

PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

An Ideological Appraisal

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Abstract

As a rule, foreign policy of a state, is an extension or a reflection of its internal policy. Since Pakistan emerged as an Islamic State, its internal policy was deemed to be committed to the establishment of a just socio-moral order in this country (in consonance with the socio teachings of Islam). By implication, its foreign policy should likewise have been reflective of the same ideological commitment. It means that Pakistan should have only one overriding objective: Establishment of a just socio-moral order in Pakistan, and a just socio-moral order around the globe. It means that Pakistan should have been a party to those who are striving for justice and be opposed to those who are spreading corruption and exploitation at the international level. In this brief article, we will try to analyse as to how far we have been faithful to our ideological moorings. And if we have deviated, which indeed we did, then what steps should be taken to rectify this departure.

Fifth anniversary of the horrific attacks of September 11, 2001 is over but the culprits responsible of 9/11 catastrophe are still shrouded in mystery. The terrorist attack on symbols of American military and economic power triggered a transformation of world politics and accentuated dramatic change into the course of international affairs. Its ripples are strong, violent and are reaching far and wide. No corner or country of the world could escape from its far reaching consequences. However, events unfolded so far reveal that apart from Iraq and Afghanistan (& may be the U.S.), Pakistan is the only country that has been turned upside down because of the post 9/11 changed scenario. And since Pakistan faces grave foreign policy predicaments. Within

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hours of these dreadful acts, Pakistan's strategic location brought it face to face with the American Empire's most painful seven points ultimatum, asking Pakistan to spin on its head. To start a new future, seven point's agenda mainly included; discard the Taliban, discard Islamic Jihad, give blanket over flight, landing rights and territorial access to all types of operations, provide intelligence about Taliban & al-Qaida. We were asked to become an accomplice in the American military intervention in Afghanistan, be a party to the death and destruction of Osama bin Ladin and his Al-Qaeda manpower along with the Taliban who have offered them the safe haven, or else face the consequences¹ Reportedly, on weighing the cost and finding no room for maneuver, Pakistan made a choice that it was with the US and not against her.² Pakistan's foreign policy decision makers buckled and submitted to all American demands on the same day.³ The Taliban, Pakistan's erstwhile ally in Afghanistan were discarded overnight and the United States was provided bases in Pakistan and free hand to operate in and around. Response from all opinion leaders of Pakistan was reassuring, but the Ulema, who stressed to side with the right regardless of cost and consequences.⁴ On serving American strategic interests, Pakistan's enlightened leadership was applauded as a valuable partner of the global coalition against terrorism.⁵ However, doubts continue to exist on the sincerity of Pakistan that it might back out, as it had agreed to cooperate because it had little choice.⁶ Despite, our matchless performance in obeying the ever coming dictates via US, we are unable to leave prints of our loyalty and are demanded to do more. We have left no stone unturned to make them please, even, if Pakistan has to undergo frequent U-turns or spin on over its head. The intensity of their rhetoric 'to do more' shoots up with our every U turns. For instance, we were asked to take a U-turn on

Kashmir; a U-turn on our nuclear scientists and may be the nuclear deterrence itself, U-turn on the Muslim world by declaring Pakistan-First; U-turn on Palestine (by showing willingness to embrace Israel in spite of its relentless atrocities against the native Palestinians). Most disturbing of all, is the U-turn on the ideology of Pakistan, turning our state and society to secularism by “reforming” our educational system. There seems to be an anxiety to turn Pakistan into Ata Turk’s Turkey as opposed to the mirror-image of an Islamic state that was established by the holy Prophet under the shadow of the Quran, which, was further developed by the concerted efforts of his righteous Caliphs.

Feeling continued pains and humiliation with each of these ‘spins’, a nation wide consensus is popping up that the nation is now sick of being used and abused on the name of War against Terror. Therefore, there is a need to re-examine our foreign policy in its proper perspective. The paper intends to conduct an objective analysis of Pakistan foreign policy with a view to ascertaining its alignments with the dream of our founding fathers, ideological mooring and the genesis of Pakistan.

