, cultural, scientific ties were established between Pakistan and Soviet Union. But this period of friendship came to end with the fall of Ayub regime. Again, the period of goodwill was started when Bhutto came into power. Steps were taken to normalize the relations by re-establishing trade and economic ties.

Another article "Pakistan and India: Politics, Personalities, and Foreign Policy" which is written by Lawrence Ziring. Lawrence Ziring is Arnold E. Schneider Professor of Political Science at West Michigan University, USA. He is the author of Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History (OUP, 2000), along with numerous other titles, and nearly one hundred articles or papers. He delivers lectures on defence and strategic issues across the globe.

Lawrence Ziring in this article has analyzed the foreign policies of India and Pakistan. More emphasis is made on the established patterns of foreign policy that how leadership influences the patterns of foreign policy. In context of India, the author has taken the example of Indira Gandhi whereas in context of Pakistan, the author has taken the example of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

After the debacle of Bangladesh, Z.A.Bhutto came to power. In 1971, Pakistan was in dark days after the separation of eastern wing. Bhutto identified that it was his fortune to lead the nation out of chaos of downfall and to impart in the people of his nation and country a new confidence. Bhutto after coming to power redefined foreign policy objectives of Pakistan. Pakistan has always had difficulty in developing and maintaining relations with other countries. Relations between U.S.A and Pakistan were established after the death of Liaguat Ali Khan and were more flourished during Ayub's Regime as he thought that Pakistan had to rely on foreign aid and assistance in order to meet its security and economic challenges. Even in joint meeting of Congress in 1961, Ayub declared that Pakistan is the only Asian country on which U.S.A could rely in the time of crisis. But Bhutto had never been the friend of U.S. His preference was to adopt policy which better suits to situation. That's why after coming to power; Bhutto withdrew from membership of Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Bhutto also removed Pakistan from Commonwealth. Bhutto believed that these organizations have not contributed in development of Pakistan. Instead, Bhutto preferred policy of Bilateralism and developed closer relations with Muslim Countries and Third World Countries. In this regard Bhutto held OIC and conference of all third world nations. Bhutto was of the view that developed states are exploiting underdeveloped states. Bhutto raised his voice as a spokesman for third world causes. Bhutto's priority was to make his country a nuclear power. This passion of Bhutto made the cause of his downfall as he annoyed U.S.A and he was warned by U.S.A many times. Dr. Henry Kissinger warned Bhutto that if he would not restrain from his stance than America would ban all aid and assistance to Pakistan. But Bhutto bear all pressure because he regarded that if India could be a nuclear power, then why not Pakistan.

"Pakistan-Bangladesh Relations- a Survey" is article published by Pakistan Institute of International Affairs and written by "Farzana Shakoor". Farzana Shakoor is a research officer in the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs.

This article contains a survey of Pakistan-Bangladesh relations that after the debacle of East Pakistan what were the factors which affected the normalization of relations between both countries and how those hurdles were removed and Pakistan and Bangladesh began with a new era of good relations. Initially three factors caused tensions between both states i.e., the division of assets, the repatriation of Biharis from Bangladesh and trial of 195 prisoners of war. The issue of trial of 195 prisoners of war was solved with the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan but the other two issues are still unresolved. As far as the issue of Biharis is concerned Bhutto claimed that those people originally migrated to East Pakistan. However, with the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan the relations started to improve as Mujib also announced not to do trial of 195 Prisoners of war. Mujib also attended Islamic Summit. After that Bhutto also visited Bangladesh and signed two agreements regarding the resumption of trade and cessation of hostilities. Moreover, fear of domination of India brought both countries closer to each other. Cooperation between two states was not only limited to trade but in other areas as well included communication, shipping, airlines, railways and banking. Telecommunication link was opened in 1976, air link was established in the same year, and shipping agreement was made in 1978. Their strong relations were developed after the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1976. Both countries are making their efforts on their way to strengthen their relations and helping each other in the field of agriculture.

No doubt, this article provides substantial literature regarding Pakistan and Bangladesh relations but still it left many questions unanswerable e.g. If Biharis were the people originally migrated to East Pakistan then why Mujib was not ready to make them their nationals? Why Mujib did not give up trial of prisoners of war without recognition of Bangladesh when those people did not commit any war crime? What was domestic and foreign pressure on India to convince Sheikh Mujib-Ur-Rehman?

