Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1969 – 1977)

Summary of Zulfiqar Ali BhuTto:

Born in a wealthy and influential family, Bhutto became one of the youngest politicians in Pakistan when he entered the government led by President Ayub Khan. In 1957, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became the youngest member of Pakistan’s delegation to the United Nations. He would address the United Nations Sixth Committee on Aggression on 25 October 1957. In 1958 Bhutto became the youngest cabinet minister when he was given charge of the Energy ministry by President Field Marshal Ayub Khan, who had seized power, through a successful coup d’état, and declared martial law in the country. In 1960, he was subsequently promoted to minister of the Commerce Ministry, and Ministry of Information and Industry Ministry. Bhutto aided Ayub Khan in negotiating the Indus Water Treaty in India in 1960. In 1961, Bhutto negotiated an oil exploration agreement with the Soviet Union, which also agreed to provide economic and technical aid to Pakistan.

As foreign minister, Bhutto significantly transformed Pakistan’s hitherto pro-Western foreign policy. While maintaining a prominent role for Pakistan within the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and the Central Treaty Organization, Bhutto began asserting a foreign policy course for Pakistan that was independent of U.S. influence. Bhutto criticised the U.S. for providing military aid to India during and after the Sino-Indian War of 1962, which was seen as an abrogation of Pakistan’s alliance with the U.S. Bhutto worked to establish stronger relations with the People’s Republic of China. Bhutto visited Beijing and helped Ayub negotiate trade and military agreements with the Chinese regime, which agreed to help Pakistan in a large number of military and industrial projects. Bhutto also signed the Sino-Pakistan Boundary Agreement on March 2, 1963 that transferred 750 kilometers of territory from Pakistan-administered Kashmir to Chinese control. Bhutto asserted his belief in non-alignment, making Pakistan an influential member in non-aligned organizations. Believing in pan-Islamism, Bhutto developed closer relations with Muslim nations such as Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and other Arab states.

Bhutto also helped Ayub Khan during the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965. Falling out with Ayub after the war, Bhutto founded the Pakistan People’s Party in 1966, which won a majority of seats from West Pakistan in 1970. He refused to accept the victory of the Awami League, leading to a political and sectarian crisis. After the Bangladesh Liberation War, Bhutto took over as president and the first civilian chief martial law adminstrator of Pakistan. In this capacity, he negotiated the Shimla Agreement with Indian leader Indira Gandhi to establish peace.

On national development side Bhutto adopted a new constitution for Pakistan. Transferring to the post of prime minister, Bhutto nationalized many industries. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was the founder of Pakistan’s nuclear weapons programme and due to his administrative and aggressive leadership to lead this nuclear deterrence programme, Bhutto is often known as Father of Nuclear deterrence programme Pioneering Islamic socialism in Pakistan, he undertook land reforms and other socialist policies. Bhutto also ordered the Pakistan Army to suppress the insurgency in Balochistan and suppressed a military coup attempt in 1973. However, Bhutto became increasingly unpopular over allegations of corruption and suppression of political opponents.

General Elections were held on March 7, 1977. PPP emerged as the victorious Party. At the behest of General Zia-ul- Haq, PNA accused government of rigging in the elections. Negotiations with PNA resumed. An Agreement was reached on June 8, 1977 for holding Fresh Elections on October 1977. On July 5, 1977 COAS General Zia-ul-Haq imposed Martial Law.

Zia’s Military Junta established a dummy government of PNA with CMLA as President. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was arrested on July 5, 1977 and released on July 28, 1977. Re-arrested on September 3,   
1977 from Karachi, on the charges of murder case and was executed on April 4, despite a controversial trial and protest.

# Martial Law under General Yahya Khan:

The Tashkent Declaration signed by the Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and the Pakistani President Muhammad Ayub Khan was not at all approved by the general public, and was regarded as submission to India and humiliation for the nation. Politicians were already unhappy with Ayub Khan whose Government was celebrating the decade of various reforms. But he fell victim to the then Foreign Minister, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who exploited the whole situation. He resigned from office and after forming a party of his own, Pakistan People’s Party, announced to “defeat the great dictator with the power of the people”. As a result, he and others were arrested.

Ayub Khan tried his best to handle the situation by releasing a number of political prisoners, including the most popular leader of East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman. He held a Round Table Conference in Rawalpindi with all the well-known political leaders in March 1969, but it proved to be a stalemate, with the result that Ayub Khan was forced to hand over power to General Muhammad Yahya Khan, on March 25, 1969. Pakistan was now under the grip of another Martial Law.

Being deeply aware of the explosive political situation in the country, General Yahya Khan set in motion moves to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people and announced that the general elections would be held on October 5, 1970.

**Legal Framework Order:**

After the abrogation of the Constitution of 1962, Yahya Khan needed a legal framework to hold elections. In April and July 1969, he held discussions with prominent political party leaders to learn their point of view. Most of them asked for the revival of the Constitution of 1956 on the ground that its abrogation had been unlawful, and the country should return to the constitutional position prevailing on the eve of the 1958 coup. Yahya Khan initially agreed with this opinion, but had to change his stance due to opposition from the Awami League.

