

Cuban Missile
After the communist
revolution in Cuba, the
USSR secretly shipped
nuclear arms to Cuba. The
US demanded that they be
removed.
Formation of the
National Liberation
Front (NLF) headed
by Phan Anhut.

- whether to dissolve the Assembly or call a referendum.
- xiv. There shall be an Advisory Council on Islamic ideology which has no powers of veto but shall advise the government.

The constitution was introduced without any discussion, and martial law was lifted soon afterwards. However, nobody was in any doubt as to who was in power. The president was given sweeping powers in both choosing and dismissing Cabinet members. The Assembly was still to retain parity between the two wings and the president was not obliged to choose his Cabinet from the Assembly. Although some moves were made towards placating the concerns and protests of East Pakistan, the feeling of being alienated from a government run by a collection of West Pakistani military and civil officers left many Bengalis uneasy and unhappy. The new National Assembly met for the first time on 8 June 1962 with Ayub Khan being sworn in as president under the terms of his new constitution. One of the first acts of the Assembly was to lift the ban on political parties.

A Controlled Democracy

The National Assembly passed a number of controversial bills during its life. One bill, passed in June 1964, allowed the president to remain in office until a successor was found. Even more importantly, the National Assembly approved a number of government sponsored bills about how the next presidential election should be held. The Electoral College Bill meant that an electoral college of 80 000 would be elected, who in turn would elect the president. Election to the electoral college took place in October and November 1964. The voting took place against opposition claims of intimidation and rigging and in Karachi, where the opposition had its headquarters, all public meetings were banned during the elections.

Ayub Khan was nominated as the candidate of a new party he had helped create while in power, the Convention Muslim League. Ayub probably expected that the newly resurfaced and divided opposition would have no credible alternative to him in the presidential election. It was a shock for him when the combined opposition parties all agreed to Miss Fatima Jinnah as their presidential candidate. Fatima Jinnah was not only the sister of the Quaid-i-Azam, she was his close personal and political aide. The opposition complained throughout the election that the government was misusing official facilities, including the media, and that the method of the election was unfair. The elections took place on 2 January 1965.

Successor
President

Some
President's
actions

The official result was 64 per cent to 36 per cent in Ayub's favour, but the victory was not at all convincing in East Pakistan where Ayub received 53 per cent of the vote. The election infuriated the opposition who claimed it had been rigged, especially as the huge crowds who attended the opposition rallies had led them to believe in victory, in spite of the indirect election method. Following the announcement of the election results, violent rioting broke out in East Pakistan and Karachi, where at least 20 people were killed. Many political leaders in East Pakistan declared that they had supported the Quaid's sister but were now convinced that they were not going to be fairly represented in Pakistan. Elections were also held to the National Assembly on 21 March 1965 using the electoral college of Basic Democrats. As expected, the Convention Muslim League won by a huge majority.

The presidency of Ayub Khan was marked by the 1965 war with India fought over the disputed territory of Kashmir. Infiltration by armed groups into Indian-occupied Kashmir during August 1965 provoked India into retaliation. By September, a full but undeclared war had broken out between the two nations. Neither side could deliver a decisive blow and Pakistan was particularly affected by an arms embargo by the United States and Britain. The stalemate led to a United Nations sponsored cease-fire. The subsequent peace treaty at Tashkent was a severe blow to the Pakistani public, who had been told by the regime that Pakistan had won the war. The peace treaty made no mention of any possible settlement in Kashmir and both sides agreed to use peaceful means to settle the dispute.

The foreign minister during this time was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto was astute enough to realize that the Tashkent Declaration would be unpopular in Pakistan but did not resign in protest. It was eventually Ayub Khan who asked Bhutto to resign in 1966. Ayub saw Bhutto as mainly responsible for the miscalculations which led Pakistan into war with India and for creating strains in the alliance between Pakistan and the United States. Bhutto's removal from the Cabinet only served as a focal point for the growing opposition and dissatisfaction within Pakistan. The protests over the lack of democratic rights in West Pakistan were matched with demands for greater autonomy and political freedom in East Pakistan.

The Decade of Development and the Fall of Ayub Khan

In 1968, Ayub Khan decided to deflect growing criticism by celebrating his decennary...