"Hafeez-Ur-Rehman" has discussed the basis of strong and cordial Sino-Pak relationships in his article "Pakistan's Relations with the People's Republic of China" published by Pakistan Institute of International Affairs. He has discussed the basis for which the Pakistan and China relations have always been so friendly and cordial. China is Pakistan's powerful neighbouring state. China is connected to Pakistan's northern territories through Sinkiang Province. Thus, both states share a common border. Besides neighbourhood both States have many other common bonds e.g., cultural contacts, commercial and trade relations. Their commercial and trade relations existed even during British period in India. Moreover, China also has large Muslim population. Honan, Hapai, Shantung, Yunnan, and Manchuria are its Muslim majority provinces. China attracts the Muslim Countries because of presence of large number of Muslims. Pakistan recognized People's Republic of China in 1950 because its large Muslim population and territorial contiguity had a special appeal to Pakistan.

Moreover, Pakistan is the only Asian Country with which the China's Relations have never disrupted by Pakistan's commitments with the West. Both the States have never come into direct conflict neither in ideological nor in border conflict. It is important to be noted here that China's attitude has always been different from that of Soviet Union, towards Pakistan's issues with India and Afghanistan this is the reason that why Pak-China relationship has been on better footing as compare to Soviet Union.

Another article, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy since Her Withdrawal from Commonwealth" written by Zafarul Islam and published by Pakistan Institute of International Affairs in 1974, proved very helpful for me as it provided me the substantial literature regarding my research. The author has discussed the motivations, guidelines and approaches of Pakistan's foreign policy makers after the debacle of East Pakistan when Pakistan was new in its territory, population, leadership, concepts and methods. The author has shed light on substantial strides made in Pakistan's foreign policy after the two and a half years of debacle of east wing. The priorities of Pakistan's foreign policy makers were to restore the confidence of friendly countries, to maintain friendly relations with all major powers, to seek an honourable peace with India and to refurnish the image of Pakistan. So, Pakistan's foreign policy was redefined on the lines of bilateralism, the major emphasis of Mr. Bhutto. To maintain equal and friendly relations with all major powers was the basic essence of bilateralism. Pakistan also focused on peaceful co-existence with neighboring countries and succeeded in achieving this objective by signing Simla Agreement with India. Pakistan also emphasized to have good relations with all countries

that's why Mr. Bhutto after assuming power, visited 20 different countries in the Africa and Middle East. Mr. Bhutto also sent special emissaries to others countries also especially belonging to Third World countries. Pakistan also emphasized on establishing brotherly and friendly relations with Muslim Countries and hosted Second Islamic Summit Conference. To maintain equal relations with capitalist countries as well as communist countries, Pakistan not only re-established its relations with Soviet Union, but also forged its relations with East European Countries and recognized German Democratic Republic. Pakistan also signed firm joint declaration with Rumania in 1973.

"Sino-Pakistan Relations (1971-1981)" is the article much relevant to my research. This article has been written by Naveen Ahmad, published by Pakistan Institute of International Affairs in 1981. In this article, the author has shed light on Sino-Pak mutual interests in establishing good relations. The author has discussed that how far China could assist the Pakistan in picking up pieces and in rebuilding its economy, self-confidence and armed forces after the dismemberment of Pakistan. The author has also focused on the steps and efforts made by both states in maintaining good relations with each other throughout this decade.

After the separation of East Pakistan, China helped Pakistan through military and economic assistance. When President Bhutto visited China in 1972, China supported the stance of Pakistan and expressed grave concern over the fate of POWs and also agreed not to recognize Bangladesh. China also used its first veto in UN Security Council barring the admission of Bangladesh into UN. Pakistan also remained out of Asian Security Pact as Pakistan could never be a party to conspiracy against China. Pakistan also declared that improvement in Indo-Pak relations. China also had always assured its support to Pakistan in the defence of national integrity, state sovereignty and territorial integrity. Both states also came closer in advocacy for the cause of Third World. Even after the India's explosion of nuclear device China supported Pakistan and Pakistan's proposal for a nuclear free zone in South Asia. When China was in isolation, Pakistan was a doorway for China to Africa, Europe and Middle East. Pakistan and China enjoyed stable and strong relations throughout this phase.