Not being well versed in constitutional affairs, he appointed a team to draft a new constitutional formula. He voiced his ideas about the constitutional issues in his broadcast address to the nation on November 28, 1969. The formula was officially issued on March 30, 1970, and is known as the Legal Framework Order of 1970. According to this order, One Unit was dissolved in West Pakistan and direct ballot replaced the principle of parity.

# General Elections 1970:

The political history of Pakistan from 1947 to 1970 witnessed no general elections. Thus, when Yahya’s Regime decided to hold the first general elections on the basis of adult franchise at national level, they were not only required to make a new mechanism but were also required to set up a permanent election machinery. A three-member Election Commission was set up and Justice Abdus Sattar was appointed as the first Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan.

The first task before the Election Commission was to enroll as voters all citizens of Pakistan who were at least 21-years old on October 1, 1969. Twenty four political parties participated in the elections. They were allowed to begin their election campaigns from January 1, 1970. The public meetings of Awami League in Bengal and Pakistan People’s Party in the Punjab and Sindh attracted huge crowds. Awami League mobilized support on the basis of its Six-Points Program, which was the main attraction in the party’s manifesto. While Z. A. Bhutto’s personality, his socialistic ideas and his slogan of “Rotti, Kapra aur Makan”, meaning food, clothing and shelter, were the factors that contributed to the popularity of Pakistan People’s Party. The rightist parties raised the religious slogans, while the leftists raised slogans based on regional and communistic ideas.

# Awami League’s Six-Point Program:

In the 1970 National Assembly elections, the mandate of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman’s Awami League Party was based on a Six-Point Program of regional autonomy in a federal Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman had presented the Six-Point Program as the constitutional solution of East Pakistan’s problems, in relation to West Pakistan.

First enunciated on February 12, 1966, the six points are as below:

* The Constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan in the true sense on the basis of the Lahore Resolution and for a parliamentary form of government based on the supremacy of a directly elected legislature on the basis of universal adult franchise.
* The Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects; Defense and Foreign Affairs. All residuary subjects will be vested in the federating states.
* There should be either two separate, freely convertible currencies for the two Wings, or one currency with two separate reserve banks to prevent inter-Wing flight of capital.
* The power of taxation and revenue collection shall be vested in the federating units. The Federal Government will receive a share to meet its financial obligations.
* Economic disparities between the two Wings shall disappear through a series of economic, fiscal, and legal reforms.
* A militia or paramilitary force must be created in East Pakistan, which at present has no defense of its own.

After the elections of 1970, differences arose between the Government and Awami League on the transfer of power on the basis of this Six-Point Program.

Release of Mujeeb-ur-Rahman:

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who assumed the power in the remaining Pakistan, surrendered to the international pressure and released Mujeeb on January 8, 1972. He was sent to Dhaka via London and New Delhi. He was given protocol at both the places as had a meeting with British Prime Minister, Edward Hearth at London and was warmly welcomed by the President, Prime Minister and the entire Indian cabinet at New Delhi. On his arrival at Dhaka he we received by a huge crowd, all of whom considered him as their hero and rescuer.

# The Hamood-ur-Rahman Commission Report:

In December 1971, within a week of replacing General Yahya as the President, Bhutto formed a commission headed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Justice Hamood-ur-Rahman. The Commission’s responsibility was to ascertain the facts of the 1971 debacle. The commission interviewed 213 persons including General Yahya, Z. A. Bhutto, Chief of Air Force, Chief of Navy, senior commanders, and various political leaders. It submitted its first report in July 1972.

Originally there were 12 copies of the Report. These were all destroyed; expect the one that was handed over to Z. A. Bhutto. Neither Bhutto, nor the Army which took over in 1977, made the Report public. Though the Report remained classified, its contents were probably learned from various writings and life of the military officers narrating their side of the story of what the Hamood-ur-Rahman Inquiry Commission had to say. The report recommended public trials of the concerned officers responsible for the 1971 debacle.

The inquiry was reopened in 1974. The Commission again interviewed 73 bureaucrats and top military officers and submitted its supplementary report in November 1974. It was this supplementary report that was surely published by an Indian magazine in August 2000, and afterwards allowed to be published in the Pakistani press. Announcing of the Report by the Indian media was not a surprise since it had come out at a time when there was international pressure mounting on India to resolve the Kashmir dispute. Immense human rights violations were being reported by international organizations such as Amnesty International and Asia Watch with reference to the role of Indian Security Forces in the Indian-held Kashmir. The publication of the Report was seen in Pakistan as an attempt by India to divert the world attention from its inhumane and unjustified actions in Kashmir.

# The Simla Agreement:

After the 1971 war, India held prisoner around 93,000 Pakistani troops and civilians. In Pakistan there was a growing demand to get these prisoners released with the result that a Summit Conference between Pakistani President, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and the Indian leader, Mrs. Gandhi, was held at Simla from June 28 to July 2, 1972. The two countries reached an agreement on July 2. The agreement contained the elements of an earlier Indian draft, but the wording was considerably modified. In particular the clause referring to the ceasefire line in Kashmir was rephrased as to make it acceptable to Pakistan.

