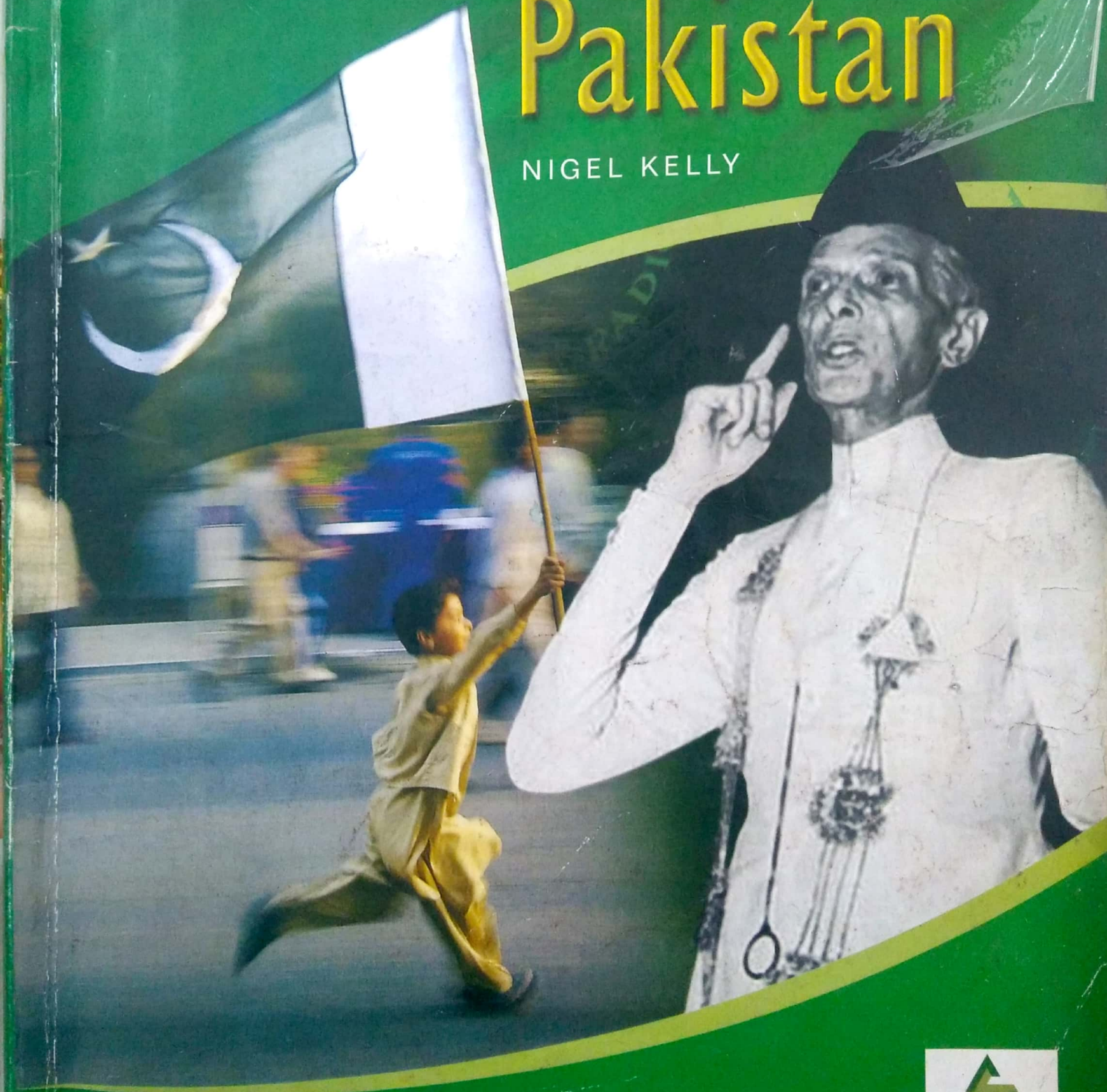


The History and Culture of Pakistan

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The Government and Constitution of Pakistan 1948-1988

Key Points in this chapter

- The leaders of Pakistan 1948-1988
- How they governed Pakistan
- Significant features of their rule
- Constitutional developments during this period

Timeline

The Government of Pakistan: 1948-88

▶▶ Sept 1948	The Ministry of Khawaja Nazimuddin
▶▶	Liaquat Ali Khan as Prime Minister
▶▶ Feb 1951	The Ministry of Malik Ghulam Muhammad
▶▶ 1955	The Ministry of Iskandar Mirza
▶▶ 1958	The Ministry of Field Marshal Ayub Khan
▶▶ 1969	The Ministry of Yahya Khan
▶▶ 1972	The Ministry of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
▶▶ 1977	The Ministry of Zia-ul-Haq

Pakistan in 1948

Although Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had helped establish Pakistan as an independent country, fully recognised by the United Nations, there were still many problems which had to be overcome by his successors.

- Pakistan was a poor country, with the mass of its people living close to subsistence level.
- The landowners dominated politics and provided the main support for the Muslim League. It was they who held the seats in the National Assembly.
- Relations with India were poor, particularly over Kashmir.
- Despite the work of the Quaid, Pakistan remained a country of five different regions, with different languages.
- The Quaid had not been in office long enough to introduce a new constitution. Indeed his taking office as Governor-General had created confusion about the respective roles of the Governor-General and the Prime Minister.

It was these problems which faced the men who were to govern Pakistan in the forty years after the death of the Quaid.

1: The Ministry of Khawaja Nazimuddin

▶▶ 14 Sept 1948	Khawaja Nazimuddin made Governor General
▶▶	Liaquat Ali Khan as Prime Minister
▶▶ 17 Sept 1948	India invades Hyderabad (Deccan)
▶▶ 12 Mar 1949	Objectives Resolution passed
▶▶ 1949	The Public and Representative (Disqualification) Act [PRODA]
▶▶ 28 Sept 1950	First Report of the Basic Principles Committee
▶▶ 16 Oct 1951	Liaquat assassinated while addressing a public meeting in Rawalpindi

1 Khawaja Nazimuddin (Sept. 1948-Oct. 1951)



Fig.11.1: Khawaja Nazimuddin

Liaquat Ali Khan, remained in office. Khawaja

On 14 September 1948, three days after the death of the Quaid, Khawaja Nazimuddin became the new Governor General of Pakistan. Nazimuddin was leader of the Muslim League at the time and was also Chief Minister of East Pakistan. He was respected as an honest and talented politician.

Nazimuddin quickly realized that Liaquat Ali Khan had the confidence of the government, administrators and people of Pakistan. People looked up to him because he was a close associate and a most trusted companion of Quaid-e-Azam. Nazimuddin therefore stood back and allowed Liaquat to run the country. The role of Governor General became less important than that of Prime Minister. One of



Fig.11.2: The Quaid & Liaquat Ali Khan

the first tasks which Liaquat Ali Khan had to address was establishing a constitution which would satisfy the different groups within Pakistan.

The Objectives Resolution

Since 1857 the subcontinent had been completely under the control of the British Crown. Various Acts of Parliament were passed setting out how India was to be governed. As you saw on page 77 the final Act, the Government of India Act 1935, said that India should be governed as follows:

- There would be a Governor-General reporting to the British Secretary of State for India in London. The Governor-General would be advised by an Executive Council and had wide powers over all aspects of government in India.
- There would also be two Houses of Parliament.
- At provincial level, there would be provincial governors, provincial assemblies and provincial ministers.

After independence in 1947, Pakistan was ruled under the Indian Independence Act, which was an amended version of the Government of India Act. A Constituent Assembly was set up to frame a new constitution, but until it reported, the Governor-General would have control over the entire field of government activity, but under the control of the Cabinet. However, as Pakistan lacked well-organised political parties and a Prime Minister with a stable majority in the legislature, it also lacked an effective Cabinet. So the Governor-General became a much more important office, particularly when it was held by the Quaid.

The Constituent Assembly had set up a Basic Principles Committee to decide the principles on which the new constitution should be based. It had 25 members, about a third of the Assembly. Its findings were contained in a document called the Objectives Resolution, which was passed on 12 March 1949. It declared:

1. The constitution should observe the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as laid down by Islam.
2. Muslims would be able to lead their lives according to Islamic principles.
3. Other religious groups should be able to practice their religion freely.
4. Minorities and the poor would be legally protected from social injustice.
5. All fundamental human rights should be guaranteed.
6. The legal system should be independent of government.

Aid to learning

Explain why the Basic Principles Commission might have wanted to include each of the six points in the Objectives Resolution of 1949.

The Objectives Resolution contained several references to Islam, as it tried to counter criticisms from the *ulama* that the new government had not made Pakistan a proper Islamic state, with a constitution based on the *Shariat*. Although there was no timescale set down for completing the Constitution, nor for holding the first elections - or indeed any agreement on how to make sure the Objectives were met, they did form the basis for the draft constitution presented to the Assembly by the Basic Principles Committee on 28 September 1950. The committee recommended bicameral legislature with equal powers. The president was to be elected by the joint session of the two houses. It suggested that Urdu should be the official language of Pakistan.

The proposals came in for much criticism:

- East Pakistan had a much larger population than West Pakistan and resented the idea of equal representation in the National Assembly. The East Pakistanis also resented having to accept Urdu as the official language, at the expense of Bengali.
- Provincial politicians objected to the power being given to the Head of State and to the Federal Government.
- Religious groups complained that the constitution was not sufficiently Islamic.

Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan decided that since there was so much criticism of the proposals they should be given further consideration. His untimely death meant that constitutional change had to wait until a new leader was found and had time to settle in.

Other Measures

During the time of Khwaja Nazimuddin's Governor-Generalship, several other important measures were taken.

Public and Representative Officers Disqualification Act

This Act showed that Pakistan had yet to become the free, democratic country that the Quaid had envisioned. It was sub-titled '*an Act for the debarment from public office for a suitable period of persons judicially found guilty of misconduct in any public office or any representative capacity in any matter thereto*'.

By this Act complaints could be made to the Governor-General or provincial governors who could order an enquiry by judges. Anyone found guilty under PRODA was debarred from office. The law was designed to eliminate corruption, but in reality, it allowed the ruling elite to remove those who it did not approve of.

Aid to learning

Was PRODA a good or bad law for Pakistan? Explain your answer.

Refugees:

In August 1947 the Quaid had called the refugee problem in Pakistan 'a grave emergency' and had set the Central Refugee Council to deal with it. Liaquat Ali Khan met with the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and signed the Liaquat-Nehru Pact. It was agreed that each government was responsible for the safety of minority groups within its borders. Free passage of refugees across the border was restricted and a visa system for refugees was introduced.

Hyderabad and Kashmir:

On 17 September 1948, while Pakistan was still coming to terms with the death of the Quaid, India invaded Hyderabad (see pp 96, 97). On 5 January 1948 the

United Nations Organization organized a ceasefire between India and Pakistan in Kashmir. However, there was no agreement over the future of Kashmir, so tension looked likely in time to come.

Army leaders:

In January 1951 Sir Douglas Gracey the British Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan army, was replaced by General Ayub Khan, a Pakistani. Since partition many army officers had complained about the presence of the British in senior positions. By 1951 most army officers were now Pakistani. Despite this, some army officers unhappy with the government, began to plan a coup to take over the government. In March 1951 this 'Rawalpindi Conspiracy' was discovered by Ayub Khan, and the conspirators were arrested, tried and imprisoned. Amongst them was Major-General Akbar Khan, Chief of General Staff and 14 other officers.