Tensions in east/west
Pakistan democratic rights
autonomy/rights
low confidence

Tashkent agreement

1965 Elections
Ayub Khan formed a new wing of the Muslim League, the Convention Muslim League, and announced his candidature for the presidency. The combined opposition parties nominated Mirza Fatima Jinnah, widow of the Quaid, as their candidate. Elections were held on 7 January 1965. Ayub Khan received 64 per cent of the votes. East Pakistan remained dissatisfied with the outcome.

achievements of his time in office by declaring it to have been a 'Decade of Development'. Pakistan's economic statistics looked very impressive. The rate of economic growth had picked up sharply after Ayub Khan's assumption of power. During the 1960s, the average annual national growth rate was over 7 per cent, which meant that gross national wealth had quadrupled in ten years. Not only was the economy doing twice as well, it was also growing three times faster than that of India, or any other country in South Asia. Many Pakistani and international economists believed that Pakistan had managed to find a way out of poverty. Ayub Khan had also overseen some land reforms which led to the redistribution of land to farmers with medium-sized farms. This had revitalized the agricultural sector and a 'green revolution' was said to have occurred with crop outputs at record levels.

This success, however, was later to seem misleading and transitory for a variety of reasons. Firstly, those who had benefited the most from the economic growth, the rural and urban middle class, were unable to have their voice felt politically. Secondly, the creation of new wealth had been concentrated in a few hands. In 1968, the chief economist in the Planning Commission of Pakistan revealed that 22 industrial families controlled 66 per cent of the country's industrial assets and 80 per cent of its insurance and banking services. The image of just 22 families controlling such important sectors of the economy was to prove politically very damaging to Ayub Khan. Thirdly, most of the new wealth was concentrated in West Pakistan, not only in private terms, but also in terms of government expenditure which increased resentment in East Pakistan.

The official celebrations for the 'Decade of Development' seemed only to provide an opportunity for the various disgruntled elements to rise against Ayub Khan. A major political crisis for the government broke out in October 1968 when student protests erupted all over West Pakistan over food prices and lack of political freedom. Ayub's visit to Peshawar in November was marred by an assassination attempt by a student. Bhutto was arrested on 13 November and this was followed by widespread arrests during that month of political leaders from all the main opposition parties. The agitation spread to East Pakistan in December 1968 with strikes and protests. If Ayub Khan hoped things would soon blow over, he was to be disappointed.

In January 1969, eight opposition parties agreed in Dhaka to form a Democratic Action Committee. This alliance was committed to abolishing indirect elections, lifting emergency measures which

Economic Success

Green Revolution

Political Concentration in West

Political Freedom

15

East Pakistan

- 1969: A Democratic Action Committee was formed in Dhaka. It demanded the removal of indirect elections and granting of full autonomy to the east wing.
- 25 March 1969: Ayub Khan, unable to control the situation, resigned. He handed over power to the army, ushering in a second period of martial law.

had been in place since the 1965 war, and granting full internal autonomy to East Pakistan. On 1 February, Ayub Khan offered to negotiate with the opposition parties and lifted the state of emergency on 17 February 1969. Political prisoners were released by the government which enabled talks to take place between the government and opposition from late February to 13 March. Ayub Khan agreed to two key opposition demands, but the movement had now grown beyond the talks in Rawalpindi. Instead of subsiding, the rioting became more widespread. The Basic Democracies system began to unravel because so many Basic Democrats resigned that it was impossible to replace them. On 25 March 1969, Ayub Khan was forced to resign. Rather than calling for fresh elections as his own constitution demanded, he handed over power to the army and martial law was declared for the second time in Pakistan's history.

Yahya Khan and Free Elections

The commander-in-chief, General Yahya Khan, was appointed chief martial law administrator and assumed the office of president. On 4 April 1969, the new president declared that although the 1962 Constitution was cancelled, a Provisional Constitutional Order was issued which meant that many provisions of the 1962 Constitution would be adhered to. On 8 April, Yahya Khan went further by announcing that a full investigation into the old voting system would take place and any non-functioning Basic Democracies would not be revived. On 10 April, Yahya committed himself to elections to the Assembly on the basis of a direct vote by the adult population, the first such election to be held in Pakistan.

