

Pakistan's Foreign Policy in the Context of Z.A Bhutto: Towards Nonalignment

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Abstract: *US withdrawal of military support during 1965, 1971, and 1975 led to a widespread perception in Pakistan that the US was an unreliable ally and had betrayed Pakistan. Initially, their relations were cordial but later on, this alliance became weaker especially during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's government. Bhutto after taking charge of the government reshaped Pakistan's internal and external politics. He adopted new dimensions regarding Pakistan's Foreign policy goals. He tried to free Pakistan from US influence and dependence and desired Pakistan to acquire nuclear capabilities. The paper aims to throw light on the factors that led to the drift in Pak-US relations. The findings of the study concluded that Bhutto adopted socialist policies and promoted friendly relations with socialist countries like the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Republic of China. All these steps were against the US interests. Pakistan also abandoned SEATO and CENTO pacts during this phase.*

Key Words: Pakistan, USA, Drift in Pak US Relations, Bilateralism, Non-Alignment Policy

Introduction

The emergence of Pakistan as an independent sovereign state is a significant and notable event in the history of the Indian sub-continent. Following the partition, two separate states came into being. Hindus and Congress politicians were unhappy about the impending partition and did everything in their power to stop it. They created formidable hurdles in the process of partition. Pakistan, therefore, was born in chaotic and disrupted conditions. It had faced many problems in the initial years of its birth and became heavily dependent on foreign assistance both economically and militarily for her survival. However, after World War II, the US and the USSR emerged as the two global superpowers (Rashid, 2012). Two blocs existed in the world

"The Eastern Bloc and The Western Democracies". Both had their Ideological mission, the US wanted to spread democracy and capitalism while USSR wanted to promote communism all over the world. Both tried to build up economic and military ties with the newly independent states to increase their influence and their ally states. In 1948 the United States initiated the "Marshall Plan" also known as the European Recovery Program, which aimed to reconstruct the devastated European economies followed by the war. Under this program, assistance was extended to various Asian states. After the partition both the US and USSR gave an invitation to the then PM Liaqat Ali Khan to visit Washington and Moscow respectively but PM preferred Washington to Moscow which

enraged the Soviet Union. On 3rd May 1950, PM Liaqat Ali Khan paid a visit to the US. He was warmly welcomed by the general public. He was personally received by American president Harry S Truman. The visit proved fruitful for the close relationship between the two countries (Rabbani, [2005](#)).

In 1953, the Eisenhower administration's concern about the spread of communism further escalated US interest in Pakistan and both countries decided for cooperation, as a result, Pakistan signed a Mutual Defense Agreement with the United States. Their relations were further strengthened by Pakistan's entry in the US-sponsored SEATO and CENTO. Pakistan's primary motivation for signing the pacts was its desire to fortify its defense. As a result of its membership of these pacts, Pakistan started receiving assistance from the US (Rizvi, [2011](#)).

Pak-US relations continued to flourish in the 1950s but it faced a decline as the US didn't stand by her words and her inclination increased towards India. Throughout the 1962 border conflict between China and India, the US provided India with a lot of military support. Pakistan manifested its concern over this aid but the US didn't take any notice of Pakistan's concern. American attitude became instrumental towards Pakistan. Pakistan perceived that it had felt betrayed as an ally of the US. In 1963 the US ignored Pakistan's concerns and gave full military assistance to India (Amin & Khan, [2012](#)). Pakistan's security was threatened but the US adopted a cold attitude and left Pakistan disillusioned. When the Indo-Pak war broke out in 1965, India used American weapons against Pakistan. The US, further made the situation worst by eliminating military equipment which greatly affected Pakistan's position as it relied on the US for the induction of weapons to a great extent. Consequently, Pakistan withdrew from SEATO and CENTO in 1972 and 1979 respectively and joined the non-Aligned movement (Saqib, [2015](#)).

