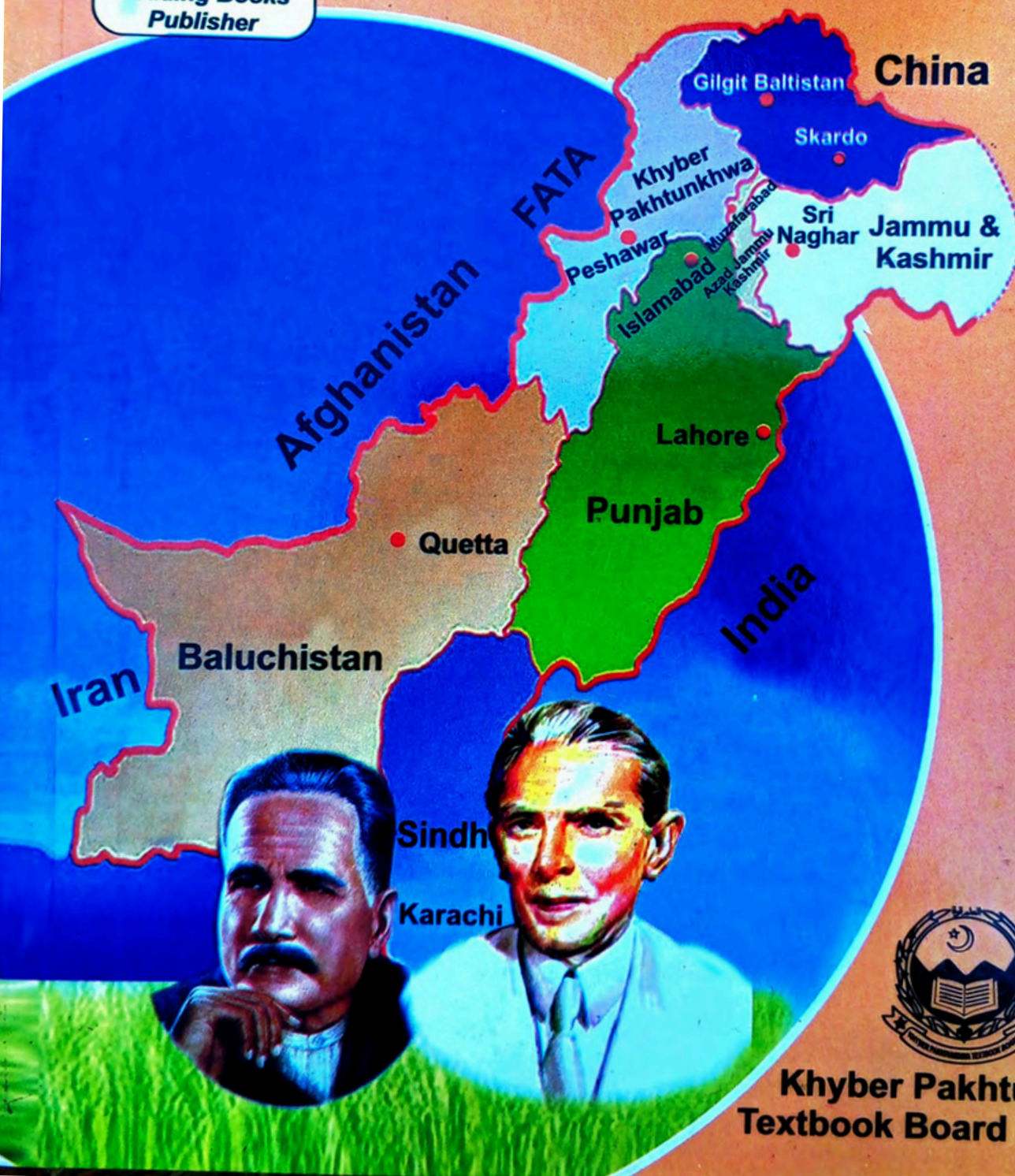


Pakistan Studies

For Class 10th



**Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Textbook Board Peshawar**

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Pakistan Studies

For Class 10th



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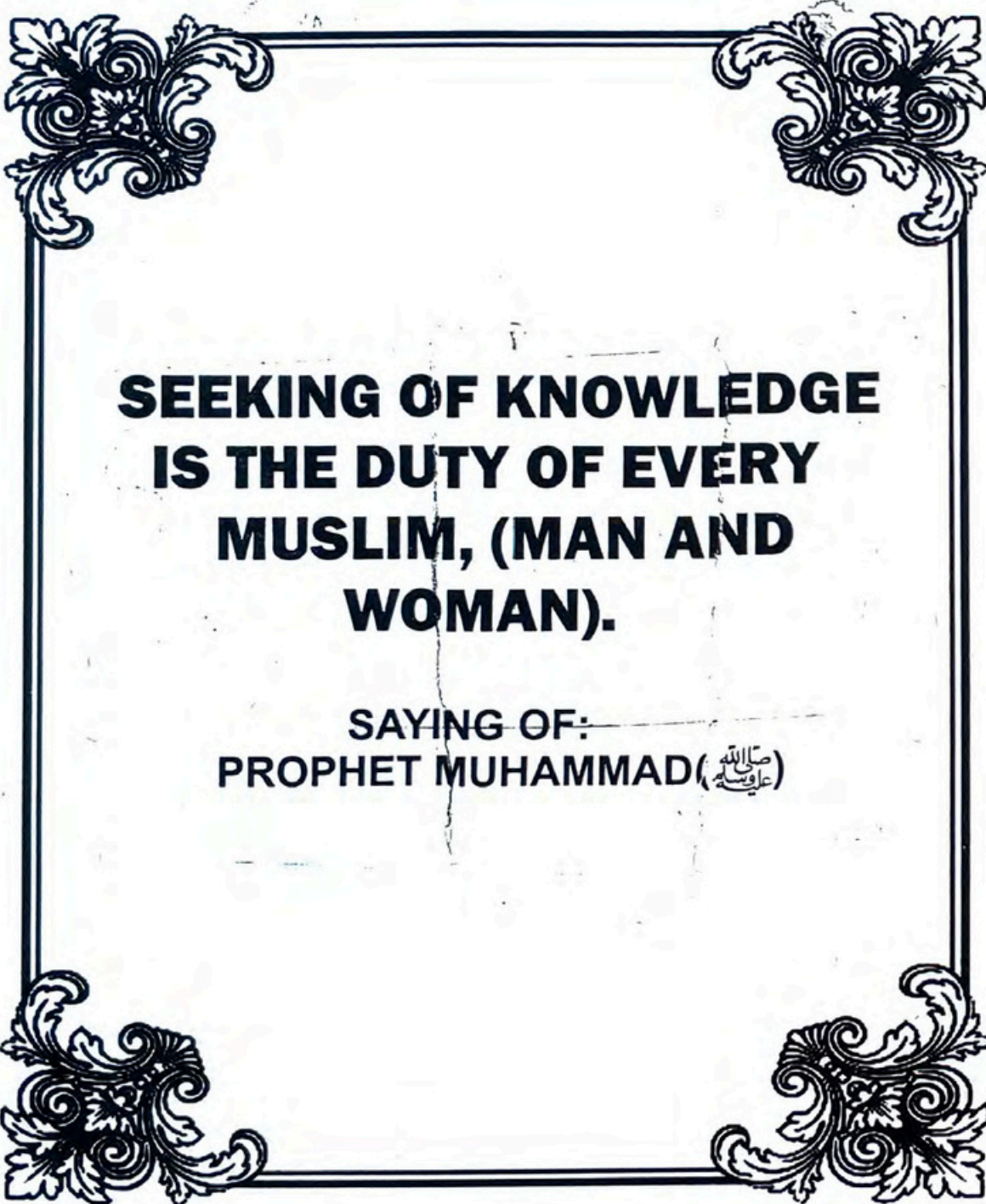
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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent and the Merciful

