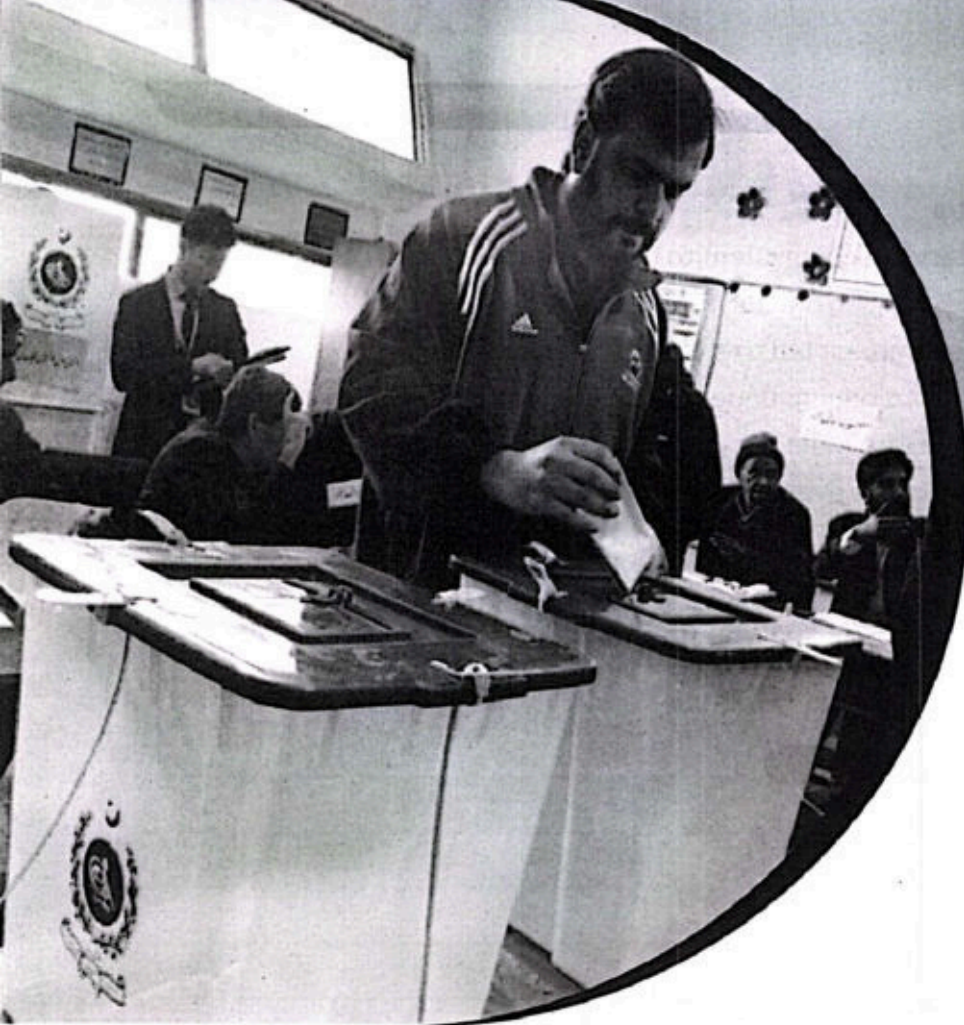


UNIT 02



Section 1

History of Pakistan

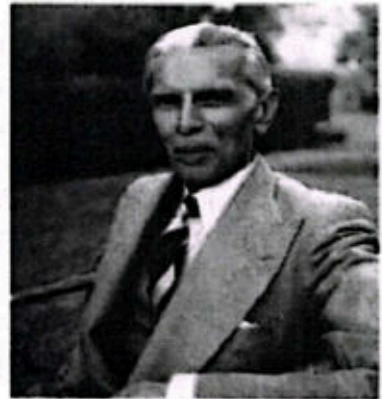
Political Development in Pakistan

In this unit the students will be able to:

- Evaluate the contribution and leadership of Quaid-e-Azam as the first Governor General and Liaquat Ali Khan as the first Prime Minister of Pakistan.
- Critically analyse the ruling periods of different governments, evaluating their policies and their impact on Pakistan's political, social and economic development from 1958 till 2022.
- Critically analyse the causes and impacts of the Wars of 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999 between Pakistan and India.
- Analyse the social, political and economic impacts of international wars (War on Terror and Soviet-Afghan war) on Pakistan.

Political Development in Pakistan

After independence, Quaid-i-Azam (RA) was appointed as the first Governor General of Pakistan while Liaquat Ali Khan was elected as the first Prime Minister of the country. Quaid-i-Azam (RA) wanted to see Pakistan a democratic country based on social and economic justice. He desired to run the affairs of Pakistan according to the golden principles of Islam. Pakistan was unfortunate that its founding father died on 11 September 1948, just thirteen months after its birth.



After the birth of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam (RA) guided his nation and took practical measures to resolve issues which Pakistan had faced. Had he survived for a few more years, he could have resolved many problems faced by Pakistan. Unfortunately, our nation's beloved leader died on 11 September 1948. He, however, guided the State in important matters and took

Do You Know?

Quaid had tuberculosis and lung cancer, which was in its last stages. Quaid became aware of his fatal disease when he was vigorously launching the freedom movement. He kept his condition secret so that his political opponents could not learn it because they might adopt tactics to delay the partition. Lord Mountbatten once remarked that had they been aware of the true nature of Quaid's illness, they would have delayed partition for some time and Pakistan might not have come into existence.

practical measures to resolve key issues. Here is a brief overview of Quaid-i-Azam (RA) vision of Pakistan and his services as Governor General.

