

# ZIA REGIME

1978-88

SYED USMAN IBRAHIM

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# General Zia

- Born 12 August 1924 – 17 August 1988
- Pakistani four-star general
- Declared third martial law in Pakistan history 1977.
- He was Pakistan's longest-serving head of state.

# BACKGROUND

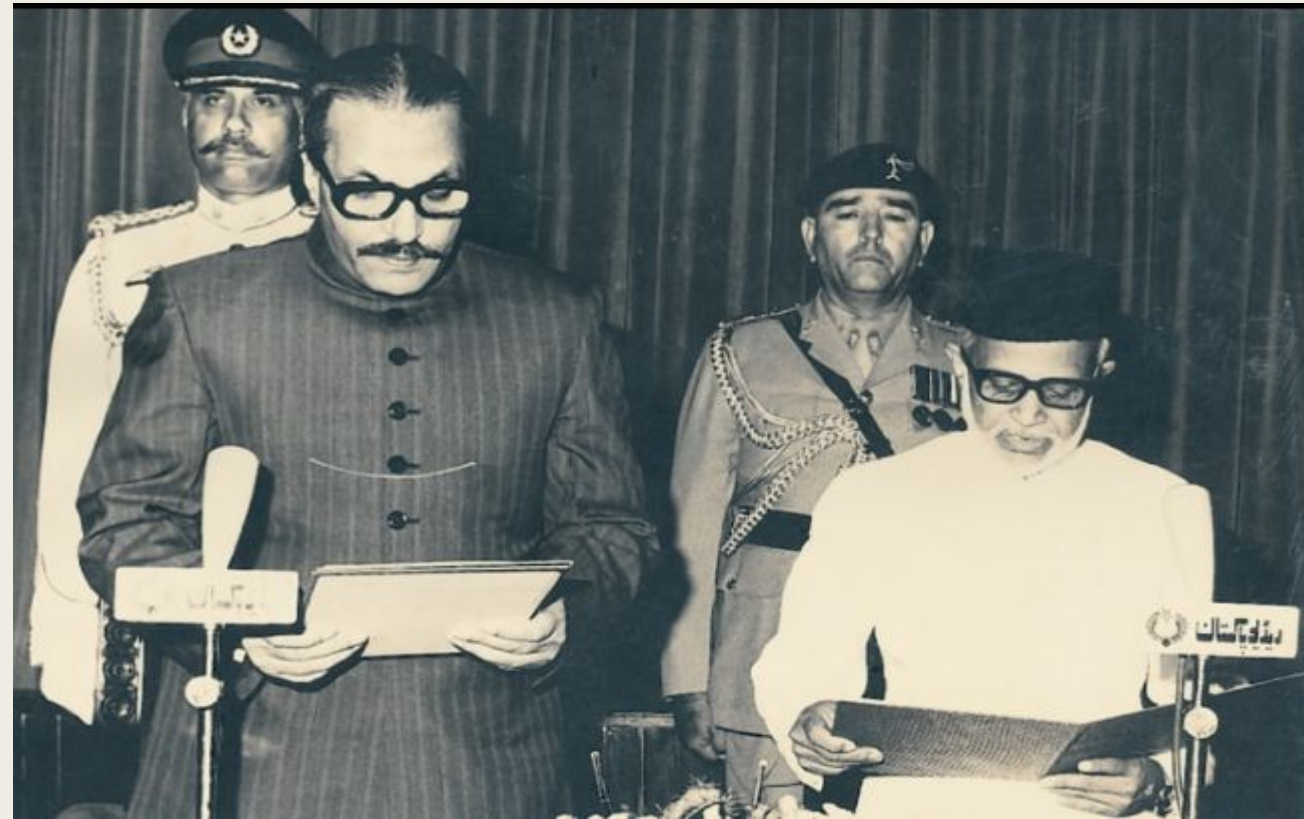
After deposing Prime Minister Bhutto on 5 July 1977, Zia declared martial law, and appointed himself Chief Martial Law Administrator, which he remained until becoming president on 16 September 1978.