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**SEEKING OF KNOWLEDGE
IS THE DUTY OF EVERY
MUSLIM, (MAN AND
WOMAN).**

SAYING OF:
PROPHET MUHAMMAD (ﷺ)

Chapter

1

History of Pakistan - II

Learning outcomes

Students will be able to:

- Explain the main aspects of the economic reforms during 1971-77.
- Discuss Impact of Nationalization on Industry, Education, Commerce and Trade.
- Identify the key aspects of 1973 Constitution.
- Comprehend the major aspects of the Islamization process during 1977-88.
- Explain the functioning of the Junejo Government (1985-88).
- Analyse the Afghan *Jihad* and the refugee problem and their impact on Pakistani society.
- Discuss the functioning of Benazir government.
- Discuss the functioning of Nawaz government.
- Discuss Pakistan's emergence as a nuclear power.
- Comprehend the causes of Military take-over of 12th October 1999.
- Define the Devolution of Power Process initiated by Pervez Musharraf's Government, with particular emphasis on the Local Self-Government.
- Discuss the 2002 elections and restoration of democracy.
- Define Enlightened Moderation.
- Describe the Privatization and Industrialization during the Musharraf era.
- Describe the impact of privatisation.
- Discuss the Economic Reforms introduced by Pervez Musharraf and Shaukat Aziz.

Background:

In the elections conducted by General Yahya Khan in 1970, two political parties emerged as the major players on the political scene. In East Pakistan the Awami League carried the day while Pakistan People's Party won in West Pakistan. Differences emerged between the two parties and it became increasingly difficult to form a government and the deadlock led to the secession of East Pakistan in December 1971. Soon afterwards, General Yahya resigned and handed over the government to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the leader of Pakistan People's Party.

The Government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 1971 – 1977:

On December 20, 1971 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took over as the country's first Civilian Martial Law Administrator. Martial Law remained in force till April 20, 1972. The circumstances under which he had to work were demanding. In the 1971 war with India, India had taken more than 93,000 prisoners – mostly military personnel but also civilians from West Pakistan. Ensuring their freedom and bringing them back home was a pressing issue. To extricate the nation from the despair and despondency into which it had fallen in the wake of defeat and the fall of East Pakistan, and to inculcate in the masses a spirit of reconstruction was another challenging task before the government.

As Civilian Martial Law Administrator, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had extensive powers. In exercise of these powers he appointed his own men as governors in all the four provinces of the country – Mumtaz Ali Bhutto in Sindh, Hayat Muhammad Sherpao in the then



North West Frontier Province (present-day Khyber Pukhtunkhwa), Ghulam Mustaffa Khar in Punjab, and Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani in Balochistan.

In December 1971, his government announced the termination of grants to the heads of all the princely states and cancelled the passports of many capitalists with the view to preventing them from transferring their capital from the country. In March 1972, more than 313 civil servants were fired in order to make bureaucracy work according to the book.

Reforms Undertaken by the Bhutto Government:

First as Civilian Martial Law Administrator and later as Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto attempted to exercise his unlimited powers for the introduction of reforms in the country in accordance with the manifesto of his party. Some of the reforms undertaken during his regime are described below:

1: Economic Reforms:

Following the spirit of his party manifesto, many essential commodities were subsidized. Farmers were provided with seeds, fertilizers, and tractors on subsidized rates. Similarly agricultural produce was procured from farmers on preferential rates.

The pay and benefits of government servants were revised and some uniformity was ensured by introducing 22 scales. Loan facilities were provided to employees. Pensions were likewise increased.

The children of low-salary employees were exempted from paying fees at state-run educational institutions. Employee's recreational facilities were improved. In case of a pensioner's death, his widow was entitled to draw the pension. Like other government servants, police employees were also given various fringe benefits.

2: Labor Reforms:

During the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, labour legislation was enacted for the first time in the history of Pakistan, safeguarding the fundamental rights of workers and ensuring them certain benefits. Efforts were made to prevent the exploitation of the working classes at the hands of the capitalists. Workers were entitled to free medical care and compensation in case of injury. They were given the right to overtime and paying the bonus was made mandatory. Labour movements and trade unions were granted more protection. Old age pension and group insurance for the labourers were made obligatory. Workers were protected against the perils of summary dismissal at the hands of the employers.



3: Industries:

An Ordinance in 1972 envisaged the nationalization of certain industries. These included iron and steel industry, basic metallurgy, heavy engineering, automobile and tractor assembling plants, heavy electrical engineering plants and oil and gas refineries. So twenty such industries in these sectors were nationalized. While the policy of nationalization was carried out with regard to domestic investment, foreign enterprises operating in the country were not interfered with.

These industrial reforms brought the economy more directly under the state control. As the investors were not guaranteed any protection, they slowed down the pace of investment in the industrial sector.

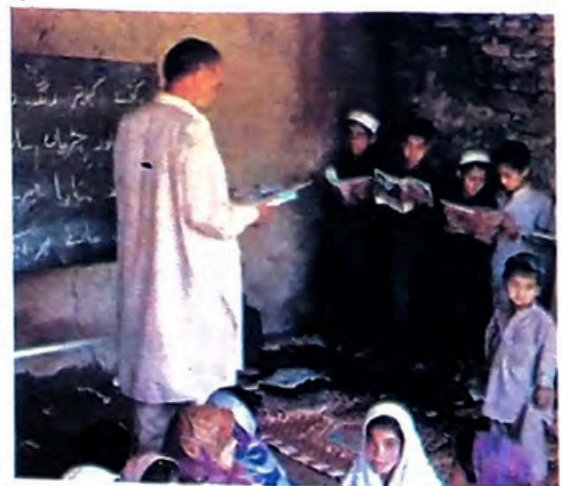


4: Life Insurance and Banking:

All life insurance companies working in the country were nationalized on March 19, 1972. All these were merged to form the State Life Insurance Corporation in November of the same year. Through a presidential order all the banks operating in the country were nationalized and were put under the control of the State Bank of Pakistan in May 19, 1972. This move did not help the functionaries of these banks to improve their performance, rather it deteriorated.

5: Educational reforms:

For making education accessible to the common citizens of the country, Bhutto government nationalized educational institutions. Free education was provided in the schools that were nationalized. However, this policy failed in attaining its objectives.



This was because some educational institutions with high standards of education were left in private hands, which widened the class distinction in the educational institutions.