Services of Quaid-e-Azam as Governor General

Rehabilitation of Refugees

Quaid-i-Azam (RA) had focused to rehabilitate 6.5 million refugees who came from India. He established a "Refugee Fund" and appealed to people to contribute in it. The people supported the Refugees and generously contributed in the "Refugee Fund". Quaid-i-Azam (RA) also established the ministry for the rehabilitation of migrants and personally oversaw the work which was carried out for the rehabilitation of refugees. Quaid encouraged the local people to support the migrants and considered them their brethren. Thanks to the efforts of the government and generosity of people, the settlement of refugees took place within a short span of time.

Steps Towards Constitution Making

Quaid was elected the first president of Constituent Assembly on 11 August 1947. As there was no constitution, the Government of India Act of 1935 with slight amendments, was adopted as interim constitution. Meanwhile, Quaid guided the constituent Assembly and tasked it with drafting the constitution that would reflect the aspirations and needs of the people. Quaid made it clear that the constitution would be based on the principles of Islam and democracy. He also made it clear that both Muslim and non-Muslim citizens would enjoy equal rights, and no discrimination would be made on the basis of religion.

Inauguration of State Bank

Quaid-i-Azam (RA) inaugurated the State Bank of Pakistan on 1 July 1948 to overcome the

economic problems of Pakistan. He appointed an able economist, Zahid Hussain, as the first Governor of the State Bank. During his speech at time of the inauguration ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, he told the nation about the future structure of economy. Quaid elaborated:

“The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity, and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world.... The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. ...We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice.”

Guidance for the Public Servants

The public servants during the British Raj considered the local people inferior. They had been trained in such a manner as they were the masters of the people. Quaid-i-Azam (RA) instructed the public servants to change their attitude because now they are the servants of an independent nation. Moreover, he asked them to refrain from politics.

Advice to Students

On the request of Quaid-i-Azam (RA), Students played an active role in the freedom movement. But after the establishment of Pakistan, Quaid advised the students to refrain from politics because now they had achieved their objective. He advised them to use their energy in acquiring education.

Eradication of Provincialism

Quaid was so visionary that he anticipated provincialism and racialism as the big threats to the integrity of Pakistan. From the beginning he warned people about these threats and advised them to promote in themselves the feelings of oneness. During his address on 15 June 1948, Quaid said:

“So long as we are united, we will emerge victorious and strong. If we are not united, we shall become weak and disgraced. We are all Pakistanis. None of us is Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch, Pathan or Bengali. We must feel, behave, and act, and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis and nothing else.”

Guiding Principles of the Foreign Policy

Quaid-i-Azam (RA) provided the guiding principles for shaping the foreign policy of Pakistan. He focused to adopt the policy of non-alignment and stressed to establish cordial relations with Muslim countries in particular and other countries of the world in general. Following the instructions of Quaid, Pakistan opened its embassies and missions in several countries of the world. The talented people were appointed as ambassadors, and they were advised to work hard and to portray the soft image of the country. Due to Quaid's efforts, Pakistan also secured the membership of United Nations on 30 September 1947.

Services of Liaquat Ali Khan

After the death of the founding father, the responsibility to lead the country fell over the shoulders of Liaquat Ali Khan. A trusted friend of Quaid-i-Azam (RA), Liaquat Ali Khan worked as secretary general of All India Muslim League for many years. He also served as Finance Minister in United India. Liaquat Ali Khan was a visionary person and had administrative experience of running the country's affairs.

Liaquat Ali Khan led the nation with devotion and wisdom. He tried to resolve the problems which

Pakistan was facing. Liaquat Ali Khan successfully got the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly which later became guiding principle for our all-future constitutions. He also signed an agreement with his counterpart in India to address the issues of migrants. The Liaquat-Nehru agreement had brought a sigh of relief for migrants. Meanwhile, Liaquat Ali Khan worked to address the economic and security related challenges. He toured the United States of America to seek aid to improve economic and security situation. The US pledged assistance to help Pakistan to overcome economic crisis. Liaquat Ali Khan put the country on the path to progress and solidarity but unfortunately, this great leader was assassinated on 16 October 1951 while addressing a gathering in Rawalpindi. His last words were "May God protect Pakistan."



Liaquat Ali Khan

Political Instability

Pakistan had experienced political instability after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan. The internal fight and split occurred between the leadership of the Muslim League. Due to the incompetence, selfishness, and opportunism of political leadership, the civil bureaucracy began to dominate the political landscape and occupied key positions. One example of political instability is that from 16 October 1951 to 7 October 1958, seven prime ministers of Pakistan had been driven out from office for one reason or the other. If we compared it with India, its first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru remained in office from 1947 to 1964.

Pakistan's leadership refrained from holding general elections, delayed constitution making and failed to resolve the basic problems of the country. Resultantly, they lost the confidence of the people. It gave an opportunity to civil bureaucracy to assert power over the civilian leadership. After the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, Khawaja Nazimuddin, who was earlier Governor General, was appointed as the prime minister, and Ghulam Muhammad, a civil bureaucrat by profession, was appointed as Governor General. At this time, the constitution empowered the governor general to dismiss the prime minister. Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Khawaja Nazimuddin on 17 April 1953 on the grounds that he failed to improve the law-and-order situation. Muhammad Ali Bogra who was even not a member of constituent assembly was appointed as the new Prime Minister.