Liaquat Ali Khan had survived his first coup, but his success was to be short-lived. He was shot dead by an assassin on 16 October 1951, whilst addressing a public meeting in Rawalpindi. He had worked tirelessly for the country and was a popular leader. The government gave him the title of Shaheed-e-Millat (a martyr for the cause of the nation).

2: The Ministry of Malik Ghulam Muhammad

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| » Oct 1951 | Malik Ghulam Mohammad sworn in as Governor General of Pakistan |
| » 17 Apr 1953 | Nazimuddin dismissed from premiership |
| » | Muhammad Ali Bogra appointed Prime Minister |
| » | First Five Year Plan for economy introduced |
| » Aug 1953 | Pakistan joins SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) |
| » 21 Sept 1954 | PRODA repealed |
| » | The Assembly passes laws limiting the powers of the Governor General |
| » 29 Sept 1954 | Ghulam Muhammad dissolves the Assembly. New cabinet sworn in |
| » Feb 1955 | Sindh High Court rules that dissolution of Assembly was unconstitutional |
| » 10 May 1955 | Federal Court overturns Sindh High Court ruling |
| » 28 May 1955 | New Assembly elected |
| » Aug 1955 | Ghulam Muhammad forced to resign due to ill health |

2 Malik Ghulam Muhammad (1951-1955)



Fig.11.3: Malik Ghulam Muhammad

He was the first of a number of major political figures in Pakistan who had risen from amongst the civil service to high office.

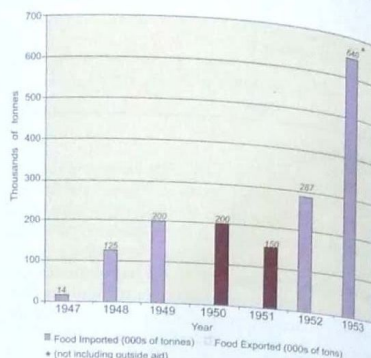
In 1950 a Planning Commission was set up to oversee economic development in Pakistan. In 1951 it launched a Six Year Plan for Pakistan, covering agriculture, fuel and power, industry and mining, transport and communications and 'social uplift schemes'. In 1953 a Planning Board was set up to review the development that had taken place and this produced a Draft Five Year Plan in 1956 to follow on from the Six Year Plan. Both these schemes played a major part to help bring about economic development in Pakistan. For example, in 1952 a major jute processing plant was opened at Narayanganj (East Pakistan) and the exploration for oil/gas led to the discovery of vast reserves of natural gas at Sui in Balochistan.

However, these were not easy times for the people of Pakistan. From 1951 to 1953 there was a severe drought in Pakistan. This affected food production and in February 1953 severe food shortages led to rioting in most cities throughout Pakistan. The government was not well-placed to deal with these shortages. During the Korean War there had been increased demand for Pakistan's jute and cotton, to supply the thousands of soldiers involved in the fighting but by 1953 demand had declined.

This meant that Pakistan was making less money just when it needed to buy more foodstuffs. In April the USA agreed to donate a million tons of wheat to help Pakistan overcome the food crisis.

The rioting, however, had not been just about food shortages. It also had a religious element. Some *ulemas* had begun a campaign against the Ahmedis. They

demanded that all Ahmedis be dismissed from office, including Zafarullah Khan, the Foreign Minister. It was only after martial law was imposed and numerous arrests were made that the rioting was brought under control.



In good years, Pakistan has a surplus of food and can export some to gain foreign currency. In bad years it has to import food to save prevent starvation. The graph covers the period 1947-53 to show in which years Pakistan had a net surplus and in which years it had a net shortage.

Aid to learning

- 1 Why do you think in some years food had to be imported, but in others it could be exported?
- 2 How does the graph help you to understand why there were food riots in early 1953?

Constitutional Matters

The recommendations of the Basic Principles Committee presented to the Assembly on 28 September 1950 had proved so unpopular that they were withdrawn for further consideration. Two years later, on 22 December 1952 a revised Report of the Basic Principles Committee was presented by the Prime Minister, Nazimuddin. It altered the 1950 proposals by suggesting:

1. The Head of State must be Muslim.
2. There should be a House of Units with 60 member from East Pakistan and 60 from West Pakistan. The House of People should have 400 members with 200 elected from each wing.

3. Religious minorities would have representatives at National and Provincial levels.
4. The Cabinet was to be responsible to the National Assembly, not the Head of State.
5. The Head of State would choose a committee of Islamic specialists to ensure that all legislation conformed to Islamic law.
6. The official language should be settled by the Assembly.

These proposals also met with criticism, so Nazimuddin said they would undergo further discussion. Further political changes and uncertainty meant that a Constitution was not settled until 1956, when Major General Iskander Mirza was in power. As yet, Pakistan had no official language, although Urdu had been suggested under the Quaid and had much government support. It was an issue that so many people felt strongly about that it would be hard to resolve without further unrest – the Bengalis of East Pakistan, were particularly opposed to its use. Consequently no progress was made on this issue.

On 17 April 1953 Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Khawaja Nazimuddin and three other members of the Cabinet, blaming them for not controlling the economy and the riots that resulted from food shortages in February. He did this despite the fact that they had received a vote of confidence from the Assembly. Malik Ghulam Muhammad said that:

I have been driven to the conclusion that the Cabinet of Khawaja Nazimuddin has proved entirely inadequate to grapple with the difficulties facing the country.

Nazimuddin was angered, but decided not to resist, fearing that disagreement in the government would be disastrous for the country. The new Cabinet had eight old members and three new ones, including a new Prime Minister, Muhammad Ali Bogra, who had been the acting ambassador to the USA.

Bogra wanted as much foreign aid as possible to boost Pakistan's economy. In April 1953 the US, Canada and Australia agreed to send Pakistan a million tons of wheat, which helped to calm fears of famine that had sparked the riots. It was also Bogra who set up the Planning Board to produce a Five-Year Plan that would, hopefully, avoid further food shortages. He also worked out a regional agreement, called the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Part of this involved Western aid for Pakistan, in term of both money, supplies and the help of various industrial experts.

Aid provided by the US until 01 January 1957	
Type of Aid	Amount (in million dollars)
Project aid	
Money for projects	
Technical help	75.5
34.4	
Commodity aid	
Food and other relief supplies	220.2
Industrial raw materials	135.4
Consumer goods	43.1
TOTAL	508.6

Aid to learning

- 1 Use the table to draw a bar chart to show the various kinds of aid received from the US up to 01 January 1957.
- 2 During the time of the Cold War (see page 138), why do you think the USA would be so keen to provide Pakistan with aid?

The social and economic problems that Pakistan faced, coupled with Ghulam Muhammad's desire to maintain the power of the position of Governor-General, meant that there was little progress in getting agreement on the new constitution. Instead, Ghulam Muhammad hoped to dominate Bogra to maintain his own power. But Bogra did not turn out to be quite as compliant as Ghulam Muhammad had hoped.

On 21 September 1954, while Ghulam Muhammad was out of the country, Bogra persuaded the Assembly to pass laws limiting the powers of the Governor General by saying:

- all his ministers, including the Prime Minister, must be members of the Assembly.
- that the Assembly had to approve the Cabinet,
- that the Governor General had to take the advice of his ministers.

This was an attempt by the Assembly to weaken the powers of the Governor-General and increase its own powers. After voting through the above measures in just 15 minutes, the Assembly repealed the Public and Representative (Disqualification) Act (PRODA), which said the Governor General could remove ministers from the National and Provincial governments for up to five years if they 'abused public office'. Then the Assembly adjourned for a month to discuss a new draft constitution.

However, Ghulam Muhammad was not a man who took opposition lightly. He waited until Bogra was out

of the country during the following week and then struck back. He declared a state of emergency and then dissolved the Assembly. He made a statement saying: *The Governor-General, having considered the political crisis with which the country is faced, has decided to declare a state of emergency. The Constituent Assembly, as at present constituted, has lost the confidence of the people and can no longer function. Until such time as elections are held, the administration of the country will be carried out by a reconstituted Cabinet.*

Ghulam Muhammad then chose a new Cabinet. Having resisted his authority, he re-appointed Bogra as Prime Minister, but selected five members of the cabinet who were not members of the Assembly; this included the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Ayub Khan.

Maulvi Tamizuddin, the Speaker of the dissolved Assembly contested the dissolution in the Sindh High Court, saying that the dissolution had been illegal and that non-Assembly members should not be appointed in the cabinet. In February 1955 the Court ruled in favour of Maulvi Tamizuddin. Ghulam Muhammad appealed to the Federal Court against this judgement. On 10 May 1955, this higher court ruled that Ghulam Muhammad had the authority to dismiss the Assembly 'if he was satisfied that the situation demanded it.'

On 21 June 1955, elections were held for a new Constituent Assembly. It met for the first time on 7 July 1955. In August, Ghulam Muhammad fell ill and had to resign. He was replaced by Major General Iskander Mirza.

'The constitutional machinery has broken down... The Constituent Assembly has lost the confidence of the people and can no longer function.'

SOURCE A

From a speech by Ghulam Muhammad on 24 October 1954, when he dissolved the Assembly.

The Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body. The Governor General has no power of any kind to dissolve it.

SOURCE B

Part of the decision made by the Sindh High Court, February 1955.

When, on 21 March 1955, the judge issued the [federal] court's majority decision upholding Ghulam Muhammad's dismissal of the Constituent Assembly, one legal scholar said 'it devastated the political structure of Pakistan.'

SOURCE C

From *A Journey to Disillusionment*, by Sherbaz Khan Mazari, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Aid to learning

- 1 What reason did Ghulam Muhammad give for dissolving the Constituent Assembly? (Source A)
- 2 Ghulam Muhammad thought he had the right to dissolve the Constituent Assembly. Did the Sindh Court agree with him? (Source B)
- 3 What do you think the historian meant when he said that the Federal Court judges decision was 'devastating to the political structure of Pakistan'? (Source C)

- » 1955 Iskander Mirza becomes acting Governor General
- » Muhammad Ali Bogra dismissed as Prime Minister
- » Chaudhri Muhammad Ali made Prime Minister
- » 5 Oct 1955 One Unit system introduced -
- » West Pakistan to be treated as one unit, not four provinces
- » 23 Mar 1956 Constitution announced
- » 12 Sep 1956 Chaudhri Muhammad Ali resigns, Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy made Prime Minister
- » 8 Oct 1957 Suhrawardy dismissed, I.I. Chundrigar appointed Prime Minister
- » Dec 1957 I.I. Chundrigar dismissed, Feroze Khan Noon made Prime Minister
- » 7 Oct 1958 Mirza proclaimed Martial law. Made himself President
- » Ayub Khan made Prime Minister

3 Major General Iskander Mirza (1955-1958)



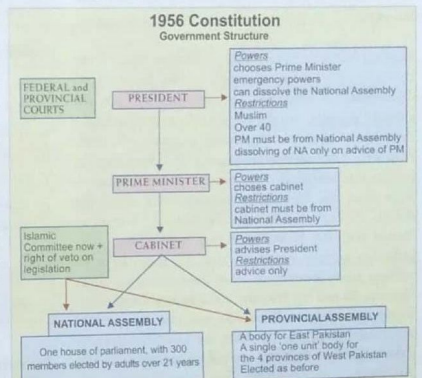
Fig.11.3: Major General Iskander Mirza ill health, Iskander Mirza was made acting Governor General. He decided that what Pakistan needed was a leader capable of taking, decisive action. As a politician with a military background having served in the British army, Mirza was not afraid to take it.