6: Agricultural Reforms:

On March 1, 1972, Bhutto's government proclaimed the following agricultural reforms:

- I. The upper limit of landownership was reduced from 500 acres for irrigated land and 1000 acres for arid land to 150 acres for irrigated and 300 acres for arid land respectively.
- II. Land in excess of these limits was taken over from the owners and distributed free among the peasants.
- III. Eviction of tenants was prohibited. Only under certain specified conditions, they could be evicted from their lands.
- IV. In case of the sale of land, the tenant's right to purchase was given primacy.
- V. The supply of seeds, and irrigation water fell under the responsibility of the owner.

Before the 1977 elections on January 5, Bhutto announced a second phase of agricultural and land reforms, but these could not be implemented.

The 1973 Constitution:

In April 1972, Martial Law was lifted and a Provisional Constitutional Order was enforced. A committee of the national assembly was formed which comprised twenty five elected members from all the major political parties. The Committee was tasked with drafting a permanent constitution for the country.

Pakistan's new democratic government gave the country a new constitution based on federal and parliamentary principles. It was a written constitution. Indeed, this is the constitution of an Islamic, democratic state. For the first time in the country's history a bicameral legislature or parliament was envisaged. Representation in the lower house of the parliament called the National Assembly, was made on the basis of population while the upper house, called the Senate, had equal representatives from all the four federating units, or provinces. The provinces were ensured a certain provincial autonomy.

This Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, drafted by an elected body with the consensus of all the major political parties of the country, was enforced in the country on August 14, 1973.

Salient features of the 1973 Constitution.

Following are the salient features of the 1973 Constitution:

- 1. Federal Constitution**

The Constitution adheres to the principles of federalism. It applies to all the four provinces of the country, along with the federal capital Islamabad and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Northern Areas. (Now Gilgit Baltistan).

- 2. Written Constitution**

The Constitution is in the form of a written document. It has 280 articles.

- 3. Parliamentary**

The Constitution has a Parliamentary character: the Prime Minister, who is the head of the government, is a member of the Parliament elected by and responsible to the Parliament. Likewise, the Cabinet that the Prime Minister constitutes is made up of parliamentarians. President is the constitutional head of state.

4. **Bicameral legislature:**

The legislature, called the Parliament, is bicameral, that is, has two chambers or houses. Representation in the Lower House, called the National Assembly, is on population basis while representation in the Upper House, called the Senate, is on the basis of the federating units. All the federating units, or the Provinces, have equal representation in the Senate.

5. **Fundamental rights:**

The Constitution recognized the fundamental rights of the people. The Legislature is denied any right to enact legislation that contravenes these fundamental rights.

6. **Constitutional amendment:**

A Constitutional amendment bill can be initiated in any of the Houses of the Parliament. In order to become law, it will need to be passed by at least two thirds majority of the total membership in each House. The Constitution is neither very rigid, nor very flexible.

7. **Independent judiciary:**

The Constitution guarantees independence of the Judiciary. It lays down strict procedures to be followed in the appointment and removal from service of the judges of the superior courts.

8. **Direct election:**

The National Assembly and all the Provincial Assemblies are elected for a period of five years. Elections to these Assemblies are through direct votes.

9. National language:

Urdu is recognized as the national language. At the same time the constitution guarantees work for the promotion of regional languages.

Basic Principles of state policy.

Basic Principles of state policy of 1973 constitution are as under:

- (1) State should take steps to enable the Muslims of Pakistan to adopt Islamic way of life individually and collectively. Such steps should be taken that they could understand Quraan and Sunnah and act upon it.
- (2) Teaching the Holy Quraan will be compulsory and the government will make proper arrangements to ensure correct and error free printing of the Holy Quraan.
- (3) Islamic code of conduct will be introduced in the country.
- (4) The government will make proper arrangements for Zakat and Auqaf.
- (5) Steps should be taken to discourage regional, tribal and provincial prejudices. To promote educational and economic interests of backward people.
- (6) Steps should be taken to ensure full participation of women in national life and protect the family system in the country.
- (7) Rights of minorities will be protected.
- (8) State shall provide opportunities of higher education to all equally.
- (9) State shall secure the well being of the people, by raising their standard of living, and preventing the accumulation of wealth and means of production in the hands of specific people.
- (10) The state should discourage discrimination with respect to religion, race or gender among the citizens and look after the needy people.
- (11) The government should take steps to establish friendly relations with Muslim countries to promote Islamic solidarity.

ISLAMIC PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1973

The following are the important Islamic feature of 1973 constitution.

1. The preamble of the constitution declare that sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust.

2. According to the constitution the official name of Pakistan is the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan".
3. Islam is the official religion of Pakistan.
4. Prime Minister and President must be Muslim.
5. It is promised that no new law be legislated against Quraan and Sunnah, existing laws shall be brought in conformity with Quraan and Sunnah.
6. The Muslims of Pakistan shall be enabled to accord their lives, individually and collectively according to the teachings of Quraan and Sunnah.
7. Muslim is defined in the constitution as one "who believes that Muhammad (ﷺ) is the last prophet of Allah."
8. It was promised in the constitution to take necessary steps to make teachings of Quran and Islamiyat as compulsory.
9. It is mentioned in the constitution to eradicate gambling, adultery and drinking wine from society.
10. A council of Islamic ideology is established. It will give advice to law making institutions regarding Islamization.
11. Minorities have freedom to practice their own religion.

The Regime of General Zia-ul-Haq, 1977 – 1988:

General Zia-ul-Haq toppled Bhutto's government and assumed power on July 5, 1977, initiating thus yet another age of Martial Law in the country. He pledged to hold elections within 90 days. During this period a total ban was imposed on both freedom of expression and political activities. In October 1977 postponement of elections and accountability of politicians was announced.



General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq

In March 1978 the Lahore High Court found Bhutto guilty of the murder of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan and sentenced the ex-Prime Minister to death.

In July 1978 a civilian Cabinet, in which ministers from the Muslim League were also included, took oath under the Martial Law. Later on members from some political parties in the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) were also included in the Cabinet.

In September 1978 General Zia ul Haq declared himself President of the Republic. For the first time in the country, Zakat, Ushar and Hudood Ordinances were enforced in 1979-80. In September 1979, local government elections were held after a long break. Elections to the National Assembly were postponed in March and again in October 1979. Political Parties were banned. On March 23, 1981, a Provisional Constitutional Order was enforced, thus replacing the 1973 Constitution.

On August 12, 1983, Zia ul Haq introduced his own constitutional formula under which presidential referendum was held on December 19, 1984. Zia ul Haq won the referendum by an overwhelming majority of vote count. Non-party based elections were held to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies on February 25 and February 28, 1985, respectively. On March 20, 1985, Muhammad Khan Junejo became Prime Minister of the Country.

On December 30, 1985, Zia ul Haq proclaimed the end of Martial Law in the country. Due to Pakistan's Afghan policy under his authority, Zia attained an important position in world politics. But due to the over-extension of his military rule, political, social, and economic institutions of the country were denied the opportunity to grow and gain stability.

