



Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan as Foreign Minister in the Foreign Policy Making of Pakistan 1947-1954

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Abstract

During the crucial period that shaped the Foreign policy of Pakistan between 1947 and 1954, Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan served as the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Saddled with the task of maneuvering in a turbulent geopolitical landscape, Zafarullah Khan had to grapple with a series of problems that ranged widely between the partition issue, economic instability, the issue of Kashmir, the forces of the Cold War politics, etc. This paper discusses his contribution to the making of the foreign policy of Pakistan by writing about his diplomacy, priorities, and successes. The approach of Zafarullah Khan was based on three intersecting aspects: the independence of Pakistan, the cause of the Muslim world, and playing a responsible role in the international community. His experience in the United Nations enhanced the image of Pakistan, since he promoted topics like Palestine, Kashmir, and decolonization. His diplomacy was also an expression of the realistic imperative of establishing relationships with the major powers, especially the United States and the Commonwealth, to meet the pressing security and economic demands of Pakistan. His reign was characterised by major tensions, though despite these, he achieved a lot. At the domestic front, Zafarullah Khan was criticised because of certain religious issues and political adversity, and internationally, his moral and legalistic approach often became a source of conflict with the realpolitik approach of governments formed after him. His ouster in 1954 marked a shift to a more alliance-based foreign policy, especially with the you-are-either-with-us-or-with-us formulation of foreign policy (that is, strategic alliances with the Western bloc). By critically analyzing the diplomacy of Zafarullah Khan, it can be argued that he was the one in whom the modern foreign policy of Pakistan can be traced and one who gave the country its initial identity as a state in the international community. Although his legacy is rather controversial, the principles of foreign policy upheld by him still have an impact on the nature of relations that Pakistan sustains.

Key Words: Foreign Policy, Zafar Ullah, Pakistan, Nascent Pakistan, diplomacy. The Pakistan breakthrough in August 1947 was also a symbol of political battle and rather a fragment of a severe international trial. The then-born state was the result of partitioning, which had numerous pressing issues, including mass migration, economic instability, territorial struggles, and insecurities, not to



mention its international identity. It was in this context that Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, a universally acclaimed jurist, was appointed the Foreign Minister of Pakistan on 27 December 1947. His rule continued up to 24 October 1954, in the pioneering days of Pakistani diplomacy [1]. This was the time when the newly formed state tried not only to find a place in the quickly polarizing world order but tried to get international recognition. It is the paramount role of any Foreign Minister in the country, and in the early history of Pakistan, it was twice. The machinery of government was feeble, and the administration was bloated, and the political leadership absorbed the internal and external policy requirements. It thus chanced that in such a case, it was Zafarullah Khan to whom belonged much of the labour in the definition of Pakistan in the international affairs, as did to himself. His background as a barrister, service in the British Indian government, and his legal defense had already brought him recognition as an international forum representative of Muslim causes [2]. His fame meant that he was a good asset to a new nation and that his country badly needed able representation.

The first decades of foreign policy of Pakistan were marked by survival. The British Indian decolonization left Pakistan with several immediate disputes with India, the most prominent ones being Kashmir, water resources and boundary demarcation, and division of resources. In the meantime, Pakistan was strongly relying on agriculture because of the absence of industry, and simultaneously, it was dependent on foreign aid and trade. Moreover, its position in the heart of three territories, South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East, immediately captured the interest of the rest of the world, especially as the Cold War was tainting relationships between the USA and the Soviets. This was the ambiguous air through which Zafarullah Khan was shaping Pakistan's foreign policy. His position at the United Nations, advancement of Kashmir, and defense of Palestine emerged as his calling card during his reign. [3]. Nonetheless, his foreign policy vision was not merely a reactionary foreign policy since he desired that Pakistan be seen as a responsible global power and a Muslim leader.