The political instability further intensified when Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the constituent assembly on 24 October 1954 when it tried to reduce the powers of Governor General. The dissolution of assembly was an unfortunate incident because it further delayed the process of constitution making. In 1955, Iskandar Mirza replaced ailing Governor General Ghulam Muhammad and simultaneously he removed Muhammad Ali Bogra from office. The new prime minister Chaudhry Muhammad Ali was also a bureaucrat and served in various lucrative positions including secretary general. The issue of distribution of power and resources between the East and West wings of Pakistan arose soon after the emergence of Pakistan, but the problem was intensified during his tenure. East Pakistan was a homogeneous province having 56% of the total population while West Pakistan was the home of different ethnic groups and divided into different units. Muhammad Ali supported the move to make the West Pakistan as a single province. So, in 1955, the status of all provinces of West Pakistan was ended and one unit was established.

It was during the tenure of Chaudhry Muhammad Ali that the first constitution of Pakistan was promulgated. Under this constitution, the office of Governor General was replaced with that of

the president. In this way, Iskandar Mirza, who was the last Governor General was appointed as the first President of Pakistan. The new constitution empowered the president to enforce emergency in the country. This power was periodically misused by the president. Chaudhry Muhammad Ali lost the confidence of assembly and preferred to resign on 8 September 1956. After him came Hussain shaheed Suhrawardy, who was probably, at that time, the only leader of national stature. However, he was forced to resign by President Iskandar Mirza. The next prime minister, Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar, had a tenure was less than two months. He also became the victim of internal politics and was forced to resign on 16 December 1957. The seventh prime minister, Feroze Kham Noon, was dismissed when the president of Pakistan abrogated the constitution, imposed emergency, and directed the army to take control of the country.

Ayub Khan Era (1958-1969)

After the declaration of martial law on 7 October 1958, President Iskander Mirza appointed Ayub Khan, the then Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan army, as Chief Martial Law Administrator. However, Iskander Mirza soon realized that he had become powerless because after the abrogation of the constitution the office of the president became meaningless and powerless. Now, he started conspiracy against Ayub Khan and attempted to arrest him. Ayub Khan, aware of all the activities of President Iskandar Mirza, decided to remove him because he was hindrance to good governance. On 27 October 1958, Iskander Mirza was forced to resign, and Muhammad Ayub Khan became the president of the country.



General Ayub Khan

Ban On Political Activities

Ayub Khan was against the political parties because he believed that political parties divided the people and sometimes also acted against the national interest. His disapproval of politicians was also well known. He believed that the politicians were responsible for all the ills the country had been facing. Ayub Khan promulgated Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) and Public Office Disqualification Order (PODO) to keep the politician away from politics. Ayub Khan also thought that the people of Pakistan were illiterate and politically immature. So, it would be dangerous to introduce universal suffrage. He

Do You Know?

Ayub Khan was the first Muslim Commander in Chief of Pakistan Army.

introduced a new system of representation in 1959 which is called the Basic Democracy System. In this system, the people of Pakistan would choose their 80000 representatives who were known as BD Members. These BD members would be the electoral college for the elections of the president, national and provincial legislatures. Beside this the BD members also worked as local bodies. Ayub Khan was also against the parliamentary system and promised to replace it. Ayub gave a new constitution to the nation in 1962 that established presidential form of government.

Economic Policy

Ayub Khan's economic policy was also very successful. Ayub Khan focussed on installing industries and encouraging private investors to invest their money in industrial sector. The economic growth was much faster as compared to India and other neighbouring states. Ayub Khan introduced land reforms and fixed maximum holding of 500 acres of irrigated land and 1000 acres of unirrigated

land. He also transformed the agriculture sector by introducing modern machinery and tools which rapidly increased the production of crops. Ayub Khan constructed Warsak and Tarbela Dam to meet the demand of energy as well as to irrigate agricultural land. The second five-year development plan (1960-1965) was the most successful plan in the history of Pakistan. The country achieved much more than the targets it had fixed.

Presidential Elections

The presidential election held in January 1965, tarnished Ayub Khan's reputation. Miss Fatima Jinnah, the younger sister of Quaid-e-Azam was the presidential candidate. The government involved in defamation campaign against Ms Fatima Jinnah. The public did not like the character assassination of her. At the end, Ayub Khan won the elections because the voting rights were restricted to only eighty thousand individuals. Had it been adult franchise, one can speculate that Ms Fatima Jinnah might have won the election.

War of 1965

The war between India and Pakistan broke out on 06 September 1965 over the Kashmir issue. Tension between both countries increased when India established its military post in disputed area of Rann of Kutch. Pakistan also sent its troops and the fighting flared up in April 1965. The Pakistan army surrounded the Indian troops who were in a position, to capture them but President Ayub Khan had shown generosity and agreed to make ceasefire. Insulted from Rann of Kutch, India opened a new adventure in Kashmir and arrested the Muslim leadership of Kashmir in May 1965 and took steps to integrate the occupied Kashmir. The Indian action triggered a popular upsurge in Kashmir. Instead of settling the issue through peaceful means, India adopted the way of brutal oppression.

Do You Know?