Efforts for the Enforcement of Islamic Laws:

Since the establishment of the state, a vast majority of the population had desired to see the enforcement of Islamic laws in the country. Towards this aim, various political parties had run a campaign in 1977.

Thus, soon after taking charge of the state machinery, Zia ul Haq proclaimed the enforcement of Islamic *hudood* and *t'azeerat* on February 10, 1979, which is a milestone towards the establishment of Islamic system in the country. Punishment prescribed by *Shariah* for certain acts like drinking, adultery, theft, and false allegation was enforced. Steps taken for the Islamization of society under Zia's rule are as follows:

1. ***Zakat* and *Usher* ordinance:**

On June 20, 1980, Zia promulgated *Zakat* and *Usher* Ordinance authorizing the government to deduct from all bank deposits *zakat* at the rate of 2.5%.

2. ***Zakat* Foundation:**

In February 1982, the Federal Government established the National *Zakat* Foundation. The objective behind the creation of this institution was the training of those deserving *zakat* so as to end their dependency on *zakat*. To this aim a sum of one hundred million rupees was allocated initially.

3. **Federal Shariat Court:**

So as to accelerate the process of the enforcement of *Islamic* way of life, the 1973 Constitution was amended to the effect that each High Court was to have a *Shariat* Bench consisting of three judges and, likewise, the Supreme Court of Pakistan was to have an Appellate *Shariat* Bench consisting of three judges. This court had due powers and could annul any law that it deemed un-Islamic. The verdicts of the *Shariat* Benches were binding upon all, including the President of the Republic. However, appeal against the verdict of the *Shariat* Benches could be made in the Appellate *Shariat* Bench of the Supreme Court.

4. Blasphemy Act:

Article 298 of the Constitution was amended to the effect that anyone found guilty of blasphemy towards the Righteous Caliphs, the family of the Prophet, and the Companions of the Prophet could get up to three years of rigorous imprisonment or fine or both.

5. Pakistan studies and Islamiyat introduced as compulsory subjects:

The federal government made the instruction that both Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies will be taught up to degree level in all educational institutions. However non-Muslims were allowed to take Ethics in place of Islamiyat.

6. Ihteram-e-Ramazan Ordinance:

In 1981 Zia promulgated Ihteram-e-Ramazan Ordinance which proscribed smoking, eating, and drinking by all Muslims in public places. Violation of these laws was made punishable by three months or a fine or both. In 1984, Zia also directed the establishment of *Salat Committees*.

7. Wafaqi Mohtasib (Federal Ombudsman):

Accountability is an important aspect of Islamic society. Its purpose is to ensure the rule of law, the provision of justice, the promotion of social equality – in short, the

protection of citizens' rights. For the attainment of this objective, in June 1981 Zia announced the establishment of the institution of Wafaqi Mohtasib. The office of Wafaqi Muhtasib is non-political and non-partisan. The tenure of the Wafaqi Mohtasib is four years. Anyone who feels aggrieved by any government official or any government department can seek justice by complaining – writing on plain paper and sending it via ordinary post – to the Wafaqi Mohtasib against the concerned authority.

8. Majlis-e-Shura:

For the forging of better links between the government and the masses, in December 1981 Zia announced the formation of Majlis-e-Shura. The Majlis-e-Shura was composed of fifty members. Among its duties was to suggest steps that would lead to the formation of an Islamic society and thus to the fulfillment of a longstanding desire of the people. As such, its role was to expedite the smooth transition towards an Islamic democratic social order.

9. Interest-free banking:

With the objective of freeing the economic system of the curse of usury, Zia took certain steps that led to the introduction of interest-free banking in all the banks.

Afghan Jihad and its effects:

In December 1979 more than a hundred thousand Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. There was the perceived threat of Soviet interference in Pakistan. So Pakistan took the historic decision to open its frontiers to the influx of Afghan refugees. To respond to this aggression through diplomatic channels, Pakistan contacted, first of all, countries from within the Islamic world and called for an emergency conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Islamic countries to be held in Islamabad. It was decided not to recognize Afghanistan's revolutionary government and Soviet aggression was condemned. Afghanistan was recognized to be a problem for the whole Islamic world and agreed to share the burden of Pakistan in assisting the Afghan refugees.

While Pakistan was pursuing the object of bringing to an end the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, at the same time it was seeking to help the hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees who took shelter in Pakistan. Aid to the refugees started to come from around the world. The United Kingdom, Germany, and Japan wrote off some of Pakistan's debts or the interest on it. American aid, too started after two and a half years.

Afghan *Mujahideen* were fighting the Soviet Union with conventional weapons. They had no anti-aircraft guns with which to fight and neutralize Soviet air raids. Sudden Soviet air raids would often harm the *Mujahideen* resistance fighters but they continued their resistance.

During the first two years of the resistance only Pakistan continued to assist the *Mujahideen* by all possible means. Later on, China also started to provide the *Mujahideen* with Soviet-built weaponry. The United States of America provided the *Mujahideen* with anti-aircraft Stinger Missiles which altered the balance of power in the Afghan war. Many volunteers came from the Arab world to join the fight against the Soviet occupying forces and their Afghan collaborators.

Geneva Accord:

Soon after coming to power, Mikhail Gorbachev, the new Soviet leader, showed a flexible attitude towards the Afghan problem. In the wake of 50,000 casualties and immense economic loss, the Soviet Union wanted to disentangle itself from the quagmire. In December 1987, the issue came under the mediation of the United Nations. On January 10, 1988 Gorbachev, the Soviet President, announced that if the problem was resolved by 15 March, then Soviet forces would start evacuating by May 15, 1988.

There was a visible discord between Zia and Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo regarding the issue. Junejo was prepared to sign the Geneva Accord by March 1, while Zia insisted that the evacuation of Soviet troops was not the end of the problem, and that the establishment of an interim government in Afghanistan was essential for bringing lasting peace to the region. He maintained that if the Soviets left Afghanistan, leaving behind a client state, the country would fall into a civil war. He further maintained that so as to facilitate the repatriation of some three and a half million Afghan refugees, they should have been in some way made party to the dialogue. In spite of all these reservations, Junejo put his signature on the Geneva Accord.

The Impact of Afghan Refugees on Pakistani Society:

The war in Afghanistan had displaced millions of Afghans. At its peak, some three and a half million of these had found refuge in Pakistan. The government of Pakistan, with huge foreign assistance and support from Non-Government Organizations made every effort to support these refugees. The origin of NGO's in Pakistan dates back to these years. These NGOs provided employment opportunities to many Pakistanis. At the same time, there were many negative impacts of these refugees on Pakistan's economy and society. The province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa suffered most as an overwhelming majority of the refugees had settled here and with whom the locals had to compete in all businesses. Because of the uncertainty that prevails in Afghanistan, a large number of these refugees still live in Pakistan and particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The Government of Muhammad Khan Junejo:

As the 1985 elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies were held on non-party basis, the election of a Prime Minister was a complicated issue. On March 20, 1985 Zia ul Haq proposed Muhammad Khan Junejo as the Prime Minister.