There is no denying the fact that creation of Pakistan led by ‘*Two Nation Theory*’ was based on the ideology of Islam. The underlying concept of ‘two nations theory’, divides humanity in to two watertight compartments, Muslims and non-Muslims. All the Muslims according to the Quran, belong to one ‘brotherhood’⁷ and Islam imposes a duty on its followers not to merge their identity and individuality in any alien society.⁸ About the ideological basis of the two-nation theory, Iqbal, was more articulate and candid when he remarked. “... I love the communal group which is the source of my life and my behaviour and which has formed me as what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its

thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness.”⁹

Allama Iqbal in his Allahabad Address of December 29, 1930 forcefully presented his thesis that Islam does not stand for a racial or territorial nationalism. Rather it signifies an ideological unity.¹⁰ Iqbal was inspired by the Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH) where the Prophet left his nation and nationality back in Makkah & gathered together his Ummah in Medina and then led his Ummah in their frequent wars and conflicts against his own nation. He couldn't feel contented till his former nation was brought within the fold of his new Ummah after the conquest of Makkah. Iqbal contends that 70-90 million Muslims of India coming from different races, colors or communities are woven together into one nation /Ummah because of their shared faith, values and their general world-view. In this sense, Muslims of India are a distinct and separate nation- in fact far ahead of Hindus who don't qualify as a nation in the true sense of the term. Since Muslims are a distinct & a separate nation because of their separate faith, separate religion, and separate ideology and culture, they need a separate homeland within India or outside India wherein they could translate the ideals of Islam in their individual and collective life and present this state as an ethico-political model to the rest of the world. Iqbal insists that unlike all other religions, Islam is committed to the establishment of a just moral order in this world and to the eradication of all forms of exploitations of man by man.¹¹ Islam has its own universal ethico-moral principles that underscore the dignity and divinity of man—the vicegerent of God on this earth. Man is further endowed with intellect & freedom: intellect helps him to see the difference between the devil & the Divine whereas freedom helps him to choose either of the two (i.e. the devil or the Divine). Iqbal further

underlines that Islam is not a Church. It is a state and stands for spiritual democracy. Islamic political system therefore cannot be shorn off its ethico-metaphysical constraints.¹² Islamic democratic order, so to say, is hedged by moral constraints & considerations. It doesn't decide issues solely on the basis of brute majority. Our socio-political decisions have to qualify on religio-moral grounds as well. Islam therefore demands a separate homeland to unfold its ethico-religious & political system.¹³ At the back of his mind there were some salient features of an Islamic state, such as:

- Central element of the Islamic state was that its Calipahs came to power through the willing consent of their own people and didn't impose themselves upon them through war & violence, force & fraud or an outright dictatorship & oppression. Likewise they governed them with their consultation & Shura.¹⁴

“And consult with them upon the conduct of affairs. Thou art resolved, then put thy trust in God. Lo; God loveth those who put trust in Him.”¹⁵

- The running principle of their governance was that where revelation or Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH) was available compliance was essential. And where the Quran & Sunnah were somehow silent, it was assumed that the Almighty himself wants that the people should exercise their own freedom of thought & work-out the solution of the emergent problem while maintaining the essential spirit of Islam. In fact, collective wisdom (Shura) & ijtihad (concerted & sustained quest for the truth) are required on two counts: Firstly, it is required to find out the true spirit of the Quranic injunctions & the Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH). Secondly, where these two sources (i.e. the

Quran & the Sunnah) are silent, there too Shura is binding to draw the inferences on analogical grounds in order to meet the fresh problem(s).

Purpose of this collective thinking (Shura) and ijihad is not to push the Ummah backward but to bring Islam forward in order to make it relevant to our changed life. Life, of course, is in a state of change and flux. Law should accommodate these changes and solve our problems in the light of Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet, otherwise law itself would become irrelevant & stagnant.