Rann of Kutch is a low-lying marsh wedge between the province of Sindh and the Indian state of Gujarat

The leadership of Pakistan could not remain silent on Indian brutality. It sent volunteers in the valley to support their Kashmiri brethren. India violated the international border, excusing that Pakistan was supporting the Kashmiris cause of independence. The morale of the public and the armed forces was very high since the beginning of the war. Our armed forces performed very well during the war and the enemy could not conquer those areas which it boasted to take within twenty-four hours. For example, India tried its best to take Lahore, but it failed and Pakistani troops under the command of Major Aziz Bhatti fought with valour and halted the enemy at BRB Canal. Similarly, Indian attack at Sialkot was a failure. Both countries fought the biggest war of Tanks near Chiwanda which resulted in enemy defeat. Pakistan Air Force also performed remarkably and shot down seventy-five Indian aircraft for the loss of nineteen of its own. Our armed forces also occupied 650km² of Indian territory while hundreds of its soldiers and officers were captured.

The UN passed a resolution on 20 September which demanded for ceasefire. Both countries accepted the resolution on 22 September 1965. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) which remained neutral during the 1965 war, offered to play the role of mediator and invited the leadership of both countries at Tashkent to resolve their issues through talks. The leadership of both countries reached an agreement after several rounds of talks and signed the Tashkent Declaration in January 1966. The Declaration provided for the withdrawal of troops to pre-war position and repatriation of prisoners of war.

Downfall of Ayub Khan

The people of Pakistan did not like Tashkent Accord because it did not settle the Kashmir issue upon which the war was fought. It was assumed that Ayub Khan had lost the winning war during table talks. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was foreign minister in the cabinet of Ayub Khan and took part in negotiations held at Tashkent, manipulated the situation and fuelled the sentiments that this agreement was not in favour of Pakistan. After some time, he resigned from the cabinet and started a movement against Ayub Khan. After the Tashkent Declaration, Ayub Khan lost the confidence of the masses and people turned against him. The other political parties also mobilised the masses, urging them to protest against Ayub's government and demand his resignation. Faced with mounting public pressure, Ayub Khan resigned from the office of the president on 25 March 1969.

Yahya Khan Era (1969-1971)

Ayub Khan transferred power to General Yahya Khan who was the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army. General Yahya Khan immediately imposed martial law but made it very clear during his first statement that he had no political ambitions. He claimed that army intervened because of the deteriorating law and order situation. He assured to hold elections as early as possible and transfer power to the people's representatives. In March 1970, he issued Legal Framework Order (LFO) in which the outlines of upcoming elections were declared. LFO envisaged 313 seats of the National Assembly, abolished one unit and provided for the universal adult franchise. The government also announced the schedule of election and political parties were given full freedom to carry on their election campaign. Awami League, headed by Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman while Pakistan People's Party headed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were the two major parties contesting the elections. Awami League contested the election on the basis of six points. The gist of these points was maximum provincial autonomy. Mujeeb claimed that the money earned by East Pakistan was used to finance industrial development in West Pakistan. On the other hand, the PPP contested the election on the slogan of Bread, Clothes and Shelter (Roti, Kapra aur makan).



General Yahya Khan

The elections were finally held in December 1970. The Awami League achieved an overwhelming victory by securing 160/162 general seats from East Pakistan; however, it failed to win any seats from West Pakistan. The PPP also performed well, securing 81 seats but all from West Pakistan. The result of the elections clearly demonstrated that none of the political parties was of national stature. After the election, Yahya Khan announced that the Constituent Assembly would convene in Dhaka on 3 March 1971 to elect the prime minister and begin drafting the constitution. However, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced to boycott the session of National Assembly and demanded that before the inaugural session, there should be meaningful consultation between him and Mujeeb ur Rehman over constitutional issues and power sharing formula. On 2 March 1971, Yahya Khan announced the postponement of the session of Assembly citing PPP's boycott as

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Six Points, which the government saw as a threat to Pakistan's unity. Yahya Khan did not object to the Six Points earlier as he took them as an election ploy. Now, Yahya Khan was also becoming aware of the implications of the Six Points and insisted Mujeeb to yield on these points.

After the failure of talks, Yahya Khan, on 24 March 1971 ordered to start a military operation. This was a disastrous decision. The political issues could not be resolved through the military operation. It was the failure of the regime as well as all the political parties that they failed to reach a political settlement.

Though General Tikka Khan succeeded in restoring law-and-order in urban areas, yet the military operation was somewhat harsh at it alienated even the sympathisers of military and Yahya regime.



Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Expand Your Horizon

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was graduated from Oxford. Search from online sources about the qualification of other prime ministers of Pakistan. Enlist how many Prime Ministers are graduated from the foreign universities.

War of 1971

The situation in East Pakistan provided India with an opportunity to avenge 1965 war. India openly supported the Bengali separatists and provided them shelter. Except for Mujeeb and a few others, all the leadership of Awami League fled to India where with the support of India they founded a terrorist organisation "Mukti

Bahni." The Mukti Mukti Bahni trained and financed by India, started a guerilla war against Pakistan army. India hoped that with its support, Mukti Bahni would defeat Pakistan Army, but it did not happen. Despite all odds, the military fought courageously with these terrorists. When their plan seemed to be failing, India finally directly intervened on 21 November 1971. India declared an open war on 03 December 1971 which lasted till 16 Dec 1971. The Pakistan army was in precarious situation since the beginning. It faced severe shortage of supply of arms, ammunition, and food due to the disruption of its communication and supply lines with West Pakistan. It consisted of less than fifty thousand regular troops while it had to face with majority of hostile population and continuous attacks of Mukti Bahni. According to Indian army chief General Manekshaw, India had twenty times more troops than Pakistan in East Pakistan. He also praised Pakistan army by saying that it fought very gallantly but it was one thousand miles away from its base. In the given situation, it was impossible to win a war for any army. On 16 December 1971, General Niazi agreed on ceasefire because he thought that further continuation of war would lead to complete annihilation of Pakistan army stationed in East Pakistan and unnecessary casualties of civilians.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Era (1971-1977)