This promise was followed with more detailed plans on 28 November 1969 when far-reaching constitutional reforms were announced. Elections were announced for 5 November 1970 on the basis of 'one man, one vote'. The new National Assembly elected under this method would be given 120 days to draft a new constitution and the provinces would be given the maximum autonomy possible within a federation. The unpopular move to form West Pakistan into One Unit was cancelled. With the restoration of the four provinces, unrestricted political activity was to be allowed from 1 January 1970 all over Pakistan.

True to the promise, all political activity was resumed in January 1970 for the elections due to be held in October of that year. A Legal Framework Order was announced in March 1970 which laid down the basic principles of the next constitution. The

- 1966: Cultural Revolution in China.
- 1967: Nelson Mandela imprisoned in South Africa.
- 1969: First US astronauts land on the Moon.

LFO

31 March 1970

one unit scheme
- general elections
unicameral
legislature

313 seats

⇒ E.P → 169 → W.P → 144

New constitution

120 days.



Bhutto with Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman.

National Assembly would consist of 313 members and provincial elections were to be held three days after elections for the National Assembly. On 1 July 1970, the One Unit was officially dissolved. The elections had to be postponed in October, not because of any sinister reason but because of exceptionally heavy flooding in East Pakistan. The monsoon rains had made the holding of elections there physically impossible.

The general elections were finally held on 7 December 1970, the first ever in Pakistan's 23 years as a nation, on the basis of universal adult franchise or "one man, one vote". The elections themselves were relatively peaceful and there were no allegations of rigging or manipulation. The election results, however, were explosive. In East Pakistan, the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman won an overwhelming majority. Of the 162 seats available in the eastern province, the Awami League won 160. In West Pakistan, the results were not as dramatic but the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto won 81 seats out of 138. This meant that of the 300 seats in which the election had taken place, the Awami League had an overall absolute majority with 160 seats. The voting was heavy with a turnout of up to 90 per cent recorded in many districts. The results meant that, for the first time, a democratically elected prime minister would take control of the Pakistan government. But subsequent events proved otherwise.

Bhutto and the Restoration of Confidence

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed the role of both president and chief martial law administrator on 20 December 1971. He was possibly the first civilian martial law administrator in world history. He had a difficult task ahead of him, as he had to deal with a defeated military, a shattered government and a demoralized population. The news of the surrender and the declaration of an independent Bangladesh came as a shock to millions in West Pakistan who were led to believe that the Awami League was nothing more than a secessionist rabble. The official media had asserted that if war was declared, India would be taught a lesson. Bhutto sought to distance himself from the whole episode and blamed it squarely on the army and Yahya Khan. However, the Army's severe treatment of what were still its own people and the poorly planned and executed defence of East Pakistan were hidden from public view.

Bhutto now rose to the occasion with an energetic and confident start. He was intelligent, tireless and resourceful, having had previous government experience. He plunged headlong into trying to address many of the country's most outstanding problems and quickly restored the country's pride at home and its image abroad.

The very fact that the old order had been so discredited gave Bhutto and the PPP a chance to try to put into practice the radical manifesto on which they had won such a large vote. The PPP received most of its votes from the rural and urban masses of Sindh and Punjab, where the population voted for a party with a radical manifesto and promises of 'Food, Clothes and Houses'. Bhutto set into motion discussions on a new constitution and took steps to rebuild a stagnant economy with promises of 'Islamic Socialism'.

One of Bhutto's biggest worries was the constant threat of the Pakistan Army, which had the power to thwart his plans or reassert its role as the dominant force in Pakistani politics. Soon after assuming power, Bhutto purged the army of six top military commanders. Soon after assuming power, Bhutto purged the Army of six top military commanders. In March 1972, Bhutto decided to assert control over the armed forces. He demanded and received the resignations of the commander-in-chief of the army, General Gul Hasan, and the head of the Pakistan Air Force, Air Marshal Rahim Khan. Bhutto appointed General Tikka Khan to the top army job and renamed the post chief of army staff.