The US's involvement in the conflict of 1965 and the provision of weapons to India also reduced Pakistan's capacity for defense

and encouraged Indian aggression against Pakistan. The American role in 1965 produced a feeling of great resentment in Pakistan. They lost their trust in the US and as a result, they turned to China. The US was greatly infuriated over Pakistan's tilt towards China. During the Nixon administration, there was a happy turn in Pak-US relations. By 1968 both countries concluded several pacts. Although America was not pleased with Pakistan and China's ties, it asked Pakistan to set up a meeting of Chinese leader Mao Ze Dung and President Nixon because the US had noticed China's expanding influence in the region and wanted to resolve her issues with China. Pakistan played the desired role between China and the USA. But during the 1971 war, the US attitude toward Pakistan was again disappointed. The US did not support Pakistan in the war nor condemned Indian conspiracies in the war against Pakistan (Rabbani, [2005](#)).

The Pak-US relations took a dramatic step in 1971 when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to power. He had leanings towards socialism Bhutto's economic policies were influenced by some socialist ideas like *Roti, Kapra Aur Makan*. After assuming charge he started the nationalization program all the major industries were nationalized along with the services of the employees. Educational institutions, banks, and insurance companies, etc were also nationalized and thus propagated socialism and it was against the US interest as the US wanted to contain communism (Tayyab M. , [2013](#)). The Soviet Union was deeply interested in South Asia to promote communism. After the partition Soviet Union extended an invitation PM Liaqat Ali Khan to pay a visit to Moscow but itself didn't materialize the plan. Soviet Union established close ties with India and perceived Pakistan as a close ally of the US. After 1964 the leadership of both countries exchanged visits which paved a way for better understanding During Kosygin's visit to Pakistan in 1968, an agreement was signed the Soviet Union agreed to establish and finance the Karachi steel mills which were completed in 1981. The Soviet Union also extended economic aid and

industrial development assistance for power generation projects. By 1970, their relations were almost on the verge of collapse (Khan D. S., [2015](#))

After assuming power Bhutto tried to warm up hostile and unfriendly relations. In March 1972, he had a visit to Moscow and tried to assuage soviet displeasure. Bhutto's visit was very successful in reducing misunderstandings and expedited the normalization of friendly relations with the USSR. Bhutto paid a second visit to USSR in 1972. Both countries extended trade and commerce (Anwar M. F., [2013](#)). Bhutto succeeded on a grand scale in lessening the Russian antagonism towards Pakistan. Pak-US relations sharply deteriorated once again in 1976-1977 when Pakistan wanted to become a nuclear power. Bhutto got in touch with a Pakistani scientist, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, who had graduated from Belgium with a doctorate in physical metallurgy. Bhutto invited him to Pakistan. When he came back to Pakistan in December 1975 Bhutto asked him to work on a uranium enrichment plant and promised him free land. On March 18, 1976, Pakistan and France signed a contract for the purchase of a fuel reprocessing facility. With the claim that Pakistan intended to use the plant to develop nuclear weapons, the US reacted angrily against this agreement. There was intense pressure on France to renegotiate the deal. America greatly opposed Pakistan's attempt to acquire nuclear capabilities. The US cut off Pakistan's aid in April 1977 in an effort to thwart its efforts to develop nuclear weapons. As a result of US policy, Pakistan was put in danger, and relations between the two nations deteriorated (Rabbani, [2005](#)).

Causes of Mistrust in Pak-US Relations in Bhutto' Administration

Following the elections of 1970, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was elected President (1971–1974) and then Prime Minister (1974). The US and Pakistan are said to have been in a state of "quiet, cold war" during this time. Pakistan under Bhutto's leadership prioritized the Movement of Non-Aligned States and

developed closer ties with the Soviet Union. Because of Bhutto's covert efforts to acquire nuclear technology during the final years of his rule, American aid and assistance to Pakistan had already started to decrease. The Symington amendment was imposed on Pakistan by the Carter administration in April 1979, removing the majority of the country's financial and military support (Rashid, [2012](#))

