

**HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS
PAKISTAN IN THE TWENTY
YEARS FOLLOWING THE
'DECADE OF PROGRESS?'**

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1971-77)

CAIE Exam Questions:

- 1. Why did Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto fall from power in 1979? [7]**
- 2. Educational reforms were the most important of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]**
- 3. In which of the following did Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto have most success:**
Reform and control of the armed forces
Constitutional reforms
Education and health reforms
Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above [14]
- 4. Constitutional reforms were the most important of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]**
- 5. Why was Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto arrested and executed in 1979? [7]**

On 20th December 1971 Bhutto assumed power after Yahya Khan stepped down. He was a civilian chief martial law administrator. He had to deal with many difficult tasks such as:

- A disgraced army,
- A shattered govt.
- A demoralized population

Control of armed forces:

- He was determined to limit the powers of armed forces to protect his government from martial law. He put all the blame of the separation of East Pakistan on Yahya and military.
- Removing the most important army leaders - Bhutto decided to assert control over armed forces and forced C-in-C General Gul Hassan and Air Marshal Rahim Khan to resign and he appointed Tikka Khan as chief of the army staff.

- Setting up FSF (Federal Security Force) for his personal use - The idea was extracted, perhaps, from the infamous NKVD that the Communist leader Joseph Stalin had adopted in his heydays. It also showed how much inclined Bhutto was towards socialism. **Haq Nawaz Tiwana**, an officer drawn from the police, was the first director general of the *FSF*; he was soon replaced by **Masood Mahmood**.

Simla Agreement - 1972

The signing of Simla agreement was to solve the problem of POW's, maintain diplomatic relations with India and to resolve the differences and misconception between India and Pakistan according to charter of UN. It was concluded in July 1972 and both countries agreed to withdraw their troops to pre December 1971 position. Bhutto represented Pakistan and Indira Gandhi signed it from India.

Domestic Policies

Nationalization Program:

Bhutto's first step towards a change in the economic condition was nationalization of key industries. In Jan 1972 the government took over 31 industrial units including large and small industries. A board for industrial management was setup to manage nationalized industries. This step was taken to end and exploitation of few industrialists. The second phase started in 1973 to 1976 in which many small industries were also nationalized.

Land Reforms:

It was announced in 1972. The land holding were restricted to 150 acres of irrigated land and 300 acres of un-irrigated land. Later on it was reduced to 100 acres of irrigated and 200 acres of un-irrigated land in 1977.

Educational Reforms:

Bhutto wanted to make the education free and compulsory. In the first phase (1972) education was made free and compulsory up to class 8. In the second phase (1974) education was made

free and compulsory up to class 10. New schools were opened and the private schools were nationalized. **Three universities and five new boards of intermediate and secondary education were set up. UGC was also set up.** The aim was to increase the literacy rate and raise academic standards. The changes in education led to overcrowding in existing schools whilst new ones could be built. The reforms were not very successful since the building of new schools and the recruitment of new teachers could not be achieved quickly and was also very expensive. Many families resented the educational reforms since it meant a loss of earnings to them. In conclusion educational reforms increased the number of educational institutions but quality of education went down.

Health Reforms:

- Rural Health Centers and Basic health Units were established.
- Training Colleges for nurses and more medical colleges for doctors were opened up.
- The sale of medicine under brand name was not allowed. This reduced profit of pharmaceutical companies and they started closing down their offices in Pakistan. The reforms did not improve medical services in Pakistan and shortages of doctors and hospitals remained a problem.

Labor Reforms:

- All the workers of industrial concerns were given medical cover, compensation for injuries at work, compulsory group insurance and safe guard against termination of service.
- The industry and factory owners were made responsible to bear the expenses of the education of at least one child of every worker employed in their factory.
- New rules were announced regarding the bonuses, leave compensation and retirement.
- Social security scheme was applied to all the industries;

Constitution Reforms:

In 1972 martial law was lifted and a new constituent assembly was called. A committee was set up to draft a new constitution. The recommendations of committee received approval of all political parties in the assembly

Constitutional of 1973

It was drafted in on 14th August and supported a parliamentary form of government.

1. Pakistan was named as Islamic Republic of Pakistan. PM and President were to be Muslims.
2. Parliamentary system of government - two houses of parliament. National Assembly and Senate.
3. Prime Minister would be the leader of majority party and would choose the cabinet.
4. Federal system of government - adult franchise as well as provincial autonomy.
5. Protection of basic human rights.
6. Islamic Provisions to change existing laws according to Islam.
7. Legislative, emergency and judicial powers given to PM. President had to act according to the advice of PM.