Another article, "Soviet-Pakistan Relations" written by "M. Akram Rajput" and published by Middle East

Research and Information Project in 1973. In this article, the author has shed light on the changes occurred in Soviet-Pak relations since independence of Pakistan and 24 years later, Soviet recognition of Bangladesh, Initially, Soviet Union extended formal invitation to Pakistan. Instead of visiting Soviet Union, Pakistan's Prime Minister visited United States. But Soviet Pakistan relations remained correct. The one thing that annoyed Soviet Union was the joining of western alliance by Pakistan. That's why Soviet Union did not support Pakistan's stance on Kashmir issue. However, later on Soviet Union extended its economic and military aid to Pakistan in 1956 in order to prevent Pakistan from falling under the domination of United States. In 1960, Soviet-Pakistan relations were deteriorated due to U-2 plane incident. But there was improvement in their relations in 1961 and Soviet Union aided Pakistan for oil exploration. Both States signed barter agreement in 1963 and their relations continued to develop. A shift was seen in Soviet-Pakistan relationships in the beginning of 1969 due to political instability in Pakistan and its closer ties with China. But when Bhutto came into power in 1971, he started a fresh and new start with Soviet Union. Consequently, Soviet Union helped Pakistan in establishing first Steel mill at Karachi in 1974.

"Sino-Pakistan Relations: Historical Background" is the article written by Niloufer Mahdi, published by Pakistan Institute of International Affairs in 1986. In this article, the author has discussed the Sino-Pak relations in historical context. The author has shed light on Sino-Pak relations since the inception and establishment of China. Pakistan established relations with China on the principles of mutual benefit, equality and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty. These principles led both states to co-exist peacefully even with their diverse social systems. There was no conflict of interest between Pakistan and China. Therefore, both States established relations on cordial footing. Their relations were not disrupted even by Pakistan's joining of SEATO and CENTO. But their relations were strained from 1954-1961 when Pakistan voted in favor of postponing the question of the PRC's entry to U.N. However, Sino-Pak relations continued to make headway when Pakistan cleared in Bandung Conference that Pakistan was not against China. Both States also settled their boundary line in boundary agreement of 1963. But China only extended diplomatic support to Pakistan during East

Pakistan Crisis because of existence of Indo-Soviet Treaty. But after dismemberment of Pakistan, China helped Pakistan by announcing the repayment of \$200 million loan and also agreed to provide fresh loans.

### 1.2 Research Questions

- 1. How did Bhutto stand for nuclear program against the external pressure?
- 2. How he pursued his step for counter-security against India through balance of power?
- 3. What was Bhutto's policy in conducting relations with China and USSR on the basis of bilateralism?

### 1.3 Research Objectives

- 1. To analyze his stance of counter security by launching nuclear project.
- 2. To examine his counter security measure against India while using balance of power.
- 3. To evaluate Bhutto's policy in conducting relations with China and USSR on the basis of bilateralism.

#### 1.4 Research Methodology

Bhutto's Bilateralism, the foreign policy approach adopted by former Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, has been a subject of extensive research and analysis in the field of International Relations. This methodology emphasizes on building strong relationships with other countries through bilateral agreements and negotiations rather than relying solely on multilateral organizations. In today's interconnected world, where traditional power are constantly shifting. dvnamics Bhutto's Bilateralism remains a relevant and important concept in understanding and navigating modern international relations. Its emphasis on personalized diplomacy and mutual understanding between nations is crucial in addressing complex global issues and promoting peaceful coexistence. Furthermore, Bhutto's Bilateralism highlights the importance of maintaining strong bilateral ties as a means of countering regional and global challenges, making it a valuable methodology in the constantly evolving landscape of international relations.