The broad features of this pact included that the principle and purpose of the charter of United Nations would govern the relations between the two countries. The two countries resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations. The foremost conditions for understanding, good neighborly relations, and stable and lasting peace were laid that no country would interfere with the other country’s internal matters on the basis of mutual respect for peace, security, territorial sovereignty, mutual friendship and equality.

It was reiterated again in the agreement that efforts would be made to put an end, as far as possible, to all such disputes and differences that have been the cause of dissension between the two countries for the last 25 years. Both governments also agreed to take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other.

In order to progressively restore and normalize relations between the two countries, it was agreed that steps would be taken to resume communications, and promote and facilitate travel by sea, land and air. Trade and cooperation in economic and other agreed fields would also be resumed.

In order to initiate the process of durable peace, both the governments agreed that Indian and Pakistani forces would be withdrawn to their sides of the international border. The control line between Jammu and Kashmir would be the same as was on December 17, 1971. Both the countries would respect the international border and the withdrawal of the armies would be completed within 30 days of the implementation of the agreement.

Leaders of both the countries agreed at Simla to meet again at a mutually agreed time so that representatives of both the countries could discuss more arrangements for durable peace, including matters relating to prisoners of war, local prisoners, final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir dispute and diplomatic relations. As a consequence of the clauses pertaining to the withdrawal of forces, Indian troops withdrew from the 5,139 sq. miles of Pakistani territory in Punjab and Sindh it had occupied during the war. Similarly, Pakistani troops withdrew from 69 sq. miles of territory in Punjab and Rajasthan. In Kashmir, India retained 480 sq. miles and Pakistan 52 sq. miles.

Pakistan ratified the Simla Agreement on July 15 and India on August 3, after which the agreement came into effect on August 4, 1972.

**Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto becomes President:**

After the disastrous war with India that ingloriously concluded in December 1971, Pakistan had to face its greatest crisis since Independence. The dismembered Pakistan was left only with the four Provinces of West Pakistan; Punjab, Sindh, N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan. East Pakistan was now independent. Pakistan had lost a whole province of 70 million, 56 percent of the total population, and over 54,501 sq. miles of territory. There were 93,000 prisoners of war in India and Bangladesh. Pakistan’s international credit was depleted.

President Yahya tried to act in a militaristic manner to impose law and order but the people’s patience had been exhausted by this time. Military leadership had been discredited. Disillusionment, uncertainty and pessimism prevailed. People were no longer prepared to tolerate misgovernment. The public severely criticized and accused President Yahya and his Government for inefficiency and inability that conclude with the 1971 national defeat.

Faced with these difficulties, President Yahya transfer the power to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People’s Party that had won the majority votes in the 1970 elections in West Pakistan. On the request of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, on December 6, 1971, Yahya Khan installed a civilian setup at the Centre and Nurul Amin, a prominent Bengali politician who was against Mujib-ur-Rahman, was made the Prime Minister. Z. A. Bhutto was made Deputy Prime Minister on the same day. Nurul Amin remained Prime Minister till December 20, 1971, the day when Bhutto took over as the civilian Chief Marshal Law Administrator.

A Pakistan International Airline flight was sent to fetch Bhutto from New York, who at that time was pleading Pakistan’s case before the United Nations Security Council on the East Pakistan Crises. Bhutto returned home on December 18, 1971. On December 20, he was taken to the President House in Rawalpindi where he took over two positions from Yahya Khan, one as President and the other as Chief Martial Law Administrator. Thus he was the first civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator of the dismembered Pakistan.

The new President inherited a disturbed and desperate nation sobbing and suffering from an intangible loss of confidence. In this dismal hour, he addressed the nation and promised to fight back. He vowed to build a new Pakistan.

Bhutto’s intentions to restore national confidence were in several shapes. He spoke about democracy, a new Constitution, and a modified federal and parliamentary system. He took steps to stabilize the situation by successfully negotiating the return of the 93,000 prisoners of war and a peaceful settlement with India. He took steps to ameliorate poverty and to revitalize the economy, industry and agriculture. He gave the third Constitution to the country and established civilian authority over the armed forces in the political setup.

In early 1972, Bhutto nationalized ten categories of major industries and withdrew Pakistan from the Commonwealth of Nations and S. E. A. T. O. On March 1, he introduced extensive land reforms. On July 2, 1972, he signed the Simla Agreement with India for exchange of the occupied territories and release of Prisoners of War.

After the 1973 Constitution was promulgated, Bhutto was elected by the House as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He was sworn-in on August 14, 1973.

After the promulgation of the 1973 Constitution, the elections for the President, Prime Minister, Chairman of Senate, Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly were to be undertaken. The 1973 Constitution had adopted a federal parliamentary system for the country in which the President was only a figurehead and the real power lay with the Prime Minister.

Z. A. Bhutto was sworn in as the Prime Minister of the country on August 14, 1973, after he had secured 108 votes in a house of 146 members. Fazal Ilahi Chaudhry was elected as the President under the new Constitution.