On the diplomatic front, Bhutto attempted to get the captured soldiers back from Indian prisoner of war camps. The prisoners were returned under the terms of an agreement at Simla on 2 July 1972, signed with the prime minister of India, Indira Gandhi. She was the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India. The Simla Agreement was a relatively simple document as the terms merely stated that the Pakistani prisoners of war would be returned. In exchange, however, Pakistan had to agree that, in future, the Kashmir problem would be discussed directly with India and not at international forums. Bhutto felt this was a price worth paying, and given the circumstances, few in Pakistan could criticize him for accepting these terms. Bhutto managed not to give up Pakistan's claim to speak for Kashmir. He was supported by the relatives of Pakistani prisoners of war who demonstrated before the Simla Summit that Pakistan should not give in to Indian blackmail over the return of those prisoners.

The 1973 Constitution

One of the most pressing tasks for the new government was to draft a new constitution. When martial law was finally lifted, the Assembly was summoned in April 1972 on the basis of the 1970 election results in West Pakistan. A committee was set up from a

1972

asked for the
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surrender in
be returned

- xi. Pakistan shall be a federal state, so residuary powers shall rest with the provinces not the central government.

The 1973 Constitution, therefore, marked a return to a parliamentary form of democracy after the presidential experiment introduced under the 1962 Constitution. There were also concessions made to the provinces to alleviate fears that the central government would overrule them on every issue. This was important as the One Unit scheme had only recently been abolished and because two of the four provincial governments in Pakistan were non-PPP. The 1973 Constitution, however, had another advantage over its two predecessors: it had been agreed and voted on by a democratically elected Assembly. This gave it greater authority and, even though it was suspended under the next martial law regime, it was restored in 1985 and remains in place to date.

Political Events Under Bhutto

In the National Assembly, the Pakistan People's Party had a commanding majority since the 1970 elections. Under the terms of the new parliamentary system and constitution, Bhutto assumed the role of prime minister. The largely ceremonial role of president was filled by Chaudhri Fazal Elahi. Although the PPP was the largest party in the National Assembly, it was dominant in the Sindh and Punjab Provincial Assemblies, only two of the four Pakistani provinces. In the Balochistan and NWFP Assemblies, the National Awami Party (NAP) and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (JUI) coalition held the majority of seats.

On 27 April 1972, it was announced that the PPP had signed an agreement with the National Awami Party/Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (NAP/JUI) coalition. This stipulated that the centre would not appoint governors to different provinces without the approval of the concerned province. It also promised that the NAP/JUI coalition could run their provinces with a free hand as long as they supported the PPP in the National Assembly. NAP members were appointed as governors of Balochistan and the NWFP under this agreement. The agreement lasted until February 1973 when the governors of Balochistan and the NWFP were removed and the Baloch provincial government was dismissed. As a result, the NWFP government resigned in protest, with the well-publicized provincial accord having lasted less than a year.

With the Balochis trying to resist the actions of the central government, by May 1973, a full-scale military operation had

started in Balochistan. It was to last four and a half years and became increasingly bitter. For the next few years, the government employed thousands of Pakistan Army troops and helicopter gunships borrowed from Iran. The Iranian government was worried about the growing Soviet influence in Afghanistan at this time and it was no secret that the Baloch insurgents were receiving some Soviet help. Although the Baloch insurgency was eventually contained, it left any hopes of provincial autonomy and local democracy in ruins. Even more dangerously for the future of democratic government, it put the Pakistan Army back on the centre stage.

The next blow to the 1973 Constitution, which the PPP had itself helped to frame, came in 1974. In April, a constitutional amendment meant an effective limitation of press freedom and allowed the government to ban parties felt by it to be against 'the sovereignty and integrity' of the country. In 1975, the National Assembly approved a bill which allowed security forces to detain people for an indefinite period. In the same year, another amendment deprived courts of the power to allow bail to people held in the detention of the Federal Security Force. Bhutto had created the Federal Security Force (FSF) in 1972 to function as an internal security agency to lessen the government's dependence on the army in case of civil disobedience. Not even PPP ministers were exempt from FSF investigations: one of Bhutto's own senior ministers, who was also a founding father of the PPP, J.A. Rahim, was seriously beaten by FSF forces on the orders of Bhutto himself in July 1974. The FSF was used to break up opposition rallies, to arrest and torture political opponents and to threaten those who dared to oppose the regime.