Bhutto's Socialism Policy

New states emerged following World War II. Socialist ideology developed in the name of Communism during this period which was regarded as the solution to all the problems of every society. The Socialists believed that the entire Society should increase or own the means of production, distribution, and trade (Arora & Grover, [1995](#)). The vast majority of resources and wealth ought not to be amassed (individually) on one hand; rather, they ought to be distributed fairly keeping in view the needs and demands of the populace. After Pakistan emerged on August 14th 1947, it was in poor political and economic conditions. Amidst the weak political condition, the country faced hostile enemies at the eastern (India) and western (Afghanistan) borders. The country's eastern wing also had its grievances at its heart. It was unable to frame a constitution before 1956 which could meet the desires of all and the governments could not function properly (Baqai, [2016](#)).

There was a frequent change in the premiership in the country from 1947 to 1958. General Ayub Khan, who ruled the nation until 1969, established Martial Law on October 27, 1958, in response to the political unrest at the time. General Ayub's government proved incapable of making any positive improvements for both wings. However, his dictatorial rule had a huge impact on Pakistan's socio-political growth. It is said that 22 families dominated 2/3rd of the country's economy during his government (Azmi, [1994](#)). He transferred power to Yahya Khan, another military officer, after the political climate of the nation had gotten so bad. Khan then announced that general elections would

be held in December 1970. General Yahya Khan made it clear in his speech to the nation on March 26, 1969, that he wanted to foster a supportive environment for the country's constitutional government. In this way, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto served as Foreign Minister in the cabinet of General Ayub and promoted new philosophy i.e. Islamic Nationalism, as Pakistan's solution (Bhutto's concept of Bilateralism)

Bhutto came up with an ideology of Islamic Socialism, although Islam has nothing to do with socialism; both are two antagonist ideologies and are two parallel banks of a river that can never approach each other. He had inclinations towards socialism and communism (Anwar, 2013). Following the philosophy of socialism, he made the manifesto of his party, i.e. *Roti, Kapra Aur Makan*. The concept of an Islamic society devoid of the class was first introduced in Lahore in December 1967, where it was emphatically stated that the implementation of Islamic Socialism is the key to solving the socioeconomic problems that plague all nations (Baloch, 2008). He asserted that no law was against Islamic principle and that both he and his party (PPP) were dedicated to upholding Islamic teachings. He stated unequivocally that his party's objectives are to liberate Pakistan from capitalist oppression of the underprivileged and to establish a society in which everyone has access to the necessities of life; all of these things are made possible by the introduction of Islamic Socialism in the nation. Connecting socialism and Islam, he stated that socialism's socio-economic egalitarianism is profoundly rooted in Islamic origin. He believed nothing was conflicting between the two and he did not see any difference between the two values of Islam, as well as Marxism. He fervently defended his position and asserted that those who do not see Islam and Marxism as one cohesive system are exploiters and bloodsuckers (Baqai F. G., 2016). Throughout his speeches, during the 1970-71 election campaign, he strongly advocated Islamic Socialism (Bhutto's concept of Bilateralism). He also used theological terms and concepts such as Masawat,

Masawat -e- Muhammadi, etc. to contrast them with the notion of Islamic Socialism. He claimed Islamic Socialism could eradicate the poverty of Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto emphasized Islamic socialism's significance for society and how closely it relates to Islam. He was of the view that Pakistan, an underdeveloped nation characterized by internal and external oppression, is of great interest to socialism. He continued that that Islam's high values to society can be achieved only by abolishing men's oppression by capitalist regimes. We believe the essence of justice that our faith requires in the world is intrinsic in the creation of a society based on equality. Islam is radically different from that of other faiths. Islam does not accept casts; the world of capitalists has a social system that is opposed to equality, a brotherhood that Islam has put on Muslims. We are well within our rights and even within Islamic moral norms in referring to our economic system as Islamic Socialism (Markey, 2013).

