

## Personality as a Factor in Foreign Policy Making: A Case Study of the Individuality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

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### ABSTRACT

The study aims to examine and discuss the different traits of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality and how the behavior of political leader affects the foreign policy of a country. The problem was analyzed on the basis of his literary works and intellectual thoughts. He has been written a number of scholarly works during his life and served the job of academia as Lecture in International Law College at University of Southampton, which shows the distinctive feature of his personality. The characteristic of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality is distinguished from the others, on the basis of his charismatic leadership, self-confidence, communication skill, ability to control the events, committed to history, power hungry, authoritarian figure, men of contradiction, aggressive, capable politician, secular, visionary person and policy planer. The charisma of Bhutto becomes the main hub of national and international linkages. The following were the founders of nations like Nehru, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Naseer, Sukarno, Nkyrumah, Kemal Attaturk and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. It is stated that the role of individual in foreign policy formulation is vary from state to state. For instance, in the developing countries, the individuals are to be responsible to follow the Western democratic set up in society.

**KEYWORDS:** personality, traits, literary, intellectual, secular, authoritarian, charisma, hub.

### 1. BACKGROUND

On August 14, 1947 Pakistan came into being and Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah becomes the first Governor General of Pakistan. However, soon he passed away on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1948. After the death of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan faced the different challenges like the crisis of constitutional development in the country. At the culmination of nine years of struggle, the first constitution of Pakistan 1956 was enforced in the country on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1956. The constitution allowed the parliamentary form of government. But unfortunately, after the implementation of two years; the President of Pakistan Iskander Mirza imposed the martial law in the country and suspended the 1956 Constitution of Pakistan. However, he resigned from his presidency and handed over the control of government to General Ayub Khan. At first, he becomes the Chief Martial Law Administrator and later on President of Pakistan. He ruled the country for eleven (11) years from 1958-1969.

### 2. EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was born on January 05, 1928 in Larkana Sind Province. His father name was Shah Nawaz Bhutto who belonged to feudal land lord family of Larkana. He was the well-known political figure of Indian Colonial government. He had remained the Dewan(Prime Minister) of princely State of Junagadh[1]. He had developed the admirable relationships with the bureaucrats of British. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the third child of Shah Nawaz Bhutto. The first teen was Sikander Ali Bhutto, who had died at the age of seven years. Second kid was Imdad Ali Bhutto who died at the age 39 years. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto got his early education from Bishop High School Karachi. In 1946, he passed his Senior Cambridge High School from Bombay. In 1947, he went to United States of America for higher education Los Angles, University of Southern California. In 1949, he shifted from California Campus to Berkeley to study the subject of Political Science. After, graduation in Political Science, he went to Oxford University, wherein, he got the admission in the discipline of Jurisprudence, L.L.M and obtained the distinction position in the examination. He participated in the election of Students Association in the University of California. As a result, he got the majority of seats in the elections and became the popular figure of Students Association of University of California. After the completion of L.L.M degree, he returned back to Pakistan and started the practice. But, his father left him as Assistant with popular Hindu lawyer Ram Chandani Diagonal. Unfortunately, Bhutto was not happy with the behaviors of Diagonal so that he left them.

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Zulfikar Ali Bhutto first marriage was arranged with his cousin Shireen Amir Begum and after some times she, left him. In 1951, Bhutto 2<sup>nd</sup> marriage was held with Begum Nusrat Isphani. She was Iranian and belonged to Kurdistan Province and daughter of wealthy business man who settled at Karachi. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has four children, First Benazir Bhutto, Second Murtaza Bhutto, Third Sanam Bhutto, and Fourth Shah Nawaz Bhutto.

