Conclusions

In the cognitive map of policy-making elites, ideas occupy a significant place. In the context of Muslim societies, Islam performs such a cognitive function. In the specific instance of Pakistan, this study has tried to establish that Islam has been a consistent theme in its foreign policy behaviour towards Arab and Muslim countries. In the immediate aftermath of Pakistan's independence, its policy-makers have, with extraordinary zeal and enthusiasm, employed the Islamic factor with a view to finding a foothold for itself in the comity of nations. Pakistan at this juncture desired to lead the Muslim world. The perceived security threat from India added an additional impetus to its endeavours.

Many countries of the Muslim world are engulfed by Islamic Resurgence. Pakistan is no exception. Within the wider context of Islamic Resurgence, an attempt has been made in this study to provide a conceptual framework with a view to applying it to Pakistan's external behaviour premised on the Islamic factor vis-a-vis the Muslim world. Pakistan's dexterous application of the Quranic concepts, such as Jihad, Dar-ul-Islam, Dar-ul-Harb, Almaniyya, Adl, Umma, and so on, bring to the fore their contemporary relevance buttressed by their capacity for mass mobilization. The contemporary history of Muslim countries bears ample testimony to this. This Chapter has also tried to explain as to how the worldview of Islam as epitomized in the Quranic concept of Tawhid is at variance with secularism and the international order based on nation-state system.

A hectic search by Pakistan's early post-independence rulers for an ideological niche for their external moves, which veered round Islam, constitutes the subject matter of Chapter Two. Such moves had a wider domestic consensus. A symbiosis could also be seen in the demand for the Muslim homeland and its external orientation. In this Chapter, it is also seen as to how countries like Egypt did not take kindly or positively to Pakistan's assumption of Islamic platform in the international
arena. The 1956 Suez episode brought to the fore the wide distance between Pakistan's policy-makers and the general masses. This initial phase of Pakistan's external policy towards the Muslim world was activated by a series of moves made by its rulers. Karachi was the hub of conference diplomacy.

The rise of Z.A Bhutto on the Pakistani political scene in the early Seventies ushered in the increasing use of Islam in the domain of foreign policy. Such a tendency was necessitated by the emergence of Bangladesh and Pakistan's hosting of the Second Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore in 1974. Bhutto's perception of Islam emphasised the latter as a force of historical and civilizational import. During his tenure, Pakistan's economic relations with Muslim countries grew manifold. Besides, political and defence cooperation with them was also increased. Bhutto's achievement was also notable in the arena of constitution-making. Unlike the constitutions of 1956 and 1963, the 1973 Constitution had seen the test of time. It was unanimously adopted by the National Assembly of Pakistan. A notable feature of this Constitution in the sphere of external relations is its directive to future governments to ensure the cultivation of Pakistan's fraternal and cooperative relations with the Muslim world. During the Bhutto regime, it was also seen as to how the use of Islamic symbols was intended to acquire political legitimacy. This period also saw the proliferation of institutions associated with the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). Pakistan played an important role in the creation of these institutional networks. The rationale behind Pakistan's interest in this regard was to obtain financial largesse from the OIC. Pakistan's economic diplomacy within the OIC fora was, to a large extent, successful over a period of time.

The political ascendancy of Zia-ul-Haq witnessed in Pakistan a controversial Islamization programme internally and the assumption of frontline state role vis-a-vis the Afghan crisis. Pakistan-Afghanistan relations travelled a long way since the day when Pakistan became an independent state. Afghanistan was then the only state which opposed Pakistan's entry into the United Nations. Chapter Four showed how
Zia-ul-Haq succeeded, to a large extent, in solving the problem of legitimacy through these measures. However, Zia's role also brought into sharp focus religious sectarianism and ethnic strife. The continuing Shia-Sunni violence and the Mohajir-Pathan and the Mohajir-Sindhi bloodletting symbolise the stark realities of contemporary Pakistan. The seeds of these mutually destructive activities by the respective constituents were sown during the Zia period. The fact that the former had, and continues to have, international ramifications - the intervention of Iran - did not go unnoticed by political observers. Even in the case of the Afghan crisis, the successful withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces from the Afghan soil did not automatically lead to peace in Afghanistan. The alleged involvement of Pakistan in the political configurations of Afghanistan has ensured the continuity of politically unstable conditions there.

Zia's Afghan policy was continued by his successors. Benazir Bhutto did not have much say in the policy made elsewhere: the Inter-Services Intelligence. The foreign policy establishment of Zia was, more or less, retained by Benazir. Sahibzada Yaqub Khan continued as her foreign minister. Besides Afghanistan, Benazir found an opportunity to present an Islamic perspective towards the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development in September 1994. This study has shown how Benazir gave a modernist interpretation to family planning within the purview of Islam. A similar approach could also be discerned with regard to the Beijing World Conference on Women which was held in September 1995. Other issues that attracted her attention and to which she addressed herself were the question of Bosnia-Herzegovina and her unsuccessful efforts to visit territories that came under the jurisdiction of Palestine National Authority headed by Yasser Arafat.