After the fall of Dhaka, General Yahya Khan had to step down due to public pressure and pressure from inside the army and handed over power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto vowed to build a new Pakistan. He started working on constitution making and gave country a new constitution in 1973. The constitution of 1973 is distinct from the earlier constitutions because it was unanimously

passed by the assembly.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was also successful on foreign front. He signed a Simla agreement with India in 1972, through which both countries retrieved territories which they had occupied during the war. Bhutto held "Delhi Agreement" with India which ensured the return of prisoners of war in 1974. He discerned that the US and European countries did not play any positive role to save Pakistan from dismemberment. Therefore, he announced the repeal of defence pacts with the US. He also decided to leave the Commonwealth, which Pakistan had joined since independence.

Bhutto had socialist leanings and was against the industrialist class.

In 1972, he started nationalizing the heavy industry. Later, he nationalized the banking and educational sectors. Though Bhutto took these steps in good faith, yet the policy of nationalization had not left good impact over the economy of the country. Bhutto is also considered to be the father of nuclear programme. When India conducted its nuclear tests in 1974, Bhutto made it clear that the survival of Pakistan now rests in achieving nuclear capability. He declared that we would eat grass, even go hungry, but achieve nuclear capability. He invited Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan to Pakistan and offered him support to start the nuclear programme.



General Zia-ul-Haq

There are some steps of Bhutto government which are considered black spots on his government. Bhutto lacked patience to tolerate opponents. He dismissed the provincial government of Baluchistan headed by Sardar Atta Ullah Khan Mengal who was his political opponent. Bhutto also ordered military to start an operation against the Murri and Mengal tribes which fuelled the successionist movement in Balochistan. He also incarcerated his political opponents while calling them traitors and enemies of Pakistan.

Downfall of Bhutto

Bhutto was satisfied with the performance of his government and was pretty sure that his party could obtain 2/3 majority if fresh mandate would be taken. So, he announced to hold elections of National Assembly on 7 March 1977. After the announcement of elections, the nine political parties formed an alliance named Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) against the PPP. But despite that PPP performed very well in the elections and obtained 156/200 seats while PNA managed to secure only 36 seats. However, PNA refused to accept the election results and alleged that Bhutto made massive rigging in the elections. The PNA started protests all over the country which turned violent. Partial martial law was imposed in few cities like Lahore and Multan to control the situation but even though the law-and-order situation was far from satisfactory. Finally, on 5 July 1977, General Zia ul Haq, the army chief dismissed the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and imposed martial law in the country.

General Zia-ul-Haq's Regime (1977-1988)

After taking control, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq stated that the military intervened because the country was on the verge of destruction due to worsening law and order situation. He assured the people that he had no political ambitions and promised to hold elections within ninety days. But Zia did not keep his promise and later refused to hold elections. He argued that the country was founded in

the name of Islam, but it had no Islamic system. Second, there was no accountability in the country. Zia declared that first he would enforce Islam in the country and then hold elections. Meanwhile, Bhutto was executed supposedly in a fabricated murder case on 4 April 1979.

Islamization under Zia

Zia took certain steps to Islamise the country. He promulgated the Hadood Ordinance through which the punishment for theft, adultery, fornication, and consumption of Alcohol was proscribed according to the teachings of Islam. A federal Shariat Court was established in 1980, which had the power to decide whether or not existing laws were Islamic. Similarly, he introduced media reforms, and many Islamic programs were added in radio and TV. Zia encouraged the people to offer their prayers regularly. The ulema were appointed as junior commissioned officers in the army. However, some critics view his Islamisation programme with suspicion and argue that Zia was not serious about enforcing Islam. He used Islam to legitimize as well as prolong his rule.

Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989)

General Zia's regime gained international recognition at the end of 1979 when USSR troops invaded Afghanistan to protect the communist regime established a few years earlier. Millions of Afghans fled to Pakistan after USSR invasion. Zia's government welcomed the migrants and provided them food and shelter. The people of Afghanistan started a resistance movement against the Soviet troops while Pakistan fully supported them. With the meagre support from Pakistan, the Afghans gave stiff resistance to USSR troops.

The US was observing this situation very carefully. At that time both the US and the USSR were superpowers and were bitter enemies of each other. The US found it better opportunity to damage Soviet Union. The US approached to Zia's regime and promised to provide economic and military aid against their common enemy USSR. Pakistan which was already helping the Afghans readily agreed. So, the Afghans, with the help of Pakistan, and US gave stiff resistance to USSR. After, ten years of long war, the USSR finally subdued and abandoned Afghanistan in 1989 through Geneva Convention.

Pakistan paid a heavy price for its involvement in Afghan war. For years to come, Pakistan had to suffer the bad consequences which included the flow of arms and development of drug trade in the country.