During his period, six amendments were carried out in the 1973 Constitution. The First Amendment led to Pakistan’s recognition of Bangladesh. The Second Amendment in the constitution declared the Ahmadis as non-Muslims. The rights of the detained were limited under the Third Amendment while the powers and jurisdiction of the courts for providing relief to political opponents were curtailed under the Fourth Amendment. The Fifth Amendment passed on September 15, 1976, focused on curtailing the power and jurisdiction of the Judiciary. This amendment was highly criticized by lawyers and political leaders. The main provision of the Sixth Amendment extended the term of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court and the High Courts beyond the age of retirement. This Amendment was made in the Constitution to favor the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court who was supposed to be a friend of Bhutto.

The Bhutto Government carried out a number of reforms in the industrial sector. His reforms were twofold; nationalization, and the improvement of workers’ rights. In the first phase, basic industries like steel, chemical and cement were nationalized. This was done in 1972. The next major step in nationalization took place on January 1, 1974, when Bhutto nationalized all banks. The last step in the series was the most shocking; it was the nationalization of all flour, rice and cotton mills throughout the country.

This nationalization process was not as successful as Bhutto expected. Most of the nationalized units were small businesses that could not be described as industrial units, hence making no sense for the step that was taken. Consequently, a considerable number of small businessmen and traders were ruined, displaced or rendered unemployed.

In the concluding analysis, nationalization caused colossal loss not only to the national treasury but also to the people of Pakistan. During his period as the Prime Minister, a number of land reforms were also introduced. The important land reforms included the reduction of land ceilings and introducing the security of tenancy to tenant farmers. The land ceiling was fixed to 150 acres of irrigated land and 300 acres of non-irrigated land. Another step that Bhutto took was to democratize Pakistan’s Civil Service.

# The Constitution of 1973:

The Bhutto Government’s first achievement was the preparation of a Constitution for the country. The most prominent characteristic of this Constitution was that it accommodated proposals from the opposition parties and hence almost all the major political parties of the country accepted it. The National Assembly approved the 1973 Constitution on April 10, 1973, and it came into effect on August 14. Bhutto took over as the Prime Minister of Pakistan from this date and Fazal Ilahi Chaudhry was appointed as the President of Pakistan.

The Constitution of 1973 opens with a Preamble. This is the preliminary part of the Constitution in which broad features of the Constitution have been explained. The first Article of the Constitution declares Pakistan as a Federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Islam was declared as the State religion of Pakistan. Pakistan was to be a Federation of four federating Units, Punjab, Sindh, N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan.

The Constitution was parliamentary in nature. Article 41 of the Constitution lay down that the President was to be the Head of the State. The President was to be a Muslim above 45 years of age and was to be elected by a joint sitting of members of the Parliament for 5 years. He could be re-elected but could not hold office for more than two terms. The President was to act on the advice of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The President was authorized to appoint the Judges of Supreme Court and High Courts, and the Chief Election Commissioners. In the Provincial Government, each province was to have a Governor appointed by the President.

The 1973 Constitution set up a bicameral legislature at the Center consisting of two Houses, the National Assembly and the Senate. The National Assembly consisted of 200 seats elected directly for duration of five years. The President on the advice of the Prime Minister could dissolve the National Assembly. The Senate was to consist of 63 members; each province was to elect 14 members. In the Provincial Government, each province will have a Governor appointed by the President.

The 1973 Constitution provided a free and independent Judiciary. The Constitution guaranteed a right to the citizens; to be protected by law, and imposed two duties on them, loyalty to the Republic and obedience to the law.

In light of the previous experience, the Constitution of 1973 was more Islamic in character than the previous ones. Keeping this objective in mind, more Islamic provisions were laid down in the Constitution of 1973. The Constitution recognized Islam as the religion of the country and enjoined upon the State to serve the cause of Islam and to bring all existing laws in conformity with Islam.

The Constitution of 1973 remained in force for nearly four years. It was, however, suspended by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, who imposed Martial Law in the country on July 5, 1979. However, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq who ran the country with Martial Law passed the Eighth Amendment in the Constitution in 1985. This Amendment empowered the President to dissolve the National Assembly under Article 58(2) b. This Article was later repealed by the Parliament during Nawaz Sharif’s era through Thirteenth Amendment introduced on April 1, 1997.

# Fazal Ilahi becomes President:

After the promulgation of the 1973 Constitution, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was sworn in as the Prime Minister of the country, and Fazal Ilahi Chaudhry became the President of Pakistan, on August 14, 1973, for a term of five years. Fazal Ilahi was a mere figurehead since all power and authority rested with the Prime Minister. He was allowed to continue as the President of Pakistan till 1978, although the army took over the reigns of power in July, 1977. He was relinquished from the office at his own request on September 16, 1978. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq was sworn in as the next President of Pakistan, in addition to being the Chief Martial Law Administrator and the Chief of Army Staff.

