

SECTION -3.

PROBLEMS OF THE NEWLY BORN PAKISTAN

GEOGRAPHICAL PROBLEM:

- Two parts East Pakistan (Bengal & Sylhet) & West Pakistan (Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan & NWFP).
- The Princely states like Swat, Chitral, Dir, Amb, Hunza, Gilgit, & Bhawalpur also joined Pakistan. It was not having clear borders.
- Both the parts were far away from each other nearly 1000 miles apart with the Indian Territory in between.

FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT:

- India inherited a set government while we had to start from scratch.
- India had members of Congress who were well versed to run the govt.
- In Pakistan the members of Constituent Assembly were mostly landlords & they were unaware of political & administrative machinery.

DIVISION OF ARMED FORCES AND MILITARY ASSETS:

- The assets were to be divided with a ratio of 36 % and 64% between Pakistan and India.
- At that time 16 ordinance factories were present in India and none was given to Pakistan.
- Pakistan Army consisted of 1,50,000 men and 4000 officers were needed but only 2500 officers were present.
- Jinnah was forced to take 500 British officers temporarily.

DIVISION OF FINANCIAL ASSETS:

- At the time of partition there was a cash balance of 4 billion rupees, in Reserve Bank of India.
- Pakistan's share was 750 million rupees.
- First installment of 200 million rupees was given.
- Due to Gandhi's threat of hunger strike 500 million rupees were given to Pakistan and 50 million rupees have not been paid yet.

ECONOMIC PROBLEM:

- Pakistan was an undeveloped country.
- Karachi was the only developed port city along with other 7 cities with more than 100,000 people otherwise about 90% people were living in villages.
- In 1947 East Pakistan was producing about 70% of the world's Jute which was a source of foreign exchange earning but due to partition Pakistan could not get even a single Jute mill & they all were located in India.

REFUGEE PROBLEM:

- It was perhaps the biggest migration of the world history.
- Hindus and Sikhs had chalked out a plan for the massacre of Muslim refugees migrating to Pakistan.



- It has boundaries with Tibet, China, Russia, and Afghanistan so having great importance.
- Dogra ruler Maharaja Gulab Singh purchased it from British gov.
- In 1846 for 7.5 million rupees by the "Treaty of Amristar".
- At the time of partition Hari Singh ruled it.
- Due to pressure of the people he announced accession with Pakistan.
- He started Muslim massacre in which many people were killed & thousands migrated to Pakistan.

There was a war between the Indians the local people Kashmiri & tribal area's people liberated a part of Kashmir called Azad Kashmir.

(c) Was the refugee issue the most important problem facing the newly formed government of Pakistan in 1947? Give reasons for your answer:

LEVEL 1: Simplistic statement => They came from India [14]

LEVEL 2: Description of refugee problem or other problems Muslims in their thousands were killed and women were raped [1-2]

LEVEL 3: Explains one factor [3-6]

LEVEL 4: Explains at least two factors. [7-10]

The refugees had been submitted to terrible atrocities and so thousands fled to Pakistan. They needed food and shelter and placed great strain on the new government. However there were other reasons. It was essential following the creation of Pakistan to have a new government immediately. However there was a shortage of properly qualified and experienced personnel which made the task of running a government department extremely difficult. Pakistan had been awarded 750 million rupees under the final settlement but only received 200 million at first. This put enormous strain on the new government since they were unable to use the money appropriately. It was also the case with the division of the armed forces and military assets. Much of the assets awarded were obsolete or out of order.

Perhaps crucially the Canal Water Dispute was one of the most serious problems since India now controlled the water supply to Pakistan which brought tensions to a head between the two countries. The problem dragged on until 1959. [8-13]

LEVEL 5: Also produces a judgement or evaluation. [14]

GOVERNOR GENERALSHIP OF QAUID-E-AZAM.

BUILDING A NATION:

Quaid-e-Azam moved his head quarter from Karachi to Lahore.

Quaid-e-Azam relief fund was created in which the rich people were asked to give generously.

He urged the people not to think themselves as Punjabi or Bangali because they were all Pakistani & now they had to work for the consolidation of the country.

He gave the complete liberty to the minorities to practice their religion and called himself as the "Protector General" of minorities.

He ordered to withdraw forces from areas of tribal territories.

BUILDING A GOVERNMENT:

Liaquat Ali was appointed as the first Prime Minister of Pakistan. A cabinet & to frame the new constitution.

A Constituent assembly was formed to work as a cabinet & to frame the new constitution. Karachi was made as the Capital of Pakistan & Central secretariat was also set up.

To bring the qualified people from India special trains & airplanes were arranged.

Civil Services were also organized along with new rules for a smooth work of the govt.



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BUILDING AN ECONOMY:

- He asked for the funds from other foreign countries.
- Set up the State Bank of Pakistan on 1st July 1948.
- In 1948 Jinnah's Industrial Policy made industrialization quickly.
- Quaid also made a temporary agreement with India regarding Canal Water to increase the efficiency of the agro-based industries of Pakistan.

ESTABLISHING NATIONAL SECURITY:

- Temporary commissions were offered to fulfill the requirements of the military officers.
- Cadets were given facilities to join forces.
- An ordinance factory was set up at Wah Cantt.

FAILURES:

Jinnah could not solve the issues like Canal Water dispute, Princely States issue, Defence of the country and the Constitution of Pakistan.

PRIME MINISTERS OF PAKISTAN (1947-1958)

Liaqat Ali Khan:

- He was the first Prime Minister of Pakistan.
- As a Prime Minister of Pakistan he kept the economy working and produced a surplus budget.
- He could not frame the constitution of Pakistan but "Objective Resolution" was passed during his govt. in 1949.
- In 1951 he appointed Ayub Khan as C-in-C of Pakistan Army after retirement of Douglas Gracy.
- He was assassinated on 16 October 1951 in Rawalpindi. He was given the title of "Shaheed-e-Millat".

