Pakistan after the 'Decade of Progress

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government (1971–77): the army, the Simla Agreement, the 1973 Constitution, reforms and overthrow; and General Zia-ul-Haq's rule (1977–88): Islamisation, law and government, the Eighth Amendment, problems and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Pakistan after the 'Decade of Progress'

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971–77)

Rise to power. After the defeat of 1971, **Yahya Khan** handed power to **Bhutto** (20 December 1971), who became the first **civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator** and **President**, then **Prime Minister** (1973–77). He was a lawyer, educated at **Berkeley** and **Oxford**, who had served as Ayub's Foreign Minister. He founded the **PPP** in 1967 ("**Islam is our faith, democracy our policy, socialism our economy**").

Controlling the army

- He **retired** many senior officers within months of taking power (dozens in all), including the Commander-in-Chief **Gul Hasan** and the Air Force chief **Rahim Khan** (1972); appointed **General Tikka Khan** and later **Zia-ul-Haq** (**1976**), who was thought to be loyal.
- He reorganised the **defence** structure, set up the **Federal Security Force (FSF)** (a force that was loyal to him, and was later accused of harassing opponents), and created the **Joint Chiefs of Staff**.
- Many believe that he **underestimated Zia**.

The Simla Agreement, 1972

Signed by Bhutto and **Indira Gandhi** at **Simla** on **2 July 1972**. Terms:

- both countries agreed to settle disputes **peacefully and bilaterally**;
- in **Kashmir** the **ceasefire line** (of 1949) became the **Line of Control (LoC)**, which neither side would change by force;
- **India** returned about **5,000 sq miles** of captured Pakistani territory in the west and in time about **90,000 prisoners of war** (released by 1973–74);
- diplomatic relations and trade would be gradually restored.

Judgement. It was a **diplomatic success** for Bhutto, who got back his people and land with no concessions on Kashmir (he said). Critics said that it **turned Kashmir into a bilateral issue** and ended the UN's role.

Note Academy

The 1973 Constitution

Unanimously adopted by the National Assembly on **10 April 1973** (signed 12 April, in force **14 August 1973**) — Pakistan's **first constitution agreed by all parties**. Its main features:

- **parliamentary system**: a **strong Prime Minister** and a **President** with limited powers;
- **two houses**: the **National Assembly** and the **Senate**;
- **federal** with four provinces;
- **Islamic provisions**: Pakistan is an **Islamic Republic**, Islam is the **state religion**, the head of state and Prime Minister must be **Muslims**, laws must conform to the **Quran and Sunnah**, a **Council of Islamic Ideology**, and **Urdu** the national language;
- **fundamental rights** and an **independent judiciary**.

(See chapter 12 for the 1956 and 1962 constitutions.)

Reforms

Area	Reforms
Industry	**nationalised** heavy industries (steel, chemicals, cement, fertiliser), **banks** and **insurance** (1972–74), **edible oil mills** and **flour mills** later. It was meant to break the power of the "22 families". **Results:** mixed: some growth in the state sector, but **private investment fell**, and **inefficiency** and **corruption** grew
Agriculture	**land reforms** (1972: ceilings of **150 acres irrigated** and 300 non-irrigated; 1977 lower), but the **big landlords** kept most land through loopholes
Education	**nationalised** private schools and colleges (1972), **free education** to class 10, new universities such as the **Allama Iqbal Open University** (1974). At the time only about half of children were in school and literacy was low (about 25%). **Problems:** too little money, too few trained teachers and poor implementation in remote areas; literacy rose only slightly
Health and labour	**labour reforms** for workers and the right to form unions; a **health scheme** (from 1972) with **Rural Health Centres** and **Basic Health Units** in the villages, compulsory service for new doctors, and cheaper medicines (the use of **generic names**). **Problems:** too few doctors and nurses, and some drug companies left
Administration	**reformed the civil service** (ended the protected status of the **CSP**), and **lateral entry**
Foreign policy	recognised **Bangladesh** (1974), the **Islamic Summit in Lahore** (February 1974), improved links with **China**, **Muslim states** (Libya, Saudi Arabia, Gulf) and started the **nuclear programme** (see chapter 16); **left** the **Commonwealth** (1972) and **SEATO** (1973)
Religion	in **1974** the **Ahmadis** were declared **non-Muslims** under the **Second Amendment**; **Friday** made the weekly holiday and **alcohol** banned (1977)