# General Elections 1977 & Ouster of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto:

Ever since Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto took over the responsibilities of governance, there was a strong group in the country that was not ready to accept him. They considered him as one of the players who were involved in the dismemberment of Pakistan. This hatred was further enhanced by the authoritarian style of his governance. His policy of suppressing the opposition and interference in the affairs of the Provinces proved to be the major factor for the unity of the rightist and the leftist political parties against him. As early as March 1973, opposition parties in the National Assembly set a common platform, called United Democratic Front, to counter the anti-opposition steps of Bhutto’s Government. However, the opposition emerged as a significant force against Bhutto at the macro level for the first time when elections were announced in January 1977. The opposition decided to join hands against Bhutto and contest the election from a common platform, the Pakistan National Alliance.

According to the original schedule, the second general elections in the history of Pakistan, and the first after the dismemberment of the country, were to be held in the second half of 1977. However, on January 7, 1977, Bhutto announced that the elections would be held earlier. On January 10, Justice Sajjad Ahmad Jan, Chief Election Commissioner, announced the election schedule and declared January 19 and 22 as the last date for receipt of nominations for National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies, respectively. To many, the idea was not to give sufficient time to the opposition in order to make decisions and arrangements for the forthcoming elections. Election symbols were allocated to all the political parties.

Immediately after the announcement, Bhutto started his election campaign. The first step he took was the allocation of tickets to his party men. Unlike the 1970 elections, when Pakistan People’s Party mainly banked on socialistic slogans, this time Bhutto also relied on political heavyweights. A number of feudal lords and other influential persons were allocated party tickets. Bhutto himself held public meetings all over the country, and to get further support from the common man, he announced labor reforms on January 4, and a second set of land reforms on January 5. The attendance in the public meetings was amazing in all parts of the country, especially in interior Sindh and Punjab. The opposition blamed Bhutto for using Government machinery in running his election campaign.

The biggest problem for Bhutto and his Pakistan People’s Party was that nine important parties of the opposition had joined hands and formed an alliance, named as Pakistan National Alliance. P. N. A. decided to contest the elections under one election symbol “plough” and a green flag with nine stars as its ensign. Throughout their election campaign, instead of giving their own agenda, P. N. A. leadership mainly concentrated on echoing the alleged misdeeds of Bhutto’s Government, corruption, mismanagement of national wealth, heavy expenditures on administration and disastrous economic policies evidenced by inflation. The P. N. A. leaders also exploited the deteriorating law and order situation and misuse of law enforcing agencies against the political opponents. They claimed that the fundamental rights had been curtailed during Bhutto’s era.

Finally the elections were held on March 7 in which Pakistan People’s Party managed to win 155 out of 200 seats in the National Assembly. The results of the elections astonished political pundits both inside and outside Pakistan. Pakistan National Alliance was only able to win 36 National Assembly seats. To add insult to injury, the Alliance could only win 8 out of 116 seats of the National Assembly from Punjab, and failed to win even a single seat from Lahore and Rawalpindi, cities in which they had organized big public gatherings and processions.

Pakistan National Alliance leaders protested that there had been a systematic rigging of election results to defeat them. At many places, particularly where the P. N. A. candidates were strong, the polling was alleged to have been blocked for hours. There were also reports that P. P. P. armed personnel in police uniform removed ballot boxes. Marked ballot papers were also found on the streets in Karachi and Lahore. Rumors quickly circulated that the results in key constituencies were issued directly from the Prime Minister’s office. P. N. A. boycotted the provincial elections. P. P. P. resorted to bogus voting merely to prove that voters had come to cast their ballot. Overall P. P. P. gained 99 percent seats. The voting figures showing the success of the P. P. P. candidates often surpassed the actual number that turned up for voting.

At last Martial Law was imposed by Zia-ul-Haq who appointed a committee to inquire into the alleged rigging of the National Assembly polls. This committee was reported to have found a blueprint of the plan of rigging from the Prime Minister House. The inquiry committee alleged that Bhutto had prepared this plan as early as April 1976, under the title of “A Model Election Plan”, later known as the “Larkana Plan”. In an interview to Associated Press of Pakistan, Sajjad Ahmad Jan, the Chief Election Commissioner admitted that the failure of the electoral process was by and large due to the candidates of the ruling party, who exploited their position and party machinery and thus destroyed the sanctity of the ballot box.

When Bhutto refused to accept the demands of P. N. A., leadership of the Alliance decided to bring the people onto the streets, to break law deliberately, and to confront the police and the security forces. P. N. A. leaders called upon the people to stage countrywide strikes and organize protest marches. The followers fully responded to the call and a full-fledged political movement started. The business community wholeheartedly joined Alliance. P. N. A. used mosques to stimulate the masses and tried to create an impression that they were only working for the enforcement of Nizam-i-Mustafa. They criticized the socialistic attitude of Bhutto and alleged that he had lost his faith in Islam. The ulema whipped up emotions for a Jihad to save Islam, which they thought was in danger from an evil regime. The bar associations across the country also began to register their strong protest against the electoral fraud and denounced the post-election policy of repression.

Initially Bhutto put a deaf ear to the demands of P. N. A. and debunked opposition’s charges that his landslide victory was a result of rigging. He used police and F. S. F. against Alliance’s activities and its top leadership was arrested and put behind the bars. Martial Law was enforced in three main cities of Karachi, Lahore and Hyderabad. Curfew was imposed in the rest of the big cities of the country and Army was called to maintain law and order.