Foreign Policy:

- Bhutto embarked upon the tour of friendly Muslim countries.
- Emerged as a leader of third world countries – he played active role in NAM (Non-Aligned Movement)
- He undertook tours of 22 countries and explained his foreign policy.
- He also visited China and USSR. China provided loans and military aircrafts to Pakistan.
- In 1972, USSR agreed to build Pakistan Steel Mills.
- The second Islamic Summit Conference of OIC was held at Lahore in 1974. It was a great achievement under the leadership of Bhutto, which gave a boost to Pakistan's reputation at international level.

General elections of 1977

Bhutto announced general election in 1977 to seek public mandate for a second term. With the announcement of the general elections 9 political parties joined together to contest elections against Bhutto with an alliance known as Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The PNA launched a blistering campaign against PPP.

The PNA Movement:

The PNA declared the elections results fake and demanded fresh elections under the judiciary and army. The PNA also demanded the resignation of the Chief Election Commissioner and the PM Bhutto himself. The PNA launched a countrywide movement against the PPP govt. Bhutto rejected PNA's demands. Strikes and processions were held throughout the country which shook the govt. The PNA movement soon turned into a bloody civil war. Government agencies like FSF and Rangers were involved which tried to crush protesters. On April 19th 1977 the army was called in Lahore, Hyderabad and Karachi and curfew was imposed. The situation in the country worsened which compelled Mr. Bhutto to start negotiations with PNA delegation but to no avail. Law and order situation deteriorated. Then COAS general M. Zia-ul-Haq imposed martial law in the country on July 5th 1977 and suspended some parts of the constitution of 1973.

Practice Question 1: Why did Zulfikar Ali Bhutto fall from power in 1979? [7]

Reasons for the downfall of Bhutto

Political

1. **Massive rigging the election of 1977:** The rigging in the elections infuriated the sentiments of the people and provided a chance to the opposition to launch an organized movement against the Bhutto government and led to its downfall.
2. **Dictatorial policies of PPP Government:** PPP Government was the first elected government in Pakistan but it did not follow the democratic way. Opposition was

neglected and mass media communication was monopolized. This made people unhappy and they supported the opposition against Bhutto.

3. **The Baluchistan Crisis:** In 1973 the Baluchistan Government was suspended and Presidential rule was imposed. This started a tribal uprising that needed Iranian support to be dealt with.
4. **The Pakhtoonistan Stunt 1975:** In NWFP there were demonstrations in the favor of a separate autonomous province of Pakhtoonistan. Repressive measures led to the downfall of Mufti Mahmud, the chief Minister of NWFP.

Economic

5. **Nationalization Policies:** It was also a failure because Bhutto could not find the necessary expertise or the right kind of skilled personnel to run the industries. Industrial production dropped and economy went down.
6. **Failure of PPP's Manifesto:** PPP Government failed to provide food, shelter and clothing to the common man; it rather aggravated his miseries. In this way he lost the support of the poor masses.
7. **Deteriorating economic conditions:** Country's economy was seriously dislocated. Production levels fell and exports decreased drastically.
8. **Devaluation of currency:** Since Pakistan's rupee was linked with the US dollar and at that time there was recession in the American economy, the value of the rupee fell gradually. This led to negative balance of payment and a decreased economic growth.

Military

Degradation of the army and the bureaucracy: After the fall of Dhaka, Pakistan's army was degraded as it could not defend the territorial boundaries of the country. In order to curb the power of bureaucracy, administrative reforms were introduced. This turned the military and the bureaucracy against Bhutto and martial law was imposed in 1977.

Practice Question 2: Why was Bhutto hanged in 1979?