# The Reign of General Zia

Reign as Chief Martial Law Administrator



Reign as President of Pakistan



# Martial Law under General Zia

- Steady economic growth favouring the private sector.
- Efforts were made to Islamize the political, legal and economic structures.
- Pakistan gained the status of Most Favoured Nation from the United States following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.
- Vast amounts of military equipment and aid were donated to Pakistan to help the four million Afghan refugees who crossed into Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province.
- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
- Trial
- The Doctrine of Necessity









To spread fear Zia began to order the public floggings of student leaders, troublesome journalists and petty thieves and then explained these acts as being part of the 'Islamisation of Pakistan.'

# Reign as President of Pakistan

- Despite the dismissal of most of the Bhutto government, President Fazal-e-Ilahi Chaudhry was persuaded to continue in office as a figurehead.
- After completing his term, and despite Zia's insistence to accept an extension as President, Chaudhry resigned, and Zia took the office of President of Pakistan on 16 September 1978.
- Thus his position was cemented as the undisputed ruler of the country. Over the next six years, Zia issued several decrees which amended the constitution and greatly expanded his power.
- Most significantly, the Revival of Constitution of 1973 Order granted Zia the power to dissolve the National Assembly virtually at will.



# Economic policy

- However, between 1977 and 1986, the country experienced an average annual growth in the GNP of 6.8%—the highest in the world at that time—due to remittances from the overseas workers, rather than government policy.
- The first year of Zia's government coincided with a dramatic rise in remittances, which totalled \$3.2 billion/year for most of the 1980s, accounted for 10 percent of Pakistan's GDP.
- 45 percent of its current account receipts, and 40 percent of total foreign exchange earnings.
- By the end of 1987, the Finance ministry had begun studying the process of engaging the gradual privatisation and economic liberalisation.

# Referendum of 1984

- After Bhutto's execution, momentum to hold elections began to mount both internationally and within Pakistan. But before handing over power to elected representatives, Zia attempted to secure his position as the head of state.
- A referendum was held on 19 December 1984 with the option being to elect or reject the General as the future President, the wording of the referendum making a vote against Zia appear to be a vote against Islam. According to official figures 95% of votes were cast in favour of Zia, however only 10% of the electorate participated in the referendum.

# 1985 Elections

- The election campaign was closely regulated by the military government. The candidates were not allowed to use loudspeakers, hold public meetings or take out processions. The candidates generally shied away from talking about domestic political problems or foreign policy. They focused on local problems and issues. Parochial and ethnic considerations, local alliances and local feuds figured prominently in election campaigning.
- The exclusion of political parties and restrictions on political mobilization enabled the feudal and tribal elite to emerge victorious in the polls. The well-known landed families of the Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and the tribal chiefs of Baluchistan tightened their hold over the elected bodies. The commercial elite and the affluent candidates also performed well in the polls.

# 1985 Elections

## **Background of National Assembly Members. 1985**

■ Landlords and Tribal leaders	157
■ Businessmen	54
■ Urban Professionals	18
■ Religious Leaders	6
■ Others	3

**TOTAL SEATS 238**

Sources: Dawn, Jang and Herald. Cited in, Omer Noman. (Pakistan A Political and Economic History Since 1947)

# 1985 Elections

## The 1985 General Elections: Voters' Turn-out

■ National Assembly 52.93%

### Provincial Assembly

■ Punjab 61.80%

■ Sindh 49.82%

■ NWFP(Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) 47.61%

■ Baluchistan 46.62%



# 1985 constitutional amendments

- Zia-ul-Haq thus made many changes in the Constitution before reviving it. The amendment was made immediately after the general elections and before nominating the Prime Minister and prior to the formation of the civilian government. These amendments were based on his constitutional plan which he announced on 12 August 1983. The balance of power had clearly shifted in favor of the President after the RCO and the office of the Prime Minister was relegated to a subservient and subordinate position.
- On 10 March, Zia promulgated a new order enforcing all but 27 Articles of the amended Constitution. Twenty-one of the Articles which were left suspended, related to the fundamental right and writ jurisdiction of the High Courts. Also uninformed, was Article 6 which described as high treason punishable under the law. Elections were held to the Senate on 12 March and Pakistan finally had a parliament.