### 3.1 Rational Decision Making and Pakistan's Policy of Bilateralism

Pakistan came into being as a result of partition of Sub-Continent. Pakistan had to face serious issues

including weak economy and security concerns because of neighboring states India and Afghanistan. It inherited backward economic system and socioeconomic and political problems from colonial era. It was the time when world was bipolar and cold war was at its peak. Initially Pakistan started with independent foreign policy and adopted a policy of Neutrality. Pakistan was not interested to join any bloc. So, the period from 1947-1953 was termed as exploration and friendship with all. The period of Pakistan's foreign policy 1953-62 was characterized by the transition from an independent foreign policy to a multifaceted alignment with the west. In the beginning of 1950s, the elements of neutralism were weakening. Pakistan was much inclined towards western countries especially U.S.A. Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO due to its security concerns because of its two neighboring states i.e. India and Afghanistan. The period of 1962-71 was the period of transition in Pakistan's foreign policy as there was a shift in Pakistan's foreign policy leading towards strengthening its independence, extending cooperation with socialist countries and Afro-Asian countries (Ahmad, A. 2011).

The 1970s are referred to as the non-alignment and bilateralism phase. During this time, the unbiased approach to international affairs that was started in the middle of the 1960s evolved into a bilateralism policy. Pakistan proved then new in terms of its land and population size, new in its ideas, new in its political structure, and new in its operational methods—all following the disaster of East Bengal. Pakistan joined the system of alliances in order to obtain assurances from the US that it would not be subjected to Indian aggression; nevertheless, the fundamental reason was that Pakistan's interests were not protected by the system, as the US was primarily concerned with containing communism. Despite being Pakistan's most dependable friend, the US was unable to assist in maintaining the status quo in Pakistan during the breakup of the east wing when Indian soldiers were allowed to join the civil war in 1971. Pakistan was likewise let down by the western allies' neutrality during the 1971 Indo-Pak War. This incident sparked a thought process among Pakistan's political elite, prompting the country's thenleadership to reevaluate its foreign policy & adopt an autonomous foreign strategy based on bilateralism. That's why Mr. Bhutto after assuming the power on December 1971 said,

"It is necessary to recast and rework foreign policy. Naturally, it will be an autonomous foreign policy driven by Pakistan's greater interests. We desire positive ties with all major powers. Our goal is to develop a constructive and optimistic foreign policy". Bajpai, K. (2007)

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has also discussed in his book "myth of independence" that most of the underdeveloped countries like Pakistan rely on foreign assistance. Foreign assistance should be for the development of under developed countries but foreign interference leads the underdeveloped countries towards dependency. This dependence does not help them in achieving development or make them economically sufficient. The mutuality of interests rather than permanent alignment should be the criteria for developing relations with other countries. Subsequently, after 1971, Indo-Pak war Pakistan shaped its foreign policy on the basis of bilateralism (Khan, M. A. 2013).

### 3.1.1 Rational Decision Making;

Pakistan called their approach to foreign policy "bilateralism." By using the word, it was believed that Pakistan would stop taking sides in the Cold War, treat the superpowers fairly, fortify its links to China, and start a process of extending its relationships to North Korea and other communist nations in Eastern Europe. Pakistan developed its foreign policy based on bilateralism, which meant it would follow a separate course of action unrelated to the interests of any other nation. The goal of the forthcoming foreign policy would be to advance bilateral ties free from outside influence. In its foreign dealings, a bilateralism foreign policy must refrain from taking a one-sided stance, whether it be through strong ideological inclinations or one-sided economic dependence. Although it is normal for the level of amicable connections to differ between nations, these differences shouldn't be seen as a clear indication of bias. Bilateralism demands mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. Pakistan's principal foreign policy aim was to establish a bilateral equation with the three Great Powers and two regional powers without antagonizing any one of them in the process (Rahman, M. 2014). Pakistan's Prime Minister Mr. Bhutto defined Bilateralism in a speech to the foreign policy association in New York in September 1973 as;

"Bilateralism means that we seek to maintain friendly relations with each great power without antagonizing another.... Pakistan was one of a few countries--- for a period only one--- which had friendly relations with China, the United States and the Soviet Union at the same time."

#### 3.2.2 Stance of Pakistan:

The core of bilateralism was to reestablish and preserve cordial ties with all of the major nations. The primary criterion for developing relations with the United States, the Soviet Union, and China was the sharing of interests instead of permanent alignment. Rather than focusing on equidistance from these states, the policy highlighted reciprocal interests on a bilateral level, avoiding alienating one for the benefit of the other. Pakistan desired to pursue a foreign policy that was independent of the interests of any other nation. The fundamental concept was to uphold cordial ties with other nations in order to promote the State's best interests. Pakistan designed its foreign policy on new lines according to its real interests (Shabbir, A. 2010). Prime Minister Mr. Bhutto in his article, "Bilateralism: New Directions" wrote that 'bilateralism doesn't experience any confusion in the context of foreign policy of Pakistan.'