- The Holy Quran recommends that the Muslims should follow the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet and also those who amongst them come to assume power and position (of course thro' their consent), but its insistence will not be less on the duty of the chief to do justice.¹⁶ And if there is any dispute between the ruler and the ruled, matter should be referred to an independent judiciary who should adjudicate this matter and settle it in the light of the Quran and the Sunnah. Uniform application of the law both to the rich and the poor or the weak and the strong was ensured. Justice was to be upheld whether it was running counter to our interest or the interest of our own family and friends. *Justice is to a state what breathing is to a body. If justice is gone, man really turns into an armed animal. Justice protects unity and in the absence of justice, unity falls apart and the society disintegrates. Unity and justice are the two main principles that determine the rise and fall of civilizations.* It may also be underscored that in the Islamic state, independent judiciary is supreme while the executive and the legislative

bodies are sub-ordinate to it. This is a primary duty of the sovereign: he must be impartial and just.¹⁷ In fact, the watch-dog role of the Ummah and the independent judiciary are acknowledged by Islam to be two the chief instruments for protecting and preserving the rule of law in the state and the society. It is really unfortunate that the oppressive and repressive rulers made both these instruments totally spineless, inactive and inoperative. They damaged the judiciary and the Ummah by introducing the “doctrine of necessity” whereby we opted for stability and survival at the expense of creativity, freedom and independence. Little did we realize that *life without liberty loses its soul & substance*.

- State was to protect the honor, dignity, freedom and liberty, privacy and property of all its citizens regardless of their color, race or creed.¹⁸ Man, his dignity and divinity were the cornerstone of the Islamic State. This was the fountain-head of all basic human rights which were an integral part of his being & were virtually inviolable as they were enshrined by the teachings of the Quran & the Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH).
- The Islamic State and Society besides being committed to “Iman and virtuous deeds” (i.e. showing kindness and compassion to other fellow beings) was also supposed to: -
 - i). Establish the system of regular Salah (prayer) so that man and the society could be vibrant with the remembrance of God. Quran holds that if there are two persons in a gathering, God is the third one and wherever there are three of them He is the fourth one and so on. It means that

God adds a new dimension to human life and we can ignore His presence only at a grave risk to our survival. In brief, the creation of God-conscious society is one of the principal goals of an Islamic state.

- ii). The state is also supposed to establish the system of Zakat. Presumably Zakat marries us to humankind and shows our sensitivity to their suffering and deprivations. Here Islamic state takes from the haves and passes it on to have-nots, thereby, tries to even out uneven distribution of wealth and other fortunes in society. It indicates Islam's commitment to a welfare and egalitarian state.
- iii). The individual, state and society, all three are supposed to enjoin good and eradicate evil, injustice, corruption and exploitation from society. Individual is supposed to cooperate with the state for the common good of the people. They are supposed to exercise this duty thro' persuasion, education, debate, dialogue and discussion. But if a person is impervious to such polite persuasions and the society suffers at the hands of his anti-social tendencies, then the state can exercise moral & legal pressure & prohibit him from harming the social order. This gives us a bare-bone picture of an Islamic state that was to serve as a model for the future Muslim State in the sub-continent. Our forefathers, it may be observed were keen to resurrect a mirror-image of the state established by the holy Prophet (PBUH) & his righteous Calipahs.

Quaid-i-Azam carried further the basic theme of Iqbal's political philosophy and advocated that Muslims are indeed a separate nation

because of their separate faith, separate religion, separate culture, separate history, separate heroes, in fact, an entirely separate world view. And if their distinct and uniqueness couldn't be rubbed off by their centuries close proximity to Hindus it wouldn't be rubbed off by introducing a secular democracy and territorial nationalism. Quaid-i-Azam quotes with approval Lala Lajpat Rai's opinion:

“I do honestly & sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the Quran & the Hadis? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope that your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty”.

In Lajpat Rai's opinion, Muslims could unite with the Hindus in their struggle against the British. “But we can't do so to rule Hindustan on British lines—[i.e. on democratic lines]”. They have to have separate homelands: Hence the demand for Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam's own thoughts about the nature of this state are summed up as:

“The Quran is a complete code of life. It provides for all matters, religious or social, civil or criminal, military or panel, economic or commercial. It regulates every act, speech and movement from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life, from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of each individual, from punishment here to that in the life to come. Therefore, when I say that the Musalmans are a nation, I have in my mind all physical and metaphysical standards and values”.