# 1985 constitutional amendments

- The President was given the authority to nominate and appoint the Prime Minister at his discretion from amongst members of the National Assembly. Similarly, the provincial Governors were vested with the power to appoint Chief Ministers of their respective provinces from amongst the members of the Provincial Assemblies
- Zia nominated a veteran political from Sindh, Mohammed Khan Junejo, as Prime Minister on 23 March 1985. While handing over power to Junejo and his government, Zia made it clear that it was not a transfer of power from a military to a civilian government. It was at best the sharing of some of the powers by the military with the newly formed civilian government.

# 1985 constitutional amendments

- The Eighth Amendment was a clearly a capitulation on the part of the newly formed civilian government to get lifted martial law. While retaining elements of both the parliamentary and the presidential form of government, the Amendments tilted the balance of latter's favorite Eight Amendment reduced the status of the Prime Minister, making him subservient to the desires of the former. The main obsessing was to retain power at any cost, even if this meant the negation of constitutional democracy, national integrity and national institution.

# Economic policy

- The first year of Zia's government coincided with a dramatic rise in remittances, which totalled \$3.2 billion/year for most of the 1980s, accounted for 10 percent of Pakistan's GDP.
- 45 percent of its current account receipts, and 40 percent of total foreign exchange earnings.
- By the end of 1987, the Finance ministry had begun studying the process of engaging the gradual privatisation and economic liberalisation.
- **Fifth Five-Year Plans (1978-1983)** was an attempt to stabilise the economy and improve the standard of living of the poorest segment of the population.
- Many of the controls on industry were liberalised or abolished, the balance of payments deficit was kept under control, and Pakistan became self-sufficient in all basic foodstuffs with the exception of edible oils.
- The sixth five-year plans represented a significant shift toward the private sector. It was designed to tackle some of the major problems of the economy: low investment and savings ratios; low agricultural productivity; heavy reliance on imported energy; and low spending on health and education. The economy grew at the targeted average of 6.5%

# Soviet-Afghan War

- On 25 December 1979, the Soviet Union (USSR) intervened in Afghanistan.
- International standing enhancement and resumption of aid
- Pakistan was offered \$325 million in aid over three years by USA, which later was made to \$1 billion.
- Pakistan got 40 F-16 jet fighters from USA.
- Zia played a large part in the eventual withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1988.



# Dismissal of the Junejo government and call for new elections

- His era led to serious disturbances in Karachi and ultimately Karachi went into the secular control of MQM from the clutches of Sunnis Jamaat-e-Islami.
- Ojhri Camp blast had irreversibly weakened Zia
- On 29 May 1988, Zia dissolved the National Assembly and removed the Prime Minister under article 58(2)b of the amended Constitution.
- Zia promised to hold elections in 1988 after the dismissal of Junejo government.
- He said that he would hold elections within the next 90 days.
- Benazir Bhutto had returned from exile in 1986, and had announced that she would be contesting the elections.

# Zia dies in plane crash

**US envoy, Gen. Akhtar  
among dead**

**Ishaq takes over as President**

**10-day mourning declared**

**Inquiry ordered**

Dawn Islamabad Bureau



military, and American diplomats were conspicuous by their absence. Guests started leaving as soon as the word of confirmation reached there.

The television and the radio cancelled their normal programmes and started recitation of the Holy Quran which continued till late in the night.

APP adds: The Government of Pakistan announced with the deepest sense of utmost grief that President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq died in an air crash this afternoon.