Zafarullah Khan became the Foreign Minister, a decision that was determined by what was going on at the time. There were not many leaders in Pakistan with international diplomacy experience. A lawyer in the courts, a longtime speechmaker, and fluent in English and the law, Zafarullah was already an international lawyer, having represented India at the League of Nations and then at the Permanent Court of International Justice, and so the country had a solid base to stand upon as well as a voice in the early years of the country still in the formation of the diplomatic services. It was also important that he was perceived as an activist representing the Muslim causes. In 1947, he had been in support of Palestine at the United Nations against the partition that made him proud in the entire Muslim world. The fact that he has been appointed shows that Pakistan is not just seeking its short-term disputes with India, but its foreign policy would be geared towards fostering a greater Islamic unity.

The paper will discuss the role of Zafarullah Khan in foreign affairs in the years 1947-1954 in Pakistan. It aims at providing an informative description of his order of precedence, diplomatic actions, and achievements, and examining some of the weaknesses of his tenure in service.

The topicality of the work by Zafarullah Khan is that it offers an understanding of the roots of Pakistani foreign policy. Forms of foreign policy that would continue



to change over the decades would include alliances with the Western military and the exploration of closer relationships with China and the Islamic world. These principles were to be referred to as those put in perspective by Zafarullah Khan—the emphasis on self-determination, advancement of the interests of the Muslims, and the application of international law were to be continued in the further development of the Pakistan diplomatic discourse. His rule can thus be applied to not only see the challenges that go into the building of a state in its early days, but also to come to know about the correlation between the ideals and the realism in the affairs of the representatives.

A historical-analytical method has been adopted in the paper, and primary sources of the United Nations, speeches, governmental archives, and secondary literature on the subject of early diplomacy of Pakistan were used in the paper. The plan is that instead of merely giving an account of the life under Zafarullah Khan as a single-strand line, he will use this as an example of how tiny states are compelled to find their own way in the world of a dynamic international environment. The descriptive analysis and critical review combined have enabled the author to identify his successes and failures and trace them in the broader history of the formation of the foreign policy of Pakistan.

At this time, when Pakistan achieved its independence, it had more problems than its resources. Compared to India, which stood on a steady base with not-so-volatile institutions, a thriving economy, and already established connections with other nations, Pakistan was born in an unstable state. The split gave Pakistan ugly refugees, demarcation of the borders, and a dispute on the sharing of resources, particularly military and economic. These inward crises, in fact, very quickly became outward issues for the Foreign Minister. The most urgent one was the Kashmir conflict that resulted in war between India and Pakistan in 1947-48. The problem has immediately attracted global interest and taken up the agenda of the foreign policy of Pakistan. Simultaneously, the battles over waterways, the utilization of trade routes, and the relationships with the integration of princely states were also some challenges that Pakistan had to struggle with. The geographic location of Pakistan was also opportunity-presenting and threatening, except in India. Pakistan was in a very strategic position bordering Afghanistan and sharing its sentiments with Iran and China. But in the early years, strategic potential was not yet being harnessed into coalitions or into economic gain. Rather, the nation was struggling to get recognition, existence, and support in the international forums.

First, the evolution of the Cold War also disoriented the foreign policy of Pakistan. The interests of the United States and the Soviet Union in the South Asian region and Pakistan competed due to their inability to be secure against India, which was perceived as a potential ally. In the immediate sequel to independence, however, the superpowers did not do much to undercut each other. Washington was more concerned with the reconstruction of Europe, and Moscow considered South Asia with the availability of rivalry with the Western powers. This solidified in the situation of Zafarullah Khan, to forum shopping in warring camps. He attempted not to align himself with any of the two superpowers but instead tried to strike economic and political backing as far as possible. This balancing was a sign of the fact that he held the view that the foreign policy of Pakistan was not entirely a dependency issue but a skillfully blended pragmatism and principle [4].



It is not that Zafarullah Khan was responding to crises reactively; he had a vision of how foreign policy should be in Pakistan, and this vision was based on three important principles:

Sovereignty and Security of Pakistan: According to him, the survival of the sovereign state of Pakistan was a priority. This required the building up of international partnerships, seeking international acknowledgement, and the guarantee that the controversial issues in regard to India must be accorded international publicity. This is indicated by his desire that the Kashmir problem be handled in the United Nations.