PPP Administrative and Social Reforms

One of the main targets for reform during the PPP regime was the bureaucracy. Bhutto claimed that the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) was a legacy of the Indian Civil Service and needed modernization. Administrative reforms were introduced in which service cadres were consolidated and pay scales were unified in an attempt to sweep away some of the old distinctions. A lateral system of entry was introduced under which people could be appointed to the civil service at various grades, even the more senior ones. Bhutto justified this reform with the argument that it enabled the recruitment of many professionals who were needed for the increasing role of the state in the

Domestic Problems

- Chaudhri Fazal Elahi appointed president of Pakistan. PPP in majority in the National Assembly and the provinces of Sindh and Punjab. In the Balochistan and NWFP assemblies, there was a coalition of the NAP and JUI in majority.
- Discontent in NWFP. Ministers resigned in protest.
- Rebellion in Balochistan: military had to be summoned to quell violence.
- After four years, this insurgency was put down.
- PPP upset the press and the judiciary with its constitutional amendments.
- Bhutto formed Federal Security Force (FSF) to monitor internal law and order. Developed into a force to harass any who dared disagree with him.

forms.

bureaucracy.

Nationalization

degrees

Levels

1972

Health Sector

civil service, however, were unhappy with what they saw as political appointments because people were given posts where patronage was more important than merit or seniority.

The PPP was committed to doing something to improve Pakistan's abysmal rate of literacy and education. Article 37 of the 1973 Constitution stipulated that the state should make education free and compulsory and that it would take special care of the backward areas. There was no time limit given to the goal of universal education or literacy but it was stated that it should be 'within the minimum possible period'. On 1 September 1972, a wide scale nationalization of colleges and schools was announced. Private schools and colleges were placed under the control of provincial education boards and only a few institutions owned by foreign missionaries were exempted.

There is no doubt that the Bhutto government was faced with a very serious crisis in education with the official literacy rate at 25 per cent and less than half the children of school-going age actually attending school. In spite of the stated desire of the PPP government to improve the situation, a combination of bureaucratic weight and a rising population meant that there were only fractionally better figures even after five years of PPP rule. The reforms were still widely popular with the mass electorate who had helped to elect the PPP; even if they could not afford to stop their children from working, at least they had the assurance of free education if they wished to take advantage of it.

The other area in which urgent reform was needed was in the health sector. Even compared to countries of similar economic status, Pakistan had a poorer record in the field of health and education spending. Pakistan's infant mortality rate was one of the highest in the world, particularly in the case of female children. The average age expectancy in Pakistan was lower than that of India or Sri Lanka. The Bhutto government launched its health scheme in August 1972. The scheme was built around the introduction of Rural Health Centres and Basic Health Units. Those who opposed the government's health scheme pointed out that there were actually fewer doctors and nurses in the population in 1977 than in 1970.

To help in the struggle for affordable medicines and drugs, the government also banned the sale of medicines under a brand name and manufacturers were forced to sell drugs under their medical names. This meant that pharmaceutical companies could no longer charge for a particular medical brand name, and so the cost of the medicine was reduced. The demand for

chemists, who had operated a semi-medical practice by prescribing medicines, saw their profits fall drastically. It also meant that many international drug companies closed down their operations in Pakistan while new, unknown local companies stepped in to fill the gap with substandard and often dangerous substitutes.

The Economy and the 1977 Elections

Nationalization
Jan. 1972

The PPP was committed in its election manifesto of 1970 to a more socialist approach than any government in Pakistan's history. An Economic Reform Order was issued on 3 January 1972 to give effect to the PPP programme. The banking and insurance sector was nationalized as were at least 70 major industrial units in January 1974. A Federal Ministry of Production was created to oversee industry, while the role of the private sector in business was limited. Investment in the public sector increased and Bhutto managed to negotiate Soviet assistance for Pakistan's first steel mill. Trade unions were recognized and welfare measures were announced. Although the economy did not grow as fast as Bhutto had hoped, there was another round of nationalization in 1976. The net result was that many local and foreign businesses moved money out of Pakistan or stopped investing in new projects.

Bhutto moved more cautiously in the area of land reforms. He did not fulfil his promise to distribute land to the landless but tried to reduce the amount legally owned by any one family. Bhutto moved carefully as he recognized the political power of large landlords, particularly in the two provinces where the PPP had the most support, Punjab and Sindh.