The announcement said General Zia was on a short visit to Bahawalpur to inspect the Army units there. On his return, the C-130 plane carrying him and his party took off from the Bahawalpur airport around 4.30 p.m. Minutes later, the plane exploded in the air. There were no survivors.

Immediate investigations have been ordered into the incident, the official announcement said.

**SEARCH:** Extensive search has been launched by the authorities to collect the remains of President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq and others who died in the crash.

An APP correspondent from Bahawalpur reported that limbs of the bodies of the victims were scattered over a large area which were being



# ZIA RULE TIMELINE 1977-88

**July 5, 1977**

Gen Zia removes Bhutto in a bloodless coup, suspending the constitution and declaring martial law. He announces elections will be held in 90 days. But simultaneously begins a censorship regime. Political activists and journalists are arrested and flogged in public

**May 13, 1978**

Eleven journalists are sentenced by military courts. Four journalists — Masudullah Khan, Iqbal Jafri, Khawar Naeem Hashmi and Nasir Zaidi — are also flogged

**December 2, 1978**

Shariat benches constituted at the high court levels while an appellate Shariat bench constituted at the Supreme Court level. Shariat benches could revisit any law deemed to be un-Islamic. Prayers to be offered in congregation at all government offices during working hours. All offices and shops to remain shut at the time of Friday prayers

**April 4, 1979**

ZAB is hanged in Rawalpindi jail despite a split verdict and international appeals

**October 15, 1979**

Gen Zia clamps down further on press freedoms. Two days later, the Daily Musawat and Daily Sadaqat are both banned

**December 24, 1979**

Soviet Union invades Afghanistan. Gen Zia drags Pakistan into the jihad sponsored by the Americans and Saudis

**May 26, 1980**

Establishment of Federal Shariat Court is announced

**December 19, 1984**

Zia holds referendum on 'Islamisation' which will give him five more years at the helm. His government claims that more than 95 percent of votes cast were in support of Zia

**February 25, 1985**

National polls are held on non-party-basis

**March 2, 1985**

Articles 62 & 63 of the Constitution amended to make parliamentarians' qualifications subject to 'Islamic' morality



**November 9, 1985**

Eight Amendment to the Constitution comes into force, giving Zia the power to dissolve the parliament under Article 58-2(B)

**September 17, 1977**

ZAB is arrested for “conspiracy to murder”

**October 1, 1977**

Elections postponed indefinitely

**January 1, 1978**

Gen Zia declares 1978 as Year of ‘Islamisation’. Education committee constituted to review syllabi and revise them to include an ‘Islamic bias’

**September 16, 1978**

Gen Zia assumes office of president; retains the office of army chief

**February 10, 1979**

Islamic penal laws enforcing ‘Hadd’ are promulgated in pursuance of ‘Nizam-i-Islam’. These include the Prohibition Order and the Zina Ordinance as well as separate laws for amputation for theft and punishment by whipping

**March 18, 1982**

Changes introduced to the Pakistan Penal Code; Section 295-B now stipulates a life term for defiling, damaging or desecrating a copy of the Holy Quran

**February 9, 1984**

Government bans all students’ unions

**April 27, 1984**

Ban imposed on use of Islamic nomenclature by Ahmadis

**March 23, 1985**

Martial law is lifted and Muhammad Khan Junejo is sworn in as Prime Minister

**October 5, 1986**

The use of derogatory remarks for the Holy Prophet (PBUH) is criminalised. The offence is made punishable by death or life imprisonment

**May 29, 1988**

Zia dissolves parliament and dismisses Junejo's government. He promises elections in the next 90 days

**June 15, 1988**

Zia promulgates the Shariat Ordinance, making Sharia supreme law of the land

**August 17, 1988**

Gen Ziaul Haq is killed, along with 31 others, in a plane crash near Bahawalpur



**ANY QUESTIONS ?**