Restoration of Democracy

General Zia-ul-Haq was against the political parties and democratic system. He claimed that the establishment of political parties was against the teachings of Islam. General Zia refrained from holding elections for many years but because of international and domestic pressure he finally held general elections in 1985. However, these were party-less elections and the candidates contested elections in their individual capacity. Many people believed that Zia was frightened that if political parties were allowed to contest elections, the PPP would come into power. After, the election the national assembly elected Muhammad Khan Junejo, Zia's nominee as the Prime minister. The newly elected Assembly demanded to lift martial law because the civilian government and martial law could not run parallel. Zia was ready to restore civilian government on the condition that the parliament would pass the 8th Amendment in the constitution of 1973. The parliament passed the 8th amendment and Zia lifted martial law on 30 December 1985. The 8th Amendment transferred many administrative powers of the prime minister into the office of

the president. Article 58 (2) (b) was inserted which empowered the president to dissolve the national assembly and dismiss the prime minister upon his discretion. Zia used this power against Junejo in 1988 and dismissed his government because he participated in Geneva Convention without the consent of Zia. He announced to hold elections within ninety days but before the elections were held Zia died in an airplane crash on 17 August 1988.

Democratic Era (1988-1999)

General Zia-ul-Haq was army chief as well as the president of Pakistan. After his death, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the Chairman Senate was appointed as Acting President while General Aslam Baig was appointed as army chief. The elections were held as per scheduled in November 1988. The PPP emerged as the single largest party as a result of the election. It secured 93 seats while Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), the nine-party alliance bagged 54 seats. Benazir was elected as the prime minister of the country just at the age of 35. She was the first women prime minister of the Muslim world and the youngest prime minister of the world.

Pakistan witnessed political instability and economic crises during this era. It was largely because of the president's arbitrary power to dissolve the national assembly. The presidents used these powers time and again and did not allow any government to complete its tenure. One of the reasons that the democratic governments could not deliver as per the expectations of the people was their premature dismissal by the presidents.

The government of Benazir was vulnerable because it lacked majority in the national assembly. It had to compromise with its coalition partners and independent candidates without whom Benazir could not stay in power. Moreover, the IJI was able to form government in Punjab, the most

Benazir's 2nd Term

Benazir Bhutto returned to power as a result of October 1993 elections. She was successful to get elected her own party member Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari as the president of Pakistan. Now she was satisfied that at least she had no threat of dismissal from the president. However, Benazir's government had to face serious economic and security issues. The country's economy was precarious. Benazir made an agreement with International Monetary Funds (IMF) to improve the economic situation. The government took serious

measures to eradicate polio disease. She also ordered the military to launch an operation in urban areas of Sindh to improve law and order situation. Benazir skilfully handled the Afghan and Kashmir policy. The government continued to support the freedom fighters in Kashmir and also effectively raised the Kashmir issue at international forum. India was unhappy over Pakistan's unwavering support of Kashmir cause therefore, relations between both countries remained tense during Benazir's government. Benazir was successful to improve relations with US. The US got ready to lift economic and military sanctions which were



imposed on Pakistan since 1990. However, relations between Benazir's government and the judiciary remained strained. The government appointed several judges to the Superior Courts, but these appointments were later declared unlawful by the Supreme Court. Additionally, Benazir's conflict with the president culminated in the dismissal of her government in November 1996.

Nawaz Sharif's 2nd Term

Nawaz Sharif was elected prime minister as a result of February 1997 elections. He emerged as a powerful prime minister because his party achieved 2/3 majority in the national assembly. Soon after his appointment, Nawaz Sharif amended the constitution and deprived the president of his arbitrary power to dismiss the prime minister. The government also tried to reduce the power of the judiciary and indulged in conflict with the Supreme Court Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah. The Supreme Court was attacked by the supporters of the ruling party. Subsequently, Sajjad Ali Shah was also dismissed in 1997. Meanwhile, the government did not take any action against those influential people who took hefty loans from the banks and did not return. This caused financial loss to the country.

Nawaz Sharif's government had to face a big challenge when the Indian government made atomic explosions in May 1998. The US and European countries rushed to Pakistan and persuaded the government to refrain from making atomic explosion. But in spite of all pressure, the government took a bold decision and on 28 May 1998 conducted atomic explosions. In this way, Pakistan declared itself a nuclear power. Nawaz Sharif also focussed on improving communication system by constructing many important roads of international standards including M-2 Motorway (From Lahore to Islamabad).

Kargil War (1999)

In May 1999, Pakistan and India ran into bitter confrontation when Mujahideen and Pakistani paramilitary troops occupied Kargil height located in close proximity to line of control. The Indian army attempted unsuccessfully to retrieve these heights and both countries fought for almost two months. Casualties occurred from both sides in large number. Fearing of the nuclear war, the US intervened and asked Nawaz Sharif to respect the line of control and vacate the Kargil heights. Consequently, the troops and mujahideen withdrew from Kargil heights in July 1999. Nawaz Sharif developed a serious conflict with Army Chief Pervaiz Musharraf over Kargil issue. Nawaz Sharif claimed that Musharraf started Kargil war with India without his approval. He removed Musharraf from his position on 12 October 1999 and appointed General Zia Uddin Butt as new Army Chief. This abrupt decision angered military leadership which retaliated by toppling the civilian government. Musharraf who was in Sri Lanka at the time of dismissal landed in Pakistan and took charge of the country.

Musharraf Era (1999-2008)

Musharraf suspended the 1973 constitution and imposed emergency in the country. However, his action was not generally liked internationally, and many countries did not recognise his government. But the Musharraf government achieved legitimacy after 11 September 2001 attacks on Washington and New York. The US accused Osama bin Laden for this offence and decided to attack Afghanistan where Osama was hiding. The US called this war as "War on Terror." Musharraf decided to side with the US in this war and Pakistan became the close partner of America. In this way Musharraf achieved legitimacy.