Bhutto through had strong socialist leanings. After assuming power in 1971 he promulgated and implemented a nationalization policy in Pakistan. He introduced a series of economic policies influenced by socialist ideas, like *Roti, Kapra, and Makan*. To pursue this agenda, Bhutto from 1972 to 1977 introduced land reforms, Labor reforms, and reforms in the banking system and finance corporations, etc. In 1972, Bhutto nationalized 31 industrial units. Private colleges were nationalized. In 1974, private banks were taken in control by the government. Apart from these other major firms, small industries were also nationalized (Khan, 2018).

Pak-Soviet Intimacy

Pakistan-Soviet relations have undergone many strains since 1947. Soon after independence, Pakistan's foreign policy experienced imbalances and inconsistencies. Pakistan has failed to develop close and neighborly relations with the Soviet Union owing certain historical, geographical, and ideological idiosyncrasies. After

independence, Pakistan's first prime minister was invited to visit the U.S.S.R.; he instead reached the U.S on an official visit in 1949 (Chandio & Sanghro, 2019). Besides, Pakistan under landed aristocracy, Western-educated and trained officials, military, and civil servants leaned against the USSR and did not endorse the socialist policies of the USSR. Relations have deteriorated in the past due to eccentricities and ideas such as the belief that Soviet Communists that Pakistan used the Soviet Union to influence the West by joining SEATO and CENTO and get benefits and the Soviet Union's support for India against Pakistan on the Kashmir issue, and that the Soviet Union was involved in the creation of Bangladesh (Hussain N. , 2012).

Pakistan's close military cooperation with the US between 1947 and 1960 continued to be a significant contributor to the relationship's decline. Midway through the 1960s, Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan made an effort to make amends. The Soviet Union responded favorably by helping to broker the Tashkent Declaration of Peace between Pakistan and India in 1966. Defense and economic cooperation between the two nations did start, but Pakistan's internal unrest and the accused Soviet-India conspiracy to split Pakistan in 1971, put an end to efforts to normalize relations between the two nations (Khan D. Z., 2013)

In 1974, when Z.A. Bhutto became prime minister and paid a state visit to Moscow, he made a conscious effort to improve relations. It has never happened before in Pakistan's history, the Soviet Union and Pakistan's relations began to improve, and they grew steadily stronger. The Soviet Union built steel mills worth a billion dollars on its territory after Bhutto successfully negotiated for integrated steel mills. In order to find oil assets in Pakistan, Bhutto had the Soviet Union establish the Pakistan-Soviet Oilfield earlier in 1960. Between 1973 and 1979, the Soviet Union and Pakistan had a close friendship from which both nations benefited (Hussain N. , 2012). In March 1972 and October 1974, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, an advocate 'bilateralism,' visited the Soviet Union. He was

successful in laying the groundwork for expanded Pak-Soviet collaboration in fields like science and technology, the arts, culture, economy, and education (Coutto & Sunawar, 2015). The purchase of the Steel Mills in Karachi for 160 million rubles had been a significant milestone for Pakistan. In 1975–1976, the Soviet Union continued its friendly relations with Pakistan by signing trade agreements and implementing exchange programs that allowed Pakistani engineers and technicians to work on Soviet-sponsored technical projects while studying, researching, and being trained in the Soviet Union. Bhutto visited the U.S.S.R. twice for five years (1972–77), to give Pak-Soviet relations further encouragement. His first visit after Bangladesh's debacle broke the ice at the backdrop of the East Pakistan Crisis. They unanimously exchanged opinions on keeping nuclear disarmament under effective control, ending the arms race, resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict, and removing international forces from Indo-China (Farooq, 2017). They also demanded a fair and balanced approach to solving controversial issues. Soviet provided economic assistance to Pakistan which proved beneficial and essential in many ways, because it distributed technology without attaching any political conditions. A significant change in Pak-Soviet economic and scientific relations occurred in 1973 as a result of visits by Soviet business delegations, the entry of Pakistani students in the Soviet Union, and most significantly, the opening of Karachi Steel Mills (Hussain, 2012)

