



## Foreign Policy of Pakistan: “Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s Era”

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Keywords	Abstract
USSR, USA, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Foreign Policy, Pakistan, India, Muslim World, Nuclear war, Third World.	<i>Historically, after independence, the vision of foreign policy of Pakistan molded under the influence of great powers such as the United States of America (USA) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics 1992-1991(USSR) during the Cold war. It served the security vision of the US across the world. The article postulates orderly the foreign policy vision of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto when he took charge and showed his aspiration for changes in the foreign policy approach of Pakistan. Those changes had to undermine the power status of the USA. Therefore, the charismatic character of Bhutto led to the confrontation of policy choice between the great powers, the USA and USSR and their allies and Pakistan. Bhutto aspired for the bloc of developing countries specifically from the Muslim world. He wanted to unite those countries and prevent their exploitation by the major powers. He wanted to excel in the domestic potential of the third world for the sake of a better and sustainable future. Bhutto talked and walked for the security of Pakistan as well as demanded a nuclear umbrella from the nuclear enemy states like India. So, his aggressive stance could not fit in the policy approach of the major powers and he had to sacrifice his government as well as his life.</i>

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy is a domain of every country engagement across the border at international level where every country solely follows the mission of preserving its national interest and portraying positive face among the member's states of the international community. In simple words, it can be defined as *dealing the outside world in various areas of cooperation such as security, economic interest, and human resource management*. As international relations have been evolved, since the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 signed which later on specified the scope and conducts of states relations and origin of states sovereignty<sup>i</sup>. Moreover, the 20<sup>th</sup>-century major conflicts attracted the attention of the international community, such as the World War one (1914-1917) which proved to one of the grave catastrophic events for the world communities and since no single state remained to save from the devastated environment of the war<sup>ii</sup>.

It led to the era of decolonization and Pakistan emerged on the “third” world map. Since, after inceptions the country faced multi-dimensional threats to its origin and the founder of Pakistan expressed his aspirations that the country would be run in balance relations with the eastern and western world. The foreign policy of Pakistan is guided by the vision and principles set by the founding father of the county name Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who said that:

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

Pakistan served its mutual ties with the Western world from the start of its diplomatic venture and the United States of America (USA) was one of the major causes of its attention. She was a victorious power and bullied her allies and opponents “Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)” at that time. It’s “the USA” changed the overall global sceneries of Pakistan foreign policy and remained the most influential factor in the foreign policy formulation and consideration by the leadership of that time in Pakistan. The paper enlightens about the foreign policy of Pakistan under the leadership of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

## **2. METHODOLOGY**

Initially, the paper provides a historical appraisal of Pakistan foreign policy since, its (1947) independence till (1969). More, the paper specifically provides a descriptive and analytical accounts of the period of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s foreign policy as a foreign minister, President and Prime minister (1963-1977). After the dismemberment of the country, the charismatic leader of Pakistan emerged with his own self-professed ideas and dimension were to take the county in the then future time. It was a struggle by the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to provide Pakistan with a balanced road map of the development and national dignity at international level especially.

## **3. PAKISTAN’S FOREIGN POLICY; EARLY YEARS 1947-1965**

In border terms, foreign policy remained as a central theme of a process through which Pakistan would choose its national priorities and goals but certain factor existing at international level dominated the foreign policy domain of Pakistan and the decision makers felt encircled by those prevailing conditions historically. Short after the independence of Pakistan, the country faced confusion to choose either eastern communist block or western capitalist block. Ultimately, in the favor of situations and national security Pakistan opted for the United States of America (USA) and the then Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan first visit to the USA in May 1950<sup>iv</sup> which formally opened the roadmap of dialog and understandings between both sides. Though, *if* and *but*s were attached to the choice between USA and USSR, for Pakistan. On the other side, Pakistan faced three-time the stronger enemy “India” on the eastern border when the issue of Kashmir was unresolved and in October 1947 Pak-Indo war started over the issue of Kashmir<sup>v</sup>. India also stopped the water flow toward Pakistan. Short after Nehru-Liaquat pact in 1950<sup>vi</sup> Pakistan faced the consequence of its decision-making crisis in Korean War “1950-1951”<sup>vii</sup> when the USA demanded Pakistan army which could be engaged against Chinese backed forces on the Koran peninsula but fortunately Pakistan avoided such sort of approach and remained undecided to jump into the battlefield between China and the USA. Pakistan as ill-afforded its internal power crisis “political issues”, decided to sign its first Mutual assistance defense agreement with the USA in 1954<sup>viii</sup> and it was based upon the assumptions that Pakistan would be the most allied Asian ally of the USA

in future and possible the implication became exposed to the world when Pakistan signed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization “Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)” in 1955 by the celebration of the USA and its western allies<sup>ix</sup>. Furthermore, from 1953 till 1963 Pakistan also face the pressure of Pashtunistan issue from the western side of the border. Daud had serious reservations over the territorial divide between Pakistan and Afghanistan<sup>x</sup>, More, USSR also backed the issue to increase the pressure so that the access of Pakistan could be the short and expansionist design of the USSR could meet indirectly. The USA had gained control of the small air base in Peshawar from where the defensive and aggressive action and reaction of USSR could be monitored by the USA. Detection of the USA Ariel plane on the territory of the USSR, Pakistan became the primary victim of the incident which is famous in the history with the title of U-2 incident or crisis in 1958 when Soviet targeted and crushed down the USA drone which was operating from Pakistan “Peshawar” involved in state sponsored espionage<sup>xi</sup>. Soviet primer threatened Pakistan with serious consequences for what Pakistan had offered to the USA. Early in 1953-54 Pakistan preferred close relations with the USA when Army commander Ayub Khan visited the USA to convince them for the further expansion of mutual defense and economic venture<sup>xii</sup>. It was a positive experience of Pakistan-USA relationship in that time but was unbalanced. Washington was keen to provide assistance and preserve close relations with Pakistan, but the USA was cautious that in case of closing its ties with Pakistan the USA may lose India when USSR is adjusting its relations closely to India. India was one of the crucial factors in Pakistan-USA relations. Pakistan was needed the active cooperation of the USA to balance its power against India however the USA anxiety with Indo-Russian relations exposed Pak-USA weak relations later. China was additional the main factor among the triangular interaction of the USA, Pakistan and India at that time<sup>xiii</sup>. India kept receiving food and military aid from both sides (USA and USSR) and Pakistan was proven to the close relations between India and the USA. Perhaps, Pakistan could not observe the multidimensional engagement of the Indo-Soviet and American affections toward India or there may the prevailing condition did not allow Pakistan think tank to decide according to their wish when the international conditions were much compelling because of weak security situation in the region and persistence of threat from eastern and western border of Pakistan in total sum, Pakistan remained tilted toward the USA. Joining the USA sponsored alliances from 1954 till 1959 Pakistan received \$522 million worth of assistance from the USA. Also, Pakistan remained beneficial of \$620 million of aid in term of economic means and development at that time<sup>xiv</sup>. But relations between Pakistan and the USA could not follow the mutual economic statements from both side and the diplomatic effort remained in the vine at many crucial stages in the then present and future. In 1963 when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the foreign minister Pakistan successfully signed a border agreement with China in 1963 which opened the new era of relations between Pakistan and China<sup>xv</sup> while deepening the rivalry between Pakistan and India when India sent protest letter to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) that Pakistan favored the aggressor China<sup>xvi</sup>. Further, China supported the cause of the war of 1965 in favor of Pakistan and aided after the end of the war while on the other side the USA provided weapons and defenses assistance to India short after the Indo-China conflict in 1962<sup>xvii</sup> which once again sharpen the situations against Pakistan in the then coming time. Pakistan faced ignorance of its close ally “the USA” after the war of 1965 and almost faced embargo when India enjoyed the absence of USA pressure upon them. The war of 1965 brought sharp swift between the USA and Ayub foreign policy of Pakistan where India cashed the opportunity to sit into the lap of the

USA<sup>xviii</sup>. The USA president J.F Kennedy issued a statement regarding Indo-USA relation, the aim was to avoid strain in its relations with Pakistan. American President stated that.

*In providing assistance to India, we are mindful of our alliance with Pakistan, All of the aid to India is for the purpose of defeating Chinese Communist subversion. Chinese insertions into the sub-continent are a threat to Pakistan as well as India and both have a common interest in opposing it<sup>xix</sup>.*

As Kennedy's India policy had resulted in disturbing the military imbalance in Asia, especially between Pak-Indo and it brought great disadvantage to Pakistan in the shape of strain "deadlock" diplomatic understandings over the foreign objectives. This was the stage when Pakistan turned toward China and extended its diplomatic approach to own political and material support. On the other side, the Communist USSR was closely observing the deteriorating relations between Pakistan and India-USA understandings. Soviet primer visits to India and Kabul in 1955, Khrushchev and Bulganin supported both India and Afghanistan against Pakistan<sup>xx</sup>. Later, in 1960 the Soviet Ambassador warned Pakistan that *we will keep on supporting India and Afghanistan against you because they are our friends, even when they are wrong. But your friends do not support you even when they know that you (Pakistan) are right<sup>xxi</sup>*. Soviet Primer also wanted to stabilize its relations ship with Pakistan so by that way he could break the diplomat and military doctrine of the capitalist block up to that level to create a diplomatic gap.

The newly emerged layer of friendship between Pakistan and Chinese further strengthened when China signed an economic deal with Pakistan where Pakistan would have free access to the Chinese market, and it was the ever first agreement between Communist China with any other non-communist country<sup>xxii</sup>. Through this agreement, the Chinese could have accessed to the African countries and Arab countries for the purpose of trade, and it was also an easy and safe option for the Chinese to promote the trade on these routes. Consequently, it strongly pushed back the USA anxiety and unhappiness in the minds of the USA think tanks who were much concerned about Pak-China relations. Apparently, the USA suspended loans for Pakistan while losing the patience further Pakistan also had to face a ban on military aid. Pakistan could not build consensus with the USA to convince them about the nature of its relationship with China. President Ayub warned publicly that policy of continuous American assistance to India the smaller countries in the areas would look for protection from somewhere else<sup>xxiii</sup>. It was after the border clash of SinoIndia. Further, President Ayub Khan declared that now Pakistan may not be in the position to contribute to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) because the attitude of the USA is as like they would never hesitate to let down their friends and today, their policy is based upon the greed and opportunities. Moreover, in 1963 the USA stated that in aiding India we are mindful of our alliance with Pakistan. All the aid to India is for the purpose of defeating communist subversion<sup>xxiv</sup>. But the USA could not convince Ayub Khan and as Ayub Khan Suggestions to America, *that it is right as an independent nation to normalize our relations with our neighbors, however, the difference of ideologies might exist, but we cannot remain in the same position for the sake of our ideologies when it is must for us to move across the contradiction toward cooperation<sup>xxv</sup>*.

Short after the war when the USA put arm embargo in South Asia, it hurt Pakistan more than India also India claimed that Pakistan showed the double standard in its relations with the USA while

using those weapons against us which were given to them for the purpose of tackling the threat from communist manifesto in South Asia. When Foreign minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was informed about the USA suspension of weapons against Pakistan he reacted in bold words and said that *we have discussed problems in the past but not now more, Pakistan will fight with hands if necessary but will never surrender. I am ready to fight for a thousand years. To cut off the supply in hours is no way to respect your ally*<sup>xxvi</sup>. In this regard, Pakistan remained successful to own the support of China in this regard and issued a statement on neutral bases. Bhutto blamed India as an aggressor at the back of [USSR] support. Finally, the USSR offered a neutral solution to Pak-Indo conflict because the Soviet had calculated the conditions that in case of Pakistan back by China in the war against the USA backed India then Soviet may lose Pakistan completely to the domination of the USA. Pakistan and India signed the Tashkent Declaration 1967<sup>xxvii</sup> through the mechanism promoted by USSR good office diplomacy.

To encapsulate the whole era since independence Pakistan foreign policy revolved around the central themes of great powers (The USA and USSR) approach. An excessive amount of dependency upon the USA for national existence of Pakistan remains short of finding a creative standpoint to promote their mutual interest to the next era. China emerged as a trustworthy neighbor of Pakistan but unfortunately, Pakistan had to pay the price of relations with China in the shape of crucial diplomatic relations with the USA. As both Pakistan and the USA were receiving each other with passive means of engagements for all the times. Further, the anxiety of the USSR and much needed support by China to Pakistan did not clarify the grounds of the future for both Pakistan and USSR relations. USSR offer at Tashkent was an opportunistic approach to neutralize the role of the USA. The then prevailing conditions and the aspirations of the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto brought some radical changes to the foreign policy dimension of Pakistan.

#### **a. Bhutto's Foreign policy**

- **A Paradigm Shift**

One cannot deny that all the past alliances for the purpose of national security failed to guarantee Pakistan integrity in the region. Mr. Bhutto took over the Ideas and following the neutral and balanced approach across the world and retaliated to Kashmir issue with India while ignoring the claims of Kabul about Pakhtunistan. He responded over the reactionary approach of the USSR and bias attitude of the United States of America (USA) which was time and again tested in previous wars with India and in relations with China. He was aspired to provide a better road map to Pakistan with positive face across the international world and transforming the one-sided dependency with a wide level of diversified engagement across the states from Muslim and nonMuslim world especially the great powers. In 1973 emphasizing upon the balanced relationship across the world he stated that Injustice breed conflicts and a great impediment to Peace<sup>xxviii</sup>.

- **Bhutto's Approach toward the Muslim world and China**

Till 1970 the foreign policy of Pakistan was observed contradictory by the USA and after some time Bhutto brought big changes to foreign policy especially with big powers. The 1971 war with India was quite determinative in this regard when the USA became closer to the India which China favored Pakistan's stance because China never wanted Pakistan to be vulnerable against the

pressure of the USA and India. There were also some sources saying that in between 1971 up to 1974 China had supplied 300 million worth of military equipment. Also, after the 1974 nuclear blasts by India China remained committed to boosting Pakistan's defense budget<sup>xxxix</sup>. China remained short of intervention into 1971 was because it could lead to Russian involvement on the behalf of India, so China preferred to stay aside and emphasis upon the solution of Pak-Indo bilateral issues. China had to maintain the balance of power in the region while standings behind the stance of Pakistan on many occasions. Pakistan was always under threat from arch-rival India. Furthermore, after the fall of Dhaka Pakistan established reciprocal relations with the Muslim world and Bhutto was committed to the diplomatic initiative with a united approach to the Middle East. Bhutto visited many Muslim countries for the purpose of moral, political and diplomatic support. Pakistan gave material and moral support to the Arab world conflict with Israel. More, Islamic Summit in Lahore (1974) was declared a great victory of Bhutto when world great leaders attended the conference in Pakistan<sup>xxx</sup>.

Simultaneously, Pakistan improved its relationship with Muslim world when Bhutto visited Afghanistan in 1972 to moderate Pak-Afghan understandings over the mutual conflicts and later in 1976 Kind Daud Visited Pakistan while agreeing to advance mutual interactions over the prevailing issues between both countries<sup>xxxix</sup>. During this time period Pakistan and Afghanistan diplomatic deadlock, both sides have supported proxies against each other. The insurgent's movements at the border area of both countries were the main tool or backdoor engagement by either side to counter its opponents. According to the estimate, the Afghan government spent 875,000 dollars per years on Pakthun and Baloch insurgents to create resistance at the border areas<sup>xxxii</sup>. Bhutto establishes special cell for Afghanistan to keep its role in the affairs of Afghanistan because Pakistan had stakes to support the Southern alliance against Northern in Afghanistan. The Primary purpose of covert support was to assure its deep state interest in Afghanistan and avoid any belligerent regime in Kabul which may prove liable for Pakistan. Although the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan remained on the base of stretching backs of each other's in active and passive means, till the movement when Bhutto's regime was toppled down by Zia Ul-Haq in 1977<sup>xxxiii</sup>.

More, In 1972 Bhutto visited Iran, Turkey, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Syria. Extending its relations further he visited Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE, Iraq, Lebanon, and Jordan, Somalia<sup>xxxiv</sup>. The primary aim was to establish direct and indirect relations among Muslim countries which could be better for Pakistan. Pakistani nationalism was an important factor for inter-Arab disputes. Bhutto openly supported the cause of Palestine at world forums. Pakistan avoiding becoming a bond of contention among about conflicts between the Muslim countries, cooperated militarily to other Islamic states. From 1972 to 1977 Pakistan conclude military protocol with Iraq, supporting covert activities of Arab in the war of 1973 against Israel<sup>xxxv</sup>. Consequently, Muslim states became closer to Pakistan for exports, increasing and the crosscultural cooperation among Muslim countries. In Pakistan, the teaching of Arab world languages was promoted. The plan with Saudi Arabia to build Kind Faisal Masque was finalized and Saudi Arabia also funded Pakistan in the crucial time when Bhutto was stuck to his nuclear diplomacy against the wishes of Great powers. In the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) conference, Bhutto spoke bravely that *we the people of Pakistan shall give our blood or the cause of Islam, the people of Pakistan are soldiers of Islam, and its armies are the armies of Islam*<sup>xxxvi</sup>.

Pakistan Participate in the first session of the new Islamic Commission for Economic, Cultural and Social affairs in 1977. Bhutto promotions of Joint Minister Commission among the Islamic countries also encouraged his policy of bilateralism though which he wanted to deal with its relations with prominent Muslim countries like Iran, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia.

In a nutshell, Bhutto as a leader among the Islamic countries wanted to build a framework of political and economic cooperation to promoted Muslim unity. The Muslim leaders were agreed to increase their Exports and Islamic solidarity funds. The primary aspire of political and economic engineering among the Muslim counties were to establish a solid and sovereign visionary order of Muslim world especially and developing countries in general.

## **b. Bhutto's Understandings toward the Non-Muslim World**

### **i. India and Great Powers (The USA and USSR)**

- **Aggressive Bhutto Confronting Hostile India.**

Foreign minister Muhammad Ali Dier in 1963 and Bhutto were named as a foreign minister of Ayub Cabinet<sup>xxxvii</sup>. It was the time when the USA was in close cooperation with India aftermath of Indo-China border conflict in 1962. Ayub had a dependence upon the Bhutto to carry on new foreign policy while confronting and to deal with the India subversion in South Asia. Pakistan calculated the gestures of India that in case of close cooperation between Pakistan and China India may not be able to show courage for a great level of the military engagement against Pakistan. Particularly, 1965 war realized the geographical isolations a vulnerability of the eastern wing of the then Pakistan<sup>xxxviii</sup>. The cooperation from Muslim world compelled India Prime Minister to say that its India standing isolated<sup>xxxix</sup>.

After the war of 1965, Bhutto joined his Indian counter partner on the table with the cooperation of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Tashkent declaration in 1967 was an accord which created the possibility for the future cooperation between both states to avoid further confrontations and realized while expressing that in case of any additional military conflict there are chances that both countries would lose control over the solution of bilateral issues and will have to bear the imposition of the UN. Kashmir cause and the war of 1971 proved to be the crucial determinants of Pakistan and India relations with each other. Bhutto stated that India should know beyond the doubt that Kashmir is to Pakistan what Berlin is to West and people of Pakistan will never compromise over the Kashmir cause<sup>xl</sup>. Consequently, after the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971” Emergence of Bangladesh” once again the mutual anxiety and poor understandings were exhausted on the table in the shape of Simla Treaty in 1972<sup>xli</sup>. Since, Pakistan was dismembered and historically, it was considered as a victory of Bhutto to negotiate India over the issue of prisoners of war and border settlement. In 1974 the nuclear blasts by India *Smiling Buddha*<sup>xlii</sup> posed an additional threat to Pakistan dilemma to establish stable relations between both states. This time Bhutto's Pakistan remained under the favor of China pressure against India. Bhutto realized that now the nuclear weapons are indispensable against India to sustain our national existence and assure our national security. The blasts by India set active diplomatic initiative from Pakistan side and Bhutto. In the summit of OIC in 1974, he emphasized upon the subject of security for the nonnuclear countries from the aggressive design of nuclear countries. India was the most recent

example against the facts of the historical scenario. In the year 1976, Pakistan sponsored UN resolution in the United Nations which the securities guarantee was demanded the peaceful existence of nonnuclear countries<sup>xliii</sup>. Also, he criticized the Indian hegemonic political and military behavior in South Asia. He (Bhutto) talked for the nuclear-free zone in South Asia<sup>xliv</sup> and sent his mission to seek nuclear umbrella from Washington and Beijing for Pakistan to deter the possible threat from nuclear states “India”. Hence, Bhutto’s approach against India was more aggressive and based upon the possible options from realist and idealists’ perspectives. He was on his toe to stop India and convinces major powers that Peace without equality between India and Pakistan is not possible in South Asia. For that matter at the one side, he proposed China to bring support to Pakistan where India Military posture can be contained on the other side, he dearly faced Indian aggressive design despite the fact of defeat and humiliation in the war of 1971. Aggressively in 1971 he stated that the though restrains are there after the defeat, but it is not the end of war in fact the start of war and India should know that we will keep fighting for the honor and dignity of Pakistan<sup>xlv</sup>.

The US cooperation with India against Possible aggression of China and Pakistan cooperation toward China in order contain India’s threats and balance its relations with the USA, remained around the central themes of Bhutto’s India foreign policy.

- **Bhutto’s Response to the USA and USSR of the Cold War**

The poor understandings between the USA and USSR over the nuclear proliferation affected Pakistan relations across both sides. Bhutto’s socialist sentiments which were pro-communism, not anti-Capitalist block, had to bring serious precautions from Pakistan in general and to Bhutto particularly. Though, Bhutto at the same time was in favor of balanced relations with both sides. Applying his vision of bilateralism over Pakistan he was oversighted by both powers and looked under the layers of suspense. Bhutto solid stance of the nuclear development without the convenience of the USA and revival of normalization with USSR were the major point of fission toward unstable relations and lack of trust with respective powers.

Initially, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger took advantage of Pakistan close understandings with China through secret contacts and resultantly in 1971 Kissinger visited China from Pakistan<sup>xlvi</sup>. It proved a solid step in the USA-China relationship normalization. But later on, the USA president Carter did not like Bhutto socialist economic models and tightened embargo against Pakistan in 1976-77<sup>xlvii</sup>. Further Bhutto sympathetic foreign policy toward USSR was irritating the USA when he was indented to provide a bridge to the USSR to access to the warm water which was something the USA never wanted at any cost. The USA calculated that she might have lost her ally in the cold war when Pakistan was looking for normal relations with the USSR. Bhutto nuclear diplomacy against the possible threat of India completely rejects by the USA and additionally, the USA did not show any convenience to provide a guarantee of containing India aggression against Pakistan. This certain crisis became the bone of confrontations between Pakistan and the USA. Bhutto quest to have nuclear technology and offering French government to construct a civil nuclear plant in Pakistan was the end point of diplomacy between Bhutto and the USA when at next step the USA president threaten Bhutto to stop seeking nuclear weapons otherwise you can be the sing of a horrible example for a later time. Responding to the USA



pressure Bhutto followed his aspirations and finally paid the price in the shape of his life and regimes which is still under the file of uncertainties to conclude the fate of Bhutto and his government. Although, he remained successful on many occasions as like when he visited the USA in 1975 the USA left embargo from Pakistan and some army ammunition and spare parts were imported<sup>xlvi</sup>.

Resetting his foreign policy toward USSR after the misunderstandings on 1971 tragedy Bhutto visited USSR in 1972 and engaged in a discussion over the areas of cooperation in diverse fields. He reconciled the Soviet leadership to invest in the industrial sector and general economic relationship<sup>xlix</sup>. It could lead to lessening dependence upon the USA by Pakistan. Consequently, trade volume increased. Soviet did agree to build a steel mill in Pakistan. Pakistan official departure from SEATO and CENTO in the 1970s was crucial in Pak-USSR relations. On the visits to USSR brought deal regarding arms between USSR and Pakistan. Visiting USSR Mr. Bhutto met Soviet primer and told that USSR must trust Pakistan. In 1973 Soviet delegation visited Islamabad and signed the trade package turning over 12.4 million dollars. In the next year, 160 million Rubles for Karachi steel Mill was signed in 1974. In 1975 the USSR interned into an annual program of exchange of expertise into the different department so the development. Bhutto's policy of nationalization and tilt toward socialism was the major point of bilateral progress between Pakistan and the USSR<sup>1</sup>.

Hence, during 1973 till 1977 Pakistan and USSR enjoyed close relations with each other but uprising started after the election of 1977 and the US covertly supported resistance against Bhutto. Unfortunately, Bhutto struggle led toward the loss of his life. So far, the mutual rivalry between the great powers brought heavy and disastrous consequences for the small states and Pakistan suffered.

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

Convincingly, Mr. Bhutto was aspired for the mission to provide his greater services to the Muslim world and Pakistan. The Muslim world leadership felt surprised over the loss of Bhutto in Pakistan because he was one of the great moderators of constructive development across the world. A man who was on the road map to avoid the Muslim world from further victimization and applying his brave diplomatic skills to sponsored mutual understandings of the Muslim world. He brought important changes into the diplomatic and political approach of the Muslim world while rising the hope of betterment in the rest of the developing the world. From a national perspective, he promoted the bridge of development among great powers and also owned benefit from his relations with countries like the USA and USSR when China was already very close to Pakistan. His nuclear diplomacy had primary motives to put restrains against the futurist vision of India while on another hand he was active for the alliances between friends of Pakistan whereas South Asia was dreamt as a nuclear-free shied by Bhutto. He was well versed in contemporary politics and its legal domains. He talked for the peace, development and human right at international level also nonnuclear states security was one of his major priorities. He was of the view that Pakistan is surrounded by important countries like India and Afghanistan<sup>li</sup>. But unfortunately, the diversified nature of misunderstandings between great powers, hegemonic behavior of India, biases by the rest of the west to observe between Pakistan and India, did not allow him to manage his diplomatic

channels and sustain a balanced futuristic vision. He could not bring balance to his relations across the world nor systematized and institutionalized his understandings at internal and external forums.

*The fatalistic historians believe that history makes the man, but Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was one such persons who made history by challenging the world order during a prolonged struggle.*

## Endnotes

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<sup>i</sup> (Croxtton 1 Dec 2010.) <sup>ii</sup> (Becker 2015) <sup>iii</sup> (D. R. Khan 2015)

<sup>iv</sup> (Mansoor Akbar Kundi & Manzoor Khan Afridi 2018)

<sup>v</sup> (Mohammad Zubair Iqbal and Shabir Hussain 2018) <sup>vi</sup> (Raghavan 2016) <sup>vii</sup> (James F. Schnabel & Robert J. Watson 1998)

<sup>viii</sup> (Chaudhry 2018)

<sup>ix</sup> (Ibid 2018) <sup>x</sup> (Rutting 2013)

<sup>xi</sup> (Dar 2018)

<sup>xii</sup> (Dawn.com 2012)

<sup>xiii</sup> (Saeeda Sultana, Syed Khawaja Alqama, & Muhammad Farooq, PhD 2013) <sup>xiv</sup> (Ibid 2013) <sup>xv</sup> (P. I. Cheema 1986)

<sup>xvi</sup> (Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Speeches and Interviews 1948-1966 n.d.) <sup>xvii</sup> (Lidarev 2012)

<sup>xviii</sup> (Soherwordi, US Foreign Policy Shift towards Pakistan between 1965 & 1971 Pak-India Wars 2010) <sup>xix</sup> (Ibid 2010) <sup>xx</sup> (H.-u.-R. Khan 1961)

<sup>xxi</sup> (Soherwordi, US Foreign Policy Shift towards Pakistan between 1965 & 1971 Pak-India Wars 2010) <sup>xxii</sup> (Vertzberger 1983) <sup>xxiii</sup> (Dobell 1964)

<sup>xxiv</sup> (Soherwordi, US Foreign Policy Shift towards Pakistan between 1965 & 1971 Pak-India Wars 2010) <sup>xxv</sup> (Ibid 2010) <sup>xxvi</sup> (Ibid 2010) <sup>xxvii</sup> (Britannica 2002) <sup>xxviii</sup> (Pakistan. 2010) <sup>xxix</sup> (Ahmad 1981) <sup>xxx</sup> (Warsi. February, 2017)

<sup>xxx</sup> (Hanif-ur-Rahman 2012) <sup>xxxii</sup> (Ibid 2012) <sup>xxxiii</sup> (Siddique 2006) <sup>xxxiv</sup> (Farooq 2014) <sup>xxxv</sup> (Ibid 2014) <sup>xxxvi</sup> (Ibid 2014) <sup>xxxvii</sup> (Secret 1965) <sup>xxxviii</sup> (Kamran 2008) <sup>xxxix</sup> (Bhutto 1971)

<sup>xl</sup> (Quddus, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Politics of Chrisma n.d.) <sup>xli</sup> (Rizvi N/A) <sup>xlii</sup> (Norris 2005) <sup>xliii</sup> (Z. I. Cheema 1986) <sup>xliv</sup> (Ibid 1986) <sup>xl</sup> (Raza 1997) <sup>xlvi</sup> (William Burr 2002) <sup>xlvi</sup> (Pandey 2012) <sup>xlvi</sup> (Wolper 1994)

<sup>xlix</sup> (M. T. Khan n.d.)

<sup>l</sup> (Sarfraz Khan & Noor-Ul-Amin 2008) <sup>li</sup> (Lashari, Bhutto's vision of Pakistan 2006)

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