Junejo was then a Member of the National Assembly from Sindh. Zia consulted MNAs from all the provinces and asked for their views regarding the nomination of Junejo for the office of Prime Minister. There was no disagreement and on March 23, 1985 Junejo took oath as Prime Minister of Pakistan.



Muhammad Khan Junejo

Restoration of Political Parties:

Personally, Zia was against the existence of political parties. But he realized that a Parliamentary form of government could not work without the presence of political parties. Thus, in the federal as well as provincial Assemblies the heads of government formed their own groups. Junejo formed his own political party consisting of 190 of the total of 237 Members of the National Assembly. The rest also formed their own independent groups. The bill for the restoration of political parties was introduced in the National Assembly in November 1985. Despite the opposition of some independents, the bill was passed. It was also passed by the Senate and enforced after being approved by President Zia ul Haq.

End of Martial Law:

On June 1, 1985 the Provincial Assembly of the then North West Frontier Province (present-day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) unanimously passed a resolution calling for the end of the Martial law. On the same day, the Provincial Assemblies of Punjab and Balochistan also made the same demand. On June 10, 1985 some Members of the National Assembly demanded that before the lifting of the Martial Law, the enforcement of Islamic system be proclaimed. Junejo also demanded the termination of the Martial Law, which created rifts between the Prime Minister and the President. Zia agreed to end Martial Law on the condition that the National Assembly should pass the Eighth Amendment. Consequently, on January 1, 1986 Martial Law was brought to an end.

Five-points Programme:

On December 31, 1985 Junejo declared his five-points agenda or programme. This programme spanned over four years. Following were the important points of this programme:

1. Based on the ideology of Pakistan, the establishment of a stable Islamic democratic system.
2. The establishment of a just economic system for ensuring the social wellbeing of the people and the eradication of unemployment.
3. The eradication of illiteracy from the country for preparing the nation for the challenges of the modern age of science and technology.
4. The eradication of corruption and injustice and the provision of justice and social security to the masses.
5. The surety of national security and sovereignty through strong defense and a balanced, non-aligned foreign policy.

The Prime Minister gave ownership of land to slum dwellers. Steps were taken for undersea oil exploration around Karachi by the Oil and Gas Development Corporation of Pakistan.

After the passage of the Eighth Amendment, the President had power to nominate the Prime Minister till 1990. He had got appointed a Prime Minister from Sindh keeping in view to restore the political stability there. General Zia ul Haq did not expect that Junejo would oppose his Martial Law, the way he did. Zia ul Haq had inducted certain Ministers on important portfolios but Junejo reshuffled the cabinet. These steps created rift between the President and the Prime Minister. As the *Afghan Jihad* was gaining ground, the Soviet Union had no viable option but to quit Afghanistan. Zia wanted the establishment of a *Mujahideen-run* interim government in Afghanistan before the end of the war. But in November 1987, Junejo took the foreign ministry from Sahibzada Yaqub Khan who had great experience in dealing with the Afghanistan issue. An All-Parties Conference on Afghanistan and the Geneva Talks were held in which all the major political parties, including the Pakistan Peoples' Party, participated.

On April 10, 1988 fire broke out in the arms depot of Ojrhi Camp in Rawalpindi. Hundreds lost their lives, as well as there were immense losses to private and public property. The issue of inquiry into this incident widened the rift between General Zia and the prime minister Junejo Government.

Dismissal of Junejo's Government:

On May 22, 1988 Junejo moved to Korea on an official visit. His remarks on the restoration of democracy were interpreted by Zia as statements against the Military. On May 29, Junejo returned to Pakistan. The next day Zia dissolved the National Assembly as well as all the Provincial Assemblies.

He enumerated three major reasons for the dissolution:

1. The discontinuance of the process of Islamization;
2. The slowing down of the democratic process;
3. The deterioration of law and order situation which was endangering national security.

Ignoring Zia's counsels regarding the Geneva Accord on the part of the government and Junejo's criticism of the Military for the Ojrhi Camp accident were also the reasons behind the dissolution of the assemblies.

The Bahawalpur Incident:

After the dismissal of Junejo from office, Zia proclaimed the holding of general elections. But before the elections were held, on 17 August, 1988 Zia's plane, shortly after take-off from the Bahawalpur Airport, met an accident in which he was killed along with thirty others. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Chairman Senate, became the seventh President. Mirza Aslam Beg was appointed the new Chief of Army Staff.

Governments of Benazir Bhutto:

Benazir's First Term in Office: (1988 –90)

Pakistan Peoples' Party emerged from the 1988 elections as the Party with the largest number of seats in the National Assembly. According to the Constitution, the President invited its parliamentary leader, Benazir Bhutto on December 1st 1988, to form government. Thus began a new era of democracy in the country.

Benazir took oath as Prime Minister on December 2, 1988 and on December 12, ten days after her appointment, got the vote of confidence from the Parliament. It was for the first time in the modern history of the Islamic world that a Muslim woman became head of the government.

In her first public statement after becoming Prime Minister, Benazir assured the nation that the government would follow the path of peace and reconciliation. Her message was that of unity, peace, freedom and hope.

Efforts were made to establish better relations with the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Interests of the Third World were supported. Rivalry between India and Pakistan was mitigated. An accord was signed with the Muhajir Qaumi Movement. To enhance freedom of the press, the National Press Trust was dissolved, thus turning Pakistan Television and Radio Pakistan into autonomous bodies. Political prisoners were released. *Ban on Trade Unions was lifted.*

Pakistan and India had no accord over the issue of security to their nuclear installation. So, on the occasion of the SAARC Conference held in Pakistan, on December 31, 1988 Benazir Bhutto and the visiting Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi agreed to an agreement not to attack the nuclear installation of each other.

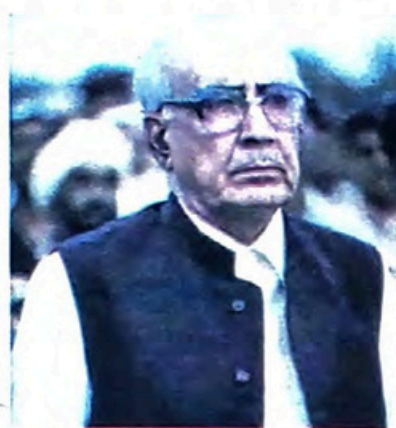


Benazir Bhutto

Agreements were also made that stipulated the exchange of cultural delegations and the abolition of dual tariffs.

On April 23, 1989, Benazir inaugurated the commencement of Peoples' Works Programme in Peshawar. This programme aimed at social welfare and development at the grassroot level.

As a result of the November 1988 general elections while Pakistan Peoples' Party had formed government at the center, *Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI)* had succeeded in forming government in Punjab. The two governments often maintained a confrontational attitude towards each other. On August 6, 1990 the President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, dissolved the National Assembly on charges of corruption, misuse of power, and the undermining of democratic norms. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was appointed as the Caretaker Prime Minister and general elections were pledged to be held on October 24, 1990.



Ghulam Ishaq Khan



Farooq Ahmad Laghari



Benazir Bhutto

Benazir's Second Term in Office (1993–96)

On October 19, 1993, in the wake of victory in the 1993 general elections, Benazir Bhutto took oath as Prime Minister for the second time. Pakistan Peoples' Party also formed the governments in Sindh and Punjab while in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan Nawaz Sharif and his allies formed the governments.