Subsequently, the Rational Model is applied to analyze that either Pakistan was succeeded in establishing the equal relations with all major powers and mending fences with Soviet Union? Did the policy of bilateralism lead Pakistan towards an independent foreign policy? How far Pakistan succeeded in achieving its objectives (security and economic needs) by diversifying its foreign policy options?

#### 3.2.3 Relations with United States

Pakistan opted for US alliance because of its perceived need. But later on, Pakistan felt that U.S. did not meet its security needs and requirements to the extent that Pakistan wanted. As U.S did not provide arms sales to Pakistan in 1948, 1965 and 1971 war so Pakistan realized that US would not compromise its global interest to fulfill Pakistan's security needs. So Pakistan left SEATO (Nasir, M. S. 2017). In order to develop bilateral relations with US Pakistan's Prime Minister visited U.S in September 1973. President Nixon assured of US strong support for Pakistan's independence and territorial integrity. It was also declared that preservation of

independence of Pakistan was one of the cornerstones of American Foreign Policy. Pakistan was also given further economic assistance. Pakistan also played a very central and dominant role in bringing China and US closer to each other, in the height of cold war in 1973, by catalyzing and providing logistics for Sino-US secret diplomatic linkage. Due to this mediatory role of Pakistan, America became the biggest trade partner of China. So Pakistan succeeded in re-establishing and consolidating its friendly relations with US on the basis of bilateralism (Khan, M. A. 2013).

But Pak-US relations strained in mid of 70s when Pakistan decided to go for nuclear. US did not show any intention to provide Pakistan of any protection against India's nuclear capability. Instead, it denied Pakistan the right to proceed with the acquisition of nuclear technology. Pakistan took stance during its visit of 1975 to US that Pakistan would place all its nuclear reactor under international inspection to prevent the production of nuclear weapons, if America met its requirements for conventional weapons (Rashid, A. 2014). But Pakistan felt that US was not concerned with its security needs but only acting to serve its own end of preventing Pakistan from developing its nuclear capacity. US also pressurized Canada and France to abandon their agreements signed with Pakistan. In 1976, Kissinger warned that if Pakistan went ahead with the reprocessing plant then the US would 'make a horrible example.' In 1977, Soviet Union also informed Pakistan that US was afraid of Pakistan's independent foreign policy and its support for the Arabs in their just struggle against Israel.' Again on June 1977, it was informed by Soviet Union that America and its allies had a new plan against Pakistan (Khan, M. A. 2013). Pakistan and U.S relations were strained during this phase due to following reasons: America was against Pakistan's friendship with China; U.S was also against the unity of Muslim Countries and Third World. America wanted the Third World Countries and Muslim Countries to be its dependents and camp followers; lastly America did not want Pakistan to become nuclear. All these factors led to deteriorate the Pak-US relations during this phase (Mumtaz, K. A. 2011).

#### 3.2 Relations with China and USSR

The change of attitude of U.S and its western allies compelled Pakistan to cultivate friendship with other countries and look for friends who have been more

trustworthy. China has been the powerful neighboring state of Pakistan. The relations between China and Pakistan have been cordial particularly from sixties. The common feature of Sino-Pak political and strategic relationship has been based on the promotion of global as well as regional peace and harmony. Both states believe on principles of peaceful co-existence, equality, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and mutual benefit. None of the two states have indulged in each other's internal affairs. China also helped Pakistan after the debacle of East Bengal, to pick up the pieces. After the separation of East Bengal, China continued to extend economic and military assistance to help Pakistan to rebuild its economy and armed forces (Chaudhry, M. I. 2007).