Note Academy

His overthrow, 1977

- **Elections** were held in **March 1977**, after nine opposition parties had joined to form the **Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)**. The **PPP** won a huge majority, but the opposition, the **Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)**, accused the government of **rigging** and demanded new elections.
- **Protests, strikes and riots** followed (it became a movement for "**Nizam-e-Mustafa**"). Bhutto tried to calm it by banning alcohol and gambling and making Friday the weekly holiday, and in **April 1977** he put several big cities under **martial law** and thousands of PNA supporters were arrested. Talks between Bhutto and the PNA almost reached agreement, but on **5 July 1977 General Zia-ul-Haq** overthrew Bhutto in **Operation Fair Play** and imposed martial law. Bhutto was **tried for the murder** of **Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan Kasuri** (the father of a political opponent), was found guilty, and was **hanged** on **4 April 1979**.

Why was Bhutto overthrown? Rigged elections (alleged); a **mass protest movement**; the **PNA** opposition's religious appeal; his **authoritarian style** (the **FSF**, use of **force** against opponents, such as in **Balochistan**: the **NAP** government was dismissed in **1973** and an army operation began); **economic problems** (inflation, falling investment); loss of the support of the **army** and the **middle class**; **Zia's ambition**.

General Zia-ul-Haq (1977–88)

Coming to power. Bhutto had made him Chief of Army Staff in **1976**, over the heads of several senior generals. Zia promised **elections within 90 days**, but in **October 1977** he **postponed** them, saying that he would hold them after "**accountability**" (the removal of corrupt politicians); many politicians were **disqualified** from public life for some years, and the PPP was repressed. He became **President** in **1978** and ruled for 11 years.

Note Academy

The Islamisation programme

Area	Measures
Legal	**Hudood Ordinances (1979)** introduced the **Islamic punishments** for theft, adultery (**zina**), drinking, and false accusation; the **Federal Shariat Court** (**1980**) to review laws for conformity with Islam; later **blasphemy** laws were strengthened (**Section 295-C**, 1986). The **Law of Evidence** (**1984**) made a woman's testimony **equal to half** of a man's in some cases
Economic	**Zakat and Ushr Ordinance (1980)** (a 2.5% deduction each year from savings accounts above a minimum balance, taken on the first day of Ramadan; **Shias** could claim exemption; **Ushr**, a 10% charge on farm produce, with local zakat committees to give the money to the poor); a policy of **denationalisation** that returned some industries to private owners; and **interest-free "profit and loss sharing"** (PLS) bank accounts; **Islamic banking** introduced
Education	**Islamic Studies** and **Pakistan Studies** compulsory; **Arabic** taught; **religious schools (madrasas)** gained funding and recognition; the **Quran** in the curriculum
Social	**prayer** facilities, a **Ramadan** ordinance (public eating and drinking in daylight prohibited, with a prison term and fine), the **Nizam-e-Salat** (prayer committees); religious teachers in the army were given officer status
Dress and media	**hijab** promoted on TV, restrictions on the arts and music

Effects. Supporters said that it brought **Islamic values**. Critics said that it was used to **gain legitimacy**, **divided society** (Sunni–Shia and sectarian conflict grew), **discriminated against women and minorities**, and **encouraged extremism**.

The legal and constitutional position of women and minorities

- **Women:** the **Hudood** and **Law of Evidence** were criticised for harming women (for example **zina** cases against rape victims). **Protests** by the **Women's Action Forum** (founded 1981). On the other hand **20 seats** were reserved for **women** in the National Assembly (**1985**).
- **Minorities: separate electorates** for **non-Muslims** were restored in **1985**. **Ordinance XX** (**1984**) prevented **Ahmadis** from calling themselves Muslims or using Islamic terms. **Christians and Hindus** had **blasphemy** laws as a threat to them.