Khawaja Nazimuddin

- He was from East Pakistan.
- He could not stop the influence of executive branch of govt. in the politics.
- He was appointed as the 2nd Governor General of Pakistan in Sept. 1948 after the death of Quaid.
- After the death of Liaqat Ali Khan the Finance Minister Malik Ghulam Mohammad persuaded him to step down, as the prime minister and Ghulam Mohammad became the governor general of Pakistan.
- In 1953 Pakistan faced a severe food crisis and economic problems.
- Religious elements wanted Ahmediyas (Qadianis) to be declared as non-Muslims.

Mohammad Ali Bogra:

- He belonged to East Pakistan and had little knowledge about practical politics.
- In September 1954 Malik Ghulam Mond. was out of the country.
- Bogra persuaded the assembly to pass a law limiting the power of the Governor General which said that all the ministers & Prime Minister must be a member of Assembly, assembly had to approve Cabinet & Governor-General had to take advice from his ministers.
- The bill was approved in 15 minutes & the Assembly repealed the Public and Representative Officers (Disqualification) Act [PRODA], which said that the Governor General could remove ministers from the National & Provincial govt. for up to 5 years if they "abused public office".



He wanted to cut down the power of the Governor General, which was not tolerated by Malik Ghulam Mohammed.

Chaudhry Mohammed Ali:

He was a civil servant and former finance minister.
 He played an important role in helping to draft and pass the first constitution in 1956.
 He had to deal with many problems in East Pakistan both political and Economic.
 A food crisis took place in Bengal due to floods and there was a disagreement among the Bengali political leaders and Chaudry Mohammed Ali.

Hussein Shaheed Suharwardy:

He was from East Pakistan and he had been the premier of united Bengal.
 He played an important role in Pakistan movement and after independence he moved to Pakistan from Calcutta.
 He was a real politician and wanted to have some control over the gov.
 He was asked to resign by Iskandar Mirza.

Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar:

He was a lawyer who was relatively unknown in politics.
 He set a record of surviving as a PM for only 8 weeks.
 He was asked by Iskandar Mirza to hand in his resignation.

Malik Feroz Khan Noon:

He was a landlord from Punjab and managed to oversee one of the chaotic administrations.
 He kept his govt. going by appointing too many ministers from different parties.
 On 7th October 1958 Mirza abrogated the constitution and imposed first martial law in Pakistan.

GOVERNOR GENERALS OF PAKISTAN (1947- 1958)

1. Quaid-e-Azam (August 1947 – September 1948)
2. Khawaja Nazim Uddin (September 1948 – October 1951).
3. Malik Ghulam Mohammed (October 1951 – 1955)
4. Iskandar Mirza:
 - He had joined Indian Army but had been sent to political service by the British.
 - He was the 4th and last Governor General and 1st president of Pakistan.
 - 1955 he introduced "One Unit Scheme" which integrated all the areas of West Pakistan into a single province.
 - This Scheme was not liked in East Pakistan as well as in some areas of West Pakistan.
 - During his govt. there was an uncertain political situation and he dismissed many Prime Ministers.
 - On 7th October 1958 Iskandar Mirza imposed first martial law in Pakistan and he asked Ayub Khan to take charge as "Chief Martial Law Administrator" (CMLA).

GOVERNOR GENERALS (1947-58)

- 1 Q QUaid-E-AZAM
- 3 K KHAWAJA NAZIM UDDIN
- 4 M MALIK GHULAM MOHAMMAD
- 3 I ISKANDAR MIRZA

1947-48
 1948-51
 1951-55
 1955-58



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PRIME MINISTERS (1947-58)

4	L	LIAQAT ALI KHAN	1947-51
2	K	KHAWAJA NAZIM UDDIN	1951-53
2	M	MOHAMMAD ALI BOGRA	1953-55
1	C	CHAUDHRY MOHAMMAD ALI	1955-56
1	H	H. S. SUHARWARDI	1956-57
0	I	IBRAHIM ISMAIL CHUNDR GAR	1957-57
1	M	MALIK FERAZ KHAN NOON	1957-58

REASONS FOR IMPOSING MARTIAL LAW

WEAKNESS OF POLITICAL LEADERS:

LACK OF COMMITMENT

FOOD CRISIS & RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS:

DELAY IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION

POLITICAL CRISIS

ECONOMIC INJUSTICES WITH EAST PAKISTAN

AYUB KHAN WANTED THE POWER

(b) Why did General Ayub Khan declare Martial Law in 1958?

[7]

LEVEL 1: Simplistic answer.

The government was corrupt.

LEVEL 2: Identifies reasons.

[2-4]

There were too many Prime Ministers between 1956 and 1958. The army wanted to take control.

LEVEL 3: Explains reasons.

[5-7]

There were a number of Prime Ministers between 1956 and 1958 and it reached a stage when Ayub Khan achieved that status that he felt the army should take control until stability had been restored and questions answered. East Pakistan's politicians wanted more say in the running of the central government which increased tension.

GENERAL AYUB KHAN (1958-69)

INDUS WATER TREATY:

In 1960 Indus Water Treaty was signed through the mediation of World Bank.

Indus, Jehlum and Chenab were given to Pakistan while Ravi, Satluj and Beas were given to India.