[7]

1. **Murder case against Ahmed Raza Kasuri's father:** Bhutto was implicated in a murder case during his tenure. Ahmad Raza Kasuri was one of the MNAs. He was an active member of the PPP and was very vocal in the parliament. He soon turned against Bhutto and openly criticized the policies adopted by the PPP and its Chairman Mr. Z.A. Bhutto. He turned out to be a deadly opponent of Mr. Z.A. Bhutto. Mr. Bhutto was not used to digest this sort of criticism from one of his party members. He plotted against Ahmed Raza Kasuri and employed his federal security force to quell the outbursts of Ahmed Raza Kasuri. The Federal Security fired on Ahmed Raza Kasuri when he was returning from a marriage function along with his family members. His father **Nawab Muhammad Ahmed Khan** was killed in the incident. Ahmed Raza Kasuri got an FIR registered against Mr. Bhutto who was sentenced to death along with his four accomplices by Lahore High Court. The Supreme Court followed the decision of Lahore High Court and when President Zia turned down his mercy appeal, Mr. Bhutto was hanged on **4th April, 1979**.
2. **Conspiracy against Bhutto:** It is also alleged that Bhutto fell victim to a conspiracy. He was hated by landlords and industrialists, lost support of students, disliked by civil service and lost support of the army. Zia-ul-Haq faced little opposition when the court decided to execute him.
3. **Lack of International Support:**
 - USA not happy because of his pro-USSR policies.

Bhutto's nuclear program was not approved by the west.
4. **Zia wanted to show his power:**
 - In the end it all became a personal issue for Zia who knew he wasn't liked by the masses. Leaving Bhutto imprisoned could have created problems for him.
 - He was considered to be a weak leader in the army too. Since he had been elevated to the highest rank by superseding other generals by Bhutto himself, it was believed he would not turn up against Bhutto.

How successful was Pakistan in establishing a new constitution between 1947 and 1973?

Explain your answer.

LEVEL 1: Simplistic statement [1-2]

It was very successful

LEVEL 2" Described the constitution/identified successes or failures [3-6]

There were 3 constitutions implemented in 1956, 1962 and 1973

LEVEL 3: Explains successes OR failures [7-10]

LEVEL 4: Explains both. [9-13]

Successes:

The first attempt to set up a constitution came in 1949 with the Objectives Resolution which tried to pave the way towards a new constitution. It attempted to set out a plan to enshrine Islamic principles in an eventual constitution. In 1952 a revised Basic Principles Committee presented a report which made firm steps towards an Islamic constitution by stating that the Head of State should be Muslim and that he would appoint a committee of Islamic specialists to ensure that all legislation conformed to Islamic Law

In 1956 the long awaited constitution emerged with the important declaration that Pakistan was to be an Islamic Republic and that Urdu and Bengali would be the official languages, which was an attempt to placate the people of East Pakistan.

In 1959 Basic Democracies were introduced by Ayub Khan which was a 4 tier structure of government, allowing elections at various levels. The success of these councils which were set up was such that martial law was lifted in 1962 after a new constitution was introduced.

The 1973 Constitution revived the power of the National Assembly and as a result political parties became more important

Failures:

The Objectives Resolution of 1949 was criticized especially by East Pakistan who resented the fact that Urdu, not Bengali was to be the official language despite the much large population. It

also resented the idea of equal representation in the National Assembly, again due to the size of its population.

The death of Liaquat Ali Khan meant that constitutional change had to wait until a new leader could be found and had time to settle in

The Basic Principles Committee's report was criticized because of the official language issue was still not settled and East Pakistan was determined to oppose the selection of Urdu. Political uncertainties and change meant that further discussions towards establishing a new constitution were put on hold for a few years until 1956.

The 1956 constitution was heavily criticized since it didn't solve the political problems of Pakistan. The constitution promised a parliamentary system of government but whilst the President held the power to intervene or even suspend the Assembly. East Pakistan was very unhappy at not having a majority in the Assembly that it believed its vast population deserved.

The 1962 constitution increased the powers of the ruling elite which happened because the major landlords dominated the elections to the Basic Democracies and often used force or bribery to influence the results. The constitution also upset the people of East Pakistan as they felt they were going to have little part in the governing of Pakistan and that the power was held by the military and civil officials of West Pakistan

General Zia-ul Haq (1977-88)

Practice Questions:

1. What were the Hudood Ordinances? [4]
2. Why did Zia –ul-Haq introduce his Islamic reforms between 1977 and 1988? [7]
3. How successful have governments been in the Islamization of Pakistan between 1947 and 1988? Explain your answer. [14]
4. 'Zia-ul-Haq's foreign policy was more successful than his domestic reforms'. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

Marking scheme extract about Islamization program of Zia-ul-Haq

Zia introduced the Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process because he felt that Pakistan was weaker as a result of these. He therefore, made the Islamic laws very strict in order to produce a strong government by imposing a strict legal code.