Promotion of Muslim Causes: During the initial period, Zafarullah Khan believed that the entire Pakistan was greater than a regional actor. He saw the vision of it as inheriting the role of head of the Muslim world and had to defend the rights of Muslims everywhere in the world. His foreign policies on resisting the partitioning of Palestine and the powerful backing of the Arab nations in the UN elevated the status of Pakistan in the Muslim world and provided Pakistan with moral legitimacy.

Devotion to International Law and Justice: Zafarullah Khan was a jurist and international lawyer, and as such, this prompted him to direct his attention to the problem of law conceptualization of foreign policy. In Kashmir and Palestine, he has brought out the case of Pakistan as a case of fairness and self-determination. This provided the Pakistani diplomacy with an ethical coloration, despite the fact that its material power can be humble.

The Art of International Representation: Zafarullah Khan had a number of strong points, but one of the strongest points was that he was an effective speaker, where international platforms in Pakistan were concerned. His address to the United Nations was such a great success due to its concise and attractive nature. His oratory gave Pakistan, in a new country still struggling to establish its presence, a profile that was as much out of proportion to its real material potential as it was to its true material potential. This can be illustrated where he advanced the Kashmir case in the debates by critically outlining the problem on the ground, not as a bilateral problem between Pakistan and India as such, but as a problem of international law and justice. In his defense of Palestine, he congruent the rights of the Arabs with the greater idea of self-determination in which Pakistan was part of a global decolonization process.

Even though the vision of Zafarullah Khan established Pakistan as a household name in the international community, there were shortcomings that were linked to the vision. The realistic approach that emerged among the policy makers after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan at times contradicted the moral arguments on which he had heavily relied. Moreover, his ideas of making Pakistan the head of the Muslim world were undermined by the realization that the majority of Arab countries had their own interests in mind; therefore, they did not really feel the necessity to guarantee their Islamic togetherness. But his early policies in this respect were precursors to the later history of the Pakistani approach to foreign policy: a mix of national interests of security, Islamic solidarity, and dependency on international fora.

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that one of the first things Zafarullah Khan understood was that no relations could be disregarded, in particular, the relations with the United States. Already, its economy was weak, its defence system backward, and its industry practically nonexistent. It seemed



that these shortcomings were to be solved by American aid and investment. Zafarullah Khan assumed the role that it would be possible to achieve the resources that Pakistan requires to survive and maintain stability by becoming aligned with the West. Ideally, the United States was initially apprehensive. Washington saw South Asia largely through the way it related to India, which was viewed as the larger and more powerful state. Despite this, Zafarullah Khan still mentioned the central location of Pakistan as the bridge between the Middle East and South Asia, which preconditioned its potential as a power in countering the Soviet influence. Even though his attempt did not bear direct fruits, it aided in setting the stage for the subsequent pro-western policy that was adopted by Pakistan in mid-1950 under the direction of the then Prime Minister Bogra. The policy pursued by Zafarullah Khan thus presented in front of the imagination of Pakistan as being a resourceful partner to the Western structure of alliances. The president helped to open the lines of communication and project Pakistan as a potential seat of Western interest in the Muslim world in advance of concrete defense pacts, which were signed only after he departed office. [5].

The relationships between Pakistan and the Soviet Union were distant and suspicious during the period of Zafarullah Khan. First, Moscow did not notice Pakistan because it did not do much the first, at least formally. In 1949, the USSR invited Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, but this was not used up since Pakistan was also demanding the attention of the US. Zafarullah Khan was not closing out the prospect of developed relations with Moscow, but, in fact, his turn was more to the West. The reality that the relationship between Pakistan and Washington had been growing in such a manner that it had been viewed as suspicious by the Soviets also limited the relationship. This restraint was based on the fears of the Foreign Minister regarding the security interests of Pakistan that, according to his view, were better served by the economic and military assistance that was provided by the USA.