Law and government, elections and martial law

- **Martial law (1977–85)**; the 1973 Constitution was **suspended** and ruled by **Provisional Constitutional Order** (PCO, 1981).
- **Majlis-e-Shoora** (a **nominated** advisory council), set up in **1981**.

Note Academy

- **Referendum, December 1984**: asked whether voters supported the **Islamisation** programme, which meant that a "yes" gave Zia **five more years** as President. The turnout was low, though officially high.
- **Non-party elections, February 1985**: the opposition (**MRD**, Movement for the Restoration of Democracy) **boycotted**. **Muhammad Khan Junejo** became **Prime Minister**.
- **The Eighth Amendment (1985):** gave the **President** the power (**Article 58(2)(b)**) to **dismiss the government** and **dissolve the National Assembly** at his discretion. It also **approved Zia's actions** under martial law and restored the **Constitution**. Martial law ended on **30 December 1985**.
- **Junejo** tried to act independently (for example on Afghanistan, where he consulted opposition leaders, and by ordering smaller official cars). On **10 April 1988** an **arms depot at the Ojhri Camp** near Rawalpindi exploded, killing and injuring many people; Junejo ordered an **inquiry**, which angered the army. In **May 1988** Zia **dismissed Junejo** and dissolved the Assembly.

Problems facing Zia

- **Legitimacy:** he was a military ruler who came to power by force and **hanged Bhutto**, so many Pakistanis opposed him (especially in **Sindh**, the **MRD movement 1983**).
- **Ethnic and sectarian violence:** the **MQM** (1984) in Karachi, **Sindhi** nationalism, **Shia–Sunni** tension, the **Kalashnikov and heroin culture** spread from the Afghan war.
- **Economy:** reasonable growth, helped by **remittances** and **US aid**, but **inequality**, **debt** and **corruption**.
- **Refugees:** about **3 million Afghan refugees** came in.
- **Death:** Zia died in a **plane crash** near **Bahawalpur** on **17 August 1988** with the US Ambassador and senior generals. The cause has never been proved.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, 1979

- The **USSR invaded** Afghanistan in **December 1979**. **Pakistan** became a **front-line state**: it supported the **mujahideen** (with arms and training, supplied with **US and Saudi money**), and gave refuge to the **Afghan refugees**.
- **Benefits: US aid** (a $3.2 billion package in **1981** and later), **modern weapons** (F-16s), and **international prestige**. The US ignored Pakistan's **nuclear programme**.
- **Costs: refugees**, **terrorist attacks** and **bombings** in Pakistani cities by Soviet-Afghan agents (KHAD), the growth of **weapons** and **drugs**, and the **militant** groups. The **Geneva Accords** (**April 1988**) provided for the Soviet withdrawal. After the Soviet withdrawal (**1989**) the US **lost interest**, and sanctions came back in **1990**.

> **TRY IT**
>
> Why was Bhutto overthrown in 1977?

Note Academy

Outline. Rigged 1977 elections (alleged) and the **PNA** protests; the economy; his **authoritarian** methods (the FSF, Balochistan); the **religious** opposition; and **Zia's coup** (5 July 1977). **Judgement:** the **election crisis** was the **immediate** cause, but the army was ready to take over.

> **TRY IT**
>
> How successful were the policies of Zia-ul-Haq, 1977–88?

Outline. *Success:* kept order for 11 years; Islamisation (Hudood, Zakat, Shariat Court); **economic growth** and **US aid**; helped to **defeat** the Soviets in Afghanistan. *Failure:* **no legitimacy**; **sectarianism**, **ethnic violence**, **drugs and guns**; **discrimination**; **military dominance** (the 8th Amendment). **Judgement:** mixed; his long-term effects were **harmful** to national unity.

Note Academy