To further strengthen its ties, the then president of Pakistan visited China in 1972. As always China supported Pakistan. expressing its commitment to Pakistan's security and agreed not to recognize Bangladesh and also wrote off some loans and promised further economic aid. From 1972-1974, China provided Pakistan with \$300 million worth of military equipment and helped Pakistan in the establishment of defense factories. China became an alternative source of economic and military aid till 1975 when U.S refused to lift its arms embargo against Pakistan. On 25 August 1972, China used its first veto in the UN Security Council excluding the admission of Bangladesh into the UN. Pakistan also did not join Asian Security Pact as Pakistan never been a party to conspiracy against China. President Bhutto declared on March19, 1972. ".... We want friendly ties and good neighborly relations with Soviet Union, but.... We will never be a party to any conspiracy against China." It was also made clear by Pakistan that improvement in Indo-Pak relations would not affect China. Pakistan also played a very central and dominant role in bringing China and US closer to each other, in the height of cold war in early 1970's, by catalyzing and providing logistics for diplomatic Sino-US secret linkage. These developments gave opportunities and allowed China to step out close-door policies and explore new avenues and opportunities in international markets, especially U.S and Europe. The joint communiqué issued at the conclusion of the then Pakistani Prime Minister's visit to China on May 1974 that contained a firm assurance of China's support to Pakistan in the defence of state sovereignty, national integrity and territorial integrity. Even after the India's explosion

of nuclear device on 18 May 1974 China reassured Pakistan to resolute support to Pakistan in its just struggle against foreign aggression including nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail. China also backed Pakistan's proposal for nuclear-free zone in South Asia. Both States also came closer in advocating cause of Third World Countries. Sino-Pak relationship flourished in the aftermath of Sino-Indian border war. At that time Sino-Soviet dispute had assumed serious extents while China's differences with America continued to be severe. Accordingly, China stood diplomatically isolated. In this situation, Pakistan was doorway for China to the Africa, Middle East and Europe. Prime Minister Bhutto visited China for a third time on May 26, 1976, prompted by the death of Chou En-Lai. The change of Premier resulted in in no change in Chinese support for Pakistan's security concerns. Similarly, after the death of Mao on September 9, 1976, China did not disappoint Pakistan which showed that Sino-Pak friendship was not based on personalities but on principles. Sino-Pak relationship remained friendly and cordially throughout this phase (Malik, I. 2012).

In the rouse of "bilateralism" it was implicit that Pakistan would cease to be a part of cold war era alliance system and would develop equal relations with capitalist as well as communist states. Pakistan sought to find in the Soviet Union what it could not obtain in China. Pakistan also wanted to supplement its China policy by a more friendly approach towards Soviet Union. Soviet-Pak relations were strained in the backdrop of East Pakistan crisis of 1971. So, the President Bhutto undertook a three-day visit to Soviet Union on March 15, 1972 in the hope of moderating its hostility. The objective was to try and remove at least some of the strain and to start a new era of friendship with a communist state. Pakistan succeeded in achieving this objective as Kosygin said,

"We see that both the Soviet and the Pakistan side show interest in creating conditions for the development of good neighborly relations between the two countries."

Both the States agreed to restore Soviet-Pakistan economic, trade, scientific, technological and other ties which were disrupted as a result of the events of 1971. This process led to restoration of fruitful mutual cooperation between two countries. Besides improving its cultural and trade relations, Soviet Union also offered the credit facilities and aid to

Pakistan when there was tremendous pressure on Pakistan from United States not to acquire nuclear reactor from France. Serious efforts were done by Soviet Union behind the scene until 1974, to bring about a solution to the problems of the 1971 war. Soviet Union actively assisted Pakistan in the establishment of an integrated steel mill near Karachi, which cost around 900 million dollars. Soviet Union assisted Pakistan's steel mill project to reduce Pakistan's dependence on the West. Pakistan made concrete efforts to establish more cordial relationship with the Soviet Union in the two years following the visit of 1972. Pakistan was trying to implement a more independent course in its foreign policy. To develop relations further, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan visited Soviet Union in October 1974 and to discuss bilateral political issues, economic issues, regional and international matters with Soviet Union. During this visit, Soviet Union acknowledged Pakistan's efforts to improve relations with it. Kosygin also declared that Soviet-Pakistan talks were a major step in strengthening good neighborly relations between the Pakistan and Soviet Union. On the other hand, Pakistan also made it clear that Sino-Pakistan relations were not directed against the Soviet Union, but grew out of Pakistan's policy of good relations with all powers. It is to be noted here that Pakistan even relied on Soviets for information when Prime Minister Bhutto was faced with agitation to remove him from office in 1977 (Siddiqui, T. 2018).