The United Kingdom was still particularly interested in Pakistan. Britain was (and still is) one of the largest trade partners and a supporter of the colony regarding the diplomatic relations because the country is its former colonial power and the head of the Commonwealth. Zafarullah Khan looked upon the membership of Pakistan into the Commonwealth in order to get its voice heard in the world and access to British skills and markets. His own experience with the political and legal institutions of Britain was a reinforcer to his engagement with the city of London. He increasingly sought to exploit the leverage posture of Britain on India in binding India not to be moderate on the issue of Kashmir and other quarrels. Although Britain did not always support Pakistan, the Commonwealth provided the new state with a priceless voice at the international level.

Supporting Palestine was one of the greatest characteristics of the foreign policy of Zafarullah Khan. Earlier in the United Nations in 1947, before the establishment of Pakistan, he had pleaded that partitioning Palestine was not consistent with the principles of justice and self-rule. He could perform himself with great eloquence and perseverance as a Foreign Minister defending the rights of the Arabs. The speeches gained him immense respect in the Arab world as Pakistan became an awareness leader in a crusader-like problem against Muslim interests. This lobbying helped in the quick acquisition of Pakistan by various Arab countries and made it a natural representative of the Muslim



Ummah.

The Zafarullah Khan foreign policy was more oriented to the growth of unity with Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, etc. The leader also projected Pakistan as a connecting point between South Asia and the Middle East; he saw the nation as the leader of Islamic unity. This has resulted in his efforts culminating in the premature adoption of Pakistan by the Arab world as a reliable partner, though actual collaboration did not go that high due to the dissimilarity of national interests. Anyhow, when it comes to the way of developing Muslim solidarity as one of the central motives in the foreign policy of Pakistan, Zafarullah Khan eventually defined the idea of the later operations, such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). His rhetoric formed the high tradition of foreign policy of Pakistan that there should be a correlation of national interest with a higher cause of Islamic solidarity.

In the vision of Zafarullah Khan, by the fact that Pakistan became the first modern state founded on Muslim principles, it became the duty of the nation to protect Muslim agendas internationally. His major goal was to make Pakistan a nation with international responsibility and not a small country in South Asia. His work ensured that the hitherto very minor country of Pakistan has an excessive presence on the Muslim political stage and left a diplomatic precedent on which the Pakistani foreign policy is based to this day. The Zafarullah Khan attitude to the relation with the great powers and making the Muslim world on his side is also a two-sided policy: his pragmatic relations with the West, which were the issues of survival, and his idealistic position on Muslim causes, which were the issues of legitimacy. What this balance brought to Pakistan was material opportunities and moral standing. It is maybe the duality that made tensions as well. His assistance won him acclaim in the Muslim world; his less active Westernism back home and fear of the Westerners by the Arab leaders, who feared Western influence. This pragmatism, with an element of conscience, however, helped Pakistan to have a name, a voice in the international forums, and a ground for future allies. It was through the diplomacy of Zafarullah Khan that ensured that Pakistan was not a pariah in the Cold particularly in respect of the relationship between Pakistan and America also a voice of moral standing within the Muslim world. [6].

However, significant to the foreign policy of Pakistan at the beginning of its history was Kashmir. The question of whether Kashmir should be acceded or not has been a question of survival and identity since 1947. The gender asymmetry of the partition and Kashmir all came together in a form of what Ashghal (2016) termed the symbolic spirit (p.1298) of partition to Pakistan: a Muslim-majority state ought to have become Pakistan due to the logic of partition. Incursion of Kashmir by the tribal regiments in October 1947 and subsequent follow-up by the Indian military changed the scenario to a major international conflict and the signing of the Instrument of Accession by the Maharaja. Zafarullah Khan realized that the case had to be taken to the United Nations when the armed war between India and Pakistan erupted. This was a breakthrough in terms of the foreign policy of Pakistan, which desired the intervention of the international community and even recognition of its claims [3].