The PPP could still claim some success for their economic policies. The rate of economic growth began to slowly rise and inflation fell from 25 per cent in 1972 to 6 per cent in 1976. The PPP had also deliberately aimed at reducing the control that a handful of business houses had exerted on the economy during the time of Ayub Khan and was successful in this endeavour.

It was against this background of improving economic data, the contained Baloch military situation and the absence of a major opposition party or leader able to challenge his popularity, that Bhutto called an election for 7 March 1977. It should have been a historic event; an elected government conducting an election and a freely agreed constitution for the first time in Pakistan's history. The response of the various opposition parties to this news was vigorous. Nine parties from a wide range of political opinions combined to form the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). Although

Nationalization

- Banking and insurance companies nationalized. By 1974, 70 major industries had been nationalized.
- Steel Mill proposed to be set up in Pipri with the help of the Soviet Union.
- 1976: Another round of nationalization, many foreign companies moved out, further investment stalled.

- 1975: Civil war in Lebanon between Christians, Muslims and Palestinians.

the parties in the PNA had little in common with each other as far as an ideology or programme went, it served the purpose of uniting all the opposition to the PPP. The size of the crowds it was able to attract worried the PPP high command. The religious parties within the PNA were pleased that the declared aim and slogan of the PNA was the desire to establish pure Islamic law in Pakistan. As curbs on political activity were loosened for the election campaign, both the PNA and the PPP engaged in what seemed to many observers a close fight.

However, the elections were marred by indirect curbs on free expression, and PNA rallies were often disrupted by armed gangs suspected of working for the government. The PNA refused to contest any seats in Balochistan as the Pakistan Army was still in charge there. The election results were announced on 7 March 1977 amongst a backdrop of opposition complaints. All the main cities of Pakistan had been placed under restrictions relating to Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which limited public gatherings to five persons. The national election results announced that of the 200 contested seats in the National Assembly, the PPP had won 154 seats whilst the PNA had won 38.

The PNA was outraged by the results and demanded not merely a recount but fresh elections under a neutral administration. On the predictable refusal of this demand by Bhutto, a mass protest was launched by the PNA and the situation became violent and dangerous, with mass rioting in many towns and cities. With the FSF unable to bring the situation under control, Bhutto was forced to offer some concessions to the PNA. At the same time, he also began to turn to the army. Martial law was declared in the major cities of Pakistan but with little effect. The PNA leadership was arrested and by June it was estimated that up to 300 people had been killed and 10 000 arrested since the March elections.

Bhutto tried desperately to take the sting from the religious opposition by playing the religious card. He announced the complete banning of alcohol, gambling, and all other anti-Islamic activities. These moves only encouraged the opposition to believe that Bhutto was succumbing to their pressure. Facing widespread civil disobedience, Bhutto lost control of the army as well. On the night of 7 July 1977, the Pakistan Army arrested Bhutto and took all other major political leaders into custody in a move named 'Operation Fairplay'. On 7 July 1977, the chief of army staff, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, declared that the constitution was suspended and that martial law was in force. For the third time in less than 20 years the Pakistan Army had declared martial law.

March
1977

Seats
4/ PPP

Mass
Protest by
PNA

Mass
opposition
to form the
the PPP
54 out of
seats in the
July, PNA
by the results
their against
Growing
to paved
martial law
was to turn
a will
who was
army. Chief
general Zia
constitution
and army

Zia and the Death of Bhutto

There could not have been a more unlikely military dictator than Zia-ul-Haq. Quiet in discourse, modest in manner and seemingly without political ambitions or ideology, Zia had been seemingly chosen by Bhutto for the chief of army staff post. Zia's appointment had been controversial, as he was junior to several other generals and had no distinguished service record. As the next 11 years were to prove, however, people underestimated Zia-ul-Haq to their own detriment.