AGRICULTURAL REFORMS:

- Landlords were not allowed to have more than 500 acres of irrigated and 1000 acres of unirrigated land,
- Excess land was given to poor farmers and the landlords were given compensation for it.
- The division of holdings below an economic level was forbidden.
- Three major dams were built for irrigation.
- Loans were also given to the farmers to build well to reduce the need of canal irrigation.
- Tube wells, more tractors, more chemical fertilizers, use of HYV's and insecticides.
- As a result of this a GREEN REVOLUTION came in the county with maximum crop output.

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INDUSTRIAL REFORMS:

Due to green revolution came in the country and agro-based industries flourished. The incentives were given to the establishment of PIDC & PICIC and other agencies. Export Bonus Scheme was introduced for industrialists to increase the exports. There was a shift in establishments of consumer goods industries to heavy industries. Industrial growth was enhanced in terms of exports and productivity. In 1962 Oil Refinery was set up in Karachi & Mineral Development Corporation was established for mineral exploration.

BASIC DEMOCRACIES:

In October 1959 introduced a 4-tier structure of representative bodies, which were Village Council, Sub-District Council, District Council & Divisional council. In this system ordinary people elected Union Council members (UC) who in turn elected district and divisional council members (DD). These Basic Democrats formed an Electoral College (EC) For the election of the President and members of Provincial and Central Legislatures.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS:

In 1960 a constitution commission under Justice Shahab-ud-Din to draft the new constitution. It was implemented without debate. It recommended presidential form of government, adult franchise, revival of political parties and a powerful legislature. For East Pakistan like Urdu & Bangali were made the national languages. National Assembly Session was to be held in Dhaka & Islamabad. President was from West Pakistan then the Speaker of National Assembly was from East Pakistan.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS:

Building of schools and colleges in several towns. Technical and vocational institutes were opened. Changed the textbooks. Primary education was free and compulsory till class eight. He also recommended 3-year degree program and religious education was also emphasized.

SOCIAL REFORMS:

In some cities like Karachi the problem of shelter was not solved. A committee was formed under General Azam Khan and many cases were solved. Colonies and satellite towns were set up for these homeless refugees. Screening committees were set up to remove corrupt and inefficient officials. Ayub introduced family laws to give protection to women; polygamy was prohibited. It prescribed a marriageable age for females and males. He tried to control high birth rate through population control program called "Family Planning Program".

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FOREIGN POLICY & MILITARY REFORMS:

- He made tours to super powers and defense agreements were signed.
- Due to visit to China, Pakistan got military help and aircrafts to fight in 1965 Indo-Pak war.
- In 1964 RCD was signed with Iran and Turkey.
- New capital was chosen at Islamabad & it was officially made capital in 1967.

CAUSES OF WAR OF 1965:

- The Kashmiri launched a civil disobedience movement against the Indian government .the Indian government failed to crush what they thought was a massive revolt.
- In Dargah Hazrat Ball Kashmir the sacred hair of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) was stolen and there was a dispute between the Hindus & the Muslims.
- Bhutto gave the idea to Ayub Khan that Pakistani soldiers should disguise themselves as the mujahideens and enter to Indian Kashmir but India knew it and a war started due to this reason.

CAUSES OF FAILURE:

- There is always imbalance of power between the Indians and Pakistani forces so India got the advantage of manpower and the superior weapons than Pakistan.
- Pakistani forces started two projects Operation Grand Slam & Operation Gibraltar for the Kashmiri people but the local people did not support them.
- SEATO & CENTO did not support Pakistan so due to shortage of weapons Pakistan lost it.

(b) Explain why Ayub Khan called the years 1958 to 1969, the 'Decade of Progress'? [7]

LEVEL 1: Simplistic answer.

They were good times.

LEVEL 2: Identifies reasons

Social and economic reforms were introduced which did good things for the people. (2-4)

LEVEL 3: Explains reasons

Medical facilities were improved and attempts were made to control the population through a family planning programme. Economic growth was enabled through industrial developments funded by loans from the West. Agricultural reform meant an increase in agricultural production. He also tried to deflect increased criticism of his government by highlighting the reforms which in the main only benefited the wealthy. (5-7)

CAUSES OF DOWNFALL OF AYUB KHAN:

- Dictatorial policies of Ayub Khan were not like by the people
- Basic Democracy reduced the value of elections.
- Corruption in the BD System and Public Services went on Ayub.
- Student Movements against his policies were very common.
- Role of Z.A. Bhutto became very prominent against Ayub after he was forced to resign in 1968.
- Democratic Action Committee was an alliance of the major political parties.
- The religious people criticized family planning system and ban on polygamy.
- Economic injustices were very common between East & West Pakistan.
- During his govt. 22 industrial families were holding 66% of the country's industrial assets and 80% of its insurance and banking services.
- His constitutional reforms gave immense power to the president, which was not liked by the people.

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(c) 'Ayub Khan's agricultural reforms were more successful than any other of his domestic policies between 1958 and 1969'. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer.

LEVEL 1: Simplistic statement

Agricultural reforms were important to Pakistan.

LEVEL 2: Description of reforms

He redistributed land and introduced Basic Democracies.

LEVEL 3: Explains at least one set of reforms

LEVEL 4: Explains at least two factors.

for max marks

Land was redistributed to farmers with medium sized farms and agriculture was revitalised to such an extent that crop outputs were at record levels. However there were other factors which were important aspects of his domestic policies. In 1962 an oil refinery was established in Karachi and a Mineral Development Corporation was set up for the exploration of mineral deposits. An Export Bonus Scheme was set up offering incentives to industrialists who increased exports. National growth rate rose more than 7% and the economy grew three times faster than any other South East Asian country. However the new wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few and the general population didn't benefit. As a result of these policies economic growth rose sharply. In 1959 Basic Democracies were introduced which was a 4 tier structure of government allowing elections at various levels. The success of these councils which were set up was such that martial law was lifted.