However, the intensity of the situation made Bhutto realize that it was not possible to suppress the movement by force. In the beginning of May, Bhutto changed his policy and started to explore the option of a dialog. Some P. N. A. leaders were released and brought to Sihala for negotiations in the first week of June. Bhutto showed his willingness to hold elections in November 1977, and offered five ministries to the P. N. A. candidates during the interim period. But P. N. A. team insisted on 50 percent representation in the Cabinet and demanded elections before August 14. Bhutto eventually accepted almost all the demands of P. N. A. and the stage was set for a compromise. Signing of the agreement was held in abeyance as he went abroad for a tour of Saudi Arabia, Libya, U. A. E., Kuwait and Iran. His tour was termed as dilatory tactics and again there seemed to be a deadlock. It was in these conditions that Chief of the Army Staff, General Zia-ul-Haq, imposed Martial Law in the country on July 5, 1977, and sent Bhutto behind the bars. General Zia said, “Had an agreement reached between the opposition and the Government, I would certainly never have done what I did”.

Balochistan Operation:

The **1970s operation in Balochistan** was a five-year military conflict in the Balochistan, the largest province of Pakistan, between the Pakistan Army and Baloch separatists and tribesmen that lasted from 1973 to 1978.

The operation began in 1973 shortly after then-Pakistani President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto dismissed the elected provincial government of Balochistan, on the pretext that arms had been discovered in the Iraqi Embassy ostensibly for Baloch rebels. The ensuing protest against the dismissal of the duly elected government also led to calls for Balochistan's secession, met by Bhutto's ordering the Pakistan Army into the province. Akbar Khan Bugti, who would be killed in a later operation in 2006, served as provincial governor during the early stages of the conflict. The operation itself was led by General Tikka Khan and provided military support by Iran, against the resistance of some 50,000 Baloch fighters coordinated by Baloch sardars, or tribal chiefs, which most notably included Khair Bakhsh Marri and Ataullah Mengal.

Sporadic clashes were intermittent throughout the conflict, with hostilities climaxing in 1974 with drawn-out battles. The Bhutto regime was overthrown by General Zia-ul-Haq on July 5, 1977, and martial law was imposed. A general amnesty was declared by military governor [Rahimuddin Khan](https://military.wikia.org/wiki/Rahimuddin_Khan). All army action was ceased by 1978, and development and educational policies were refocused on to assuage the province.

The conflict took the lives of 3,300 Pakistani troops, 5,300 Baloch, and thousands of civilians. This period forms a pivotal chapter in the longstanding Balochistan conflict, and is often cited as creating deep divisions between Balochistan and Islamabad that persist to the current day.

Formation Of mqm:

Bhutto’s nationalization of large scale industry, finance, insurance and large scale commerce drained modern sector jobs from the city’s economy. Once again, the burden of this change in public policy fell on the shoulders of the Mohajir community. After Bhutto’s departure, another national leader stepped in the late seventies and eighties to adopt policies that compounded Karachi’s growing problems. The new military president’s approach to Karachi’s growing economic and political difficulties was not motivated by any desire to find solution for the city’s failing economy. Zia-ul-Haq sought a political opportunity for himself from the city’s difficulties. Zia-ul-Haq tried to hijack the single most powerful political force of Mohajirs called MQM in order to fulfil his own evil political designs, but, this never happened as he wanted.

Bhutto and Islam:

Islamization first emerged as a nascent state policy under the PPP government led by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto used emotive religious phrases like Musawat-i-Muhammadi (the equality of Muhammad) and Islami Musawat (Islamic Equality) as part of his political rhetoric to justify and win mass support for the socialist policies of his government. His government was also responsible in 1974 for yielding to the decades-long campaign that the followers of the Ahmadiyya sect consider their founder Mirza Ghulam Ahmed a prophet, and thus rejected one of the pillars of the Islam – that Muhammad was the final prophet of God. After the parliament passed a law declaring Ahmadiyya sect a Non-Muslim minority, following the provisions in the 1973 Constitutions which required that both President and Prime Minister be Muslims, the oath of office was amended to include an affirmation of the finality of Muhammad’s prophet hood. Islam had thus evolved into the most predominant political factor to facilitate in both external and internal scenarios, by the end of Bhutto’s regime and as a result thereof. Although his insistence upon the role of Islam in Pakistani politics during his final days in power could not save his fading popularity, it did serve to reinforce the centrality of Islam for the military regime that followed. The dangerous alliance between military might and religious pressure thus found its seeds in Bhutto’s policy shifts, only to find renewed force under the approaching military rule.