The first and most serious problem facing Zia and the army was what to do with the deposed prime minister. Initially, Zia firmly committed the army to holding elections within 90 days and returning to the barracks, but as rumours grew that Bhutto was planning to press for treason trials under the terms of the 1973 Constitution, it became less likely that the army would leave so soon. Bhutto was briefly released at the end of July 1977 and announced rather prematurely that he intended to reassert his political authority. He was rearrested on 3 September on the charge of conspiracy to murder a political opponent and was briefly granted bail before being rearrested on 17 September. He was not released again, and it was decided that there was enough evidence on the charge for Bhutto to stand trial. The murder trial lasted almost two years and eventually the Supreme Court decided by a narrow majority to dismiss an appeal by Bhutto and recommend the death sentence. Bhutto refused to plead for clemency to the president as Zia had replaced Fazal Elahi as president in September 1978. Dozens of pleas for clemency came flooding in from world leaders. All were ignored and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged on 4 April 1979.

Islamization

Despite the hanging of Bhutto, Zia-ul-Haq remained publicly committed to the idea of holding elections and reiterated his desire for the army to leave the political arena before long. However, for the second time, the promised elections were not held in November 1979. Few believed that the army was in any hurry to return to the barracks. Finally, Zia declared that the idea of elections had been postponed indefinitely and stated that the army would enforce political accountability and make Pakistan an Islamic state. Zia-ul-Haq ignored all political process and let it be known that he was not interested in his popularity rating. According to Zia, Pakistan badly needed a strong and stable government managed

- 1979: Margaret Thatcher became prime minister of Britain.
- 1979: The shah left Iran. Khomeini came to power.
- 1980: Iran-Iraq War.
- 1981: President Anwar Sadaat of Egypt was assassinated.

- Islamic laws
- Federal sharia courts . 1980
- Zakat ushree

... committed to Islamic values. It was obvious that in the absence of any other candidates, ... was referring to himself and his close advisors. Zia also declared that political parties were ... and exposed a nation's weaknesses.

In 1979 and 1980, a series of Islamic laws were passed. It was decided that a full-fledged Federal Shariat Court would be established which would have five judges plus a chairman. *Ulema* were also later added to this panel. The Federal Shariat Court was given the power to decide if existing laws and legal judgements passed earlier were 'Islamic'. If the Federal Shariat Court decided that they were not, it had the power to overturn them. In addition, the Federal Shariat Court was given the power to hear cases and appeals which were decided by other courts under the Shariat Laws. One of the first rulings of the Federal Shariat Court was that the punishment of stoning to death for adultery was un-Islamic. By 1982, the Court was organized and the Federal Shariat Court reversed its own earlier decision. The following four Shariat Laws were enforced in 1979:

- i. the Offences against Property (Enforcement of *Hudood*) Ordinance, 1979;
- ii. the Offences of *Zina* (Enforcement of *Hudood*) Ordinance 1979;
- iii. the Offence of *Qazf* (Enforcement of *Hudd*) Ordinance 1979;
- iv. the Prohibition (Enforcement of *Hudd*) Ordinance 1979.

These ordinances also stipulated punishments, which included the amputation of the right hand for the first offence and the left foot for the second offence in the case of theft and armed robbery. The punishment for Muslims caught drinking alcohol was 80 stripes and three years imprisonment for non-Muslims. A Council of Islamic Ideology was established to recommend ways of implementing reforms to make the economic and legal infrastructure conform to Islam. The Pakistan Penal Code was reworded to include the new offence of disrespect for the Holy Prophet (PBUH) which was punishable with a fine or imprisonment or both. Islamic education became compulsory in schools and colleges and public flogging was introduced. In June 1980, the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance was promulgated. Zakat was a traditional wealth tax in Islam. Under the terms of the ordinance a 2.5 per cent levy was imposed on all savings above a certain amount. Following protests, Shia Muslims were exempt from this tax. In *ushr*, a 1 per cent tax was levied on all agricultural income after a deduction for costs. *Ushr* collections did not begin until March 1983. The proceeds from the zakat and ushr tax were to be given to a zakat fund which was not controlled by the government budget. A series of local zakat committees were established to distribute the proceeds to the poor and needy.

Domestic Matters and Afghanistan

The drift towards a more outwardly Islamic legal system coincided with a move towards curbing the power of the courts. Until 1979, the provincial High Courts had the power to protect citizens against illegal arrests and pressure. The Balochistan High Court had ordered a halt to execution on sentences passed by the military courts. Even the Supreme Court, which