The case of Pakistan was even defended by Zafarullah Khan himself in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). His speeches have become one of the most



unforgettable speeches in the life of Pakistani diplomacy, and a combination of legalism, appeal to morality, and historical argument was used. He claimed that the merging of Kashmir with India was never a valid one, as the Kashmiri people were not consulted about the merger. He encouraged the self-determination policy and said that the future of Kashmir should never be determined by a free and fair referendum under the umbrella of the UN. The war to him was not only a territorial tussle but also the beginning of the will of the international community to pursue the cause of justice and the rights of peoples. It showed sympathy for Pakistan in the international forums due to its eloquence. In 1948 and 1949, the UNSC adopted a resolution and called for a ceasefire, withdrawal of forces, and the plebiscite in Kashmir. Even though these resolutions never materialized due to differences between India and Pakistan, the initiatives of Zafarullah Khan succeeded in internationalizing the dispute to the extent that it could not be overlooked as a bilateral issue. [7]..

The merit of Zafarullah Khan was to present the application and argument of the case of Pakistan in the broader context of international law and morality. His experience as a jurist, judge at The Hague made him view the Kashmir conflict as the decolonization and the right of people to determine their political future. He requested that the people will not step on the will of Kashmiri people, since such a precedence will ruin the reputation of the United Nations as a source of justice. The strategy moved many smaller states particularly the colonial successor states that saw the reflection of their interests in the struggle of Pakistan.

However, despite his success as an advocate, Zafarullah Khan was forced to do with unassailable odds. In reaction, India, under the leadership of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru retorted that the Instrument of Accession had been emancipated under the law and Pakistan had violated international law by stimulating the tribal invasion. Nehru also calculated that Pakistan was an aggressionist with no moral right to demand a plebiscite. Moreover, the United States and the United Kingdom, being the great powers, had no desire to push India too far as they feared that the destabilization of South Asia will be experienced. Conversely, the Soviet Union had higher chances of encouraging India and this undermined the position of Pakistan. Zafarullah Khan was eloquent and could buy only sympathy and not necessarily an action. The plebiscite resolutions were stalemated and in the early 1950s the stalemating event was still stalemated.

The Zafarullah Khan work paid long-term dividends, yet Pakistan did not achieve its short-term aim of getting a plebiscite. To begin with, he was able to ensure that the issue of Kashmir remained at the center of international agenda such that India could not reduce it to an internal one. Second, he boosted the international level of Pakistan in terms of international relations presenting the country as an advocate of self-determination right. In the Muslim world and the Asian and African emerging states, his activism was acclaimed. The conflict between India and Kashmir also helped in the shaping of Pakistan as far as its overall foreign policy is concerned. It also reinforced the concept of international law, rationalised its deployment of international forums to leverage support to Pakistan, also pegged its diplomacy on the maintenance of principles of support of the helpless nations, a motif that would be repeated later in support of the Palestinian cause and decolonization of Africa.



Despite the fact that Kashmir was the prime element, Zafarullah Khan had other undertakings in the United Nations. He participated in Palestine debates opposing the formation of Israel and supporting the rights of the Arabs. He discussed the decolonization process and placing Pakistan in the status of an ally to the other Asian and African countries whose independence was still under colonial control. Such interventions gave Pakistan a moral position in the UN, far beyond what it deserved by virtue of its small size and the minimal leverage that it possessed. His speeches echoed not only regarding the debating issues at hand but also left new images regarding the nation of Pakistan as one that stood by the oppressed.

Zafarullah Khan showed the benefits and limitations that the early Pakistani diplomacy was experiencing at the UN. His jurisprudence and ethical boldness gave Pakistan a status and sympathy as well as ensures that the issues of Pakistan on the whole, especially Kashmir, become the centre of attention on the international stage. However the inability to make sympathy a practical means was the disadvantage to principle-seeking diplomacy in a world of great-power politics. His position is, however, basic. He included Pakistan in the machinery of international law and world institutions thereby ensuring that it would be heard as the fateful days of its being unfolded.