LEVEL 5: Also produces a judgement or evaluation.

Agricultural reforms to be explained [14] [1-2] [3-6] [7-10] [9-13]

(b) WHY DID MUJEEB ISSUE 6 POINTS?

They were issued due to the political injustices with the people of East Pakistan because there was marginal representation of the east Pakistanis in the government services.

Economic policies of Ayub Khan region intensified the regional disparity by establishing industries in West Pakistan and making capital at Islamabad. The foreign exchange earned through the export of jute from East Pakistan was spent on the development projects of West Pakistan.

To create the political awareness among the Bangalis regarding their rights that they were a nation & had the right to have a separate homeland.

MAIN CAUSES FOR THE SEPARATION OF EAST PAKISTAN

GEOGRAPHICAL

- A thousand miles of foreign territory separated East and West Pakistan.
- As the central government was in West Pakistan, it could not effectively manage the area.
- East Pakistan became weak from defense point of view.

ECONOMIC CAUSES:

- Economic injustices were very common between East & West Pakistan.
- During his govt. 22 industrial families were holding 66% of the country's industrial assets and 80% of its insurance and banking services.

CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES:

- West Pakistan was predominantly over East Pakistan and important non-Muslim minorities.
- These differences were exploited by a group of politicians.
- People in East Pakistan used to speak Bengali while in West Pakistan Urdu and other regional languages were spoken.



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REPRESENTATION IN THE SERVICES:

- There was marginal representation of the East Pakistanis in the government services.
- The appointment of West Pakistan civil servants without the knowledge of Bengali.
- West Pakistani civil servants looked upon their Bengali colleagues and sub-ordinates as worthless.

ROLE OF HINDU TEACHERS:

- The Hindu teachers who created unrest and discontentment among the students.
- Criticizing the economic policies of the central government dominated East Pakistan's educational institutions.

POLITICIANS' LUST FOR POWER:

- At that time there were three main leaders Yahya, Mujib & Bhutto.
- Yahya wanted to transfer the power to elected candidates of the people while Mujib & Bhutto both wanted to become Prime Minister.

MILITARY INTERVENTION BY INDIA:

- It was the biggest reason because Indian army regiments equipped with the latest and most sophisticated weapons rushed across the border.
- Dacca fell towards the middle of December 1971.
- Pakistan army surrendered.

(c) Were economic factors more important than any other factor in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971? Explain your answer. [14]

(c) 'The geographical position of East Pakistan was the most important reason for the creation of Bangladesh in 1981'. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

LEVEL 1: Simplistic statement [1-2]

They wanted to rule themselves.

LEVEL 2: Description of geographical position or other factors [3-6]

East Pakistan was a long way from W.P. and it was poorer and had many floods. The Awami League wanted a federal government.

LEVEL 3: Explains at least one factor [7-10]

LEVEL 4: Explains at least two. Geography to be explained for maximum marks [9-13]

East Pakistan was a long way from the western half and most of the wealth of Pakistan was concentrated in the west not only of individuals but also in terms of government expenditure. This caused great resentment in East Pakistan. A weaker industrial base and a climate ravaged by regular floods led to even more depression in this area which caused further discontent. Also the eastern province saw little return for the wealth created by the growing of jute in the area. Again all the benefits went to the west. The general election of 1970 saw the Awami League win a majority in East Pakistan. The League wanted a federal form of government, which would leave EP to control everything except defence and foreign policy. It wanted a separate currency and fiscal policy with its own taxation. It wanted to negotiate its own trade agreements with other countries and have its own armed forces. In effect they wanted separation from Pakistan which was becoming more evident due to the perceived differences between the two. Political parties who emerged in both parts believed in regionalism rather than national sovereignty. However the demands of the Six Points of the Awami League were rejected by Ayub Khan, and its leader Mujib-ur-Rehman was imprisoned. This caused further discontent and separation began to look inevitable.

LEVEL 5: Also produces a judgement or evaluation. [14]

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MILITARY REFORMS:

ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO(1971-77)

Bhutto tried his best to control the armed forces & for this purpose he removed 29 army officers including Head of Air Force, Air Marshal Rahim Khan and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army General Gul Hassan. He appointed General Tikka Khan as the Chief of Army Staff. In 1972 he established Federal Security Force (FSF) to crush his opponents.

SIMLA AGREEMENT:

In July 1972 Bhutto signed Simla Agreement with Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi. He got the prisoners of war back from India on the condition that both the countries would solve Kashmir problem mutually without the help of UNO.

NEW CONSTITUTION:

On 14th August 1972 new constitution based on the principles of 1956 constitution was adopted. Two houses the Senate (members would be equally taken from all provinces) & Assembly (members elected for 5 years). The leader of majority party would be the Prime Minister & he would appoint the Cabinet. Prime Minister would be the top power & the President would work according to his advice. Pakistan was an Islamic Republic. In April 1974 a constitution amendment was made to limit the power of Press freedom & ban any political party. In 1975 laws were made which gave the power to the security forces to detain suspects without bail if detained by FSF.

INDUSTRIAL REFORMS:

He introduced NATIONALIZATION Policy. About 70 major industries were taken over by the Federal Ministry of Production. There were many problems in this policy like there was a lack of qualified people. There was recession in the world market & there was very less demand in the world market. He was able to reduce the inflation rate to 6% in 1976 and economic growth also began to increase. There was a shortage of local & foreign investment in the country.