Musharraf held general elections in 2002 but both Nawaz Sharif and Benazir were not allowed to participate in the elections. As a result of these elections Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q), a pro-Musharraf party came into power. Meanwhile, Musharraf also tried to strengthen

local bodies and devolved powers at grassroots level.

During Musharraf era, Pakistan witnessed a surge in terrorism. Hundreds of thousands of people died in terrorist attacks. Musharraf ordered to start operation against the Bugti and Murree tribes. After the assassination of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, the head of the Bugti tribe, the law-and-order situation turned worse in Balochistan.

The downfall of Musharraf began when he suspended Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, the Chief Justice of Supreme Court on 9 March 2009. The Lawyers and civil society started a movement for the restoration of Chief Justice. He was restored by the Supreme Court, but Musharraf again imposed emergency in the country on 3 November 2007. This time he terminated a number of judges of superior courts. The imposition of emergency tarnished the image of Musharraf. Another incident which badly affected his reputation was the Lal Masjid operation in which scores of people were killed. Musharraf's reputation went into lowest ebb when Benazir Bhutto was assassinated at Liaquat Bagh Rawalpindi on 27 December 2007.



Gen. Pervez Musharraf

PPP'S Government (2008-2013)

The PPP came into power as result of 2008 elections. Yousaf Raza Gilani was elected as the prime minister while after the resignation of Musharraf from the office of President, Asif Ali Zardari was elected as the new president. The PPP restored the judges who were dismissed by Musharraf. In July 2008, the government started the Benazir Income Support Programme through which financial aid was provided to those families who were below poverty line. During Musharraf regime, the grievances of smaller provinces were increased. To address these grievances the government introduced 7th National Finance Commission Award in 2009. Through this award, the fiscal share of provinces was increased from 45% to 57.5 %. Similarly, the parliament passed 18th Amendment in April 2010. The objectives of this amendment were to restore the constitution of 1973 in its original form and to increase provincial autonomy. Many departments which were earlier run by the federal government transferred to provinces. The provinces were also allocated 50% share in their natural resources.



Asif Ali Zardari & Yousuf Raza Gilani

Many departments which were earlier run by the federal government were transferred to provinces. The provinces were also allocated 50% share in their natural resources. Unfortunately, terrorist attacks in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and other parts of Pakistan increased during the PPP tenure. Our armed forces successfully launched operations against the terrorists and restored peace by expelling them from the territory of Pakistan. In spite of all the good measures, the economic conditions remained precarious. The country experienced high inflation, whereas the gross domestic product grew by 3% per year. This represented one of the slowest growth rates in the country's history.

PML-N Era (2013-2018)

PML-N came into power as a result of 2013 elections and Nawaz Sharif was elected as prime minister for the third time. Nawaz Sharif made efforts to improve the country's economy. He made an agreement with China and launched the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) which

is a combination of various developmental projects. In 2015, Nawaz Sharif signed 51 agreements and memorandums of understanding valued at \$56 billion with his Chinese counterparts. The objectives of CPEC are to transform Pakistan's economy by modernizing its road, rail, energy sector, and ports.

From the very beginning, Nawaz Sharif had to face resistance from opposition political parties. Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf (PTI), led by Imran Khan, and Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT), led by Tahir-ul-Qadri, held a sit-in at the heart of Islamabad in August 2014 which continued for 126 days. This affected the performance and reputation of the government.

Another hindrance in the way of good governance was escalation of terrorist activities. In December 2014, terrorists attacked Army Public School at Peshawar in which 150 students and staff were martyred. Law enforcement agencies either killed or hanged the terrorists who were the masterminds or provided accomplices in this heinous crime. Nawaz Sharif faced another setback when he was convicted by the court in 2017. Later the Supreme Court ruled that his conviction was unjust and illegal. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi was elected as the new prime minister after the conviction of Nawaz Sharif. But the troubles for the government were not over. Another religious group led by Khadim Rizvi started a sit in at Islamabad which continued for many days. However, in spite of all these troubles, the economy was in a better situation and inflation was under control. The government also completed several developmental projects.



Nawaz Sharif and Shahid Khaqan Abbasi

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Government (2018-2022)

After the completion of PML-N's tenure, elections were held in July 2018. The PTI emerged as a single largest party and Imran Khan, a cricket turned politician, was elected as the new prime minister. Imran Khan promised to eradicate corruption and bring the country onto the path of progress. But the country had to face serious challenges of balance of payments, and soaring inflation. The government tried to fix the economy and turned to the IMF for loans. In 2020, COVID-19 severely affected the country but the government, with the help of the military, skilfully handled the situation. Imran Khan failed to develop cordial relations with opposition political parties. The opposition political parties formed an alliance against the government named as Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM). The PDM accused the government of poor governance, political victimization of opponents, mismanagement of the economy and a weak foreign policy. Even PTI's coalition partner broke away and joined the opposition parties. In April 2022, the national assembly passed a vote of no-confidence motion against Imran Khan. As a result, he was removed from office and Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif was elected as a prime minister of the country. During the PDM era, the economy was in a precarious situation and the inflation rate remained very high.

Following the PDM tenure, the interim government was established and Anwaar -ul-Haq- Kakar was appointed as the interim prime minister. The interim government gained some success in resolving the economic issues and law and order situation was also improved.



Dr. Arif Alvi

Finally, the general elections were held in February 2024 in which no political party could secure enough majority to form government. As a result, a coalition government of different political parties came into being and Shahbaz Sharif was elected as the prime minister while Asif Ali Zardari was elected as the new President.