Even though Zafarullah Khan was the one who enjoyed international prominence, he was getting more and more criticism back home. His adherence to Ahmadiy was a political problem in Pakistan. Even the religious groups were at times questioning his suitability as a representative of an Islamic state since his personal beliefs were perceived to be a stumbling block in his good representation of the Muslim interests. His Palestinian and Kashmir speeches made him famous in the Arab world, but back home Rahman, with his concepts of secularism and the thought to abolish the Aland intentionally established the guiding lines of a country without a religious character; at home his religious character had been turned to discredit his policy by his critics. This was not a theological issue but a political one also. Opposition parties also took his appointment as a Minister of Foreign Affairs as a sign of weakness and the foreign policy of Pakistan was expected to be pursued by people who had significant religious credentials. The scandals around his religiosity and faith largely overshadowed his diplomatic acts and reduced his political sway, and alienated him within the Pakistani leadership.

His relations with the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan began on a cordial note with Zafarullah Khan but ended up being not cordial. Liaquat was more of a unifier of internal authority and international affairs with the United States and the Soviet Union, and Zafarullah Khan was more oriented to more ethical measures and international regulations. He often placed the reasons of Islamic solidarity and self-determination among his highest priorities but critics criticized him saying that he was diverting the attention of Pakistan towards its weak economic and defense needs. The situation was more politically unstable after the assassination of Liaquat in 1951. Its successive governments did not have good leadership and foreign policy making was dominated by practical needs to survive rather than principled positions as articulated by Zafarullah Khan. His sense of moral legitimacy over the long term challenged the short-term needs of alliances and help, particularly that of the United States [8].

In the early 1950s, there began to emerge a change in Pakistan strategic



orientation. The prime minister Muhammad Ali Bogra emphasized on following the Western camp and made every effort to reinforce the military ties with the United States in order to get economic support and military aid. It also marked the beginning of future Membership of SEATO (1954) and CENTO (1955) alliances of Pakistan. Zafarullah Khan was not opposed to Western relations but he did not wish to over-reliance on military relationships. His rationale was that Pakistan should be allowed to be partially independent and retain a degree of the moral authority of Pakistan it had asserted in the United Nations. However, his warning was beginning to seem increasingly like an anachronism to policy makers who had other interests and who considered abstract ideas to be of secondary importance to immediate survival and military strength of a state. This resulted in him diminishing power. The diplomacy of Zafarullah Khan would have lacked pragmatism in the eyes of Bogra and his counters, and would have been given the go ahead to entrench firmly Pakistan within the Western system of alliance.

By 1954 the divergence in vision between what Zafarullah Khan and the government believed was irreconcilable. To a position on the sidelines was now brought by the mixture of home politics which is unfavourable, and of the new calculations popular abroad. His step down, on 24 October 1954, not only ended his own career with the Ministry, but also the first phase of the foreign policy of Pakistan. His exit symbolized the execution of a diploma of idealistic and principle-directed diplomacy buttressed by address to a sense of justice, to a realistic and alliance-based international policy in which the focus was shifted to acquisition of military and economic aid. The principles/pragmatism balance that Zafarullah Khan had attempted to strike fell apart, to be succeeded by a more mono dimensional pro-Western bent.

Not that there were no failures in the tenure of Zafarullah Khan. Opponents said that:

- He would be prone to excessive employing the element of rhetorical advocacy, but not pragmatic diplomacy.
- Particular attention was paid to Muslim cause but this was not always in the best interest of Pakistan so that this moral stand could be taken.
- The fact that he over relied on the law as a way of measuring international relations undermined the importance of the politics of power in shaping the world.
- His faith was controversial and this jeopardized the domestic political support of his political base and his ability to consolidate power.

These weaknesses however must be viewed within the context of the early years of Pakistan. An enormous challenge faced by Zafarullah Khan had limited resources and institutions and lack of diplomatic experience. That he was even in a position to grant Pakistan some international profile is in itself an achievement. The work of Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan as the first foreign minister of Pakistan is the cornerstone to Pakistani foreign policy throughout history. He laid the foundations of foreign relations of Pakistan at the time when the state was weak, uncertain, and in search of an identity. His appearance at the United Nations and his feeling on justice had the international attention of Pakistan well beyond its proportions [9].