Bhutto's Concept of Bilateralism and Non-Alignment Policy

Politically, "bilateralism" is defined as maintaining equal relations with the two superpowers, regardless of how they interact with other countries. The term "bilateralism" generally refers to treating both sides equally. When Pakistan lost Bengal, it was in the midst of its worst situation and morale was at an all-time low. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto assumed control of the country. His independent foreign policy, which was pursued with the goal of freeing

Pakistan from reliance on the US, was successful in achieving its objectives. Prior to this, Pakistan was a key participant in the US-sponsored alliance program to counter communism. Despite being Pakistan's most dependable ally, the US was unable to prevent Indian armies from taking part in the civil war and maintain Pakistan's status quo during the division of its eastern wing. This incident inspired Pakistan's political elite and the country's then-leadership to launch a bilateralism policy (Gerges, [2009](#)).

The alignment policy failed to safeguard Pakistan's interests because the U.S. was only concerned with containing communism. After taking the helm, Z. A. Bhutto decided to broaden Pakistan's options for foreign policy and created one based on bilateralism, which implied that Pakistan would pursue an independent foreign policy that was unpopular with the United States (Farooq, [2017](#)). The new foreign policy would aim to establish bilateral relationships without outside interference. He aimed to boost the nation's and its people's morale after the devastating trauma of losing one of its parts with his pure political awareness and extensive public experience. Following such a catastrophe, Bhutto reshaped Pakistan's foreign policy to better reflect its actual interests. Despite the criticism of the political elites of his day, he held both the position of a foreign officer and prime minister. Bhutto also diversified Pakistan's foreign policy by applying his theory of bilateralism. To approach the leaders of the Muslim World and the Third World, he took many methodical steps. He did not launch his bilateralism program in accordance with American guidelines in this way, allowing Pakistan to forge warm ties with nations like Syria and Libya that were not seen as American allies. During his visit to the Soviet Union, Z. A. Bhutto was able to promote the beginning of a new era of friendship with the Communist government. Pakistan began to improve ties with North Korea, Eastern Europe, and China. Along with that, he gave up Pakistan's membership in the SEATO. Although Pakistan's membership in the Central Treaty

Organization was preserved because of its apparent friendship with Iran and Turkey, its association with the Commonwealth of Nations was also terminated. By doing this, Pakistan broadened and diversified its options for foreign policy in relation to both the Islamic world and the communist bloc. It convinced Bhutto that he could withstand Pakistan's defense without assistance from or support from the United States (n.d, Bhutto's Concept of Bilateralism).

Close Ties with China

The United States considered India to be "the world's largest democracy," competing with and challenging communist China in the region. The US established ties with India to further its own objectives. Washington desires India to serve as a stronghold against communism. When the United States realized that India was not prepared to meet their needs, they started to lose hope in J. Nehru. With the help of its military, the US started to approach Pakistan. Pakistan signed the SEATO and CENTO pacts in 1954 and 1955, respectively, which had an impact on its relations with the Communist states. The US-sponsored military alliances SEATO and CENTO were created with the goal of encircling and containing Communism in Asia. Pakistan stated at the 1955 Bandung Conference that India was a threat to its territorial integrity and that it had signed SEATO and CENTO, not against China, but rather to resolve the Kashmir dispute and obtain military aid. Pakistan's pro-Western foreign policy persisted until 1967, which ran counter to the country's friendship with China (Hussain, Ali, & Abbas, [2018](#)).

The major powers and Asian nations both altered their foreign policies in the 1970s. International relations were altered during the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war, the US got close with China, and India signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union in 1970. China stopped directly assisting Pakistan in the meantime, but spared Pakistan the RS.60 million in loans. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had envisioned a foreign policy free from reliance on the United States.