AGRICULTURAL REFORMS:

Bhutto's govt. restricted the landlords to have not more than 250 acres of irrigated & 500 acres of un-irrigated land. The surplus land could be sold to small farmers for better use of land & profit. There was much security for the tenants that they had the first right to purchase the land farmed by them it means that landlords could not sell land to a third party who might then evict tenants.

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EDUCATION:

- At that time the literacy rate was 25% so Bhutto wanted to increase this rate.
- There were many steps taken to make school curriculum according to the needs of the country.
- All private schools & colleges were nationalized, more educational institutes were built.
- Educational budget was only 13%.
- Lack of trained staff in the schools with more children.

HEALTH & SOCIAL REFORMS:

- Rural Health Centers (RHC's) & Basic Health Unit (BHU's).
- Under this program one RHC was for every 60,000 people
- One BHU was for every 20,000 people.
- Many training colleges for the doctors & nurses were set.
- The sale of medicines under brand name was banned.
- There was a fall in the sale of the chemists and many foreign companies closed their operations.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS:

- Bhutto reorganized the Civil Services into a smaller number of levels & unified pay scales.
- He also reformed entry requirements so that the people could join at any level to recruit high quality staff.

LABOUR REFORMS:

- All the workers of industries were given medical cover, compensation for injuries at work, compulsory group insurance & safeguard against termination from service.
- The industry or the factory owners were made responsible to bear the expenses of at least one child of every worker employed in their factory.
- New rules were announced regarding Bonus, Leave compensation & Retirement. Social Security Scheme was applied to all the industries.

FOREIGN POLICY:

- Bhutto undertook a tour of 22 countries to explain his foreign policy.
- Due to his visit to Russia we got finance to establish Pakistan Steel Mills in 1973.
- China converted the loan into grant due to this visit.
- The 2nd Summit of OIC was held in 1974 at Lahore & due to arrival of all the leaders of the Islamic world Pakistan got a boost on the world level.

(b) Why did Zulfikar Ali Bhutto come to power in 1971? [7]

LEVEL 1: Simplistic answer

He won the election. (1)

LEVEL 2: Identifies reasons

Pakistan lost the war against India. (2-4)

LEVEL 3: Explains reasons

The army had been defeated by India and was at a low ebb. Yahya Khan had been disgraced and Bhutto took the opportunity to seek power. Pakistan also lost East Pakistan which became Bangladesh and again Yahya Khan and the army were blamed - and Bhutto took advantage. His programme of reform was attractive and appealed to the electorate. As a result Bhutto's party won an overall majority in the National Assembly. He

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was also able to establish power by taking control of the army and appointing his own leaders. The FSF (secret police) further established his power base.

WHY WAS BHUTTO HANGED?

The changes in education led to overcrowding in existing schools whilst new ones could be built. The reforms were not very successful. One of the main weaknesses of his government was that the focal point of political power lay with the party leadership and Bhutto in particular. Bhutto was implicated in a murder case during his tenure. Ahmad Raza Kasuri was one of the MNA but he became a target of firing of FSF workers. Muhammad Ahmed Khan died.

(b) Why was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto arrested and subsequently executed in 1979?

LEVEL 1: Simplistic answer

He was corrupt

LEVEL 2: Identifies reasons

Bhutto had too much political power and his education reforms were criticised. He was accused of murder.

LEVEL 3: Explains reasons

One of the main weaknesses of his government was that the focal point of political power lay with the party leadership and Bhutto in particular. When things went wrong the blame was clearly laid at his feet. The changes in education led to overcrowding in existing schools whilst new ones could be built. The reforms were not very successful since the building of new schools and the recruitment of new teachers could not be achieved quickly and was also very expensive. Many families resented the educational reforms since it meant a loss of earnings to them. Bhutto was finally accused of conspiracy to murder a political opponent and was found guilty. He refused to plead for clemency to the President.

THE DOWNFALL OF BHUTTO:

Massive rigging in the elections of 1977.

Nationalization Policy was also a failure.

Deteriorating economic conditions was also a reason because country's economy was seriously dislocated. Devaluation of currency was a major blow to economy.

Since Pakistan's rupee was linked with the US dollar and at that time there was recession in the America.

Dictatorial policies of PPP Government created feelings of hatred in the hearts of people.

The Baluchistan Crisis took place in 1973 the Baluchistan Government was suspended.

The Pukhtoonistan Stunt of 1975 was also a reason because in NWFP.

GENERAL MUHAMMAD ZIA UL-HAQ (1977-88)

Efforts to make himself the most powerful President of Pakistan: ELECTIONS 1983:

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BANNED:

MAJLIS-E-SHOORA:

MOVEMENT FOR RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY (MRD)

NATIONAL REFERENDUM (1984):

ELECTIONS 1985:

MUHAMMAD KHAN JUNEJO AS PM

OHJRI CAMP DISASTER:

JUNEJO'S GOVERNMENT DISSOLVED



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IMPORTANT REFORMS OF ZIA:

- Due to Zia's FOREIGN POLICY Pakistan got a boost on the world level.
- During Afghan-USSR war he supported Afghanistan against the communist power, which pleased the Western world.
- Pakistan got a large amount of money for the rehabilitation of Afghan Refugees & development of Pakistan Army.
- Zia increased the military budget, as a result of this Pakistan became the second largest supplier of military manpower in the developing countries.
- During Afghan-USSR war Zia supported Afghanistan in this way he was able to get the support of West as well as he could mention the anti-West Socialist ideas of Bhutto.
- In 1985 about 50,000 Pakistanis were serving in other Arab countries. Karachi had become the best naval base in the region.
- There were two million Pakistani working abroad & their remittances were about \$4 Billion a year. In 1986 Pakistan's GDP was 6.7%.
- Zia introduced DENATIONALIZATION program to give the nationalized industries back to their previous owners or to sell them to new investors.
- Special laws were made to restore the confidence of the investors & it was approved that the industries would not be nationalized in future.
- In case of specific conditions if they were nationalized then compensation would be given to the owners.