Besides expanded relations with China and Soviet Union, Pakistan established cultural and technical exchange missions with North Korea. During this phase, Pakistan's ties to Eastern Europe were also expanded. Economic, technical and trade agreements were entered into with Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania. East European Countries also provided technical assistance in establishing small industries and in building Pakistani infrastructure. The ties to these communist states also added Pakistan with the sense of security in the aftermath of war of 1971 (Siddiqui, T. 2019).

#### 3.3 Relations with India:

The real test of the success of a country's foreign policy is its ability to manage its relations with its neighboring states. This was particularly a difficult test for Pakistan after the events of 1971. Peaceful relationship with neighboring country has always been the priority of Pakistan. Pakistan's Prime

Minister Bhutto also expressed this stance in article, published in American foreign Affairs; "For Pakistan, peace means, first of all, normalization of relations with India on neighborly basis. He further said, "It could not be achieved without the readiness of each to bring about an equitable settlement of their disputes."

Similar sentiments were also expressed by Pakistan before the session of UN General Assembly in 1973, "It is our belief that derangement is not inherent in Indo-Pakistan relationship. The two can achieve normal relations.... The building of a structure of peace will require years of patient and determined effort. It must be established on the basis of equality and mutual respect..."

Soon the negotiations were started between Pakistan and India. In order to try and resolve some of the problems left over from the war of 1971, the meeting was held at Simla between Pakistan's President and Prime Minister of India in 1972. The talks were at the level of officials which resulted in signing of Simla Agreement. In this agreement both states agreed to put an end conflict and confrontation and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship. Both the States also agreed upon that they would settle their differences by peaceful means and also respect each other's territorial integrity, political independence, national unity and sovereign equality and would also refrain from the threat and use of force against territorial integrity of each other. Pakistan also succeeded in restoring communications, trade, travel and other links. As the initiative towards the establishment of durable peace, Pakistani and Indian forces were decided to be withdrawn to their side of the international border (Bhutto, Z. A. 1971).

This meeting paved the way for further talks to solve the remaining issues i.e., repatriation of POWs and civil internes. Thus, the talks were held between the representatives of Pakistan and India and Delhi agreement was signed in August 1973. The issue of repatriation of POWs was also solved diplomatically. The only remaining issue of the trial of 195 POWs was also resolved when Pakistan recognized Bangladesh in 1974 and rapprochement between both states brought them to the signing of a new agreement on April, 1974 which prevented the trial of 195 POWs (Bhutto, Z. A. 1972).

These developments produced a noticeable improvement in Pakistan-India relations. However, they continued to view each other as major rival.

Pakistan was worried by India's policy of not relenting on military build-up and especially the explosion of a nuclear device in May 1974 (Khan, S. W. 2015).

#### 3.4 Relations with Muslim World:

After the separation of East wing, the Pakistan leadership concluded that pro-western policy proved inadequate. So, Pakistan revised its foreign policy and re-asserted its fraternal links with Muslim World. Soon after the fall of Dacca, Pakistan's President Bhutto undertook a tour of several Islamic countries. He visited twenty-two countries of the Middle East and North Africa from January to June 1972 (The Organization of Islamic Cooperation., n.d.). He visited Iran, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Somalia, Kuwait, and United Arab Emirates. These visits helped in bridging the gap between Pakistan and these states. These relations served Pakistan's security, diplomatic and economic needs in the post 1971 period (Malik, H. 2018). Pakistan also showed its concern for Arabs diplomatically and politically when Arab-Israel war started in October 1973. Pakistan also requested Secretary General of UN and President Nixon to help in restoring a just and durable peace in Middle East. A meeting of Arab envoys was also convened by Pakistan, assuring them that Pakistan would uphold the principles of justice and equity. Pakistan also provided material and moral support to Egypt and Syria when they went to war with Israel. In the wake of Arab-Israel war of 1973, Pakistan also hosted second Islamic Conference in 1974(explained in detail in previous chapter).