### 3. POLITICAL CAREER

In 1957, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the youngest member of the Pakistan's delegation to the United Nations. On October 25, 1957, he addressed the United Nations Sixth Committee on Aggression. He led Pakistan's delegation to the first United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea in 1958. In the same year, he became the youngest Federal Minister in the history of Pakistan at the age of 33 years [2]. He had been remained the head of various Ministries of Pakistan in the Cabinet of General Ayub Khan. First, he was appointed as Cabinet Minister, on appointment to the Minister of Water and Power by President Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan. He had seized the power of civilian government of Iskander Mirza and imposed the Martial Law in the country. In 1960, Bhutto was promoted to Minister of the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Communication and the Ministry of Industry. Bhutto became a closed and trust worthy political advisor to General Ayub Khan. Bhutto shared his political experience and value able suggestion with General Ayub Khan. In 1960, Bhutto advised the Ayub Khan regarding the negotiation of Indus Water Treaty conflict with India. In 1961, Bhutto negotiated an oil exploration agreement with the Soviet Union wherein, agreed to provide the economic and technical support to Pakistan. On March 4, 1961, the agreement was signed by Bhutto's with Soviet Union. In 1963, Bhutto was appointed as Foreign Minister of Pakistan and continued his services until his resignation in June 1966. During this period, Bhutto developed the closed linkages with China, when it was isolated from the Cabinet of Ayub Khan. He believed in the policy of self-reliance foreign policy of Pakistan which is beyond the control of Western influences. The Tashkent Agreement was signed by Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's President General Ayub Khan on January 10, 1966. The agreement was comprised to peace settlement between both countries that resolved the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965.

After the signing of Tashkent agreement, Bhutto was resigned from the Cabinet of Ayub Khan. Bhutto believed in the foreign policy of bilateralism. However, Bhutto went to abroad and after some consultations with foreign friends, he decided to return back to Pakistan. He led the foundation of Pakistan Peoples Party's on November 30, 1967. Following are the main objectives of Pakistan Peoples Party's:

- 1- Islam is our religion
- 2- Socialism is our economy
- 3- Democracy is our politics
- 4- Sovereignty belonged to the people

Owing to these points, Bhutto became the popular figure of democracy wherein, he surrenders all the powers to the masses. The purpose was that to protect the rights of individual at grass root level against the usage of random power. He desired to constitutionally recognize the rights of individual and introduced the model of indirect election system in the country.

### 4. FIRST GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1970

The first general elections of 1970 were held in the country on the basis of adult franchise system. In these elections Awami League of Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman won the majority of seats in the National Assembly, but power was not transferred to the winning party. The Awami League claimed for the transfer of power and formed of government. But General Yahya Khan did not agree with him and Awami League started the strike. As a result, the military led government started the operation against the Awami League. The Indian Army intervened and East Pakistan was separated from the West Pakistan. After the separation of East Pakistan, Yahya Khan handed over the power of government to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on 20<sup>th</sup> December 1971. At first he became a Civil Chief Martial Law Administrator, President and later on Prime Minister of Pakistan. The East Pakistan was separated from the West Pakistan and became an independent state on the map of world in the name of Bangladesh.

### 5. ARCHITECT OF ISLAMIC SOCIALISM

Bhutto was the architect of Islamic socialism wherein he, explained that socialism is the sole objects that resolve the problems of general masses. Bhutto further stated that equality is the basic principles of Islam. The purpose of Islamic socialism is to develop the cordial relations with Muslim countries [3]. The peoples of Pakistan were sufferings under the serious crisis of poverty, ignorance and diseases since the birth of newly born state. The sole objective for the creation of Pakistan was the achievement of honor, dignity, prosperity and social justice in the World. Bhutto desired to eliminate the dominated control of few capitalist classes in the country. Although Ayub Khan has already been started the various developmental project in the country but his mission was not covered to all the classes in the society. During the campaign of 1970 general elections in Pakistan, Bhutto had presented himself as socialist leader of the country. On the basis of socialism, he raised the living status of general masses in

the country. His slogan for food, clothing and shelter had attracted the millions of poor and dominated peoples. Bhutto united the Muslims countries in excellent way in one platform and organized second Islamic Summit Conference at Lahore in 1974 [4].