PROCESS OF ISLAMIZATION:

WHY WAS IT INTRODUCED? [7]

- The govt. of Zia-ul-Haq took a number of steps to revert the policies of Bhutto because he wanted to make Pakistan a socialist country which is totally against Islam.
- It was a desire of the people of Pakistan because they were sick of un-Islamic policies of Bhutto and they wanted a change in the nature of the govt.
- Zia wanted to gain public support and prolong his time period so for this purpose he introduced many reforms in different years.
- HADOOD ORDINANCE (1977):
- QAZAF ORDINANCE (1977):
- FEDERAL SHARIAT COURT (1979):
- ZAKAT ORDINANCE (JUNE 1980):
- USHR ORDINANCE (JUNE 1980):
- 'INTEREST-FREE BANKING (1981):
- COMPULSORY TEACHING OF PAKISTAN STUDIES AND ISLAMIAT:
- ORDINANCE FOR THE SANCTITY OF RAMZAN.

END OF ZIA-UL-HAQ:

On August 17th, 1988, a C-130 plane carrying General Zia, General Akhter Abdur Rehman and a number of other very senior army officers and the US Ambassador to Pakistan Mr. Arnold Rafael, blasted near Bahawalpur killing all the persons on board.

(b) Why did Zia-ul-Haq introduce a series of Islamic laws between 1979 and 1988 [7]—

LEVEL 1: Simplistic answer

He felt it was necessary.

LEVEL 2: Identifies reasons

He wanted a strong government.

LEVEL 3: Explains reasons

(1)

(2-4)



Zia introduced the Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process because he felt that Pakistan was weaker as a result of these. He therefore made the Islamic laws very strict in order to produce a strong government by imposing a strict legal code. He also wanted to implement laws which punished people for showing disrespect towards the Holy Prophet and ensured that Islamic education was implemented in schools so as to raise Islamic awareness amongst students. He also wanted to distribute some wealth to the poor and needy by introducing Islamic taxes.

(c) 'Zia-ul-Haq's foreign policy was more successful than his domestic reforms'. [14]
Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer.

(c) 'Islamic reforms were the most important of Zia-ul-Haq's domestic policies between 1977 and 1988'. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

Level 1 Simplistic statement

Zia had a strict regime. [1-2]

Level 2 Description of reforms

Zia introduced Islamic laws which included the Hudood, Zina and Qaaf Ordinance'. [3-6]

Level 3: Explains one factor

Level 4: Explain at least two factors (Islamic laws to be explained for maximum marks) [7-10]

Zia introduced Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process and therefore the Islamic laws were very strict in order to produce a strong government. With regard to economic affairs, efforts to increase investment were met with some success since many of the previous nationalisation programmes were reversed and the private sector was encouraged to re-invest. Efforts were also made to increase the efficiency of government-run industries. There was a need by Zia to establish a measure of legitimacy to his presidency by declaring legal all the military actions since 1977. The passing of the Eighth Amendment in 1985 gave the President the power to dismiss The Prime Minister of the time. As a result of this martial law was lifted but Zia remained President, unchallenged. [9-13]

Level 5 As Level 4 – also produces a judgement or evaluation [14]

BENAZEER BHUTTO (1988-90)

REFORMS:

POLITICAL REFORMS:

- She announced political freedom, health & social reforms.
- She removed bans on the political activities of trade unions & student unions.
- She could not control unemployment, inflation population increase, education, health & drugs in Pakistan.

LABOUR REFORMS:

- For the 1st time Women and Youth ministries were set up to resolve their issues.
- Forty thousands industrial workers previously sacked were reinstated.
- labour wages were increased twice and
- labours were given the right of pension after retirement.

INDUSTRIAL REFORMS:

- China gave 500 million dollars of interest free loan for Pakistan and
- 1 billion dollars from Russia for extension of Pakistan steel mills.
- There was 30% increase in production of oil and gas.



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FOREIGN POLICY:

- Pakistan restored its membership of Common Wealth,
- Signed an agreement of nuclear installations with India that no attack on nuclear installations.
- In 1988, 4th summit of SAARC was held at Islamabad.
- South Asian games were successfully held.
- Pakistan got sixty F-16 Planes from USA.
- Two frigates were handed over to Pakistan Navy to strengthen sea defense.

NUCLEAR PROBLEM:

- Pak-US relations became tensed on the issue of Pakistan's nuclear program.
- Pakistan also refused to sign Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty due to India.
- In 1985 Pressler Amendment was announced under the conditions that only those countries would get US aid if the US President would declare that country had no nuclear weapons.

REASONS BEHIND THE DOWNFALL:

- She appointed to her mother a federal minister and her father-in-law, chairman of public accounts committee.
- She and her husband Asif Ali Zardari were blamed for corruption. Pakistan had reached its peak in corruption according to transparency international report.
- When Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed her govt. 19 corruption cases were filed against the couple including money laundering, kickbacks and Swiss accounts.
- In Feb. 1990 MQM called for strikes in Karachi protesting abductions of their workers.
- Benazir called army to restore order and start operation against her own ally.
- MQM had already withdrawn its support for PPP.

NAWAZ SHARIF (1990/93)

REFORMS:

ECONOMIC REFORMS:

- Nawaz announced his plans to create employment, industrial growth, use of natural resources and the use of manpower.
- He introduced the policy of Privatization of industries which had been nationalized by Bhutto.
- Many industries were opened in private sector like shipping, electricity, airline & telecom.
- He also introduced Ghazi Brotha Hydel Project and Gwadar Mini Port.
- He also introduced "Yellow Cab" scheme to provide taxis to poor people on installments.