Given this unequivocal commitment of Quaid-i-Azam to Islam & Islamic state, it seems a strange irony that some people are still anxious to drag him to the secularists' camp.

In this struggle for a separate homeland, Muslims of the sub-continent took three major steps. In the first instance, they struggled for separate electorate to safeguard their communal rights. And when they found this arrangement to be inadequate they moved further with Lahore Resolution (1940) and demanded a separate homeland which they acquired in August 1947. With the emergence of Pakistan, they felt obliged to define the fundamentals of its statehood. And this they did by passing the Objective Resolution which was adopted by first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.¹⁹ Resolution reads..:

“Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;

This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan;

Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed;

Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunna;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures;

Whereby the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

Wherein the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured;

Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity."

Pakistan was born consisting of two wings, that is, East & West, Pakistan, with a distance of over one thousand miles. Hindus conceded to the separation formula with a deep seated hatred for the Muslims & with the expectations that a truncated country, such as, Pakistan with no financial resources, with no defense potential, with no industrial infrastructure, with no educational or political system, won't be able to survive far too long. Further India kept some of the majority Muslim states under subjugation; the prominent amongst them were Hyderabad, Junaghar, and Kashmir. It were these disputes, especially the Kashmir dispute, that frequently dragged Pakistan to wars with India. It was the Kashmir war of 1948 that brought Pakistan Army to the center of our decision-making process and it has never gone back.

If we recall the bloody bitterness of separation, it appears that Pakistan was born as an insecure state threatened by a hostile neighbor in the East and less than a friendly state towards the West. Our problems were further compounded because of our inability to formulate an acceptable Constitution for nearly 9-10 years of our early national life. Besides, we lost Quaid-i-Azam in 1948 and the Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan was killed in 1953. It may be underlined that the elimination of Liaqat Ali Khan was virtually the elimination of people-based civilian rule in Pakistan.

In 1954, Gen. M. Ayub Khan, the Chief of Army Staff also assumed the position of the Defense Minister of Pakistan. This was the formal

beginning of Army's entry into the national politics.²⁰ Ever since we have had quite frequent long spells of army rule. In fact, the country seems to have been kept hostage by its own army. Stephen Cohen's comments are quite appropriate when he observes that "normally countries have their armies, in case of Pakistan, an army has a country".²¹ Army rulers have suspended our political process & disrupted our national priorities.

Apparently the Army committed itself to our security whilst our ideology, health, education, economics and civic sectors were left unattended and virtually pushed to the back-burners. Little did they realize that our best defense lies in the preservation, promotion and protection of our ideology, the sole reason d'être of our existence. If we were to turn our back to our ideology and Islam, the sole unifying & cementing force of our national fabric, the whole country will fall apart. We have already witnessed the trauma of East Pakistan turning into Bangladesh. The fact is that in the absence of socio-economic justice, the prolonged army rule shattered the dreams of the people. They were led to resentment & eventually to separation of East Pakistan. The point to be noted is that we took a wrong start. Our internal harmony was eroding from within for want of a just socio-moral order in the country. And since our internal policy was defective, our external and foreign policy couldn't be any better either.

Held hostage by its own military, Pakistan was to suffer four military coups in its short life, each worse than the one before. This crisis of leadership persists even to this day. Thus, without a mature leadership rooted in Islam, Pakistan's future seems increasingly bleak. What was

once a happy dream has turned into a nightmare of strife, bloodshed, sectarian violence, and subservience to foreign masters.

Given the present state of Pakistan, it may seem quixotic to refer to the dream of a bygone era, but unless Pakistanis can reconstruct a higher principle and motive for their existence as a polity, they are doomed. In order to recreate the echo of that bygone dream, a new generation of leaders has to emerge, a leadership that can instill the vision of Islam into the mainstream of Pakistani public life, and restore hope and trust to the hearts of the country's long-suffering people; all other roads lead to internal collapse and disintegration. Pakistan's only *raison d'etre* is Islam; without this commitment, it has no hope of survival.

Of course, 2006 is not 1947; the world has changed hugely during the last fifty years. In this altered global environment, the echoes of *La ilaha ila'Allah* have also assumed a new meaning. Pakistan is now part of a global movement that aspires to transform the entire Muslim world into a true Islamic political community, united by allegiance to Allah's *tawheed* (oneness, uniqueness), and guided by Islam's vision of life in this world and after it. At present, this global movement is at a very early stage, but its existence is undeniable. Within Pakistan there is an increasing awareness that, without being part of this global movement, Pakistan has no hope of survival. In spite of the great efforts at social engineering being undertaken by the ruling military elite at the behest of their American masters, most Pakistanis remain committed to Islam. This fact is not obvious if one's knowledge of Pakistan is restricted to media reports, but in fact a deep commitment to Islam is present in the very hearts and souls of Pakistanis, and no amount of educational and cultural manipulation can destroy it. The ruling generals and their stooges will

soon find that the rewriting of history textbooks and the removal of Qur'anic verses from curricula, as they have recently ordered, can do nothing to destroy this commitment.

At present, the greatest need of the global Islamic movement is the integration of its various components, resources and strengths, in order to infuse new hope in the hearts of those who stand at the threshold of joining the great struggle. Muslim intellectuals committed to the establishment of a new world order, and to the emancipation of Muslims from the clutches of secular rulers and foreign dominance, have a great responsibility to articulate Islam's eternal and universal vision in a manner that will guide all peoples everywhere. Pakistan's future depends on its commitment to Islam, and its geographical location makes it an integral part of the new global currents that are already beginning to transform the Muslim world.

Let us now turn to our current foreign policy. Obviously foreign policy doesn't grow in a vacuum; instead it grows in reaction to the regional and global currents and cross currents in international affairs. Overriding objectives of foreign policy are to cultivate friendly relations with other countries and add to the list of our reliable friends and well-wishers. And if per chance some other country (ies) are nursing an ill-will and animosity towards our homeland, attempts are to be made to soften out their hostility and inimical attitude to positive respect and mutual accommodation. And if that is not possible, attempts should be made to neutralize their enmity and make it ineffective and inoperative. In this entire process, however, we are supposed to adhere to our intrinsic values & principles that are dear to our heart. These cherished principles

should never be compromised. In our case, the objective of our foreign policy should have been crystal clear, that is, that we stand for the establishment of justice and eradication of injustice both at national and international level—(as opposed to what is normally called the pursuit of national interests). Our national interest, it may be emphasized, lies in the pursuit of justice and eradication of injustice. We should therefore offer active help and cooperation to those who stand for the cause of justice and equity and should be opposed to those engaged in spreading corruption, mischief, and evil in this world.

It is really unfortunate that decision makers of our foreign policy, both civil and military, couldn't follow these basic principles. They were distracted and derailed from this straight path from the very beginning of our history. We have already stated that India didn't allow much of a respite to Pakistan, the new born state. Our borders were constantly threatened. Our security concerns were extremely grim and as a result thereof our ideology and other national priorities were pushed to the back burners. In order to ensure our territorial integrity, we ran around to find some relief. We were short of financial resources as well as arms and ammunition that may keep our country safe. We joined SEATO & CENTO out of sheer necessity.²² These pacts were floated around by the U.S. led Western bloc for the containment of Communism and were essential elements of Cold War era. These pacts did help us to meet some of our defense & financial needs; but at the expense of our self-reliance & self-respect.

Henceafter, we were presumed as camp-followers of the Anglo-American bloc. At the same time we alienated ourselves from the Communist countries & paid dearly for our partisan policy as Soviets are known to have put their full weight behind India in its efforts of tearing away East Pakistan and turning it into Bangladesh.

Other turning point in our foreign policy came around during the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. Here we decided to help the poor Afghans and fight against the Russian aggression. Incidentally, our policy decision was in full consonance with the demands of justice and was also conducive to the realization of our national interests. Our joint efforts were applauded world-wide and many countries of the East and of the West including the United States came along to help us in this just war. Russians were eventually forced to roll back not only their army but also their Communist Empire.

This unexpected success and that too through the active Jihad of the non-state actors (or Mujahideen) rang alarm bells in the Western world. Their apprehensions were that Muslims (particularly these Mujahideen) who had just destroyed the Communist Empire of the Soviets, might obstruct their global imperialistic design as well. Their intellectuals and policy-makers, therefore, urged their respective governments to rush to the East as well—by which they meant the Muslim world including China—and complete their victory for the free-market economy and democracy. Their recent attacks in Afghanistan and Iraq are the result of this planning. It is really unfortunate that in this U.S. invasion of Afghanistan the Military Rulers of Pakistan couldn't withstand the pressure and took a U-turn on poor Afghans. The Government of Pakistan couldn't live

up to the call of justice and fair-play. He abandoned Taliban & al-Qaeda & served as a “lynch-pin” in the U.S. war in Afghanistan in Gen. Franks’ assessment and suffered a net loss of \$10 billion dollars. Pakistan’s ruling regime became a party to the oppressive and repressive forces & allowed the U.S. to use Pakistan’s air bases from where 58,000 sorties were made in less than two months time & that devastated the entire Afghanistan. This was indeed a sad turn in our foreign policy and it has damaged our national interest as both of our Eastern and Western borders have become extremely vulnerable.

As of now, Pakistan has placed 80,000 soldiers of regular army and 67,000 militia on our Western borders. From these figures you can assess the critical nature of our defenses. The U.S. has apparently occupied Afghanistan, but the non-state actors i.e. the Mujahideen has fully engaged them in a guerilla war & are inflicting considerable losses to the allied forces.

While the terrorists (a contemptuous expression for Mujahideen) were far from finished in Afghanistan Bush “bullied” by his neo-cons partners in the cabinet rushed to invade Iraq on extremely false, fabricated and flimsy grounds. In order to whip the frenzy of his own people and to sell the unjust war, he pleaded vehemently that Saddam Hussain has huge stock-piles of weapons of Mass Destruction. He is quite likely to pass these weapon to al-Qaeda with whom Saddam holds active contacts. And these al-Qaeda terrorists, in turn, would love to kill our children in our own cities & streets. Hence it is advisable to have a pre-emptive attack on Iraq in order to finish off the possibility of a danger of this kind. These statements

were meant for public consumption. Real reasons for going to war were the security of oil and Israel so that the U.S. could boost its sagging economy & get ready for a sustained war with China or any other emergent power. In Iraq war, too, our Military Rulers were frequently subjected to carrot-&-stick policy & were so often willing to jump into the fire had they not been prevented from this suicidal venture by the public pressure. In any case, our Military Rulers did plead that they were already over-stretched & over-worked in Afghanistan & as such may be exempted from another role as a frontline state. The United States & Britain, as the documents have now proved beyond any shadow of doubt, sold the war on sheer lies & deceptions and both of the key players (Bush & Blair) stand totally discredited in the public eyes. Anti-War Movement, the World Tribunal on Iraq War and the Supreme Council of the Christian Churches have condemned this unjust war and have urged both Bush and Blair to withdraw their troops from Iraq and hand-over the power to the Iraqi people. The sense of defeat is gradually sinking in the minds of both Bush & Blair. Some Western analysts have gone on to suggest that U.S. attitude towards Palestine is softened out mainly because Bush wants to appease the Muslims in order to find a way out of Iraq—which is fast turning into another Vietnam. He has come to realize that it was easy to open the war against these invisible warriors, but it won't be possible to defeat them. They are ever growing in strength and popularity. The Jihad phenomenon is indeed amazing. Most of the Western analysts hold that these Mujahideen or to borrow their expression—the terrorists, have spread them selves in nearly 60 Muslim countries and are constantly threatening the U.S. interests. 7/7 attacks have further

aggravated their fears. Of course, the war-technology of Uni-polar world power is quite menacing. No single power can dare to challenge its hegemony. Nature has produced this phenomenon of non-state actors from no where. Like the natural catastrophe of Katrina hurricane, these non-state actors are probably stiff reminders of human limitations.