In her second term in office, Benazir adapted a cautious approach. She formed her Cabinet with utmost care. During the first year of her government, her relations with bureaucracy were accommodating and the media enjoyed remarkable freedom.

Despite many obstacles, external as well as internal, her government took many steps to improve the image of the country. In this regard, the government's priorities included reducing unemployment, improving literacy, eliminating load shedding of electricity, improving the state of healthcare, eradicating drug trafficking, crime, and terrorism, and a review of the foreign policy amid the global perspectives. Education was given importance and national resources improved.

But PPP (Pakistan Peoples' Party) wanted to form government in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan as well. Thus, the government of Pir Sabir Shah in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was toppled and Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao took over as the Chief Minister of the province. Later on, the government of Zulfiqar Ali Magsi in Balochistan was brought down and efforts were made to form a PPP-led government there. Due to conflicts between the PPP and MQM, the law and order situation in Sindh was constantly deteriorating.

In June, 1994, PPP government put its first budget before the National Assembly. The Budget had proposed new taxes amounting to Rupees 128 billion. People started to revolt against the government. As a result, the government's popularity among the masses diminished.

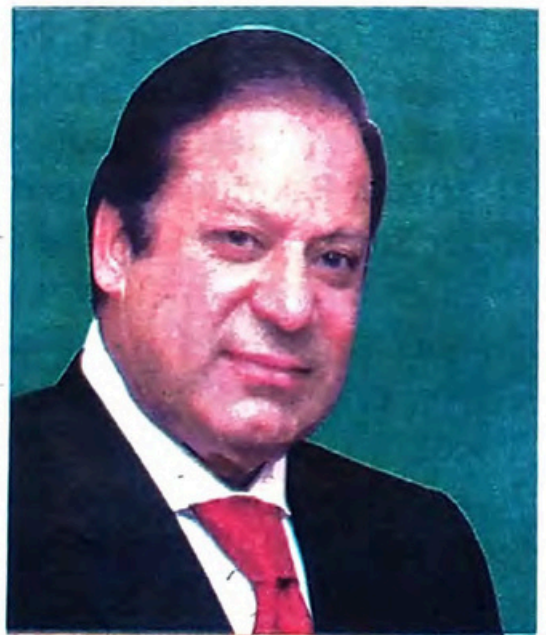
On June 26, 1996 the Supreme Court restored local government bodies. But instead of devolving powers to these institutions, the government got passed a legislation that entitled it to retain the powers of these institutions. On August 10, 1996 the trader community launched a strike against the General Sales Tax that continued for two days. Differences between the President and the Prime Minister regarding the appointment of Judges widened. The government invited the opposition to negotiate the matter but on November 5, 1996 the President, Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari, in exercise of Article 58 (2) B of the Constitution, dissolved the National Assembly and appointed Ex-Speaker National Assembly Malik Mairaj Khalid as the Caretaker Prime Minister. At the same time February 3, 1997 was fixed as the date for the next general elections.

Governments of Mian Nawaz Sharif:

Nawaz Sharif's First Term in Office (1990-93):

Emerging as the leader of the parliamentary party with the greatest number of seats in the National Assembly, Nawaz Sharif was invited by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan on November 6, 1990 to form government. On January 27, 1991 India and Pakistan governments ratified the agreement not to attack each other's nuclear installation.

Nawaz Sharif announced the distribution of resources between the Federation and the Provinces to be awarded by the National Finance Commission. The formation of a National Finance Commission was an important need of the time. With this award, the provinces gained financial independence from the center which paved the way for the provinces' economic development on their own initiative.



Mian Nawaz Sharif

On the issue of distribution of waters of the river Indus, Chief Ministers of all the four provinces signed an agreement in 1991. The Council of Common Interests, which is a constitutional body for resolving conflicts between the center and the provinces, in a meeting chaired by the Prime Minister, approved this agreement and decided to form the Indus River System Authority (IRSA) for implementing it.

To improve the economy on January 22, 1991 the Privatization Commission was formed with the objective to lessen the burden on the treasury by privatizing those state-run economic enterprises which were incurring losses.

The government introduced certain reforms which facilitated foreign investment in the country and exports increased upto 12 percent, thus the country's foreign exchange increased.

The government also announced an agricultural policy aimed at promoting the development of agriculture sector in the country. It encompassed the provision of both financial and non-financial incentives to the farmers.

"Shariat Bill 1991" was introduced in and passed by the National Assembly. This Bill was aimed at ensuring the primacy of the *Quran* and *Sunna* in legal and administrative affairs. The *Bait-ul-Mal* was created, with the objective of welfare of the poor and needy. To tackle the problem of increasing unemployment, the government launched a Self-Employment Scheme under which the unemployed population could receive three kinds of loans i.e fifty thousand, one hundred and fifty thousand and three hundred thousand rupees. The government also announced a Labour Policy under which all employees from grade one to sixteen, in both government and semi-government departments, received adhoc allowance.

The government of Mian Nawaz Sharif in 1992 launched a motorway between Islamabad and Lahore so as to reduce traffic jams. However, it was during Nawaz's second term in office that it was completed. The motorway was inaugurated in 1997.

On September 5, 1992 the Prime Minister, to promote self-reliance, initiated public transport program for the self-employed youth. Road transport vehicles such as taxi, bus, van, truck, pickup, motor rickshaw etc. of all types could be obtained on only 10 percent down payment.

Differences developed between the President and the Prime Minister on the issues of the appointment of the Chief of Army Staff and the draft of the "8th" Amendment to the 1973 constitution. On April 18, 1993 the President dissolved the Assemblies, dismissed Nawaz Sharif and appointed Balkh Sher Mazari as the Caretaker Prime Minister. Speaker of the National Assembly challenged this action in Lahore High Court. Nawaz Sharif also submitted a petition in the Supreme Court for the restoration of the National Assembly. In its judgment of May 26, 1993 the Supreme Court struck down dissolution of the National Assembly and the dismissal of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, and restored the National Assembly, PM Nawaz Sharif and his Cabinet. On May 27, 1993 Nawaz Sharif got the vote of confidence from the National Assembly. The growing political crisis was resolved, with indirect military arbitration, that led to the resignation of Ghulam Ishaq Khan from the Presidency, the dissolution of the National Assembly, and the holding of fresh general elections within a given timeframe. Consequently, on July 18, 1993, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the National Assembly and resigned as President of the Republic. Waseem Sajjad, the Chairman Senate became Acting President and Moeen Qureshi was appointed as Caretaker Prime Minister.

Nawaz Sharif's Second Term in Office (1997-99)

Nawaz Sharif won the elections of February 3, 1997 with a heavy majority in the National Assembly. On February 17, 1997 he took oath as Prime Minister. On April 1, 1997 the Thirteenth Amendment Bill was passed. This amendment took away from the President the power to dissolve the National Assembly and to appoint the chiefs of the armed forces. The Thirteenth Amendment restored the Parliamentary character of the original 1973 Constitution.