COMMUNICATION:

- To link with Russian states & Central Asian regions a developed road network was prepared.
- It was a costly project the first Motorway (M2) was completed.
- In 1997 it was also stopped by Musharraf in 1999.

SHARIAT BILL:

- In 1997 Shariat bill was passed in which Quran and Sunnah were used for various cases.
- Opposition parties did not like this Islamic way of ruling so little was done to enforce these laws.

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PROBLEMS FACED BY NAWAZ SHAREEF:

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS:

- His govt. failed in gaining capital for various projects due to wrong economic steps
- US aid was also stopped due to nuclear program.
- There was a sharp decline due to less foreign aid, govt expenses & fewer remittances.
- BCCI was also collapsed & had to pay fines and investors lost their money.

COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES:

- Co-Operative society's scandal was a major blow to his govt. in which some private companies had plundered the wealth of poor.
- It was later discovered that these societies had granted billions of rupees to Nawaz Sharif's family business Ittefaq Group which destroyed his reputation.

TERRORISM:

- After the Afghan war many Afghan refugees entered Pakistan & they also brought Kalashnikov culture these guns were copied in Pakistan.
- It increased kidnapping, bomb blasts & killings became common.
- Drugs culture was also common in Pakistan.
- On govt. orders very few people gunned down.
- The government passed the 12th amendment for speedy trial courts. The opposition parties criticized this amendment.

REASONS BEHIND THE DOWNFALL:

- Blame of Corruption in various government schemes and projects especially Yellow Cab scheme and Motor way projects.
- Misuse of power because he had passed a resolution in assembly to Islamize the national regulations so the secular section of the society dislike it and saw it suspicious and attempt to promote fundamentals in Pakistan.
- He fell out with Army due to defiance in opinion with General Asif Nawaz and the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan specially to appoint his desired Army Chief, while later on General Waheed Kakar was appointed by Ghulam Ishaq.

BENAZIR BHUTTO AS PRIME MINISTER (1993-1996)

MAJOR POLICIES AND POLITICS:

- In 1993 PPP gave an agenda of change especially women social and health, women police stations, courts and banks.
- Her government was facing much problem in Punjab due to opposition of Nawaz Sharif who started a train march from Karachi to Peshawar in 1994.
- PPP arrested many people during this opposition March.
- She got conflict with her mother Nusrat Bhutto and Zardari because of its corruption.
- She removed her mother from a leading position and in September 1996 her brother Murtaza Bhutto was killed by police in Karachi.

FOREIGN POLICY:

- US President Bill Clinton wanted to have good relations with Pakistan.
- He removed Pressler Amendment and also agreed to give F16 air crafts.
- She visited USA in 1996 and the Brown Amendment announced to give F16 payments and \$388 million in military equipments.
- In 1996 first lady Hillary Clinton and her daughter Chelsea visited Pakistan to improve relations.

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REASONS BEHIND THE DOWNFALL:

- Her husband Asif Ali Zardari (Mr. 10 %) was accused of getting commission, kickbacks and involving in the political murders for this reason he also spent time in jail from 1997 to 2004 but those charges were not proved.
- PPP government could not maintain the relations with MQM and an operation was launched against them which caused so much violence in Karachi and there were many extra judicial killings took place in Karachi which destroyed the law and order in Pakistan.
- She got conflict with President Lagari on the bases of power sharing formula and his suggestions to stop corruption and killings in Karachi.
- He used 8th amendment and dismissed her government on 5th November 1996.

NAWAZ SHARIF AS PRIME MINISTER (1997- 1999)

- Malik Meraj Khalid became care taker prime minister and conducted elections in 1997 in February 1997 in which Muslim League got 137 seats and PPP got only 52 seats.

POLITICAL REFORMS:

- Nawaz introduced 13th amendment giving the prime minister the authority to revoke the authority of the president to dismiss the prime minister and national assembly.

NUCLEAR PROGRAM:

- Pakistan tested its nuclear devices in Balochistan in 1998 to counter the Indian nuclear program which gave him popularity among the people of Pakistan but bans & sanctions were imposed by the countries like Japan & USA.
- Pakistan's economy was about to collapse so his govt. increased fuel prices & loans were taken from banks.

FOREIGN POLICY:

- Nawaz & Vajpayee met at Lahore to reduce the tension due to nuclear tests & tried to improve relations.
- In April 1999 Muslim Kashmiris crossed the line of control and captured the towns of Kargil & Drass in which Pakistani paramilitary was also involved.
- In its retaliation India attacked in May there was a threat of nuclear war so the world community also involved in it & US president Clinton persuaded Nawaz to withdraw from Indian Territory.

REASONS BEHIND THE DOWNFALL OF NAWAZ OR MARTIAL LAW BY MUSHARRAF:

- Nawaz govt. was having a constant threat from army specially his dispute with Jehangir Karamat who wanted to be a member of National Security Council. Nawaz tried to force Karamat to resign who was later replaced by Pervez Musharraf.
- Nawaz also introduced 15th amendment which made Sharia the supreme law of Pakistan & gave the right to Prime Minister to rule according to Islamic ways which did not ask Senate to ratify the measure.
- He had lost the support of army due to the attitude with Jehangir Karamat & his policy towards Kargil. Mass demonstrations also a blow for his govt. Another major reason was conflict with Musharraf when it was decided to replace him while he was on a trip of Sri Lanka.
- On 12th October, 1999 Musharaf was replaced with ISI chief & his air craft was not allowed to land.
- Army rejected this appointment & took over Karachi airport where his plane landed.