Bhutto's way of governance was the mixture of some of cultural characteristics of populism, moderate democracy and feudal authoritarianism. His unique approach was that to communicate to the peoples the by proper way. The conflicting feature of Bhutto's charismatic personality is relates to his early childhood. Bhutto, in his childhood years experienced tells us through the closed relationship with his mother that he was a man of contradictory. Bhutto writes in one of his books how satisfied he was 'when he received a gift on his birthday from his father which was a set of biographical books on Napoleon. At the same time, he received a gift of Karl Marx's the communist Manifesto. In this regard, Bhutto wrote about the intellectual impact of these books on him: "hum one (Napoleon) I learnt the politics of power id from the other (Karl Max), I learnt the politics of power". Bhutto got an experience to the nineteenth century theoretical way of life of self-governing system. In this regards, due to the emergence of developing nations Bhutto obtained the information from the great personalities such as Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ho-Chi Minh and Kwame Nkrumah. Bhutto counted himself in the above mentioned category of these developed World nationalists as well as leaders like Soekarno in Indonesia. Bhutto favorite historical figure was Napoleon. I don't know Napoleon's majestic personality, the level of his military actions and the remarkable rise and falls of his fortunes set Bhutto's thoughts. Bhutto regarded himself to be a man of future, placed in a position of unquestioned power at a notional instant in the history of Pakistan. "I was born to make a nation, to serve a people, to overcome an imminent destiny.... I was born to bring liberation to the people and honor them with a self regarding fortune. Bhutto was may be the only charismatic leader of Pakistan after Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

The un-even and un-predictable space of social change was accepted by the masses with true spirit. It is stated that individuals efforts to adopt the existing political realm of the government or determined to change a political system which still does not exist in the country according to the aspiration of their peoples.

His character was taken from the icon of effectiveness, wherein he fulfills the dream of poor masses in the community. As a consequence, he got self-respected in the society and become the part of decisions making. He changed the economic position of the country as well as living standard of the individual at grass root level.

## **6. CHARISMATIC LEADER**

Bhutto emerged as a charismatic leader and acquired a distinguished position in the international level. However, being Foreign Minister of Pakistan he had developed his image and appeared as a great leader in world level. Bhutto secured the cause of people of Jammu and Kashmir with great emotion and enthusiasm. His loyalty seriously supports the Kashmir issue and recognized the fact that Bhutto was a champion of Pakistani Youths and peoples of the Kashmir[5]. Bhutto played the significant role in strengthening the Pakistan's linkages with its neighbor country mainly with People's of Republic of China. No doubt, Bhutto was the founder of friendly relations between both countries. No doubt Bhutto was controversial figure but he was a man of honor. Even though the contribution of any political party in Pakistan cannot be bring change in the politics of Pakistan but Pakistan People's Party of Pakistan is the sole party that could bring the numerous reforms in the country [6].

## **7. BHUTTO'S REFORMS**

### **7.1-Education Reforms**

- i- All the colleges and school were taken under government's custody.
- ii- University Grants Commission (Higher Education Commission) was established.
- iii- Education became free up to SSC.
- iv- National Book Foundation was established

### **7.2-Industrial Reforms**

- i- On 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 1972, all the industries were taken under the government's supervision.
- ii- Those industries which are established by the Foreign Investment that were not taken under government custody.

### **7.3-Agricultural Reform**

- i- 150-500 acre canal land and 300-1000 acre rainy land was fixed for ownership limit.
- ii- Extra lands were distributed on free of cost to the farmers.
- iii- The government had distributed the official land in farmers.
- iv- 100 acre land limit was fixed for government servants, after their retirements.
- v- The farmers had given the rights to sale their lands.