The government is struggling to bring the country out of economic crises. It has achieved some success in controlling rising inflation. The government has taken measures that effectively helped stabilise the currency and prevented further devaluation. The government is also trying to build a better image of Pakistan at international forum. It has raised voice against the atrocities against the people of Kashmir and Gaza.

Pakistan- India War of 2025

On 6 May 2025, Indian forces launched an attack on Pakistan, falsely accusing it of being involved in a deadly attack in Pahalgam, a town in Indian-occupied Kashmir, where many people were killed. Pakistan strongly denied all these false allegations. Despite this, India carried out military aggression against Pakistan on 7 May 2025.

The Pakistan Armed Forces responded with great courage and professionalism. They destroyed several Indian military posts in Indian-occupied Kashmir. During an intense dogfight between the two air forces, the Pakistan Air Force gained a clear upper hand and shot down many Indian fighter jets, including four Rafale jets. India had been very proud of the Rafale fighters and believed they would give it superiority over the Pakistan Air Force, but this expectation was proven wrong.

In response to Indian drone strikes, Operation Bunyan-um-Marsoos was launched by Pakistan on 10 May 2025. Pakistan Air Force successfully targeted 26 strategic locations including Indian air bases, destroying many of its key installations. After suffering heavy losses, India had no choice but to ask for peace.

Finally, after repeated requests from U.S. President Donald Trump, Pakistan agreed to ceasefire. Due to the outstanding performance of the Pakistan Army, General Asim Munir was promoted to the rank of Field Marshal—a proud moment for the entire nation.

EXERCISE

Answer the following questions by choosing the best answer A, B, C or D.

- 1- The first Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan was :-
(A) Zahid Hussain (B) Muhammad Ali
(C) Ghulam Muhammad (D) Liaquat Ali Khan
- 2- In which city was Liaquat Ali Khan martyred:-
(A) Lahore (B) Karachi
(C) Rawalpindi (D) Delhi
- 3- The first President of Pakistan was:-
(A) Quaid-e-Azam (B) Iskandar Mirza
(C) Liaquat Ali Khan (D) Ayub Khan
- 4- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto served as a minister from 1963 to 1966:-
(A) Foreign (B) Law
(C) Interior (D) Agriculture

- 5- The manifesto of the Awami League in the election of 1970 was :-
 (A) Six Points (B) 7 Points
 (C) 8 Points (D) 5 Points
- 6- Hudood Ordinance was promulgated by :-
 (A) Ayub Khan (B) Benazir
 (C) Yahya Khan (D) Zia-ul-Haq
- 7- Who dismissed the first government of Benazir and Nawaz sharif:-
 (A) Ayub Khan (B) Ishaq Khan
 (C) Pervaiz Musharraf (D) Zia-ul Haq
- 8- Benazir Bhutto was assassinated at Liaquat Bagh on 27th December:-
 (A) 2005 (B) 2006
 (C) 2007 (D) 2008
- 9- The National Assembly passed a vote of no-confidence against Imran Khan in
 (A) 2020 (B) 2021
 (C) 2022 (D) 2023
- 10- The 18th Amendment has increased provincial autonomy by :-
 (A) Empowering provinces (B) Challenged federal policies
 (C) Strengthening democracy (D) Strengthening central government

Answers the following questions briefly:

1. How did General Zia-ul-Haq's policies aim to Islamise Pakistan?
2. Which piece of advice Quaid-e-Azam gave to students?
3. What was the opinion of Ayub Khan about political parties?
4. What were the consequences of General Yahya Khan's decision to postpone the National Assembly session?
5. Assess the impact of the nationalization policy of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on economy.
6. which events contributed to the downfall of Pervaiz Musharraf?
7. How did Article 58(2)(b) influence Pakistan's political stability?

Answers the following questions in detail:

- 1- Evaluate the contributions of Quaid-e-Azam as the first Governor General of Pakistan?
- 2- Elaborate with examples the political instability that Pakistan experienced after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan.
- 3- Analyse the positive and negative aspects of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's era, focusing on the significant events and policies of his government.
- 4- Discuss the role of Pakistan in Soviet- Afghan war.
- 5- Discuss the negative role of India in the dismemberment of East Pakistan.

Learning Activities

- **Display of Political Regimes:** Students can be assigned different political eras of Pakistan's politics. They can then display the reforms they undertook, argue the impact on common people and the economy, debate on the success and failures, reflect their reviews about other political parties and even can dress up like their leaders. This will give all students a quick comparison of all the parties.
- **Display/ graffiti board in the class:** Classroom display boards can be allocated to different groups of students where they can display the different political eras, reforms they undertook, their success and reasons for failures. Pictures and text both can be displayed for the presentation as well as revision of topics on a routine basis. This would be a live board where students will keep on adding things as they move on learning new topics.

Glossary

- **State Bank:** The central bank of Pakistan responsible for monetary policy and financial regulation.
- **Provincialism:** To prefer the interests of a particular province over national unity.
- **Secretary General:** The chief administrative officer of an organization or political party.
- **Socialist:** A person who believes that means of production should be under the control of state.
- **IJI:** An alliance formed in the late 1980s to contest elections against the Pakistan Peoples Party.
- **West Pakistan:** A province of Pakistan that emerged as a separate country and named Bangladesh.
- **Quaid-e-Azam:** Great leader

List more words and write their meaning that you find difficult in this unit.