He also wanted to implement laws which punished people for showing disrespect towards the Holy Prophet and ensured that Islamic education was implemented in schools so as to raise Islamic awareness amongst students. He also wanted to distribute some wealth to the poor and needy by introducing Islamic taxes.

Foreign policy

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 led to the West working very closely with Pakistan and providing military and economic support in return for becoming a base for anti-Soviet activities. Zia's standing in the West increased and he was able with their support to sell military assistance to other Muslim countries. By 1985 there were in excess of 50,000 Pakistanis working in the Middle East as a direct result of this policy.

Domestic Policies

In addition to the policy of Islamization, Zia worked on many other fronts. With regard to economic affairs, efforts to increase investment were met with some success since many of the previous nationalization programs were reversed and the private sector was encouraged to re-invest. Efforts were also made to increase the efficiency of government-run industries. There was a need by Zia to establish a measure of legitimacy to his presidency by declaring all the military actions of him as legal since 1977. The passing of the Eight Amendment in 1985 gave the President the power to dismiss the Prime Minister of the time. As a result of this, martial law was lifted but Zia remained President, unchallenged and with utmost power.

LEVEL 5: As Level 4 – also produces a judgment or evaluation.

How did Zia gain power?

Zia was made the chief of the army staff in 1976 by Bhutto. On 5th July 1977 he dissolved Bhutto's government owing to the uncertain situation that had occurred in the aftermath of the Elections 1977. **Operation Fairplay** paved the way to martial law in the country.

Important Events of Zia's Rule

Political activities banned

Zia's ML regime issued Provincial Constitutional Order (PCO) in March 1981 in which it was declared that efforts shall be made to restore democracy as soon as possible. Till then it was announced that political activities would be banned and allowed only by the president. It was stated that only those political parties should be permitted to operate which were registered with the election commission and were declared to be eligible to take part in the general elections by 11 October 1979. All other parties shall stand dissolved.

Majlis e Shoora

A Majlis-e-Shoora (Federal Council) was nominated in 1981. The Majlis-e-Shoora was constituted to assist the government in order to pave way for Islamic judicial system. It consisted of 284 members and was formally established in early 1982. Provincial councils were also set up in the provinces. Moulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari, a renowned religious scholar was behind the idea of this system.

Zakat Ordinance

The most important step taken to introduce the Islamic system in the country was the enforcement of 'Zakat and Ushr' ordinance by the government that was promulgated on June 20th, 1980. It was an important step towards Islamization of the economic system and a big achievement of the government.

Levying of Zakat was to be applicable on the saving accounts and the current accounts were exempted from it. A '**Sahib-e-Nisab**' Muslim was defined as the one, who came under the

category of those Muslims on whom the payment of zakat was compulsory. However, it was necessary that at the time of deduction of zakat there must be a balance of Rs.3000/- lying in the bank account. In addition to this compulsory contribution, Muslims were also expected to pay zakat voluntarily on their assets lying outside the banks.

Ushr Ordinance

‘Ushr’ is a tax which is levied on the yield of agricultural land in. According to this ordinance every owner, plougher and cultivator of an agricultural land will have to deposit with the government 10 percent of the agricultural yield/production of the land under his use in cash or kind as ‘Ushr’. However, the agricultural yield less than 948 kg of wheat was exempted from payment of ‘Ushr’. It was also decided that if the landowner, plougher and cultivator was a poor man and came under the category of those persons who are eligible to receive Zakat, he would be exempted from the payment of ‘Ushr’.

The council consisted of the following:

- a. Central zakat council**
- b. Provincial zakat council**
- c. District zakat committee**
- d. Tehsil zakat committee**

Establishment of the Federal Shariah Court

The establishment of federal shariah court was a highly important and significant step undertaken by the govt. in the Islamization process. The jurisdiction of federal shariah court extended to whole of the country. The federal shariah court decided various issues brought before it in the light of Holy Quran and Sunnah. Any citizen could challenge any law of the country in the shariah court where he had to prove that a certain law was against the injunctions of Islam. The appellant could claim that since a particular law was against the principles of Islam, it may therefore, be declared as nullified. The Federal Shariah Court was authorized to give its decision in order to declare any law of the country as nullified if the law was found and proved as against the spirit of Islam.

Interest-free Banking

“**Riba**” is an Arabic word, which means the rent of the capital borrowed for personal use. It implies that a person, who lends money to another person for the personal use, will take a certain amount from the borrower in the excess of the amount actually lent, as the rent of the lent money, for the period the lent money is kept under use by the borrower.