### **7.4-Labor Reforms**

- i- Trade Union was established
- ii- Bonus was given to the workers

- iii- Monthly salary was fixed
- iv- The facility of social security was provided
- v- Residential colonies were allotted
- vi- Employees Old Age Benefits facility was provided

### 7.5-New Health Policy

- i- The doctors are instructed to write only medical prescription instead of giving of medicine and received the fee.
- ii- Names and prices of all the medicine were changed.
- iii- 4-10 medical colleges were established in the country and numbers of students were increased.

Three types of cultural value and attitude are; (1) 1<sup>st</sup> Technical expertise and competencies. This category includes the skill, knowledge, techniques and idea of personality which makes it easier to adopt in the society. (2) The second type is relates to rationalistic approach towards the formation of national building. This approach is focused regarding the solution of cultural behaviors and morals. This model is work in favor of the formal education system and depends upon the understanding of individual ability. However, these developments would bring the positive change in the society at gross roots level. This approach is further examined the challenges and issues of change in the society. Those individual whose have a very limited thinking that would have expect the significant change in the society.(3) Third type is based about the achievement of existing economic development in the middle class. It will be mandatory for the people to become more vigilant by secular activities.

The trait of personality in foreign policy making is focus on aims and objectives. Following are the traits of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality; self confidence, ability to control the event, communication skill, charismatic leader, committed to history and author of literary works [7]. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has been written a lot of books, like Foreign policy of Pakistan, Political situation of Pakistan, The Myth of Independence, Marching towards, Let the People Judge, The Third World New Directions, Pakistan and Alliance, The Quest of Peace, The Great Tragedy, Awakening the People, Pakistan People Party Program, Committed to History, If I am Assassinated and My Dearest daughter etc. He had been participated in the numerous Press Conferences. He also delivered the important Speeches at national as well as international level.

The personality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is examined on the basis of his personal traits. The issue of impact of the individual characteristics of a political leader on foreign policy of a country is much more controversial. In this regard, confirmation have come from the numerous theorists, like Sigmund Freud, Erik Erikson, Alfred Adler, B.F. Skinner, Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, Green Stein, Rosenau, Salvator R. Maddi, Allport etc. The some theorists stated that the role of individual in foreign policy making is less important while others argued that the job of individual in foreign policy formulation is much more important.

The researchers, whose believed that personal traits of the individual are more important as compared to any other factors mainly during the shaping of foreign policy process of country? They makes effort to determine the any other analytically model, how the individual uniqueness is influence the foreign policy making.

The social cognitive approach is used to evaluate the personality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. This approach to personality began in the late 1960. In 2004, the model of personality is further separated into three types by different scholars such as Mischel, Walter; Shoda, Uichi; Smith, Ronald etc. The first type is relates to enthusiastic Freudians guarding Freud's original works. Second category is belonged to the broader type of personality trait. Third category is belonged to the different social cognitive character.

The variables of social cognitive approach is explains the individual differences in terms of behavior which was proposed by (Mischel, 1973). These types of people were makes effort to capture the unlikeness at different level so that masses understand the attribute of themselves and their social behaviors.

1. Encoding (construal, Appraisal) which mean construct for the self, people, events and the situations (external/internal).
2. Expectancies and belief regarding the social world, about the outcomes for behaviors in particular situation regarding self-efficacy, about the self.
3. Affect, feeling, emotions and effective response (including physiological reactions).
4. Goals and value, desirable outcomes and effective states, aversive outcomes and effective state, goal values and life project.
5. Competencies and self regulatory plans. Potential behaviors and scripts that one can do, plans and strategy action and for affecting outcomes and one's own behaviors and internal states.

No doubt, this was the personality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's, which highly influenced the Pakistan United States relations. It is recognized reality that personal behaviors of leaders are much more important. The independent

foreign policy of Pakistan during the period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto played the major role, particularly in the world affairs.

The charismatic leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality is highly played significant role mainly in the internally as well as external coercion. This was a major impact on Pakistan's relations with US, which is the theme of this research. The era of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government is comprised into two types, as a President of Pakistan from 1971-1973 and being Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1973-1977. The Pakistan's relations with United States get the important place in Pakistan's foreign policy. Both the countries usually followed the favorable positions towards each other. However, their relations have not yet been remained pleasant so far.