Pakistan's overtures towards India have borne no fruits. Kashmir dispute is still hanging around and is simmering as ever. Our military regime has forgotten this core issue and the UN resolutions of plebiscite for its amicable settlement. This moral and legal stance acknowledged by the UN organization is completely lost in the overcrowded options advanced by Gen. Musharraf. Indo-US Pact has further exposed Indian designs against Pakistan and the Muslim world. It sounds like replay of Indo-Soviet Pact of 1970s where Pakistan was forced to pay a heavy price by losing East Pakistan. It appears that both the U.S. and India have common interest against China & the Muslim world. They are particularly thriving on Muslim blood. Bush administration has shown its keenness to turn India into a superpower & has ignored some of its own cherished policies. Obviously, the U.S. is interested to use India as a front-line state both against China and Pakistan. Our military regime is already feeling the pressure and its anxieties to cultivate diplomatic relations with Israel in spite of its anti-Palestine & anti-Arab policies seem to be an expression of the same anxiety. How far India would allow itself to be used as a frontline state against China's containment & confrontation is hard to tell.

Shanghai Cooperation Organization has taken serious notice of the U.S. entry into the sub-continent. They have asked the U.S. to withdraw its troops and its airbases from Central Asia including Afghanistan.²³ They have also conducted joint military exercises with a view to preparing themselves for any threat from the U.S. In fact, China has asked the U.S. to stay away from Taiwan or be ready for nuclear war.

The most feasible course open for Pakistan is to undertake sane active diplomacy. It should look for a possibility to become a regular member of Shanghai Cooperation Organization²⁴, cultivate close relations with China without entering into a joint defense Pact to counter balance the Indo-U.S. Pact. We should also try to renew our close ties with Iran and our immediate neighbor Afghanistan. China, Iran, Pakistan & Afghanistan can possibly defend themselves against any threat that may emanate from Indo-U.S. Pact.

Given the past performance of our military Regime, these seem to be tall orders. Probably our present rulers would be well-advised to restore civilian rule & allow democracy to operate. New leadership thus evolved may take a fresh start to confront the challenges faced by our country. Army rule is no solution to our problems. Army by profession is not trained to resolve intricate socio-political & diplomatic issues.

End Notes

- ¹ . *The 9/11 Commission Report*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, p.331.
- ² . Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan Foreign Policy: 1947-2005*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2007, p.244
- ³ . *The 9/11 Commission Report*, p.331
- ⁴ . Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan Foreign Policy*, pp245-246
- ⁵ . *ibid.*246
- ⁶ . Armitage told the House Appropriations Committee on 18 April 2002:” I think they (Pakistanis) have thrown their lot in. I don’t think they have a choice.” See Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan Foreign Policy: 1947-2005*, p.249
- ⁷ . *Quran*, “Surah Al-Hijrat, verse-10(49.10)
- ⁸ . Jamil-ud-Ahmad, (ed), *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, II, p.64
- ⁹ . A.M. Zaidi, ed., *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought in India*, vol.1, New Delhi: Michiko and Panjathan, p.66.
- ¹⁰ . Allama Iqbal , “Allahabad Address of December 29, 1930”
- ¹¹ . *ibid*
- ¹² . Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy,1944, p.11
- ¹³ . *ibid*
- ¹⁴ . Muhammad Hamidullah, *The Prophet Establishing a State & His Succession*, Islamabad, Pakistan Hijra Council, 1988, p.11
- ¹⁵ . *Quran*, 3: 159
- ¹⁶ . Hamidullah, *The Prophet Establishing a State & His Succession*, p.33
- ¹⁷ . *Quraan*: 16:90, 4:58, 135, 5:8, 16, 40
- ¹⁸ . *UNO, Universal Declaration of Human Rights-1948.*
- ¹⁹ . Objective Resolution-1949
- ²⁰ . Qudrat Ullah Shahab, *Shahab Nama*,(Urdu), pp.648-649
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