He dismissed Ali Bogra as Prime Minister and made him the ambassador to the USA again. He appointed the Finance Minister, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, as Prime Minister and pressed him hard to have a Constitution drawn up quickly.

1956 Constitution

On 29 February 1956 Pakistan's first Constitution was adopted by the Second Constitution

Assembly. It was formally enforced on 23 March. The Constitution was a compromise between the wishes of the two most important parties, the Muslim League and the United Front, and neither was completely satisfied. However, the United Front dropped its objections to equal seats in the Assembly and no longer demanded full provincial autonomy. In return Bengali was accepted as an official language. The constitution declared that the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' was to be governed as shown in the diagram below.



Rights guaranteed by the Constitution:

1. Free speech and assembly
2. Right to vote
3. Right to form political parties
4. Right to criticise
5. Freedom from unlawful arrest
6. Freedom of religion
7. Equality as a citizen
8. Freedom of culture
9. Right to security
10. Right to marry
11. Right to education
12. Right to own property
13. Right to choose trade or profession
14. Right to practice that profession

The constitution was to last only two years before President Mirza (the office of Governor-General was replaced with that of President in the constitution) declared martial law and scrapped the new constitution.

The 'One Unit' policy:

In November 1954, Bogra had proposed that the four provinces and 10 princely states within Pakistan should be joined together to form West Pakistan. On 5 October 1955 Mirza passed an order unifying all of West Pakistan in what became known as the 'One Unit Scheme'.

Iskandar Mirza claimed that the unification would bring about greater efficiency and enable more rapid development. It would also be a significant step towards a united country, instead of one where people might show loyalty to their local province and not to the state. However, there were other reasons for the policy. In Pakistan the dominant politicians and administrators were from the West wing, in particular, from the Punjab. These leading lights in the Pakistan government feared that the East Pakistanis might soon gain influence at their expense. After all, there were 10 million more people in East Pakistan than West Pakistan. By making Pakistan officially two wings (West Pakistan and East Pakistan) and ensuring equal representation in the Assembly, the One Unit Scheme prevented East Pakistan gaining a majority in the Assembly.

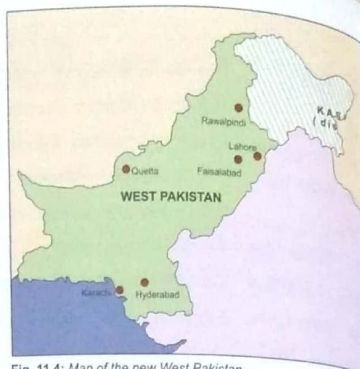


Fig. 11.4: Map of the new West Pakistan

The scheme was highly unpopular in East Pakistan and also was opposed in the individual provinces of West Pakistan. Such was the opposition that President Mirza had to dismiss the Chief Minister of Sindh and dissolve the state assemblies of Bahawalpur and Khairpur provinces. West Pakistan formally came into being as a united province on 14 October 1955.

There will be no Bengalis, no Punjabis, no Sindhis, no Pathans, no Balochis, no Bahawalpuris, no Khairpuris. The disappearance of these groups will strengthen the integrity of Pakistan.

SOURCE A

A comment made by Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1954.

1. It would end the curse of provincial prejudices.
2. It would reduce administrative expenses.
3. It would allow the development of backward areas.
4. It would make it easier to draw up a new constitution.
5. It would give East and West Pakistan maximum autonomy.

SOURCE B

The reasons given to the Assembly for adopting the One Unit Scheme by Iskandar Mirza in September 1955.

On paper the scheme appeared rational, but the issues that separated the provinces and nationalities were sentimental and emotional, psychological and historic. No paper reorganization could change, let alone replace, the underlying realities.

SOURCE C

From *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century*, by Lawrence Ziring, Oxford University Press, 1997.

Aid to learning

1. What was the One Unit policy?
2. Why was there so much resistance to the One Unit policy?

Other policies

• **Modernization:** Iskandar Mirza's government program initiated an industrialization and rural development programme. Karachi airport was completed in 1955 and modernization of railway continued. The telephone system was expanded. Mirza publicised government provision in health and education services. However, these were not always as extensive as the government made out.

• **East Pakistan:** East Pakistan had always been poorer than West Pakistan and its people had not been involved in the decision-making process of government. Their natural discontent was made worse by food shortages and other problems caused by severe flooding through 1955. Chaudhri Mohammad Ali resigned as Prime Minister on 12 September 1956. Mirza replaced him with Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy, a politician from East Pakistan. He hoped that giving the most important Cabinet post to a politician from East Pakistan would help to win support from there for his government.

Suhrawardy kept his job for only a year. He had no desire to be a 'puppet' Prime Minister and pressed hard for Mirza to allow him to have a meaningful degree of authority. He was dismissed in October 1957. Suhrawardy showed what a shrewd politician he was by asking Mirza to put his popularity to the test by holding a vote in the Assembly. Mirza knew that Suhrawardy would probably win this vote and refused.

On 18 October 1957 Iskandar Mirza appointed Ibrahim Ishmail Chundrigar to replace Suhrawardy. His

government was a collection of politicians with differing views which could not even agree on major issues, such as the One Unit Scheme. Feroze Khan Noon was Mirza's next choice. Noon's government contained members from a number of political parties and was even more divided than that of Chundrigar. He was forced to appoint a large Cabinet (26 members out of the 80 in the Assembly) in the hope that this would help bring all shades of opinion into the government and create unity. Inevitably, it did not. Mirza now found himself in a very difficult position. His rule was becoming increasingly unpopular and the 1956 Constitution had been introduced with the promise of elections in 1957. Mirza dare not call these as he knew he would lose. On 7 October 1958, Iskandar Mirza, using the constant disagreements in the government as his excuse, proclaimed martial law with himself as President. Iskandar Mirza had lost the support of many of the leading politicians and was alarmed by a plan by Suhrawardy to unite the political leadership of Bengal and Punjab against him. Therefore, Iskandar Mirza turned to the military. He asked the Commander-in-Chief of the army, General Ayub Khan to take charge as Chief Martial Law Administrator. On 24 October he appointed Ayub Khan as Prime Minister. Ayub Khan had on several occasions declined an offer from Ghulam Muhammad to take over the country, but by 1958 he had come to believe that it was now necessary. On 27 October he forced Mirza to resign and was exiled to London. Pakistan began its first period of military rule.

Declaration of Martial Law October 1958

- The Constitution of 23 March 1956 will be abrogated.
- The government will be dismissed with immediate effect.
- The National and Provincial Assemblies will be dissolved.
- All political parties will be abolished.
- Until alternative arrangements, Pakistan will remain under martial law.

Aid to learning

1. How many Prime Ministers did Iskandar Mirza have from 1955 to 1958?
2. Why do you think there were so many changes of Prime Minister?
3. What do you think made Ayub Khan change his mind and take control in October 1958?

- 27 Oct 1958 General Ayub Khan takes over.
- Oct 1959 Basic Democracies introduced
- 1 Mar 1962 New Constitution
- Sept 1965 War with India
- 25 Mar 1969 Ayub forced to resign

4 Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan (1958-1969)

Ayub Khan announced that he hoped that a period of military rule would settle Pakistan. Since the death of the Quaid and Liaquat Ali Khan, the government of Pakistan had been subject to so much change and uncertainty that it had been difficult to develop industry, support agriculture and maintain even a basic level of social welfare. Once stability was restored and Pakistan was more settled, Ayub Khan said, the government would provide a constitution that would 'combine democracy with discipline'.

SOURCE WORK

'A new era has begun under General Ayub Khan and the armed forces have undertaken to root out the administrative malaise and anti-social practices, to create a sense of confidence, security and stability and eventually to bring the country back to normalcy. I hope and pray Allah may give them the wisdom and strength to achieve their objective.'

A comment made by Quaid-e-Azam's Sister, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, in an interview with the Morning News, 29 October 1958.

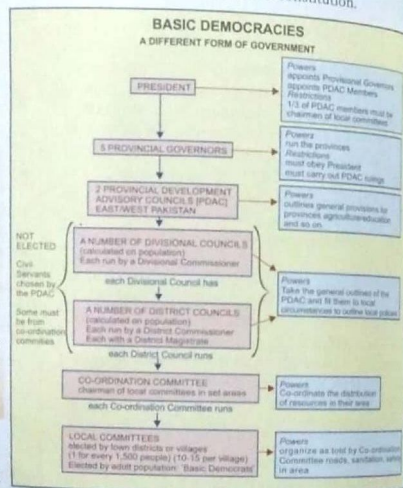
- 1 What is Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah saying is going to happen in Pakistan?
- 2 The Quaid was not in favour of government by the army. Why, then do you think his sister, who had also been his advisor, supported Ayub Khan's takeover?

1959 Basic Democracies

The first step in Ayub Khan's constitutional

reforms came with the introduction of the Basic Democracies Order on 26 October 1959. As shown in the diagram below, this four-tier system in which ordinary people elected union council members who in turn elected district and divisional members who elected Basic Democrats would also form the electoral college for the election of the President and members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures.

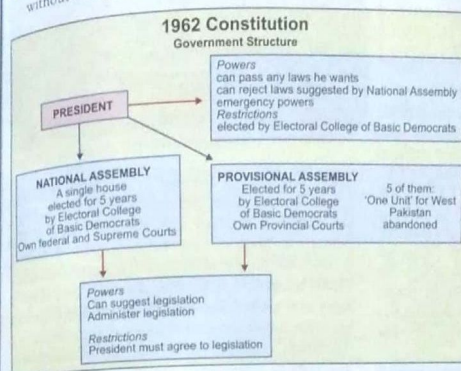
At the end of 1959, Ayub asked the Basic Democrats for a vote of confidence. Almost 95% of them declared their confidence in him and on 17 February 1960 he was confirmed as President. He then announced the creation of a Constitution Commission to make recommendations for a new constitution.



1962 Constitution

The new constitution was announced on 1 March 1962. Although Ayub described it as combining 'democracy with discipline', in reality it set up a presidential form of government.

- The President could not be removed unless impeached.
- The President nominated the Cabinet from the members of the National Assembly.
- The President nominated the heads of the judiciary and the provincial governors (who then nominated their Cabinets).
- The National Legislature could not pass a law without the approval of the President.



The new constitution was introduced without debate and Ayub brought martial law to an end soon afterwards. The new National Assembly met for the first time on 8 June 1962. One of its first acts was to remove the ban on political parties. It appeared that Pakistan was moving nearer to a democratic system, but actually, Ayub's reforms had increased the powers of the ruling elite. This had happened because the Basic Democrats dominated the elections to the Basic Democracies and often used coercion or bribery to influence the results.

The constitution also further upset the people of East Pakistan. They felt that they would have little part in governing Pakistan. Gradually they were coming to realize that Pakistan's government was in the hands of military and civil officials from West Pakistan. Various steps were taken to placate them:

- Both Urdu and Bengali were recognised as two of

the national languages.

- The National Assembly Session was to be held in both Dhaka and Islamabad.
- If the President were from West Pakistan, then the Speaker of the National Assembly was to be from East Pakistan.

Despite these measures the people of East Pakistan still believed that Pakistan was, in reality, government of East Pakistan by West Pakistan. This resulted in a feeling of unease in East Pakistan.

In January 1965 elections were held for the Presidency. Ayub Khan was nominated by a new party, the Convention Muslim League, which he had helped form.

He believed that the opposition parties were too divided to put up a credible opponent in the elections. He was, however, wrong. The opposition parties all agreed to support the sister and advisor of the Quaid, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah.

In the election, Ayub Khan won 64% of the votes, compared to Miss Jinnah's 36%. This result was challenged by the opposition, who claimed that the voting had been rigged. There were riots in Karachi and East Pakistan in which 20 people were killed. Ayub Khan had been re-elected, but at the price of riots by opposition groups, who believed their candidate had been cheated.

Other measures

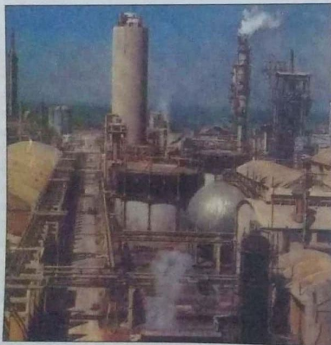
Agricultural reforms: Ayub Khan's advisors wanted to bring reforms in the field of agriculture and make it more productive. They said that many small, subsistence holdings could never be efficient. A law was passed saying that no farm could be smaller than 12.5 acres or larger than 500 acres (irrigated) or 1000 acres (unirrigated). This meant that many smaller farmers found their land was redistributed. However, the resulting larger farms did produce a steady rise in food output. Big landowners were forced to find tenants for parts of their land and this, too, raised productivity as the tenants and smaller farms were often more efficient than the larger, poorly run farms. Three major dams were built to help irrigation. Farmers were also loaned money to build wells to reduce the need for canal irrigation. These reforms revitalised agriculture and crop yields were at an all time record. Ayub said

that they had brought about a Green Revolution. However, it should be noted that much of the increased productivity was due to mechanization, which could generally only be afforded by big landowners.



Fig. 11.5: Ayub Khan on a model farm

Industrial reforms: Ayub Khan's advisors pressed for more industrial development. This was carried out with the help of loans from more industrialized western countries, particularly the USA, Germany and the UK. In 1962 an oil refinery was established in Karachi and a Mineral Development Corporation set up for the exploration of mineral deposits. In 1964 an economic union was formed with Iran and Turkey, the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) in which the three countries agreed to develop ties in trade, commerce and industry. An Export Bonus Scheme was set up offering incentives to industrialists who increased exports.



As a result of these policies economic growth rose sharply. The average annual rate by which the economy grew in the 1960s was 7%, which was three times that of India. Production did rise rapidly and the Pakistani economy improved significantly, but the new wealth created did little to benefit the large numbers of Pakistanis living near the poverty line. In 1968 it was revealed that just 22 families controlled 66% of Pakistan's industrial assets. The same families also controlled 80% of Pakistan's banking and insurance companies. So a small, elite group of wealthy Pakistanis had almost complete control of Pakistan's wealth. It did not go unnoticed in East Pakistan that almost all these families were in West Pakistan. Also, whilst industry was improving rapidly, Pakistan was increasingly dependant on foreign aid.

Social and Educational reforms: Ayub Khan's advisors drew up a new curricula for schools and suggested that new textbooks should be published. The government began an extensive literacy programme, building new schools and colleges.

There was also an attempt to deal with shelterless people. In some cities, especially Karachi, refugees from the partition era had still not been able to find permanent homes. Ayub Khan appointed General Azam Khan the Rehabilitation Minister and he settled 75,000 refugees in newly built dwellings near Karachi. Laws were passed that factory owners had to provide accommodation for their workers at a reasonable rent – although it did not specify that this accommodation had to be of a reasonable quality.

Ayub's government also tried to control population growth and set up the Family Planning Programme, funded largely by American loans. The government used radio, cinema, newspapers, posters and leaflets to persuade Pakistanis to limit the size of their families. The programme, however, was not particularly successful.

Medical facilities were also improved. More medical and nursing training schools were set up to increase the number of doctors and nurses.

A new capital

Since partition, the capital had been Karachi. Ayub's government decided to build a new capital. In 1959 the site of Islamabad was chosen to replace Karachi as the capital of Pakistan.

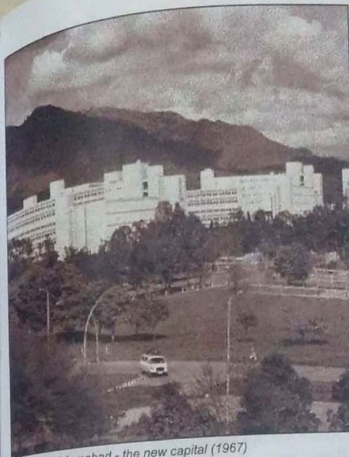


Fig. 11.6: Islamabad - the new capital (1967)

Construction was started in October 1961, and the city came into life on 26 October, 1966, when the first office building of Islamabad was occupied. In 1967 Islamabad was officially made the capital. Work on the city's principal buildings, streets, and facilities continued and was completed by the mid-1970s. It is a modern and carefully planned city.

The Secretariat Blocks are the administrative and policy planning nerve center of the country. They cover an area of 92,900 square meters. The city is divided into eight largely self-contained zones, each characterized by its predominant usages (such as the diplomatic enclave, the commercial district, the educational sector, the industrial and residential areas etc.) each with its own shopping area and park.

SOURCE WORK

'We have given it the name Basic Democracies for the very obvious reason that we want it to grow and evolve from the very first rung of the political ladder so it finds roots deep among the people.'

Part of a speech made by Ayub Khan on the radio on 2 September 1959.

- 1 Do you think that all the people of Pakistan will have agreed that Ayub's new system was one which laid the roots of democracy in Pakistan? Explain your answer.

Political unrest:

In 1965 Pakistan went to war with India over Kashmir. Ayub's government had provoked India into war, but neither side was able to win a decisive victory. Ayub told the people that Pakistan had won the war, but the peace treaty at Tashkent contained no reference to how the Kashmir issue should be settled. It was to regain that disputed Kashmir territory that Pakistan had started the war. Ayub sacked the Foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who he blamed for the failings in the war. Bhutto now became a focal point for opposition to Ayub.

By 1968 many people were discontented with the government. It seemed to be undemocratic as there were numerous accusations of *intimidation* and vote-rigging in the elections for the electoral college and the presidential elections. The economy was improving, yet only a few people were benefiting from this. Agricultural production was rising, but so were food prices.

Ayub decided to celebrate the achievements of his ten years as head of state by declaring it 'A Decade of Development', but this did not end the growing opposition.

- In October 1968, there were student protests all over West Pakistan.
- On a visit to Peshawar Ayub was the target of a failed assassination attempt.
- When Ayub carried out widespread arrests, including Bhutto, there were more protests, which spread to East Pakistan.

Ayub Khan's repressive policies succeeded in uniting the various parties that opposed him. In January 1969 eight of them formed the Democratic Action Committee. They wanted proper elections, the lifting of emergency powers and autonomy for East Pakistan. Ayub tried to calm the unrest.

On 17 February 1969 Ayub Khan withdrew the emergency powers and released many political prisoners arrested the previous October. He began negotiating with the opposition. But he had done too little, too late. Even his cherished Basic Democracies Scheme began to unravel as Basic Democrats resigned in large numbers. The opposition rapidly gained support, whilst he and his party rapidly lost it.

By March he realised that he did not have enough support to stay in power. On 25 March 1969 he resigned. But he did not call for new elections to choose another President. Instead he handed over power to the army and for the second time in its short history Pakistan experienced martial law.

- ▶ Mar 1969 Yahya Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, becomes President
- ▶ Apr 1969 1962 Constitution suspended
- ▶ Dec 1970 Awami League wins majority in National Assembly
- ▶ 25 Mar 1971 Civil War breaks out between East and West Pakistan
- ▶ 4 Dec 1971 India declares war on Pakistan
- ▶ 16 Dec 1971 Pakistan army in East Pakistan forced to surrender
- ▶ 20 Dec 1971 Yahya resigns as President. Bhutto takes over
- ▶ 21 Dec 1971 Republic of Bangladesh officially declared an independent nation
- ▶ 10 Jan 1972 Mujib-ur-Rehman becomes first Prime Minister of Bangladesh

5 General Yahya Khan (1969-1971)

Following the declaration of martial law, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, General Yahya Khan, was appointed Chief Martial Law Administrator and also took over as President.

He announced that:

1. Basic Democracy had not been a success.
2. There would be a properly elected government.
3. The 'One Unit' system had not worked, so there would be a return to Provincial Government.

Although he was a military commander, Yahya was committed to bringing democracy to Pakistan based on 'one man, one vote'. The One Unit plan and the 1962 Constitution were annulled and Pakistan's four provinces re-established.

From January 1970 political activity resumed. The various parties began campaigning to elect a National Assembly of 300 members. That assembly would have 120 days to draw up a new constitution. Three days after the National Assembly elections, there would be provincial elections.

The elections were to be held in October 1970, but they had to be postponed because severe flooding in East Pakistan caused such chaos that voting was impossible. The elections were finally held on 7 December 1970 and for the first time ever were held on the principle of 'one man, one vote'. The results were such a shock that they created a constitutional crisis in Pakistan.



Fig.11.7: General Yahya Khan

Problematical Results

The elections gave the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 81 of the 138 seats in West Pakistan. But for the first time East Pakistan had been allowed more seats based on the fact that it had a greater population than West Pakistan. There were 162 seats in East Pakistan and one party, the popular Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur-Rehman won almost all of them. This presented Yahya with a situation which he could not tolerate. The Awami League had contested the election on a manifesto calling for political and economic independence for East Pakistan. The League would also have a majority in the National Assembly. Yahya could not allow the traditional dominance of West Pakistan to be overthrown.

Results of the National Assembly Election-1970

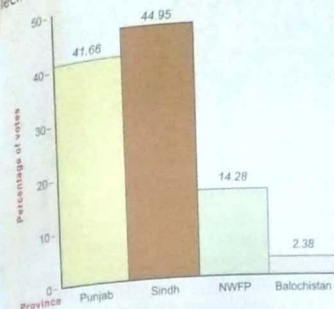
East Pakistan (162 seats)	
Awami League	160 seats
Others	2 seats
West Pakistan (138 seats)	
Pakistan People's Party	81 seats
Others	57 seats

Aid to learning

1. Explain why President Yahya Khan might have been surprised by the results of the 1970 elections.
2. Why did these results present him with a problem?

SOURCE WORK

Percentage of votes received by the PPP in the 1970 election



Total: West Pakistan 38.89%

1. What can you learn about support for the PPP from these figures?
2. Explain why support for PPP differed across West Pakistan.
3. Although the PPP scored only 38.89% of the votes, it won 81 of 138 seats. Can you explain why this was so?

The Awami League won 160 of the 162 seats in East Pakistan. Why was this? A major reason was the sense of frustration felt by the people in East Pakistan towards their Muslim countrymen in West Pakistan. In his autobiography, *Friends, Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, Ayub Khan stated that there were those in West Pakistan who considered their culture to be superior to that of East Pakistan. This did not go unnoticed amongst the Bengalis. Nor did the fact that East Pakistan was not well represented in any aspect of Pakistan's administration, from the government itself to the judiciary and civil service. In the army too, the majority of officers were from West Pakistan. These resentments caused the people of East Pakistan to vote in overwhelming numbers for a party which promised them a real say in how Pakistan was governed.

The people of East Pakistan also felt that their province suffered from lack of economic development. In 1951 the per capita income of East Pakistan was 85% of that of West Pakistan. In other words, West Pakistanis were, on average 15% wealthier than East Pakistanis. By 1970 it was only 60%. The Bengalis believed that West

Pakistan's economic growth had taken place as a result of transferring resources from East to West Pakistan. They argued that the single largest Pakistani export was jute, which was grown in East Pakistan. Whereas perhaps the largest spending by the government was on defence to protect the border with India. Since most of the border between the two countries lay in West Pakistan, some East Pakistanis considered that spending on the army was really to protect West Pakistan. There was no major border dispute between East Pakistan and India.



Fig.11.8: Jute cutting in East Pakistan

So when the election of December 1970 came, the Awami League was able to win support by proposing a programme which called for a fairer share of government spending and more power to the provinces. It is worth noting that it did not propose secession from West Pakistan. It was the reaction of West Pakistan to the election results which led to serious problems. The Awami League won their huge victory by campaigning on the basis of the Six Points.

In the Six Points the Awami League called for:

1. A directly elected government.
2. The federal government to control defence and foreign policy. All other decisions to be made at provincial level.
3. Separate currencies and/or financial policies for East and West Pakistan, to stop all the money flowing from East Pakistan to West Pakistan.
4. The provinces to tax their people and send a share to the federal government. The federal government not to tax people.
5. Each province to set up its own trade agreements with other countries and to control the money spent/made through this trade.
6. Each province to have its own troops.

Why did the victory of the Awami League cause a constitutional crisis?

There were two major problems created by the results of the election.

- The Awami League had won such a large number of seats that it now had a majority not only in East Pakistan, but also in the National Assembly as a whole. That meant that it was in a position to form the government on its own. In theory, the future Prime Minister and the entire cabinet could come from East Pakistan. Although the PPP had won an overwhelming victory in West Pakistan (in terms of number of seats), it was quite possible for it to have no role in the government unless the Awami League invited it to share power.
- The second problem was that the Awami League had won the election on a programme limiting the power of central government over the provinces. The call for the provinces to have control of their foreign exchange earned from trade would greatly reduce the funds available to the central government in West Pakistan.

Consequently, Yahya Khan and the West Pakistani politicians were prepared to allow the Six Points to be put into action. Mujib believed that they were negotiable, but he had little chance to explain this, before steps were taken against him.

Aid to learning

- 1 Write out each of the Six Points of the Awami League in your own words. After each point, explain how this point weakened central government and empowered the provinces.

West Pakistan reacts:

- In January 1971 Yahya visited Mujib-ur-Rehman and even referred to him as 'the next President of Pakistan'. He hoped he would persuade Mujib not to form the next government and that he should not use the new Assembly to create a new constitution limiting the power of the central government.
- Following this, in February 1971, Bhutto announced that the PPP would not take up their seats in the National Assembly unless Mujib talked with the other parties and reached an agreement about power-sharing. On 1 March 1971, just two days

before it was due to meet, Yahya postponed the opening of the Assembly, without setting a new date.

- The people of East Pakistan considered that they had been betrayed by Yahya and immediately began demonstrations and refusing to pay taxes. When it became clear that the power of the central government had broken down in East Pakistan, Yahya recalled the provincial governor and Law Administrator.
- On 15 March Yahya and Bhutto met Mujib in Dhaka for talks to resolve the situation. As it became apparent that no agreement could be reached, General Tikka Khan brought in reinforcements. On 25 March Yahya flew back to Islamabad and the next day Bhutto left Dhaka. That night Tikka's men moved in on the Awami League. Mujib was arrested and hundreds of his supporters and colleagues were arrested or killed.

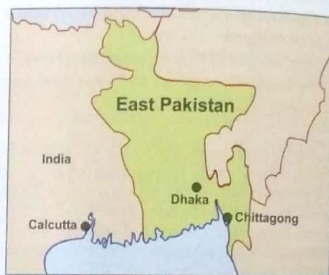


Fig.11.9: East Pakistan in 1971

The Outbreak of Civil War:

Yahya had sent the army into East Pakistan to 'keep order' and the Awami League was banned. Yahya claimed that Mujib was claiming to declare independence and although this was unlikely, fears increased when on 26 March the Sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh was announced in a secret radio broadcast from Dhaka.

- The government reaction was harsh. Thousands of Bengalis were killed, press censorship was imposed and all political activity throughout Pakistan was banned. Yahya ordered the Pakistan Army to take control of East Pakistan. The measures were supported by all the political parties in West Pakistan and Bhutto claimed that 'Pakistan has been

saved'. Rather than being saved the reality was millions of Bengali refugees were fleeing across the border to India and civil war was now inevitable.

- On 31 March India declared its support for 'the people of Bengal' against West Pakistan. The Indian Army began to help and train a rebel Bengali army, which called itself *Mukti Bahini*. As a result relations between India and Pakistan deteriorated rapidly. The Indian High Commission in Dhaka was closed, as was the Pakistan High Commission in Calcutta.
- Yahya Khan sent more troops into East Pakistan. By early April the army had gained control of most of the major towns and was successful in driving off the East Pakistani rebels.
- In August 1971 the Soviet Union signed a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce with India. Yahya knew that this meant that the Soviet Union would support India if it went to war with Pakistan. Pakistan's own allies, China and the USA were much less keen to be involved and they urged Yahya to negotiate an agreement with the Awami League. He was determined to do so. He also believed that he could win any war with India.
- On 21 November, the *Mukti Bahini* launched an attack on Jessore and captured the town. Knowing that the Indians were supporting the rebel forces, Yahya declared a state of emergency and told his people to be ready for war. In response, the Indians began to build up their forces on the East Pakistan border. Tension increased further when, on 29 November, East Pakistan announced the members of its provisional government.



Fig.11.10: Rebels threatening businessmen in Jessore City

Aid to learning

- 1 Why did Civil War break out in East Pakistan?
- 2 Whose fault do you think it was that civil war broke out? Explain why you think this.

War with India

A war between India and Pakistan had become almost inevitable. All that was needed was the event that would make it official. This came on 3 December when the Pakistani air force launched attacks, not on East Pakistan but on northern India. Mrs Gandhi, the Indian leader, reacted immediately.

- On 4 December India attacked East Pakistan from air, ground and sea simultaneously. Two days later India officially recognized the Bangladeshi government. Within two weeks the Indian forces had surrounded Dhaka. The Pakistan Army tried to divert the Indian army from East Pakistan by launching attacks in Kashmir and Punjab, but they were not very successful.
- Whilst the fighting was taking place, the United Nations (UN) Security Council had been trying to find a solution to avoid war. Bhutto attended UN talks in New York. The UN passed a resolution calling on India and Pakistan to stop fighting and withdraw from East Pakistan whilst a solution was worked out. It soon became clear, however, that whilst the USSR was prepared to back India by fighting, the US and other western 'allies' were not prepared to do the same for Pakistan. Bhutto returned to Pakistan knowing that Pakistan had to win the war on its own.



Fig.11.12: The Pakistani Army in action on the Indian border

- Just a week after he arrived in Pakistan, Yahya accepted defeat and ordered the army in East Pakistan to surrender. In Dhaka the *Mukti Bahini* carried out massacres of anyone suspected of having collaborated with the Pakistan Army. It is also alleged that, in the final days before surrender the Pakistan Army wiped out large numbers of professional Bengalis to weaken the new country and make it less of a rival to Pakistan.

SOURCE WORK

There seems little doubt that the Indian authorities made great efforts to feed and shelter refugees to guard against epidemics and to gain substantial quantities of foreign relief. These efforts were broadcast to the world and India portrayed herself as an unselfish humanitarian power, interested in mitigating an appalling human catastrophe. What was less admirable is the astute use she (Mrs. Gandhi) made of this posture to promote her aim of breaking up Pakistan.

A comment by a historian on India's reaction to the East Pakistan crisis in 1971

- What reasons does the historian give for India's intervention in 1971?
- Why would India want to break up Pakistan at this time?

The secession of East Pakistan came as a huge shock to the people of West Pakistan. They had been led to believe that the Awami League was a poorly organised group of rebels. They were also told that if India intervened on East Pakistan's side, it too would be defeated easily. Instead the Pakistan Army, despite being well-supplied and with a force of over 90,000 soldiers had surrendered. Why was this?

- The main reason for the Army's failure was that the people of East Pakistan were determined to resist West Pakistan. The West Pakistan forces knew that they were trying to force East Pakistan to stay a part of Pakistan, when it did not want to. Many had little heart for such a fight in which they would have to put up armed resistance against fellow Muslims.
- Pakistan also knew that it could expect little support from its allies. East Pakistan had support from India, and when the war developed into one between India and Pakistan, the Indians could rely on support from the Soviet Union. Pakistan's allies

and the UN were not interested in supporting a war to bring East Pakistan into line.

Consequences of the War

Defeat in the war brought disgrace for Yahya and for the army. On 20 December Yahya resigned as President and was replaced by Bhutto.

On 21 December 1971, the Republic of Bangladesh was officially declared and two weeks later Bhutto released Mujib from prison. He returned to Bangladesh, where, on 10 January 1972, he became the country's first Prime Minister.



Fig. 11.11: The flag of the new People's Republic of Bangladesh

Aid to learning

- Why did India want to go to war with Pakistan in 1971?
- Which do you think was the main reason for Pakistan's failure to win? Explain why you chose this reason.
- Do you agree that defeat in the war meant Yahya had to resign? Explain your answer.

- 3 Jan 1972 Economic Reform Order - nationalisation of key industries
- 10 Feb 1972 Labour policies: workers share profits, pensions and insurance
- 1 Mar 1972 Land reforms
- 21 Apr 1972 Martial Law lifted
- 2 Jul 1972 Simla Agreement with India signed
- 12 Apr 1973 New Constitution passed
- 14 Apr 1973 Bhutto elected President
- 1 Jan 1973 Banks nationalized
- 7 Mar 1977 Elections

6 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-1977)



Fig. 11.13: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

On 20 December 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. Pakistan was at a very low ebb. The army had received a 'shock' defeat in a war against India. East Pakistan had seceded and the country was still under martial law. The 1970 election, however, had given the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly. Bhutto now intended to use that majority to introduce radical measures to bring about changes in Pakistan. First he had to establish himself in power.

1 Controlling the army

Although he was not a military man, Bhutto was Chief Martial Law Administrator in a country under military rule. He was determined to limit the powers of the army so that it would not intervene to thwart his policies. Unless he did so, PPP would not have a free hand to make changes. Control was established by:

- Removing the most important army leaders (29 in Bhutto's first four months in power). Amongst these were the head of the Air Force, Air Marshal Rahim Khan and the Commander-in-Chief of the army, General Gul Hasan.
- Appointing his own leaders for example, General Tikka Khan was placed in charge of the army in a new post named, 'Chief of Army Staff'.
- Setting up the Federal Security Force (FSF) from October 1972, a government controlled military force set up 'to assist the police force'.

2 The Simla Agreement:

It was vital to restore diplomatic relations with India, so that the prisoners of war captured by the Indians in East Pakistan could be returned. On 2 July 1972 Bhutto signed the Simla Agreement with the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi. India agreed to return prisoners of war to Pakistan in return for a promise from Pakistan that the Kashmir problem would be discussed directly with India and not in international forums, such as the United Nations. Importantly for Bhutto, he had not given up the claim that Pakistan spoke for Kashmir because it was rightly part of Pakistan. What he had done, however, was:

- Reduced his dependence on the army by making further fighting with India less likely.
- Improved his government's international reputation, by being seen as willing to negotiate to maintain peace.
- Increased his popularity in Pakistan by bringing home the prisoners of war.