Banking system in Pakistan was organized on interest basis and the account holders were paid a fixed amount on their deposits on yearly basis as interest. The govt. in order, to streamline the banking system in accordance with Islamic principles, took steps to eliminate the evil interest from the banking system of the country. For this purpose interest free banking system was introduced in the country on 1st Jan 1981 and in its place the profit and loss sharing system was introduced. According to this system the account holder becomes the partner with the bank in its profit or loss.

Compulsory teaching of Pakistan Studies & Islamiyat

The first step taken in this direction was the teaching of Islamiyat as a compulsory subject on degree level, which aimed at giving Islamic education to the students to a greater extent. Extensive efforts are being made for the teaching and development of Arabic language. Arabic language courses were introduced on Radio Pakistan and Pakistan television besides other program broadcasts in Arabic from other sources. The subject of Pakistan Studies, containing comprehensive information and material on freedom, struggle of the Muslims of the subcontinent and history of Pakistan was introduced for intermediate level and above.

Steps were taken by the govt. which pertained to maintaining the sanctity of the Holy Month of Ramzan-ul-Mubarak. The govt. had issued an ordinance, according to which open drinking and eating during the holy month of Ramzan-ul-Mubarak had been forbidden. Anyone found eating or drinking at an open place in contravention to this Ordinance was liable to three months imprisonment and a fine of Rs.500/-. However, hospitals, railway stations, seaports, bus stands, trains and airports were exempted from this ordinance.

Zia's Political Plan:

General Zia announced his political plan in his address to the Majlis-e-Shoora on 12 August 1983, which was meant for peaceful transition from military to civilian rule. According to the plan general elections were to be held under the constitution of 1973. Zia described his plan as a positive outline of a real Islamic state and system of working.

Elections 1983

Zia attached great importance to the elections in a democratic set-up. He firmly believed that elections should be held on adult franchise basis to restore democracy.

The elections were to be held in two stages in 1983. In the first stage elections to the local bodies were held on non-party basis. In the local bodies elections 71767 members were elected. In the second stage elections to the national and provincial assemblies and the senate were held in 1985.

Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)

As Zia had monopolized all the parties became angry at his dictatorial style. Zia's tactics could not cool down the irritated politicians. A civil disobedience movement was launched against Zia in the province of Sindh the movement was named as movement of restoration of democracy (MRD) and was aimed at pulling Zia Down from his high position. The movement, to some extent, was successful in developing hatred amongst the people about Zia's dictatorial style.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan led the movement.

National Referendum

As Zia's political plan did not contain a provision for the election of the president, he believed his position was extremely unsafe due to this missing point. In order to seek constitutional basis for his possessive control of the political authority he issued referendum slogan **"whether the people of Pakistan endorse the process initiated by general Muhammad Zia ul Haq, the president of Pakistan for bringing laws of Pakistan in conformity with the injunctions as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the holy prophet (PBUH) and for the preservation of**

the ideology of Pakistan and for the smooth and orderly transfer of power to the elected representative of the people?”. The question was to be answered either in ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Zia received 97.7 percent of votes. The opposition parties boycotted the referendum.

Elections 1985

After having secured himself through referendum, Zia announced that elections to the assemblies would be held on 28th February 1985 on adult franchise but on a non-party basis. The turnout was 52.93%.

Muhammad Khan Junejo as PM

The joint session of the national assembly and the senate was held on 23rd March 1985. Zia ul Haq took oath as the president of Pakistan for the next five years. Zia nominated Muhammad Khan Junejo from the province of Sindh, as PM.

Ohjri Camp Disaster

Ohjri camp was an ammunition depot situated in between Rawalpindi and Islamabad. On April 10th 1988, the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi received an unexpected and heavy shower of weapons, which included missiles, rockets, bombs and other highly lethal exclusive devices. The blast jolted the entire area. The explosion caused great panic and heavy loss of lives.