There are especially three legacies:

- International Identity and Ethical Stature- Zafarullah Khan put Pakistan in the moral upright position, and with profound belief in the respect of self-determination, and organizations of Muslim unity. The Palestinian and Kashmir case is the renowned defense by him of the Palestine state and Kashmir that has been quoted continuously in Pakistani politics.
- Pakistan as a Voice of the Muslim World -By elevating the Arab and Muslim cause to a new peak, Zafarullah Khan assisted Pakistan in developing its own niche of leadership in Islamic solidarity. Despite the fact that at his time practical cooperation was not very strong, his vision was realized in the future in the form of the Islamic Summit Conferences and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).
- The Diplomatic Institutions and Precedents- He took part in the creation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Relations in the field of diplomacy, including multilateral relations, international law application, and the establishment of relations with the great powers, the Muslim states. These were gained by the Pakistani diplomacy as enduring features of the game although the Pakistani policy changed towards military alliances.

The Zafarullah Khan foreign policy can be considered as a blend of principle and pragmatism, however according to the critics, he was tilted towards principle.

Strengths: He gave Pakistan a dignified voice in the United Nations, he allowed the new state to receive early recognition and he gave the state images of identity beyond of South Asia. His expertise in law allowed Pakistan to present issues such as Kashmir within the context of international law and self-determination right, and this is why they remained on the international agenda.

Weaknesses: he put heavy emphasis on moral arguments that were not always followed up with practical items. He did a very good job in proving the case of Pakistan, yet he did not get the final approval of the key powers regarding Kashmir, as well as financial aid. Moreover, his controversial religious affiliation denied him a strong domestic base, due to which he could not formulate a foreign policy vision.

Importantly, he also did not eye-to-eye with the realist change in Pakistani foreign policy since 1951. Alliances built around bychiatric style (i.e., survival by politicians like Bogra, but warned by Zafarullah Khan, against over-dependence. This kind of discrepancy highlighted the protracted nature of the dilemma between principle and politics of power in the Pakistani foreign policy.

The resignation left a footprint by Zafarullah Khan. The subsequent leadership of Pakistan continued to make an appeal to Muslim cause, the most vocal being their active support of Palestine and in their attempts to establish an Islamic unity. His self-determination history of Kashmir continued in the Pakistan foreign policy strategy through decades. In the meantime, the limitations which he had to wrestle with were also also prophetic in the long term issues. The struggle has continued in Pakistan to reconcile between moral rhetoric and practical needs as seen in their tendencies to form war alliances to survive despite the attempts to attain legitimacy through Muslim solidarity. The Pakistani foreign policy had gained a duality and the duality is an inseparable component of the Pakistani foreign policy, which Zafarullah Khan would carry



with him.

The services of the first minister of foreign affairs of Pakistan (1947-1954) Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan was both historical and transitional. He gave Pakistani people a voice before the global community, ensured that it had a seat in the United Nations and championed causes that increased its morality among Muslims. Such a diplomatic strategy was grounded on a tactical outlook of Pakistan as a not a small state of the South Asian region, but a world leader advocating the concerns of the Muslim world and a champion of justice. Nevertheless, his presidency proved the insufficiency of this type of strategy as well. The economic situation of the poor Pakistan, its security obsession and its pressing needs pushed it towards pragmatism in confrontation with which the moral argument was a secondary consideration. The transformation that took place after his resignation, as it moved nearer towards pro-Western alliances, was an indication of the triumph of the idealism upon which he was based by the realist dimension of it. However, Zafarullah Khan is a figure in the history of the Pakistani diplomatic. The period of such an individual demonstrated that even a young and resource-weak state could gain a worthy hearing in an international arena through the application of the power of eloquence, legal expertise and courtesy of principles. His legacy does not just involve the very foundations he left but can be viewed in the questions left behind, of a course towards an ideals versus pragmatism in foreign policy; a course that remains self-sustaining to date, in terms of foreign policy and international relations in Pakistan.

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