On June 30, 1997 the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was enacted, outlawing the practice of floor-crossing. When the Opposition challenged this amendment in the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice, Syed Sajjad Ali Shah, opined against it but the other Judges rebelled against the Chief Justice. The Supreme Court was attacked by the supporters of Nawaz Sharif and his government. Because of a lack of any real powers, the President could not positively intervene to calm down the situation. Thus Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari resigned from his position as the President of the Republic on December 2, 1997 and Waseem Sajjad, the Chairman Senate, became acting President.



Muhammad Rafiq Tarrar

The appointment of Sajjad Ali Shah as the Chief Justice of Pakistan was declared illegal by a ten member bench of the Supreme Court on December 23, 1997 and Ajmal Mian was appointed as Chief Justice.

Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) nominated Justice (retired) Muhammad Rafiq Tarrar for the Presidency.

In 1998, the judicial crisis was resolved. But in the then North West Frontier Province, where the Pakistan Muslim League had formed a coalition government with the Awami National Party, the Provincial Assembly passed a resolution demanding the renaming of the province as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. But the Federal Government ignored this demand and the relations between PML (N) and the ANP were affected.

Pakistan as a Nuclear Power:

From the perspective of national defense, 1998 was an important year for Pakistan. On April 6 Pakistan successfully launched Ghauri, a missile with a range of 1500 kilometers. On May 11 and 13 India conducted nuclear tests and threatened Pakistan. Pakistan responded with its own nuclear tests on May 28, which created a wave of excitement among the masses.

When Nawaz Sharif declared his intention to start work on constructing Kalabagh Dam, opposition, as well as many coalition parties protested. Nawaz Sharif had no option but to rescind his decision and postpone the issue. After ANP, the MQM also parted its ways with the PML (N), largely on the issue of Kalabagh Dam.

In June 1998, two hundred people lost their lives in terrorist acts in Karachi. On October 30, 1998 the Sindh Assembly was dissolved and Governor Rule was imposed in the province. On January 30, 1999, the President issued an Ordinance for the establishment of Military Courts.

In February 1999 the Lahore Declaration was jointly issued by the Nawaz Sharif and his visiting Indian counterpart Atal Bahari Vajpai, which called for the resolution of all outstanding issues between the two neighbours through dialogue.

Also in 1999, Pakistan successfully launched Ghauri II and Shaheen missiles. A limited war between India and Pakistan erupted in the Kargil sector of Kashmir. On July 4, 1999 the war came to an end with the Washington Declaration which roused negative sentiment in the nation.

On October 12, 1999 Nawaz Sharif removed General Pervez Musharraf from the position of Chief of Army Staff and appointed General Zia-ud-Din Butt as the COAS. But General Pervez Musharraf did not comply with the order and overthrew Nawaz's government.

The Regime of General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008)

Pervez Musharraf's regime commences on October 12, 1999 when he overthrew the government of Nawaz Sharif and assumed the title and position of the country's Chief Executive. Differences between Nawaz and Musharraf had already started to come to the surface on the Kargil issue but the prime Minister had let the General to continue as COAS and Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee. Then, on October 12, 1999 the plane in which Musharraf was coming back to Pakistan from an official visit abroad was not allowed to land at Karachi Airport. This event prompted the army into action, leading to the overthrow of the elected civilian government and the military takeover, on October 12, 1999.



General Pervez Musharraf

On June 20, 2001, Musharraf also removed Muhammad Rafiq Tarrar from the Presidency and himself became the president of Pakistan.

Local Governments:

On March 23, 2000 General Musharraf, as Chief Executive, proposed a comprehensive plan for the devolution of power to local government institutions with the objective of realizing participation of the masses in the political process at the grassroot level.

The National Reconstruction Bureau was established for the implementation of this plan.

On August 14, 2000 Musharaff announced a three-tier structure of the proposed local government consisting of the Union Council, Tehsil/Town Council, and District Council. So as to reduce the rural/urban disparity, local government rules and regulations were evenly applied in both urban and rural areas. Labourers, women, minorities, and farmers were given representation in the local councils. The local bodies were to have the prime responsibility for local developmental works. The elections, held stepwise, commenced in December 2000 and were completed in July, 2001. Thus, Union, Town, Tehsil and District Councils were established. The Nazims and Naib Nazims of the Union Councils were elected directly by the people, while the Nazims and Naib Nazims of the Tehsil and District Councils were elected indirectly. The minimum educational qualification for the position of Nazim was secondary school certificate. Thirty percent of seats at each level were specified for women. Likewise, there were seats for minorities, labourers and farmers reserved at every tier of the local government. The posts of Deputy Commissioners at the District level and of Commissioners at the Divisional level were abolished. Even the administrative units known as Divisions were abolished. Under the new setup, the District Nazim headed the district administration. The District Coordination Officers and the District Police Officers were subordinated to the District Nazim. The Union Council Nazims were ex-officio members of the District Council. Likewise, the Union Council Naib Nazims were ex-officio members of the Tehsil Council. The local governments were endowed with financial powers. The Union Council also acted as facilitator in private, public disputes of minor nature. The Tehsil administration had to draw an annual budget plan. The District Nazim played a great role in district development. His position was akin to that of a Chief executive at the district level. The provincial government departments that dealt with municipal administration and development now came under the purview of District Government. The district coordination officer, the district police officer and other officials are

appointed by the provincial government for three years, while officers of lower grades are posted by the district nazim on the recommendation of DCO.

The District Council approved the district budget and could introduce new taxes or change the rules of old ones. The approval of development projects in the district also needed to be obtained from the District Council.

Local Government Ordinance, 2005:

The Local and District Government completed its tenure in June, 2005. Before holding new local government elections, its rules were amended in consultation with Provincial Assemblies. A new Local Government Ordinance 2005 was promulgated. The members of Union Council and the number of Councilors were reduced from 21 to 13.

Presidential Referendum 2002:

On April 30, 2002 the Election Commission announced to hold a presidential referendum on the question of electing the Chief Executive, General Pervez Musharraf, as President of Pakistan for five years. The Opposition filed an appeal against the holding of referendum in the Supreme Court. However, the nine member bench of the Supreme Court rejected the appeal. Consequently, on April 30, 2002 a referendum was held that gave Musharraf a heavy mandate.

Legal Framework Order (LFO), 2002:

On August 21, 2002 Chief Executive Pervez Musharaff issued the Legal Framework Order according to which the President would invite the nominee of the majority party in the National Assembly to take charge as Prime Minister, and the Provincial Governor would likewise invite the majority party in the Provincial Assembly to form the Provincial Government.

Pakistan Peoples Party was the second largest party with 63 seats in the National Assembly. *Mutahida Majlis-e-Amaal* (MMA) secured 45 seats in the National Assembly. In the Punjab and Sindh PML (Q) while in NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan the MMA formed the governments.

Musharaff's Moderate Policies:

On September 11, 2001 the World Trade Center in New York and the United States Defence Department, commonly known as the Pentagon, in Washington were subjected to terrorist attacks resulting in thousands of deaths. *Al-Qaeda*, operating from Afghanistan, claimed responsibility for these acts. For having maintained closed relations with the *Taliban*, Pakistan was also looked at with suspicion by the international community. The United States attacked Afghanistan.