## 8. SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality traits and how he, influence the foreign policy of Pakistan. This is recognized the fact that Bhutto was considered as a leader of the nation at international level. He was the architecture of 1973 constitutions of Pakistan and father of nuclear weapon [8]. Bhutto introduced the different reforms in the country, mainly the agriculture, industrial, labour, education, banking, passport and administrative reforms etc.

In 1973, Nixon invited the Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to visit the United States. During this tour Nixon said, in his banquet speech about the independence and integrity of Pakistan. Nixon also affirmed that Pakistan foreign policy is the major part of U.S foreign policy. As a result, United States has again provided the economic support, amounting to \$ 24 million for wheat and \$ 18 million as aids loan to Pakistan. The United States also agreed about the provision of rehabilitation loan for \$ 40-50 million. Bhutto released more than 90,000 soldiers from Indian jails, who became the permanent prisoners of Indian jail during Indo-Pak War 1971.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a Pakistani socialist leader. He has emerged as a great leader and savior of Pakistani society at that time when the politics was groaning under the pangs of dictatorship. He saved the country from the authoritarian rule and placed on sound footings place. He introduced the idea of real democracy. Bhutto was of the opinion that political stability of the Pakistan is depends upon the common belief of the individual and its acceptance to the dominance of democratic rule.

Bhutto explains that any assessment of democratic system should be examined in the light of people attitude, the sense of purpose, and the acceptance of the people [9].

## 9. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The topic of personality being a factor in foreign policy making process is rarely key issue of the entire world. This topic raises a question whether leaders get the lesson from the history, or they dynamically construct the situations through the individual expertise and will of force.

For centuries, philosophers and political scientists have inspired about the role of individual on foreign policy making. The role of the individual in foreign policy making is the key element which determined the jobs of personality factor. Personality and Nigeria's foreign policy: A Comparative Analysis of Obasanjo's Foreign policy being Military Head of the State and Civilian President has been discussed by Ngara, Christopher Ochanja, Esebonu, Edward Ndem & Ayabam, Alexius Terwasein *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, (Vol. 3(19):2013). Wherein, the authors argued that the personality of Obasanjo's is similar to the personality of Herman. Both the leaders hold the traits of high level of nationalism, strong belief in one's ability to control the events. It is explains that stronger need for power and power faces the different challenges.

The research had examined both the regimes in which Obasanjo's personality had left a great impact on foreign policy making. It is stated that researcher did not discuss the role of individual in foreign policy making. It is only compared the study of Obasanjo's foreign policy being a Military Head of State and Civilian President of Nigeria. The research appraised that individual is a factory in foreign policy making process, through the specialized study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality.

Kegley and Wittkopf (1999:66-7) did an extensive universal work on personality traits and its effect on foreign policy. Both the authors argued that state action is nothing only the preferences, action and initiatives and contributions of the political leaders were considered. The research explains that why the names of leaders are mentioned to their works. The study is further examined that the achievement of the leaders were marks with their governments. The researchers discussed the causes, failures and successes of the individual with the foreign policy of country. As a consequence, the foreign policies of United States Presidents were compared with Nixon Doctrine in 1970, the Reagan Doctrine in 1980 and Clinton Doctrine in 1990. All of them were recognized the fact that personal traits of the leaders in foreign policy making is rarely hold the great importance. These features are further presents the role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in foreign policy making.