Fig. 11.14: Signing of Simla Agreement.

Aid to learning

1 Why did Bhutto sign the Simla Agreement with India?

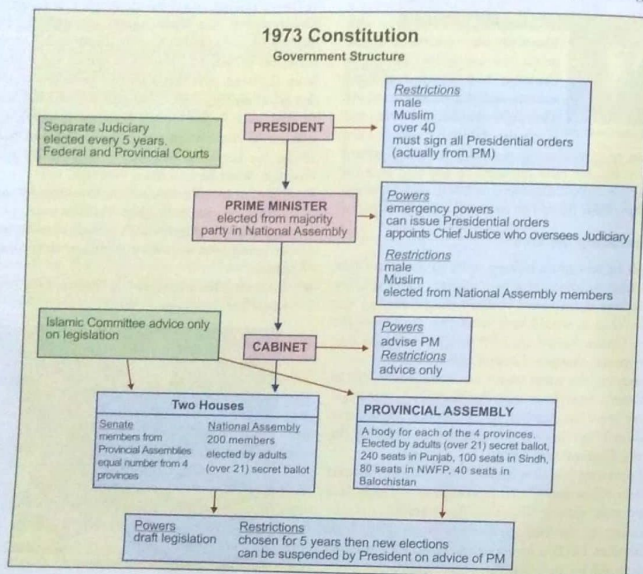
3 Establishing a new constitution

Bhutto came to power under martial law and was determined to return Pakistan to parliamentary democracy. In April 1972 martial law was lifted and a new Assembly was called, reflecting the voting in the 1970 elections, in which the PPP had gained an overwhelming majority. A committee was set up with representatives from different parties in the Assembly to draw up a new constitution. The committee reported in April 1973 and its recommendations received almost unanimous support in the Assembly. On 14 August 1973, the new Constitution, which relied heavily on the principles of the 1956 constitution, became law. The most significant features of the new constitution (see diagram) were:

- There would be two Houses, the Senate and the

Assembly. The Assembly would be elected for a period of 5 years and the members of the Senate would be nominated in equal numbers from each of the four provinces.

- The leader of the party with a majority in the Assembly would become Prime Minister and select a Cabinet.
- The President became largely a figurehead, whose orders had to be signed by the Prime Minister.
- Pakistan was an Islamic Republic and both the Prime Minister and President had to be Muslims.
- Pakistan was a federal state. Each province had its own Assembly, elected by universal adult suffrage, with the majority party forming the provincial government. The National Assembly could only change the political leadership in the provinces by amending the constitution, which required at least a 75% majority in a vote.
- All fundamental basic human rights were guaranteed.



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The Human Rights guaranteed under the 1973 Constitution.

1. Freedom of speech.
2. Freedom of assembly.
3. Freedom of movement.
4. Right to vote.
5. Right to form political parties.
6. Right to criticise.
7. Freedom from unlawful arrest.
8. Right to security.
9. Right not to be arrested for the same offence twice.
10. Freedom from punishment for something that becomes an offence after a person has done it.
11. Freedom of religion.
12. Equality as a citizen.
13. Freedom of language, written language and culture.
14. Equal access to public places.
15. Right to education.
16. Right to own property.
17. Right to choose and practice any trade or profession.

Fig.11.18: Extract from the 1973 constitution

As leader of the PPP, Bhutto became Prime Minister and Chaudhri Fazal Elahi elected President.

Party Politics:

The 1973 Constitution revived the power of the National Assembly and as a result political parties became more important. The PPP was the biggest and most important party in the National Assembly and in the Sindh and Punjab Provincial Assemblies. In the Balochistan and NWFP Provincial Assemblies did not have many seats because the National Awami Party [NAP] and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam [JUI] parties were stronger there and, working together as a coalition, held the most seats. This gave the 2 parties enough strength to try to force through changes that would maintain the autonomy of the provincial assemblies.

On 27 April 1972 the PPP and the NAP/JUI coalition signed an agreement. This stated that:

- 1 The National Assembly could not appoint provincial governors without the agreement of the Provincial Assembly concerned.

2 In return for their support for the PPP in the National Assembly, the NAP/JUI could have a free hand in their provinces.

However, the agreement came to an end just one year later when the central government dismissed the governors of Balochistan and the NWFP. The Balochistan government was dismissed and an uprising by Balochis ensued that took almost five years to suppress. After committing thousands of troops and large supplies of military equipment loaned by Iran, the Pakistan army was eventually successful. The uprising, however, had destroyed any ideas of provincial autonomy. It had also once again brought the army into politics – at the very time when the new constitution was trying to re-establish parliamentary democracy. Other blows to the constitution soon followed.

- In April 1974 a constitutional amendment allowed the government to limit press freedom and ban any political parties it felt were a threat to the 'sovereignty and integrity' of the country.

- In 1975 laws were passed allowing the security forces to detain suspects indefinitely and took away the right of bail for those held by the FSF. This organisation became increasingly active, breaking up opposition rallies and intimidating political opponents. On the orders of Bhutto, one of the founding members of the PPP, J.A. Rahim was seriously beaten by the FSF. Any person thought to be a threat to the government might find himself a victim of FSF brutality.

Aid to learning

- 1 What measures were taken 1973-75 which undermined the 1973 Constitution?
- 2 Why were these measures introduced?

Bhutto's Reforms

Bhutto was now able to concentrate on putting into practice the promise of 'Food, Shelter and Clothing', which he had promised his supporters in the campaign for the 1970 elections. These were basic needs, but for many people in Pakistan they were not being met. So the government had to make reforms that would raise food production, create more jobs and provide a better welfare system. All these would require money and take time to be implemented properly.

A Industrial reforms:

Bhutto wanted to promote economic growth and bring

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inflation down from its unacceptably high level of 25%. A major part of its economic policy was the introduction of a programme of nationalisation.

The sugar, cotton, vegetable oil and rice industries, together with the banking and insurance sectors were taken under government control. In all, 70 major industrial units were placed under the control of a Federal Ministry of Production. These changes were designed to help the government:

- control industrial output and channel investment into industrialisation,
- raise the workers' living and working standards, including the provision of cheap housing,
- allow the workers to set up unions,
- even out the inequalities that had collected most of the industrial wealth into a few hands. Twenty industrial houses owned 80% of Pakistan's large-scale industry,
- create wealth to help fund other government reforms,
- raise the popularity of the PPP with the urban populace, which was an important sector of the party's support.



Fig.11.15: Pakistan Steel Mill, Karachi

However, the nationalisation policy faced many difficulties:

- 1 Pakistan's education system was not yet producing sufficiently educated workers to take managerial positions in the industries under the Federal Ministry of Production. Capable factory owners were often replaced by civil servants with little understanding of commerce.
- 2 The Federal Ministry had a huge job to do, co-ordinating nationalization across the country. The system often got bogged down in bureaucratic muddle.
- 3 The changes took place at a time when the world was going through a recession. The newly

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nationalized industries faced a declining demand for their goods, in keeping with reduced demand across the world. Private companies would have been forced to close; Pakistan's nationalised industries continued to operate.

Despite these problems, Bhutto's industrial reforms did have some success and inflation fell to just 6% in 1976. Economic growth also began to increase.

B Agricultural reforms:

Bhutto's government passed two major reforms, intending to introduce a new ceiling on ownership of land and security of tenancy.

Land Ownership

Under Ayub, the ceiling on land ownership had been 500 acres of irrigated land and 1000 acres of non-irrigated land. Bhutto believed that improved technology and better farming methods (such as the use of tractors, pesticides and tube wells for irrigation) had raised production. So landowners could maintain their income on smaller, more productive, areas of land. He therefore cut the ceiling to 250 acres (irrigated) or 500 acres (unirrigated). The surplus land could be sold to the smaller peasant farmers to make better profits. Land would also be available to allow many people to own their own farms for the first time.

Unfortunately, Bhutto's reforms were undermined by the cunning of big landowners. Many of them had anticipated Bhutto's reform (which they had actually feared would be much harsher) and had transferred some of their landholding to members of the extended family. Others transferred land to trusted tenants and then leased it back on long-term leases. Even where such measures had not been carried out, there remained the power of personal influence or bribery to persuade officials to overlook transgressions to the new law.

Security of Tenure

Bhutto wanted to give tenants security of tenure of the land they farmed. He introduced a measure giving tenants the first right of purchase of land farmed by them. This meant that landowners could not sell land to a third party who might then evict the tenants. Such a measure encouraged tenants to make improvements on their lands as they knew they would not be evicted. Once again, however, the landowners undermined the impact of the reform. In advance of the introduction of the measure, there was mass eviction of tenants

from farms to prevent them receiving security of tenure. Bhutto's government also under-estimated the influence of the landowners in their community. If a landowner did not want to sell to a tenant, it was extremely difficult for the tenant to stand up to the landowner, to raise finance to buy the land, and, if necessary, find the funds to fight a legal case. It was also true that many landowners used their social position to persuade revenue officers to record land as 'owner-cultivated' when actually it was in the hands of tenants.

Aid to learning

- 1 What was the purpose of Bhutto's agricultural reforms?
- 2 Explain whether you think they were successful or unsuccessful.

C Education:

The government was concerned about education. Only about a half of all children were attending school and the official literacy rate was just 25%. Article 37 of the 1973 Constitution stated that it was the duty of the government to provide free and compulsory education. Bhutto introduced reforms to put this into effect. His government outlined eight ambitious goals:

- 1 To eradicate ignorance.
- 2 To provide education for all, including women, the mentally impaired and illiterate adults.
- 3 To ensure that the school curriculum meets Pakistan's social, economic and political needs.
- 4 To ensure uniformity of education in each subject in every school and college of Pakistan.
- 5 To raise the self-confidence of the common man.
- 6 To raise aspirations for higher education among the youth.
- 7 To develop each person's personality and potential.
- 8 To develop a 'Pakistani' culture and identity and national pride.

To meet these goals through education the government:

- Nationalised almost all private sector schools and colleges. This was intended to remove the discrepancies between private and state education and was very much in keeping with the socialist measures in industry and agriculture.
- Built more schools to provide free primary education for all.

The changes the government wanted to make were

sweeping. They could not be implemented overnight and, in the first few years, were bound to face difficulties. The main problems were:

- The administration needed to co-ordinate the reforms was not yet in place. Both the planning and the administration of the system were introduced with efficiency where there were sufficient administrators, but in other areas it had little impact.
- Only 13% of the government education budget was allocated to primary schools and so implementation was difficult.
- Many people in rural areas did not see the need for education or literacy. Even when education was free many poor people could not afford the loss of earnings they faced if they sent a child to school instead of sending it out to work.
- There was a drop in the standard of education in many of the selective school that had been nationalised as they were unable to cater to the increased number of students without additional trained staff.
- Education takes time. It is not possible to change the curriculum, train teachers and provide the necessary equipment in a short time. Consequently even after five years the literacy rate had not risen by more than 1%.

D Health and Social Reforms:

Pakistan had poor health care facilities and it had one of the highest infant mortality rate in the world. Life expectancy was also very low. In August 1972 Bhutto launched a health scheme, designed to correct these anomalies.