The Musharaff regime tried to project the image of a peace-loving country by offering all possible support to the United States in the war against terrorism. The decision to cooperate with united states created a perplexion for Pakistan. This also caused disturbance and chaos.

Industrialization

During the Musharraf regime the economy witnessed much foreign and local investment particularly in the telecommunication and automobile sectors. According to a world bank report, Pakistan witnessed 6.8% growth in the last 8 years of Musharaf regime.

A defence exhibition with the name 'Ideas 2000' was organized in Karachi from November 14 to November 17, 2000. The exhibition helped to introduce Pakistan's defence industry to the world and stimulated this sector of the country's industrial production.

In December 2003, the founder of Microsoft, Bill Gates, agreed to invest in the development of information technology in Pakistan.

Privatization

During Musharaf's regime, 5% of citizens rose from poverty level and became part of the middle class, due to privatization of banks and industries

Most importantly television, telecommunication and motor car as well as motor cycle industry made much progress.

Privatization and its Effects:

Privatization plays important role in the economic policy. It is the transfer of ownership of the assets and administration from government control to private sector. It bore lasting effects.

1. Private enterprises, having a sense of ownership and a profit motive, are more competitive and innovative.
2. Privatization also improves the position of the employees as they can choose the company which offer more benefits.
3. Private enterprises established school and health units in their factories as incentives for the employees.

Reforms Undertaken During the Government of Shaukat Aziz and Parvez Musharraf:

Some of the reforms introduced by the government of Shaukat Aziz and Parvez Musharraf are as under:

1. Economic reforms:

- I. General Sales Tax was implemented.
- II. Tax rate was reduced while the tax net was widened.
- III. Understanding the burden of indirect taxes which falls largely on the poor, steps were taken for increasing the share of direct taxes from the rich in the total tax revenue.
- IV. To increase the revenue generating capacity of provincial governments, provincial taxes were introduced.
- V. The collection of tax on agricultural income was made a provincial matter.
- VI. The office of the Tax *Mohtasib* was established.

2. Social Reforms:

To put the society in right direction, moderation policy was adopted. Women were given more representation. Efforts were made to curb nepotism and corruption.

3. Democratic Reforms:

The revival of local government bodies with more powers was one of the most important reforms undertaken by the Musharraf regime. It helped to promote democratic culture at the grassroot level. National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) was established so that democratic institutions are stabilized.

4. Reforms in the Educational Sector:

The Higher Education Commission (HEC) was established with the objective of promoting higher education in the country. Foreign scholarships were offered to both students and teachers of outstanding academic record for pursuing higher education. Salaries and other fringe benefits were made more attractive for those working in public sector educational institutions, which lured many foreign qualified Pakistanis to return home and provide their services within the country.

5. Computerization of National Database:

The introduction of computerized National Identity Cards to the citizens and the creation of a national database of demographic statistics helped to improve the holding of censuses.

In 2007, Musharraf got a vote of confidence from the National Assembly for remaining President for the next five years. But objections were raised on it as constitutionally the Assembly was not authorized to do so because it had completed its tenure. Uncertainty prevailed in the country. In this situation Judiciary, lawyer community and the civil society launched massive protests against Musharraf throughout the country. In response, Musharraf declared emergency in 2007 and proclaimed to hold general elections in 2008. He also suspended Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

In the meanwhile both, Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto returned to the country. On December 27, 2007 Benazir Bhutto lost her life in a terrorist cum assassination plot in Rawalpindi.

As a result of the elections held on February 18, 2008 Pakistan Peoples' Party Parliamentarian came into power and Yousaf Raza Gilani became Prime Minister. On August 18, 2008 Musharraf resigned from the Presidency and on September 6, 2008 Asif Ali Zardari was elected the country's new President.

Exercise

I: Choose the right answer to the following questions:

- 1) When did Zulfikar Ali Bhutto become the first Martial Law Administrator of the country?
 - A. 16th December 1971
 - B. 20th December 1971
 - C. 22th December 1971
 - D. 23th December 1971
- 2) When was the nationalization of industries announced?
 - A. 2th January 1972
 - B. 12th January 1972
 - C. 16th January 1972
 - D. 20th January 1972
- 3) When was the Martial Law ended during the Bhutto regime?
 - A. February 1972
 - B. March 1972
 - C. April 1972
 - D. August 1972
- 4) What was the strength of the National Assembly Committee tasked with drawing the 1973 Constitution?
 - A. 15
 - B. 20
 - C. 22
 - D. 25

- 5) After the assumption of power Zia-ul-Haq promised to hold elections within how many days?
A. 80
B. 90
C. 95
D. 120
- 6) When did General Zia assume the position of President?
A. July 1977
B. March 1978
C. July 1978
D. September 1978
- 7) Which Ordinance did Zia promulgate on June 20, 1980?
A. Labor Reforms
B. Islamic Hudood and Tazeraat
C. Zakat and Ushar
D. Zakat Foundation
- 8) Which Prime Minister announced the Five-points Programme?
A. Benazir Bhutto
B. Muhammad Khan Junejo
C. Nawaz Sharif
D. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi
- 9) When did Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto took vote of confidence from the National Assembly?
A. 2nd December 1988
B. 8th December 1988
C. 10th December 1988
D. 12th December 1988
- 10) Who launched the Peoples' Works Programme?
A. Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo
B. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto
C. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif
D. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan

- 11) When did Nawaz Sharif become Prime Minister for the first time?
- A. 6th November 1990
 - B. 6th December 1990
 - C. 6th January 1991
 - D. 6th February 1992
- 12) Who launched the National Finance Commission Award?
- A. Benazir Bhutto
 - B. Nawaz Sharif
 - C. Mairaj Khalid
 - D. Farooq Laghari
- 13) Why is 28th May 1998 important in the history of Pakistan?
- A. Nawaz Sharif came to power
 - B. Martial Law was imposed
 - C. Self-Employment Scheme was launched
 - D. Pakistan became a nuclear power.

II: Write short answers to the following questions.

- 1) When was the nationalization programme announced and which industries were nationalized?
- 2) When did the Federal *Sharia* Court come into existence?
- 3) What is meant by Wafaqi *Mohtasib*?
- 4) Write a short note on the Geneva Talks.
- 5) Explain the Five-points Programme of Prime Minister Junejo.
- 6) What do you know about local governments?
- 7) Write a note on the Local Government Ordinance 2005

III: Give comprehensive answers to the following questions.

- 1) Write a comprehensive note on the reforms introduced by the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.
- 2) What are the main points of the 1973 Constitution?
- 3) Give a detailed account of the efforts made by Zia for the enforcement of Islamic laws in Pakistan.
- 4) Write a note on both the governments of Benazir Bhutto.
- 5) What do you know about Nawaz Sharif's first government?
- 6) Write a comprehensive note on the regime of General Pervez Musharraf.

Activity

- o Arrange a competition on the subject of Pakistan History.
- o Draw a timeline showing the successive heads of governments and heads of state in Pakistan between 1971 and 2008.
- o Arrange a quiz about the persons figuring in this chapter.