After gaining its independence, Pakistan joined the US as an ally, but it was unable to completely rely on it. It was time for a fresh strategy to advance the country's foreign policy (Farooq, [2017](#)). The "Bilateralism" strategy was altered by Bhutto. In the Cold War, Pakistan ceased to take sides; it maintained a balance with the superpowers while fortifying its ties to North Korea, China, the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, and the Muslim world. US aid to Pakistan had been cut off during the 1965 war. The Americans did not need to give him special recognition because his efforts to distance Islamabad from Washington demonstrated his sincere independence. He had a magnetic personality and was able to maintain friendly relations with China (Gerges, [2009](#)). Although he was successful in maintaining external difficulties, he was unsuccessful in resolving internal issues. He helped the Muslim world become more united. The nuclear program was started by Bhutto despite strong opposition from the US. When Bhutto assumed power in 1971, he reshaped the nature and spirit of Pakistan-US relations. He defined this change in objectives, circumstances, and geopolitical realities. He opposed Pakistan's membership in the SEATO Pact from 1967 to 1971 and eventually withdrew Pakistan from these pacts (Farooq, [2017](#)).

Nuclear Program

After World War II, the world saw the emergence of numerous new nation-states. These recently established states were dependent on the developed world and were weak and fragile. The international community took a harsh stance towards these countries. International powers had an interest in keeping nuclear technology exclusively in their possession. The poor and weak nations were intimidated by this technology's destructive, annihilating, and all-around destructive capabilities. Its destruction in Nagasaki and Hiroshima brought everything into stark relief. Japanese people were strong, brave, and courageous during World War II,

but they were no better than mice in the presence of this nuclear device. The newly emerging states came to understand that the New World Order is based on a skewed logic. In fear that results in servitude or rebellion, the newly emerging states opened their eyes. Bhutto made the decision to rebel in this circumstance. He was deeply pained by the strong nations' oppression (Baqai, [2016](#)).

The Indian nuclear test in May 1974 turned South Asia's geopolitical landscape upside down and later affected the fundamentals of US-Pakistan relations with regard to nuclear proliferation. The Bhutto administration's initial response was to ask the major nuclear powers for guarantees against potential nuclear blackmail from India. Unfortunately, Aziz Ahmed, the Foreign Minister of Bhutto, was unable to obtain the necessary guarantees from these states during his visits to London, Paris, and Washington. Numerous other bilateral initiatives, such as the creation of a nuclear-weapons-free zone and the bilateral signing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), were also put forwarded by Pakistan to India, but none of them was accepted by India (Hussain, Ali, & Abbas, [2018](#)). Dejected and extremely disappointed, Bhutto made the decision to start Pakistan's nuclear option, which he believed was essential and consistent with the nation's geo-strategy. While from a bilateral standpoint, the fundamental driving force behind the RSC was the security quandary and the mutual mistrust between Pakistan and India. Pakistan was forced to take similar actions to deter the adversary due to regional security imperatives. Following the 1974 Indian nuclear test, Bhutto's initial diplomacy was very effective in thwarting US pressure on Pakistan's nuclear program. Thus the issue of nuclear non-proliferation was crucial in Pak-US relations during the 1970s (Khan D. Z., [2013](#)).

Consequences of Bhutto's Policies

Bhutto's policies had the following consequences:

The economy was badly Affected

When Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto ascended to power in Pakistan the nation was in its crucial period of economic collapse. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto came up to the limelight with the concept of equality and social justice. To gain attention and support from the people easily he introduced policies that were for the good interests of the common masses. In the first place, he made many changes in different major economic sectors that were based merely on the nationalization proposition. Bhutto implemented substantial changes in various sectors of the economy to bring about revolutionary change within a short period (Farooq, 2017). As he took the most audacious step of nationalizing the industries and putting them under the control of the government, Bhutto's economic reforms were extremely important policies. This strategy, which was implemented to stabilize the country's economic profile, actually severely demoralized the business community. Only those industries operating in the nation that were founded through foreign investment were permitted to do so in private; all other industries were placed under government ownership. (Qadri & Khan, 2017). Nationalization had a number of effects on Pakistan, including hyperinflation, a sharp decline in production and GDP growth, low savings and tax collections, which led to unemployment and a lack of investor confidence, among others. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was a member of the elite class of rural agriculturalists who had little familiarity with contemporary economic and industrial development. Bhutto propagated the myth that confidence is essential for business success. Although Bhutto's socialist policies against the business elites were seen as a move to close the wealth gap, they actually served as a dictatorial attempt to protect Bhutto from a rising industrial class that was concerned with educating the populace and improving their skills. Last but not least, as the national elections drew near, Bhutto's reputation and popularity were severely damaged. Nationalization crippled Pakistan's economy