The Ahmadis had extended their full support to the PPP during 1970s election and they believed that its victory was mainly because of them. This relationship was even condemned by those ulama who were not active in politics. It was a resolution of the Assembly of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, which on April 24, 1973 declared Ahmadis a non-Muslim community and impose a ban on their preaching in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. A notice by Maulana Abdul Haq, a member of the National Assembly for presenting a similar resolution as served, which was turned down by the Speaker. Notices of similar nature were rejected by the Provencal Assemblies of Punjab and Sindh. This sort of moves threatened Ahmadis and in order to get the support of the ruling party, they expressed their confidence in the wisdom of the President ‘along with several others who were nice, gentle, kind hearted and justice loving‘. The Ulama launched a full-fledged campaign against Ahmadis not only in Pakistan but also in other Islamic countries. They managed to obtain Fatwas from Saudi Arabia to the effect that Ahmadis should be declared as non-Muslims and the same were circulated throughout the country. The anti-Ahmadi spirit was revived by the ulama and the religious parties among the masses throwing light on the beliefs and activities of the Ahmadis. This increased the tension and a chain of events rendered the situation volatile. Eight religious-political parties namely JUIP, JUP, Jamaat-i-Islami, JAH, KT, APMAI, PDP and PML formed an organization known as the Qadiyani Muhasbah Committee (Committee for Exposition of Qadyanism) which severely criticized the government for ignoring the aspirations of the people. In a joint meeting at Rawalpindi on 3 June, 1974

Reforms of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto:

# Bhutto’s Economic Reforms:

Bhutto and his party came to rule by clamouring socialist reforms for the poor and deprived classes of the state. ‘*Rotti, Kapra aur Makkan’*was there frequently enchanted slogan. Bhutto’s economic policies were influenced by socialist ideas and promises to the removal of feudalism. Rapid industrialization created a gulf between different societies and exacerbated the grievances of people.

The main step in order to reform economic system of Pakistan was the adoption of process of Nationalization.  Which was launched in early 70’s when Bhutto came to power. Land Reforms, Labour Reforms, Banking system and finance corporations were the main reforms in his era. Arab-Israel war 1n 1973 caused rapid inflation in order to curtail that rupee was devalued which proved to be favorable for time being and foreign also liquidated economy but after 2 years in 1974 inflation rose 20% to the previous growth.

Bhutto made efforts to curb inequality and feudalism and his policies reflected those ideas.  His reforms were slightly stringent than the previous one. By introducing MLR-115 land reforms were made.  That the maximum limit of land allowed to be owned was 150 acres of irrigated land and 300 acres of un-irrigated land. However intra-family land transfer was allowed which did not prove to be helpful. In 1977 he made more strict criteria the ceilings were lowered to 100 acres of irrigated land and 200 acres of un-irrigated land. On 10th of Feb 1972 Bhutto announced radical labour reforms that union power of labour was increased with formation of Work Councils and Labour courts for industrial disputes. Profit sharing was increased in big industries from 2-4%. Employers were given cheap housing and education for their children.

In Jan 1972, nationalization was introduced over thirty large firms in ten industries. Then after few months this process exacerbated towards small and medium industries. In 1974 Bhutto nationalized all private banks and in 1972 private colleges were nationalized in time of two years and no compensation was given to those people who owned them at first place. After this process Bhutto government owned about 2 billion of assets which were used properly as they should have been. In 1976 public sector which was flouring rapidly had been descended to fall on ground.  More than 3000 of small manufacturing units were nationalized. Banks and Finance corporations were nationalized in order to help other deprived classes.  The deformation and inefficiency seen in coming years regarding previously nationalized institutions were the outcomes of Bhutto’s so called economic reforms.

# Land reforms of Bhutto:

Z. A. Bhutto swept the elections on the riding wave of socialism. In pursuit of the economic program, reforms began to be made to attain the end and the end was equality in economic terms and empowering the small farmers. Pakistan was an agriculturist country where majority of the population used to reside in the rural area. This necessitated the introduction of land reforms. Reforming the agriculture was meant reforming economy because agriculture was the mainstay of economy and therefore reforming the society. Though Ayub khan introduced reforms but they had altogether failed to accomplish the aspired objectives. Therefore, so the land reforms were introduced in March 1974 through martial law Regulation no. 115.

The ceiling fixed for individual holdings for the irrigated land was fixed at 150 acres and that for the un-irrigated land it was fixed at 300 acres as compared to Ayub’s 500 and 1000 acres for irrigated and un-irrigated land respectively. No compensation was. Exemption given to orchard, stud forms etc. in earlier reform package was taken back to regain. However, the reforms could not produce the expected results. Therefore, second wave of land reforms had to be introduced in 1977. 100 acres and 200 acres was the ceiling for the individual land holdings for irrigated and un-irrigated land respectively. Moreover, victims were to be provided compensation and exemption given to religious holdings in previous reforms was also removed.

The reforms of 1972 resumed 1.3mn acres and 0.9mn of which was distributed among 76,000 beneficiaries. In 1977, 1.8mn acres were resumed. However, there is no denying the fact that both episodes could not fulfill the desired purpose. This failure is attributed to the lack of application of law with uniformity, and the enthusiasm was also evaporated with the passage of time due to the political exigencies. Still 30% of the total landings in Pakistan are in possession of 0.3% people.

One significant outcome of these reforms was that landed aristocracy got infuriated perceiving a threat to their well-established position. Abolition of exemption on religious holdings turned religion-political group against him both these group were highly active in dethroning him.