- The central plank of the reforms was the introduction of Rural Health Centres [RHCs] and Basic Health Units [BHUs] in urban areas to provide more widespread healthcare. The plan was to set up 1 RHC for every 60,000 people and 1 BHU for every 20,000 people.
- Training colleges for doctors and nurses were expected to admit students on merit. Once qualified, doctors had to work the first year wherever the government placed them. So that instead of working only in big cities they could be assigned a post in any small town or village.
- The sale of medicines under brand names was also banned. This practice, common in the West, allows drug companies to sell new medicines under a patented name and stops other companies manufacturing the drug under its medical name. This measure reduced the costs of medicines

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dramatically. Medicines were made available without prescription. They could be bought at any pharmacy. The reforms did improve medical services in Pakistan, but there was always a shortage of doctors and nurses. (Pakistan had fewer of both in 1977 than in 1970). The removal of brand names from medicines also saw a fall in the income of chemists and many international drug companies closed down their operations in Pakistan, as they could not make a profit.

Aid to learning

- 1 Do you think Bhutto's decision to remove brand names from medicine was a good idea or a bad idea? Explain your answer.

E Administrative Reforms:

To administer his reforms, Bhutto wanted a modern and efficient civil service. He felt that the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) was corrupt, inefficient and full of unnecessary rules and regulations. He reorganised the Civil Service into a smaller number of levels and unified pay scales. This removed some of the old, unnecessary distinctions between types of civil servant. He also reformed entry requirements so that people could join at any level, even the more senior ones, without having to work their way up. He said that this would enable the CSP to recruit high quality staff, but his opponents complained that all he was doing was setting up a system of patronage where he could reward his followers with posts in the civil service.

The 1977 Election:

In 1977 Bhutto called a general election. He was confident that his government's record and the lack of effective opposition would result in an easy PPP victory. However, once the election was called, nine of the various opposition parties combined to form the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). There were two issues which united the opposition in the election campaign. They all wanted to end the rule of Bhutto and the PPP and they were united in their desire to rule Pakistan according to Islamic law. The PNA began to attract big audiences at its election rallies and was clearly gaining support. Bhutto's supporters were forced to act and PNA rallies became subject to attacks from gangs of armed thugs. The government introduced a law limiting public gatherings to just five people. This was to stop public demonstrations of support for the PNA.

The results of the election showed a landslide victory for the PPP. Of the 200 seats contested it won 154, against the PNA's 38. There was an immediate outcry of protest from the PNA, which accused the government of rigging the results and demanded new elections. There is little doubt that the government did interfere with the vote, and on one occasion the results for one constituency were announced on television before the count had even started! Some historians believe such vote rigging was a serious error because the PPP was likely to have won the election without it.

SOURCE WORK

It will be long debated why Bhutto rigged the 1977 elections when, by all indications, the PPP would have won handsomely in a fair contest. The rigging converted Bhutto's massive electoral success into his biggest political liability. Bhutto now bore the unwashable stigma of moral guilt. Once a political giant, he became a dwarf, desperately seeking to rehabilitate his lost image.

The comments of a historian on the 1977 elections.

1. What does the historian say was the impact of Bhutto's decision to rig the elections.
2. Do you think events immediately after the election prove that the historian was correct? Explain your answer.

Steps to downfall:

Bhutto refused to agree to fresh elections and the PNA organised mass protests against the government. Soon there was rioting in many towns and cities and the Federal Security Force could not stop the unrest. Bhutto was forced to negotiate with the PNA. He offered fresh elections in some of the disputed constituencies and to appease the religious factions, banned gambling, restricted the sale of alcohol and declared Friday to be the weekly holiday.

However, at the same time he turned to the army for help. On 19 April he declared a state of emergency, placing Pakistan under martial law. The PNA leadership were arrested and by the beginning of June, some 10,000 of their supporters were in prison. Bringing the army into politics is a dangerous game, as Bhutto found to his cost. The army leaders saw the concessions Bhutto was making as a sign of weakness which would

lead to even greater unrest. Consequently, on 5 July the army staged a coup, named 'Operation Fairplay'. Bhutto and all other major political leaders were arrested that night. Two days later, the Chief of Army Staff,

General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, announced the suspending of the constitution and the dissolution of all national and provincial assemblies. Once more the army was in control in Pakistan.

7: The Ministry of General Zia-ul-Haq

5 Jul 1977	Zia seizes power
Nov 1977	FSF disbanded
Sep 1978	Zia made President
4 Apr 1979	Bhutto hanged
25 Dec 1979	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
1979	Shariat Laws introduced
Mar 1980	Provisional Constitution Order
Jun 1980	Zakat Ordinance
1984	Anti-Zakat riots
1984	Zia's referendum
Feb 1985	Elections to the National Assembly
3 Dec 1985	End of Martial Law
10 Apr 1988	Ojhri Camp explosion
29 Apr 1988	Junejo dismissed
17 Aug 1988	Zia killed in air crash

7 General Zia ul-Haq (1977-1988)



Fig.11.17: General Zia ul-Haq

General Zia-ul-Haq and the army took control of Pakistan on 5 July 1977. Two days later martial law was announced and the Assemblies were suspended. However, Zia stressed that this was only until peace was restored. He said he hoped that within 90 days, it would be possible to hold new elections. However, this relied on the unrest stopping, so that election campaigns could be held in a peaceful environment. He also announced that Bhutto's government had been corrupt and that those who had been misusing government money, preventing justice and misusing the people of Pakistan would have to be

made accountable and punished. So the restoration of peace, the exposure of injustices and fresh elections were said to be Zia's most urgent tasks.

SOURCE WORK

If we hold elections before completing the process of accountability, it will be a great injustice to the 70 million people of this country. If we accept that accountability needs to be completed first, then it is necessary that the elections are postponed.

Part of a speech by General Zia on 1 October, 1977, when he postponed national elections indefinitely.

1. What reasons does Zia give for postponing the elections?
2. Do you think these were the only reasons why the elections were postponed? Explain your answer.

Early Measures

The death of Bhutto:

Zia's most immediate dilemma was how to handle Bhutto's case. The problem was particularly difficult because it was Bhutto who had appointed Zia the Chief of Army Staff, even though he was junior to several other generals who hoped to be appointed. So Zia could be accused of being disloyal if Bhutto received too severe a punishment.

Some army officers thought that Zia was not capable enough to be Chief of Army Staff, but in his dealings with Bhutto he showed that he would be a determined leader. Bhutto was released from arrest at the end of July, but when he made it plain that he intended to reassert his political authority, he was rearrested on 3 September. Along with three others he was accused of murdering a political opponent by sending the FSF to kill him. The trial, which took nearly 2 years, resulted in Bhutto being found guilty and sentenced to death. As President (he had replaced Fazal Elahi in September 1978) Zia had the power to commute the sentence to life imprisonment. Bhutto, however, refused to plead to Zia for his life. Many others at home and abroad did so, but Zia was unmoved. Bhutto was hanged on 4 April 1979. It seemed that Zia was not the weak leader that some had suspected.

SOURCE WORK

All the offenses which the accused are charged with are thus proved to the hilt. Mr Bhutto has been hurling threats and insults on us and at times has been unruly. In addition, he has proved himself to be a compulsive liar. He is the arch culprit in the matter. He has used the FSF for personal vendetta and has turned the members of that organisation into criminals and hired assassins and thus corrupted them.

Comments made by the judge at the end of Bhutto's trial in March 1978.

1. What crime does the judge say Bhutto has been guilty of?
2. How else does he show his disapproval of Bhutto?

Aid to learning

1. Do you agree that Zia had no choice about putting Bhutto to death? Explain your answer.

Balochistan

Zia had inherited a rebellion in Balochistan and settled this by declaring an amnesty for all those who were prepared to give up their arms. He tried to re-establish good relations between the Baloch tribal leaders and the central government. He also began a number of development projects in the province in a bid to improve living conditions and increase support for his rule.

It was no surprise, therefore, when he announced that elections would be postponed indefinitely, as what Pakistan needed was strong government based on Islamic values. The introduction of a more Islamic-based ideology would have other benefits for Zia too:

- Bhutto had attempted to introduce socialist measures into Pakistan. Islam would provide an excellent counter-ideology to Bhutto's beliefs.
- The introduction of Islamic measures would win the support of the religious elements within Pakistan's political parties. This applied in particular to Jamaat-i-Islami which was influential both in the administration and the army.
- When the Russians invaded Afghanistan, Zia was able to portray his government as pro-Islamic fighting the 'pagan communists'. This would win support from the West, and it would also further highlight the anti-West, socialist ideas of the PPP.

Accountability

Zia also disbanded the FSF in November 1977. He knew that it was extremely unpopular and that it had been discredited by its behaviour in Bhutto's time. He wanted to show that the political

oppression which Bhutto had introduced towards the end of his rule was a thing of the past.

Investigations began into the corruption of the previous government. Zia was keen to discredit Bhutto's government and wanted to demonstrate that a new, more moral Islamic government was being put in place. It was not difficult to find evidence of corruption during Bhutto's time and Zia was also able to show that the civil service and the legal system, both supposed to be impartial and not involved in politics, had been filled with Bhutto's supporters.

Islamisation

Zia was publicly committed to holding elections and to a return to parliamentary democracy, but he was also well aware that in an underdeveloped country such as Pakistan, the best organised and most stable force was the army. For this reason, he was unwilling to give up his position as Chief of Army Staff. He was also determined to keep the PPP out of power and so he wanted to delay elections until he was sure that the PPP's opponents were victorious.

number. If the court decided that existing laws were not in keeping with Islamic principles, they could be repealed. For example, one of the court's early decisions was that stoning to death for adultery should be annulled (though this decision was reversed by the court in 1982). The Federal Shariat Court was also to act as the court of appeal for cases originally tried by lower courts under the Shariat Laws.

- Hudood Ordinance was promulgated on the country in 1977. According to the Hudood Ordinance different punishments were prescribed for various crimes.

These were:

- The Offences against Property Ordinance
- The Offences of Zina Ordinance
- The Offence of Qazf Ordinance
- The Prohibition Ordinance

These Hudood Ordinances introduced Islamic punishments for gambling, drinking, theft and adultery. For example, amputating the right hand for theft, and eighty stripes of the cane for drinking alcohol. They also included laws affecting women.

A new offence of disrespect for the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) was introduced, with imprisonment or a fine as the punishment for offenders. Zia also introduced the Council of Islamic Ideology to suggest ways in which the legal framework of Pakistan could be brought closer to Islamic ideology. There was also an attempt to enforce Islamic principles in the economic field by replacing the payment of interest with profit-sharing.

- In June 1980 the Zakat Ordinance imposed a 2.5% wealth tax on savings over a certain amount. This was a wealth tax in keeping with Islamic principles. The money raised was given to Zakat committees in villages and towns to meet the needs of the poor. Shia Muslims protested, saying that their view of the Islamic law was that such giving should be voluntary. They organised a huge demonstration in Islamabad in 1984 and forced Zia's government to exempt them from having to pay the tax.
- At the same time, the Ushr Ordinance imposed a 5% tax on agricultural income. Income raised under this ordinance was also paid into the Zakat fund to assist the poor.
- Islamic and Pakistan Studies were made compulsory in schools and colleges.
- Candidates who took the Pakistan Civil Service



Fig. 11.18: Front page headlines in a newspaper announcing Bhutto's execution

examinations were given extra marks if they had learned the Quran by heart.

- Efforts were made for the promotion of Arabic language. Radio Pakistan introduced Arabic courses and a daily news bulletin in Arabic was presented on Pakistan Television.