and increased the country's population's level of poverty (Tayyab, 2013).

Discouragement of Investors and Displeasure of Business Community and Landlord

The policies introduced by Bhutto were based primarily on socialist ideas and values. To enforce the socialist economic system Bhutto's government nationalized the various firms that had been operating in a private capacity. No private property ownership was promoted because the socialist government favored the accumulation of all available national resources in favor of public property (Qadri & Khan, 2017). Investors were deterred by Bhutto's nationalization policies and socialist ideals, with one saying that "Bhutto's policy of nationalization cost industrialists more than just industrial units; it cost them the desire to invest in Pakistan (Khan N. , 2018). On a global scale, the US vehemently criticized the nationalization plan and characterized it as the administration's "ill-considered" choice. The nationalization process was harshly criticized by former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif as well, who called it "Pakistan's lamentable condition.". Bhutto had a number of adversaries, though, at the same time. The takeover of the wheat milling, rice husking, sugar milling, and cotton growing businesses in July 1976 had angered the small business owners and traders due to an ill-considered decision. During the first two years of Bhutto's administration, major private enterprises were nationalized, which significantly upended and disturbed the business community. Leftists of all stripes, including intellectuals, students, trade unionists, socialists, and communists, felt duped by Bhutto's inclination towards center-right conservative economic policies and his close ties with strong feudal lords. After 1976 many people found Bhutto as an aggressive personality (Tayyab, 2013).

Fragmentation of land

The agriculture sector which has been an important factor of contribution to Pakistan's economy also underwent different reforms.

The government formulated a scheme according to which the limit of land ownership was fixed to a specific limit. While the central government's orders permitted the ownership of rainy lands from 300 to 1000 acres, the holding canal land limit was set at 150 to 500 acres. The cultivators and farmers who lacked agricultural land ownership received the unclaimed land. Farmers and cultivators were given land by the government, which was transferred into their names and to which they had a legal right to hold on to or sell. The provision of seeds to the cultivators by the landowners was made mandatory (Saqib, [2015](#)). As of now, 150 acres of rainy land are owned by holding agriculture, which was further reduced to 100 acres in 1977 (Qadri & Khan, 2017). However, there were strong barriers in the way of implementing these reforms due to which the power and influence of the large and medium-sized landlords did not undergo a major change. These limits were fixed in terms of individuals rather than family holdings which resulted that many landlords managing to circumvent the limitations on the ceiling by transferring land to near relatives. A large number of landlords transferred their lands in the name of other family members to keep the land within the family (Rabbani, [2005](#)).

US Sanctions and Embargoes

In efforts to stop arms proliferation to other countries worldwide, the United States has long been a leader. American leaders implement coercive policy measures to halt the spread of nuclear weapons and also support the United Nations coercive sanctions policies, which have been popular since the beginning of the nuclear age. For instance, the Baruch Plan recommended that potential violators of the global non-nuclear regime be prosecuted (Khan D. Z., [2013](#)). Despite not being mentioned in the Non-Proliferation Treaty document, sanctions were an implicit option in the nuclear non-proliferation process. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguard system, a global United Nations organization, verified the