# Nationalization under Bhutto:

Nationalization is the term used when the government takes the control of anything that was ownned private previously. Nationalization was the policy that was implemented by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto according to his promise restored the economic order that was badly shaken by the war, attracted towards it.

In the Ayub regime wealth was concentrated in few hands that led to a visible class difference in the society. It created hatred for the upper class among the masses Bhutto tried to overcome the situation by Nationalization.

The party had programed in their manifesto to nationalize the industries gradually. After two months of Bhutto’s resuming office, under the Economic Reforms order that was passed in January 1972, the government took over 32 industries from the private sector. The industries were put under to basic categories 1) Iron and steel industries 2) Basic Metal industries 3) Heavy Engineering industries 4) Heavy Electrical Industries 5) Assembly and Manufacture of Motor vehicles 6) Tractor Plant Assembly and Manufactures 7) Heavy and Basic chemicals 8) Petrol chemical industries 9) Cement industries 10) Electricity, gas and oil refining.

It was first step towards the policy of nationalization in September 1973, 26 vegetable ghee units were nationalized.

Banks were also nationalized in 1974. They were in placed the hands of government on the financing of Banks.

In 1976 the 300 small units of cotton ginning, rice husking, flour milling were also taken in control. The exports and imports were also taken under the control of government through trading corporation. They wanted to ensure the distribution of wealth and the prosperity of lay man. However the policy of nationalization started by Bhutto had many defects. It caused a great damage to the private sector. Investment in the private sector was almost finished. After the military coup in 1988 Chief Marshal Law administrator denationalized the industries.

# Bhutto’s Nuclear Program:

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was one of the rare political leaders who had natural instinct and broad vision to read the political situation vigilantly. Bhutto’s shrewdness and farsightedness led Pakistan towards the successful Nuclear Program. The pursuit of Nuclear Technology created hype in the political world especially in sub-continental region. When India started her nuclear program it created a threat for Pakistan so it was Bhutto who initiated PAK-Nuclear program on serious note. During Bhutto regime (1971-1977) it was realized that now the time has come that Pakistan should prepare firm bases for its program. Soon after coming into power as president in December 1971 he started working to establish its nuclear program. In 1956 Pakistan Energy Commission (PAEC) was founded but this department went under serious business under Bhutto which in future proved to be the father institution for Pakistan’s nuclear program.

On 24th January 1972 Bhutto gathered country’s top 50 scientists the purpose was to devise a plan to start a nuclear program for Pakistan. It was an attempt to overcome the polarized situation created in South Asian region due to the disturbance in balance of power. In spite of opposition and criticism received from global powers Pakistan stuck to the plan and continued with her policy. Bhutto sought help from China and North Korea to develop nuclear arsenals and also from Dutch centrifuge firm named FDO. India’s action spurred Bhutto to do so as a reaction. Bhutto’s incentive brought talented and expert people in this field to the center mainly Abdul Qadeer Khan who was especially invited by Bhutto himself. Later he became “Father of Bomb”.

During Bhutto’s era different Uranium enrichment plants were placed at various parts of country such as; Dera Ghazi Khan, Karachi, Islamabad, Kahuta, and Chaklala etc. These plants started working way before Dr. A.Q Khan’s arrival but real process started after his arrival.  He reached out to the rest of Islamic world particularly rich oil states of Middle East, Libya, and Saudi Arabia for monetary support. In early 1970’s, billions of dollars also flowed from Iran and Saudi Arabia to Pakistan. The pro-Islamic or friendly policy of Bhutto towards Islamic world became the main factor for the financial assistance for Pakistan’s atomic program. Many covert uranium enrichment plants were launched in spite of resistance and securities of USA, United Nations, and other European powers. Surprisingly PAK-Nuclear Program ran secretly without any apparent hindrance. Then Chief of Army staff Gen Zia-ul-Haq was also involved to start this process. After India’s first explosion of atom bomb on 18th may 1974 Pak-Army collaborated with (PAEC) to help Kahuta enrichment plant in 1976. All the major designs for Pakistan’s Nuclear Program were made by Bhutto, which gave invincibility to Pakistan’s defense.

Death of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto:

After the PPP won the 1977 parliamentary elections, the result was contested by several groups who alleged widespread corruption and vote-rigging. This led to civil disorder across Pakistan and on July 5th 1977, Bhutto was deposed in a bloodless coup by the Pakistani military.

Bhutto was tried and found guilty by the Supreme Court of authorizing the murder of a political opponent, Ahmad Raza Khan Kasuri. Bhutto was executed on April 4th 1979 in Rawalpindi jail.

The hanging of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was done on the allegation of giving order to assassinate Ahmed Raza Kasuri. But in assassination attempt his father Nawab Mohammad Ahmad Kasuri was killed.

We may not know the exact reason but we can guess it. After imposing martial law if Zia ul Haq, would have failed to eliminate Bhutto, his own life would become threaten. As per 1973's constitution, abrogation of constitution was a serious crime punishable by death. So Zia ul Haq as military dictator decided to hang Bhutto in order to ensure his own survival.

DOWNFALL OF BHUTTO:

* 1977 Elections
* Protest by the political parties
* Martial law by General Zia
* Judicial murder of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto