Pakistan in World Affairs

The aims of Pakistan's foreign policy, its nuclear programme, and its relations with Bangladesh, India, Afghanistan, Iran, China, the USSR/Russia, the USA, the UK and the Commonwealth, and the United Nations.

Pakistan in world affairs

The aims of Pakistan's foreign policy

- to **protect Pakistan's independence and security**, especially against **India**;
- to **settle Kashmir** and other disputes;
- to build **friendly relations** with **Muslim countries** (the **Islamic world**) and with major powers (for **aid, trade and arms**);
- to support the **UN** and peaceful **settlement of disputes**;
- to **develop the economy** through trade and aid.

Pakistan as a nuclear power

Date	Event
1972	after the defeat of 1971, **Bhutto** started the **nuclear weapons programme** (a meeting of scientists at **Multan**, January 1972)
1974	**India's nuclear test** ("**Smiling Buddha**") at Pokhran. Pakistan decided to **make its own bomb**
1976	**Dr A.Q. Khan** set up the **Kahuta** enrichment plant (Khan Research Laboratories)
1980s	the **nuclear race** with India continued. **US concerns**: the **Pressler Amendment** (1985) required the US President to certify that Pakistan had no bomb, and sanctions were applied in **1990**
1987	Pakistan **claimed it had the capability** (a statement by A.Q. Khan)
1998	India tested again at **Pokhran** (**11 and 13 May 1998**). Pakistan **responded** on **28 and 30 May 1998** with tests at **Chaghi** (**Balochistan**)

Why Pakistan has refused to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Because **India** has not signed it and has nuclear weapons; Pakistan says it will join only if India does (and the same for the **CTBT**). It wants a **nuclear-free South Asia** or **equal treatment** with India.

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Reasons for having nuclear weapons. Security and **deterrence** against a larger India, which had also **tested** its weapons; **national pride**. **Problems:** international **sanctions**, the **cost**, the risk of conflict, and the **proliferation** scandal over A.Q. Khan's network (2004).

Relations with Bangladesh

- After **1971** Pakistan was **hostile** at first. Pakistan recognised Bangladesh in **February 1974** (the OIC meeting in Lahore).
- **Residual problems:** the **repatriation** of the **"stranded Pakistanis"** (Biharis) in Bangladesh, the **division of assets** and debts, and demands for an **apology** and **compensation** by Bangladesh for the war.
- Full **diplomatic relations** began in **1974–75**, air and trade links followed in the later 1970s, and both countries are members of the **OIC** and of **SAARC**.
- Relations later became more **friendly**, with trade and cultural contacts, but the problems have not been fully settled.

Relations with India

Problem	Detail
Kashmir	the main dispute: wars of **1947–48** and **1965**; the **UN resolutions**; the **uprising** since 1989; **Kargil** (1999)
Wars	**1948**, **1965** (Tashkent), **1971** (Bangladesh); the **Siachen** conflict from **1984**
Water	the **Indus Waters Treaty (1960)** and disputes over new Indian dams
Nuclear weapons	the **arms race** (1974, 1998)
Trade	restricted, with **periods of closure**, and heavy distrust

Attempts at friendship. The **Tashkent Declaration** (**1966**); the **Simla Agreement** (**1972**); **Rajiv Gandhi–Benazir Bhutto** agreements (1988: not to attack each other's nuclear sites, and 1991: advance notice of military exercises); the **Lahore Declaration** (**February 1999**), when **Vajpayee** travelled by bus to Lahore; later peace talks and the **Agra summit (2001)**. Each was followed by **new tension**.

Relations with Afghanistan

- **Pakhtoonistan:** Afghanistan did **not accept the Durand Line** (1893) and in **1947** voted against Pakistan's admission to the UN. Afghan leaders demanded a state of **Pakhtoonistan** for the **Pathans** of the NWFP. **Daud Khan** (Prime Minister 1953–63 and President 1973–78) strongly revived the claim,

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and relations were **closed** several times (the borders were closed in 1961–63). **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto** supported the **Islamists** against Daud.

- **The Soviet invasion (1979):** Pakistan opposed it, supported the **mujahideen**, and hosted **3 million refugees** (see chapter 14). It **moved closer to the US** and gained aid, but became a **target** of the USSR and Afghanistan.
- **The post-Soviet legacy:** after the Soviet withdrawal (**1989**), **civil war** in Afghanistan, the rise of the **Taliban** (1994–96), more **refugees**, the **arms and drugs** culture, and **sectarian militancy** in Pakistan. Pakistan recognised the **Taliban government** (1997), one of three countries to do so.
- **Trade and religious ties** (transit trade via **Karachi**, the **Khyber** and **Chaman** routes; cultural and Pathan family links) are significant.

Relations with Iran

- Iran was the **first country** to recognise Pakistan (1947) and had close ties. Both belonged to **CENTO** and the **RCD** (Regional Cooperation for Development, **1964**, with **Turkey**; it became the **ECO** in 1985).
- Before the **Islamic Revolution (1979)**: the **Shah** was friendly with Pakistan and a US ally. After it, Iran **left CENTO**, Pakistan **recognised** the new government and relations stayed **good** though differences arose over **Afghanistan** (the support for rival groups), and **Shia–Sunni** tensions in Pakistan.
- The Revolution's **impact:** Pakistan became less dependent on Iran, and sectarian divisions grew.

Relations with China

- Pakistan **recognised** the People's Republic of China in **1950**. Relations became **close** from the **1960s**, as both had **tension with India** (after the **Sino-Indian War of 1962**).
- **Boundary agreement** (**1963**): settled the border between Pakistan and China (Kashmir/Xinjiang).
- China became a major buyer of Pakistani cotton, **PIA** began flights to China, and China helped to build the **Chashma nuclear power plant** (operating from about 1999–2000). In the 1971 war China gave diplomatic support only, and in the 1990s it advised Pakistan to settle Kashmir peacefully.
- **Trade and bilateral relations: China** gave **military and economic aid** (tanks, aircraft, **Heavy Mechanical Complex at Taxila**, power plants), and Pakistan helped China to **reopen links** with the **USA** (1971, **Kissinger's** secret trip via Islamabad).
- **Karakoram Highway (KKH):** built by Pakistan and China (**1966–78**), linking **Islamabad** with **Kashgar** through the **Khunjerab Pass**, at **4,700 m**; a symbol of friendship and a trade route.
- China's relations with **India** have been **competitive** and sometimes hostile (1962 war, border disputes), while with Pakistan they are **friendly**.
- Pakistan's policy on **Muslim minorities** in China (the **Uighurs** in Xinjiang): it does **not interfere**, so as not to harm relations.

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Relations with the USSR/Russia

- Pakistan **leaned to the West** in the **1950s** (SEATO, CENTO), and the USSR **supported India** over Kashmir; the **U-2 incident** (**1960**) used Peshawar as a base. Relations improved in the **1960s–70s** (Ayub Khan visited Moscow in **April 1965**): the **USSR** helped to build the **Pakistan Steel Mills** at Karachi (work began in **1973**) and **Tashkent** (1966) was held under **Soviet mediation**.
- **Central Asian republics:** after **1991**, Pakistan sought trade and links with the **new Muslim states** (ECO).
- The **Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979)** led to **hostility**, with Pakistan as a front-line state.
- **After 1991** closer ties with **Russia** developed. **Nawaz Sharif visited Moscow in 1999.**

Relations with the USA, the UK and the Commonwealth

Issue	Detail
SEATO and CENTO	Pakistan joined **SEATO** (1954) and the **Baghdad Pact** (1955), renamed **CENTO** (1959), to get **US arms and aid** against India (and **Communism**). It felt let down when the US **did not help** in **1965 and 1971**. It **left SEATO (1973)** and **CENTO (1979)** (it also withdrew after the Iranian Revolution).
Non-alignment	after **1979** Pakistan joined the **Non-Aligned Movement** and put more emphasis on the **Muslim world** (the **OIC**, founded **1969**, with Pakistan a leading member; the **OIC summit in Lahore, 1974**)
Commonwealth	a member from **1947**. Pakistan **left in 1972** when the Commonwealth recognised **Bangladesh**, and **rejoined in 1989**.
USA after 1977	the **removal of Bhutto** and Zia's coup, and then the **Soviet invasion of Afghanistan** (1979), which brought **massive US aid** (see chapter 14). In **1990** US sanctions followed (the Pressler Amendment).
The UK	historic links, a large **Pakistani community** in Britain, shared membership of the Commonwealth, and help with the **Rann of Kutch** dispute with India (1965), when Britain mediated an agreement. Commonwealth countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand gave aid for projects such as **Warsak** and **Mangla**
The USA in 1979	in **November 1979** a mob attacked and burned the US Embassy in Islamabad, a low point; but the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan a few weeks later brought the two countries together again

Pakistan and the Muslim world

Good relations with other Muslim countries have been a main aim of foreign policy. **Saudi Arabia** and the **Gulf states** are linked to Pakistan by the **Hajj**, trade, oil and the many Pakistanis working there (whose

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remittances matter to the economy). Pakistan strongly supports the **Palestinians**, and has no diplomatic relations with Israel. Pakistan hosted the second **OIC** summit in **Lahore (1974)**. In **1985** Pakistan was a founding member of **SAARC** (founded at Dhaka), a body for cooperation in South Asia whose work is limited by India–Pakistan tension.

Pakistan and the United Nations

- Pakistan joined the **UN** in **September 1947**. It has served on the **Security Council** several times, and contributed **peacekeeping** troops.
- **UN involvement in disputes: Kashmir** (the **UNCIP**, **resolutions for a plebiscite**, 1948–49, and the **UNMOGIP** observer force); the **Canal Water dispute** (settled by the **World Bank**, not the UN); the **Indo-Pakistan wars** (the **ceasefire** in 1965 was supported by the UN) and the **war over Bangladesh** (the UN called for a ceasefire in 1971).
- **Evaluation:** the UN has been useful as a **mediator and peace-keeper**, but it **failed to settle Kashmir** or **enforce its resolutions**.
- **UN agencies' work in Pakistan: UNICEF** (child health, vaccination and education), **UNESCO** (education, culture and heritage, such as **Mohenjo-daro** and Taxila), **WHO** (health, disease control such as polio), and the **WFP** (World Food Programme: food aid for refugees, disasters and nutrition).

> **TRY IT**
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> How has Pakistan developed as a nuclear power?

Outline. 1972 programme (Bhutto); 1974 India's test made it urgent; Kahuta and A.Q. Khan (1976); US concern and sanctions (Pressler, 1990); 1987 claim; 1998 tests after India's; refusal to sign the NPT unless India does. **Comment:** the aim was **deterrence**, but at the cost of sanctions and tension.

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