A number of bilateral agreements between Pakistan and the UAE, Pakistan and Libya, Pakistan and Bahrain were concluded for economic cooperation in the end of this summit. Libya set up a bank in Pakistan to provide funds for joint industrial project. The states of the Middle East, especially the states of the Gulf region, extended economic assistance (investment, grants, and loans on soft terms) and diplomatic support to Pakistan. They accommodated Pakistani human-power, which brought a financial jackpot for Pakistan. Pakistan also concluded military protocols with Iraq, Oman, Kuwait, UAE, Saudi Arabia and Libya from 1972-1977 (Ziring, L. 1997). During this period, Muslim countries became largest market for its export. Muslim countries also supported the Pakistan's nuclear program especially

Libya and Saudi Arabia. When Canada terminated its agreement with Pakistan then Libya extended its helping hand to Pakistan. Libya provided Pakistan with the investment and loan of worth hundreds of millions of dollars (Nasr, S. V. R. 2015).

The summit of 1974 also brought Pakistan and Bangladesh closer to each other. The conference provided the climate of mutual forgiveness. The reconciliation and rapprochement between both states resulted in a fresh start of their relations, exchange of official visits and resumption of trade and economic relations (Rabbani, M. 2017).

As a gesture of goodwill, Pakistan also recognized the government of Daud, took over in Afghanistan in 1973. Afghanistan was the first Muslim country; President Bhutto visited after coming to power in 1972. Pakistan also permitted over flight of its territory by Afghan cargo-bearing aircraft. Pakistan also gave drought relief to Afghanistan in an effort to counter worst effects of the 1972-1973 famine. Relief supplies were also sent to Kabul in 1976. But Pakistan remained suspicious about the involvement of Afghanistan in Pakhtunistan issue.

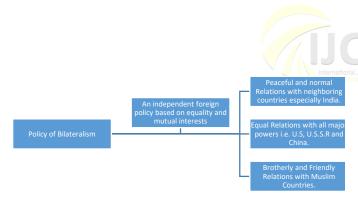


Fig 4.2: Rational Decision-Making Model: Policy of Bilateralism

#### 4. Conclusion

Bhutto's bilateralism, also known as the 'Bhutto Doctrine,' refers to the foreign policy approach adopted by Pakistan's former Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, during his tenure in the 1970s. This approach emphasized the importance of maintaining strong and balanced relations with both the Eastern and Western blocs during the Cold War era. While this doctrine may seem outdated in today's

world, its importance and relevance in modern international relations cannot be denied.

One of the key reasons for the significance of Bhutto's bilateralism is its ability to navigate the complexities of the global political landscape. During the Cold War, the world was divided into two opposing powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and countries were forced to align themselves with one or the other. However, Bhutto recognized that Pakistan's national interest lay in maintaining a balance between these two superpowers. He believed that by forming strong alliances with both sides, Pakistan could secure its position in the international arena and protect its sovereignty.

Moreover, Bhutto's bilateralism also played a crucial role in promoting regional stability. Pakistan's geographical location has always put it in a strategically important position, and Bhutto understood the importance of maintaining good relations with its neighbors. Through his doctrine, he not only focused on strengthening ties with the United States and the Soviet Union but also with its neighbors, such as China and India. This helped in reducing tensions in the region and creating a more stable South Asian landscape.

Furthermore, Bhutto's bilateralism also had a significant impact on Pakistan's economic development. By forming alliances with both the Eastern and Western blocs, Bhutto was able to secure economic aid and investments from both sides. This only helped in developing infrastructure but also strengthened its economy. The Bhutto Doctrine also encouraged trade relations with neighboring countries, providing opportunities for economic growth and regional integration.

In addition to its importance in the past, Bhutto's bilateralism remains relevant in today's global political scenario. With the rise of new global powers and the emergence of non-state actors, the world has become even more complex. In such a scenario, maintaining strong relations with multiple countries is key to safeguarding national interests and promoting peace and stability.

Moreover, the concept of bilateralism has evolved in the modern era. It no longer solely focuses on maintaining relations with two opposing powers but also emphasizes the importance of building partnerships and alliances with multiple countries. This is evident in the growing trend of regional organizations and multilateral treaties, which promote cooperation and collective security.

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