Aid to learning

- 1 What were the main measures in Zia's policy of Islamisation?
- 2 Why do you think Zia introduced these measures?

The 'Afghan Miracle'

On 25 December 1979 Soviet tanks rolled into Afghanistan. Until that time the West had not taken Zia particularly seriously, and some Western leaders were unhappy that military dictatorship had replaced democracy.



Fig.No: 11.18: Russian tanks in Afghanistan

But the invasion had an immediate impact on international relations. Now Zia was the leader of a Muslim nation on the frontline against the communist forces of oppression now. The West, and in particular the United States, was ready to provide unconditional economic and military support to establish Pakistan as the base for anti-Soviet activities. In fact, Pakistan was the West's only ally in the region.

The Soviet invasion proved to be a windfall to Zia. It established Pakistan as a leading country in world politics. It also led to huge sums of money being poured into Pakistan to pay for rehabilitation of refugees and to develop the Pakistan army. Zia was able to increase the defence budget and built up such an effective military force that he was able to sell military assistance to other Muslim countries. Pakistan became the second largest supplier of military manpower in the

developing world. In 1985 there were estimated 50,000 Pakistanis serving abroad in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Libya, Oman, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. Karachi itself became the best naval base in the region.

The influx of funds in the 1980s also allowed Zia to undertake a degree of economic reform. The funds from Western allies were matched by even larger amounts being remitted to Pakistan by workers overseas. There were two million Pakistanis working in the Middle East alone and their remittances have been estimated to be in the region of \$4 billion a year.

- His government denationalised many of the companies that Bhutto's government had nationalized. Some were returned to former owners, others were sold to new investors.
- Laws were passed that stated that industries could not be nationalized in future except in exceptional circumstances, with fair compensation paid to the owners. This removed investors' fears that they might lose their money.
- The few industries that remained nationalized were reformed in an attempt to make them more efficient. Although the large numbers of Pakistanis working abroad caused wages in Pakistan to rise, and the influx of funds created inflationary pressures, between 1977 and 1986, Pakistan's average annual growth in the Gross National Product was 6.2%, the highest in the world.

Aid to learning

- 1 Why do you think some historians describe the events in Afghanistan as the 'Afghan Miracle'?

Law and government

Despite his assertions in 1977 that it was important that the legal system should be independent of the government, Zia passed several laws that restricted the power of the courts. The Constitution (Amendment) Act of 1979 established military courts to try offenders according to martial law. In March 1980 the Provisional Constitutional Order took away the right of the courts to challenge any political executive decision. When nineteen judges protested, they were removed from their jobs and replaced with judges who accepted the Order.

The civil service, which Zia had also declared should be impartial, was also brought under military control.

Zia filled many posts with military officers and a fixed quota of military men was transferred into the Civil Service Academy each year. Thus Zia was able to reduce opposition and provide career opportunities for his supporters in the army. The military nature of his government was further emphasised by the fact that by 1982, 40% of Pakistan's ambassadors abroad were military men.

Although Zia was becoming more autocratic, he continued to create the impression that he was more than an army general who had seized power under martial law and was using the support of the army to rule Pakistan. He formed the *Majlis-e-Shoora*, Islamic Parliament, to advise him on his government. However, the members were appointed by Zia and they had no legislative powers, so it was not really an effective parliament. What it did do, however, was to show Zia in a good light and to allow him to win over potential opponents by appointing them to the parliament.

Elections

On 12 August 1983, Zia announced that elections, national and provincial, would finally be held in March 1985. It was clear that Zia did not intend that the elections should be fought by political parties. The intention was that he should continue as president after the elections. Several opposition parties united to form a national protest movement, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy [MRD], which campaigned for free elections with political parties fielding candidates.

Zia resisted the pressure from the MRD and he continued with his plans for elections without political parties. To make sure that the election would not result in a reduction of his power, he passed a series of amendments to the Constitution:

- Article 48 gave automatic validity to any decisions taken by the President. All his actions, even if they violated human rights, were deemed to be legal.
- All military decisions and actions since 1977 were legal and not open to enquiry or later prosecution.
- No decision taken under martial law could be changed without the President's consent.
- The President could appoint the Prime Minister and other senior government officials without the need for any other consultation.

These changes meant that whatever the result of the election, the President would hold all the power in the country and any Assembly would be merely advisory.

Referendum

On 1 December 1984, Zia announced that the government was to hold a referendum, the first ever in Pakistan. The referendum was on whether people wanted the process of Islamisation to continue in Pakistan. However, it was also announced that a 'yes' vote would also mean that the people of Pakistan had agreed with Zia's policies and, therefore wanted him to continue as President for a further five years. The MRD considered that this was an unfair proposition and called on the people of Pakistan to boycott the referendum. Despite pressure from the government to vote, only 10% of those eligible to vote did so. Zia had the overwhelming majority of the votes cast, but in reality the referendum was an embarrassing failure with huge numbers of Pakistanis following the MRD advice not to vote.

The 1985 election

Despite the set-back of the referendum, Zia continued with the February 1985 elections for the National and Provincial Assemblies. The MRD urged people to boycott the elections, saying that it would give support to Zia's very undemocratic form of democracy if anyone took part. There were no political parties involved and no campaigning. Instead candidates had to be proposed by 50 persons who were not members of a political party.

This time, the MRD had miscalculated. Many people ignored the MRD and campaigned within Zia's rules. There was a 52% turnout as electors voted for their landlords or tribal chiefs who had put themselves forward for election. Although nine Cabinet ministers were defeated, the election was a triumph for Zia.

- A tame and obedient Assembly had been elected, which was not dominated by the PPP.
- Although some Cabinet ministers and 63 members of the *Shoora* lost their seats, many of those elected were loyal to Zia.
- Zia had also defeated the MRD. It had called for a boycott which had not been supported by the Pakistani people. Indeed many members of the MRD stood as candidates in the election.

Following the election, Zia chose a former PPP member from Sindh, Muhammad Khan Junejo, as Prime Minister. Junejo was an uncontroversial figure who was acceptable to a wide range of people. Zia considered that it would be safe to form a political party from among the elected members with Junejo at its head.

The new party was to be called the Muslim League, a deliberate reference to the days of the great Quaid-e-Azam.

Zia believed Junejo to be a quiet man who would be easy to control. It was true that Junejo was not a radical figure, but he worked effectively to help the Muslim League to develop. In this he was assisted by the Chief Minister of Punjab, Nawaz Sharif, who some historians consider to have been the spearhead behind the growing influence of the League. It was also to the benefit of the League that various groups in the PPP began to quarrel among themselves so that it lost power as an opposition force.



Fig. 11.19: Muhammad Khan Junejo

On 30 December 1985, martial law was lifted. The Constitution of 1973 was restored although it must be remembered the amendments still gave Zia almost total control over the government, whether there was an elected National Assembly or not. Also, Zia only agreed to lift martial law after the passing of the Eighth Amendment to the constitution. This said that:

- All previous acts of the martial law period became law, with no right of appeal
- The President could appoint the Prime Minister, Governors of the provinces and other officials.
- The President could dismiss the Prime Minister and National Assembly.

Martial law had been lifted, but the President remained firmly in control.

Aid to learning

Explain which of these two statements you think better describes the rule of Zia in Pakistan.

- 1 He was a man who was keen to restore parliamentary democracy, but events made it difficult.
- 2 He was a man who never really wanted to lessen the influence of the military over political events in Pakistan.

Problems for Zia

In the second half of the 1980s Zia found it much more difficult to govern Pakistan effectively.

- The 'Afghan miracle' had brought economic support to Pakistan, but at a cost. The West freely supplied guns to help the Afghanis, but those guns now

became common on the streets of Pakistan (through smuggling), with a subsequent threat to law and order. Drug use and drug trafficking also grew at alarming rates until Pakistan became one of the world's leading countries for drug trading. Killings and violence became common on the streets of Karachi and the large sums of money involved in the drug trade led to an inevitable increase in the level of corruption in society.

- There was also a widening gap between the aims of the provinces. The Punjab remained a strong supporter of the central government, but this was not the case elsewhere. Sindh had become almost ungovernable, with regular outbreaks of violence so common that armed escorts were necessary to ensure safe travel. It was also demanding secession from the rest of Pakistan. The NWFP was becoming increasingly critical of Zia's rule, especially as it had to bear the brunt of the refugee problem resulting from the Afghan War. Although Balochistan had officially ended its uprising in 1977, there was still a strong anti-central government ethos amongst many of its people.

- By 1988 the world's superpowers were trying to find ways to resolve their differences. They had already signed agreements on arms control and now they were looking for a way to end the Afghan crisis. It was resolved when Russia agreed to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan in return for an American commitment not to support the *mujahideen*. Pakistan had little choice but to agree to also stop providing arms for the Afghan 'militants'.
- Junejo and the Muslim League saw this as an opportunity for them to play a greater role in political events and Junejo called an all Party Conference in March 1988 to discuss the situation in Afghanistan. He was keen to show that the civilian wing of the government had sufficient influence to act independently of the army. The army took serious note of Junejo's action but no action was taken.

- Then on 10 April 1988, an army weapons dump at Ojhri Camp blew up. The dump was located in the middle of a densely populated area between Islamabad and Rawalpindi and hundreds of civilians were killed, with thousands more injured. Prime Minister Junejo announced an immediate inquiry into the explosion and promised that whoever was to blame would be brought to justice - even if it meant the dismissal of important army commanders being dismissed. This was too much for the army

SOURCE WORK

The National Assembly has failed to make a move towards the Islamisation objectives and could not provide protection to the life and property of the people of Pakistan. The Prime Minister has succumbed to unwholesome political pressure, which led to rampant corruption, nepotism, and maladministration, finally leading to a complete breakdown of morality and law and order in the country.

A statement by president Zia, explaining why Junejo was dismissed.

1. What reasons does Zia give for dismissing Junejo?
2. Do you find these reasons convincing? Explain your answer.

What next?

The 1973 Constitution said that elections should be held within 90 days of a National Assembly being dissolved. There was very little expectation that Zia would adhere to this timescale. He obviously would not tolerate the election of a Prime Minister with any real political influence. In 1977, he had accused the Bhutto government of corruption and delayed elections until the corruption could be 'weeded out'. As Junejo's government had also been dismissed as corrupt, there was no knowing how long clearing up that corruption would take. Zia set a date of October for the elections, but no one knew whether he would honour the date.

However, fate intervened. On 17 August 1988, as Zia flew from an army base in southern Punjab, his plane was blown up in mid-flight. Everyone on board, including many senior army officers, and the American ambassador to Pakistan, were killed. While this was clearly sabotage, Zia's death (like that of Liaquat in 1951) was never solved. The chairman of the Senate, Ghulam Ishaq Khan became acting President to supervise the election process, which took place in October, as arranged. The PPP, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's daughter, Benazir Bhutto, won by a majority. She became the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan.

? Possible Examination Questions

- i. Which Prime Minister of Pakistan was shot in October 1951? [1]
- ii. Which party won an overwhelming majority in the 1970 elections? [1]
- iii. What was the 'FSF', disbanded by General Zia in 1977? [1]
- iv. Which Prime Minister was dismissed by General Zia in 1988? [1]
- B Why was there a civil war in East Pakistan in 1971? [7]
- C Who was the most successful leader of Pakistan? [14]
 - i. Major General Iskander Mirza
 - ii. Field Marshal Ayub Khan
 - iii. Yahya Khan

Explain your answer with reference to 11 three of the above.