NPT. The IAEA and participating non-nuclear states negotiated verification agreements to ensure that their nuclear material would be used for peaceful purposes. Sanctions against violating states were also a part of the various mechanisms of export control in the nuclear and technological fields, most notably the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and the London Nuclear Suppliers Group's (LNSG) rules. In countries that violated non-proliferation agreements or took actions like conducting nuclear weapons tests and endangering security objectives, these sanctions could restrict access to technology, aid, economic assistance, military cooperation, and military cooperation. The military threat-based policy may also involve severing international ties, aggressive diplomacy, the threat of preventive attacks, boycotts of arts and sports events, trade embargoes, and naval blockades. Economic sanctions are the most frequently used of all those measures. The US adopted a policy of unilateral sanctions when the Third World's growing influence made UN approval more challenging. Since the 1970s, the US has increasingly imposed unilateral non-proliferation sanctions (Anwar, [2013](#)).

Through the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, Pakistan received assistance from the US. The first of several amendments to the law forbidding aid to nations producing arms was passed by the US Congress in an effort to exert pressure on Pakistan to end its nuclear weapons program. The Symington amendment, which was passed in 1976, forbade aid to any nation that traded in nuclear-enrichment technologies outside of international controls. This amendment saw the US discontinue its assistance to Pakistan (Gerges, [2009](#)).

Conclusion

For a significant portion of its history, the U.S.-Pakistan relationship has lacked coherence, mutual trust, confidence, a more comprehensive conceptual framework, and a shared vision. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the US changed its preferences as

soon as it achieved its goals in previous engagements with Pakistan. This led to the breakdown of the US-Pakistan policy consensus. Either benevolent neglect or a string of punitive sanctions that left Pakistan feeling betrayed and angry were imposed on it. With security goals in mind, Pakistan has always suffered significant losses whenever it has moved closer to the US. Pakistan constantly has to give in and compromise in order to achieve its security goals. Additionally, Pakistan has always received aid with conditions that were detrimental to its interests. Since it was never intended for Pakistan's advantage and security, the US and Pakistan's alignment has never benefited Pakistan. In the past, the US sought to contain communism using Pakistan's territory, soil, and military. Although Pakistan joined the US-led military alliances, their purpose was not to ensure the security of Pakistan. In the wars with India in 1965 and 1971, Pakistan used American weapons, upsetting the US to the point where it stopped supporting Pakistan and cut off all military and economic aid. Furthermore, it is a hard fact that whenever Pakistan interacted with the US to further its interests in the region, it caused Pakistan great harm and increased Pakistan's exposure to and susceptibility to both internal and external threats. As an illustration, consider Pakistan's entry into the western camp in the 1950s, which enraged the Soviet Union, leading it to move closer to India against Pakistan. Another negative aspect of the Pakistan-US alliance is that the US has never recognized Pakistan's sacrifices and has consistently preferred India to Pakistan. Since the Pak-US

alliance's founding in the 1950s, the Indian factor has consistently dominated it because the US frequently withdrew aid from Pakistan whenever it noticed a decline in its relations with India.

Findings

The US attitude toward Pakistan has always been instrumental. Since Pakistan has pursued sincere western policy throughout the course of history but it has never gained the required support and assistance. Although America has given economic and military assistance to Pakistan but never supported Pakistan's stance regarding her security on diplomatic fronts, which has been the main reason behind her alignment with the US. During times of need, the US has always left Pakistan to the mercy of time, and the wars of 1965 and 1971 are obvious evidence. Such an attitude of the USA produced anti-American sentiments in Pakistan society and leadership. They realized that the US has betrayed the Pakistani people and the USA is not a reliable and promising partner. When Pakistan lost hope in the USA, it started looking for a new partner. Pakistan's tilt towards China, Pak-Soviet intimacy, Bhutto's socialist leanings, and non-alignment policy during the 1970s greatly enraged the US, as it wants Pakistan a puppet in her hands. Apart from these hard-hitting facts, when Pakistan tried to develop her nuclear program, the US reacted sharply against it. America greatly opposed Pakistan's attempt to require nuclear capabilities and suspended aid. The USA imposed embargoes and restrictions on Pakistan to limit its nuclear program.

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