Junejo’s Government Dissolved

Prime Minister Junejo appointed a committee to submit a report on the incident of Ohjri camp. The report was submitted on April 24th 1988. The report was reviewed by the Cabinet, which held General Akhter Abdur Rehman, the ISI chief and General Hameed Gul (former ISI chief) responsible for the disaster. It became evident that the PM was going to dismiss those army generals on whom the inquiry committee had fixed the responsibility of the disaster. Sensing Junejo’s intentions of dismissing Gen. Akhtar Abdur Rehman and Gen Hamid Gul, Zia pre-empted the move and dissolved Junejo’s Govt. on May 29, 1988 using his powers under the 8th constitutional amendment,

Process of Islamization:

The Government of president Zia-ul-Haq took a number of steps to introduce Islamic laws in the country, which were as follows:

Hudood Ordinance

Hudood Ordinance was promulgated in the country in 1977. According to Hudood ordinance, different punishments were prescribed for various crimes. The word “**had**” means the punishment, which has been prescribed in the light of the holy Quran and Sunnah.

According to the Hudood ordinance, use of liquor/wine was prohibited and was considered a culpable crime throughout Pakistan. Any person found guilty of the said crime would be liable to punishment of thirty lashes and five years’ imprisonment.

The second Hudood law concerned with the crime of theft. According to this law, to cut the left hand of the person found guilty of theft. If the person commits the crime of theft for the second time his right hand, too, would be amputated. The habitual theft was to be awarded life imprisonment.

The third Hudood law was meant for adultery. According to this law if a person, man or woman, indulged in the act of adultery, he or she would be stoned to death. The first eyewitness would initiate the act of stoning the adulterer. The culprit would then be shot dead during stoning. The law had been enacted in the light of Islam, which means that if a man or woman, not married with each other according to the Islamic way, indulged in adultery, would be stoned to death at an open place.

Qazaf Ordinance

Qazaf means a false allegation on a person, living or dead, to harm his/her reputation. In order to prove this allegation, at least four adult Muslims, known for their truthfulness would be required to bear witness to this fact. If the crime was established a punishment of fine and imprisonment could also be awarded.

8th Amendment

President's order known as Revival of 1973 Constitutional Order (RCO) was passed on 2nd March 1985. It altered the constitution and 65 articles of constitution were amended or substituted or added or modified or deleted. RCO could be called as first and for most part of 8th amendment. Important changes brought about by RCO related to the powers of the president included:

1. The president was to act on the advice of the cabinet, the prime minister, or the minister but he could require the cabinet to reconsider its advice.
2. The president could dissolve national assembly in his discretion, where in his opinion appeal to the electorate was necessary and call elections within 100 days of such dissolution.
3. The president to continue in the office until successors entered upon the office of prime minister. A care taker cabinet is appointed till the elections of successors after general elections.
4. The president could in his discretion appoint any member of national assembly as prime minister who in his opinion could command the confidence of the majority of NA members. However, PM had to obtain vote of confidence from NA in 60 days.

8th amendment was introduced by Zia-ul-Haq and he wanted the NA and the civilian govt. formed under Junejo to accept the constitutional package under the P.O 14 of the 1985. It was in these circumstances that 8th amendment bill was moved. The president's power under the article 58 II B to dissolve the NA in his discretion has since been done 4 times. On all occasions the dissolution was challenged before the courts and Supreme Court decided the matters. The first victim of it was Junejo when Zia dismissed him in 1988. Due to this amendment there is an unstable situation for democracy and it gives initiatives to army to interfere in government matters.

End of Zia-ul-Haq:

On August 17th, 1988, a C-130 plane carrying General Zia, General Akhter Abdur Rehman and a number of other very senior army officers and the US Ambassador to Pakistan Mr. Arnold Rafael, blasted near Bahawalpur killing all the persons on board. In a chaotic situation, Chairman Senate Ghulam Ishaq Khan took over as the president. Elections were announced in three months' time.

Practice question 1

What difficulties did Zia-ul-Haq find in ruling Pakistan during the late 1980s? 7

LEVEL 1: Simplistic answer [1]

Life became harder

LEVEL 2: Identifies reasons [2-4]

There was an increase in violence and drug smuggling

LEVEL 3: Explains reasons [5-7]

Zia-ul-Haq found difficulty in managing the breakdown of law and order. Pakistan became a more violent country with killings commonplace in cities such as Karachi. Drug trafficking grew and there was an increase in levels of corruption in society. The provinces became more difficult to administer. Sindh had regular outbreaks of violence and wanted to break away from Pakistan. It was beginning to be ungovernable. The NWFP was also becoming more critical of the government. The explosion at the arms dump at Camp Ojhri in 1988 led to PM Junejo setting up an inquiry which seemed to blame top army commanders, which Zia found untenable and so dismissed him and dissolved the National Assembly. This led to political crises for Zia and further difficulties.