Kegley and Wittkops, stated that leaders always used the practice of illogical approach. For instance, lack of self control, anger, fear of getting hurt, religious conviction and bad habits. The research examined the personal traits of individual through the specialized study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Khuhro, A. A. and Chandio, A. A. (2009) "Charismatic Leader and Foreign Policy: A Case Study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto" *European Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. II, (3) wherein the researchers explains as, the charisma of leader is to be accounted as great symbol in foreign policy making. The case study of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto personality demonstrates the role of individual through his works such as reshaping the foreign policy of Pakistan. Amir Ahmed Khuhro and Chandio, A. A. (2009) studied the three character of the personality which recognized the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto leadership style: (a) experience; (b) domestic structure; and (c) norms and beliefs of society. The authors only explain the individual factors that could move toward the development of country and ignore the personal traits of the personality.

The study described the other aspect of the individual such as scholarly works, committed to history, expectancies, goals and value, self confidence and competencies and self regulatory plans.

The personal trait of former President Woodrow Wilson personality is examined by Freud, S. & Bullitt. C. Willian. (Frued & Bullitt, 1967) and observed that this is the important element on the behaviors of political leaders in foreign policy making. A number of theorists have studying this leading topic as to whether an individual's personality can have a critical juncture on political behaviors. Indeed, some intellectuals stated that a leader's personal characteristics are secondary stage to the formation of foreign policy. Theoretical structures have been developed in order to examine the level of individual to which type of political actors affect the foreign policies of country.

Joseph de Rivera. H (Joseph, 1986) stated in his book *The Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy*, regarding the numerous feature of the individual personality that belonged to a decision-makers. For example, a decision-maker has taken the various preferences (such as low risk taking), abilities, problems (such as an anger management), and his common style. Indeed, de Rivera recorded that "there are so many preferences, abilities, rule and styles which is difficult to know how to explain the performance of an individual with some specific job."

## 10. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this research, social cognitive approach is used to discuss the role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in foreign policy making. The social cognitive approach to personality began in the late 1960. The social cognitive approach is focus on how individual select, attend to, and process information about the self and the world and react to it.

The descriptive, comparative and analytical model is used for this study. The research is focused on primary as well as secondary sources. The primary sources is Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's speeches, statement's and interviews in specific content such as national, international and personal economic and defense condition of the country. The secondary sources is relates to books, journals, documents, news papers and different web sites.

## 11. CONCLUSION

The personality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is examined in term of his personal traits. He was the man of honor and gifted by Allah Almighty. He was a man, having great public experience and committed to the history. He was not an ordinary man as compared to others. He was literary man who has written a numbers of scholarly works during his life. He also served the jobs of Lecturer in International Law College University of Southampton, which shows the distinctive feature of his personality. Following are the attributes of his personality such as charismatic leadership, self confidence, communication skill, ability to control the events, committed to history and policy planer. He started his political career as a member of UN delegation and addressed the UN Sixth Committee on Aggression in 1957. He had been remained the head of different Ministries during the period of Ayub Khan. In 1963, he became the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, but unfortunately after signing the Tashkent agreement with India. He has resigned from the cabinet of Ayub Khan and went to abroad. After some time staying there, he returned back to Pakistan and led the foundation of Pakistan People's Party in November 30, 1967 and became the chairman of party. The following were the manifesto of Pakistan People's Party; Islam is our faith, democracy is our polity and socialism is our economy. The first general elections were scheduled to be held in the country in 1970. But these elections were delayed due to national hazard in East Pakistan and re-scheduled in 1971. In these elections, Awami League Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman won the majority of seats in the elections but power was not transferred to the winning party by General Yahya Khan. As a result, military intervened in politics and East Pakistan was separated from the West Pakistan. After separation of East Pakistan, the power was shifted to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. First, he became the Civil Chief Law Administrator, President and later on Prime Minister of Pakistan. He was the founder of 1973 constitution of Pakistan and architect of arms arsenal. He has introduced the different reforms in the country such as land, labour, health, passport, banking, Industrial, education and administrative reforms. He led the foundation of self reliance foreign policy which is beyond the influence of others. He has developed the closed relationships with the entire Muslim Ummah and gets together under one platform. As a result, he organized the 2<sup>nd</sup> summit Conference at Lahore in 1974.

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