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CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

When Pakistan was made it had no constitution of its own and in Independence Act of 1947 it was decided that the government of India Act 1935 would be used as the constitution for both the countries unless they make their own constitution. It could not fulfill the requirements of an independent Islamic state, so Jinnah formed a constitutional committee and he himself was its president. The committee was assigned a dual job, the first job was to frame the new constitution and the second job was to act as the constituent assembly or parliament till the completion of the new constitution. The committee met in August 1947 to start its work. The constitution committee faced the following problems.

Q) Why did Pakistan face much problem to frame its first constitution?

DEATH OF QUAID

Quaid-e-Azam died on 11th September 1948 and it was a blow for the process of constitution making because he was the president of constitutional committee. [7]

EAST WEST CONTROVERSY

At that time there were many problems b/w east and West Pakistan. The people of East Pakistan were more than the people of West Pakistan, so they demanded more representation and more seats in federal legislature while the people of West Pakistan also demanded the same due to better socio-economic condition and role in the state of Pakistan.

ISLAMIC CONCEPT

Pakistan was established on the basis of Islamic ideology that's why it was essential for a constitution committee to give a due place to the Islam in the constitution.

LANGUAGE PROBLEM

In the East Pakistan people used to speak Bengali that's why they demanded that Bengali should be the national language while the people in West Pakistan used to speak Urdu that's why they demanded the same status for Urdu.

The constituent Assembly had set up a Basic Principles Committee for the principles of new constitution. It had 25 members & its findings were contained in a document called "Objectives Resolution". It was passed in 1949 during the govt. of Liaquat Ali & it was the first step towards constitution making in Pakistan. It declared the following conditions:

- The constitution should have the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance & social Justice as laid down by Islam.
- Muslims should be able to lead their lives according to the principles of Islam.
- Other religious groups should be able to practice their religion freely.
- Minorities & the poor groups would be legally protected from social injustice.
- All fundamental rights should be guaranteed.
- The Legal system should be independent of govt.

Objectives Resolution tried its best to make the principles according to the requirements of an Islamic state but there were many problems in it. There was no time scale for the completion of neither constitution, nor elections & no assurance that any govt. would meet the demands of this resolution. East Pakistan criticized it due to their number of seats; Provincial politicians criticized the power given to the Head of State & the Federal Govt.



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1956 CONSTITUTION: Formed by Chaudhry Mohammad Ali.

- Written & Rigid constitution,
- Parliamentary nature under Federal form of govt.,
- Independent Judiciary,
- Unicameral (One House) Parliament,
- Fundamental rights for everyone & Doctrine of Islam.
- National Languages were Urdu & Bengali.

1962 CONSTITUTION: Formed by Ayub Khan

- Written & Rigid constitution,
- Federal form of govt. under Presidential rule,
- Unicameral (One House),
- indirect election under Basic Democracy system,
- Fundamental rights were granted with guiding principles of Islam.
- National languages were Urdu & Bengali.

1973 CONSTITUTION: Formed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

- Written & Rigid constitution,
- Parliamentary nature under Federal form of govt.,
- Independent Judiciary,
- Bicameral (Two House) Parliament,
- Fundamental rights were granted,
- Independence of Judiciary,
- National Language was Urdu.

SIMILARITIES AMONG CONSTITUTIONS:

- Objectives Resolution was pre-amble of all the constitutions.
- All gave fundamental rights to minorities.
- All were written & rigid.
- No law against Islam & Islamic Advisory Council in all the constitutions.
- All had Federal form of govt.

DIFFERENCES AMONG CONSTITUTIONS:

- Constitutions of 1956 & 1971 were Parliamentary while 1962 was Presidential.
- In 1956 & 1962 Urdu & Bengali while in 1973 Urdu was the National Language.
- 1956 & 1962 were Unicameral while 1973 was Bicameral.
- In 1956 & 1973 Constituent Assembly was there while in 1962 it was dictated.
- In 1956 & 1973 direct elections were there while in 1962 indirect elections.
- Each was lengthier than its predecessor.
- 1956 & 1962 constitutions were abrogated while 1973 was suspended.

***(c) How successful was Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister of Pakistan in the years 1988-90 and 1993-96?**

LEVEL 1: Simplistic statement

She was the first woman PM

LEVEL 2: Describes her reforms

Benazir Bhutto came to power after the death of Zia-ul-Haq but had lots of problems including unemployment. She employed members of her family.

LEVEL 3: Explains successes

OR Explains failures

(JUNE 2013)

[14]

[1-2]

[3-6]

[7-10]

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LEVEL 4: Explains both.

Successes

1988-90

- First woman to head a government of a Muslim nation
- Secured transfer of already purchased US weapons
- Ended a ban on trade unions and released political prisoners, restored students' unions
- Pakistan re-joined the Commonwealth and hosted the 4th SAARC which ended with Pakistan and India signing 3 peace agreements
- Visited USA.

[9-13]

1993-96

- Entered into co-operative arrangements with United States re United Nations' peacekeeping operations. 5000 troops to Somalia
- Some reduction in Pakistan's trade deficit
- Slight rise in foreign exchange reserves
- Loan and grant assistance from World Bank and IMF
- United States lifted economic and military sanctions
- Hillary Clinton visited Pakistan.

Failures

1988-90

- Conflict with Nawaz Sharif and problems with relations with growth of Separatist movements
- Difference over appointment of judges amongst others between Bhutto and President Ghulam Ishaq
- No confidence motion by opposition - failed but damaging
- Inflation and unemployment
- Drug trafficking
- Use of family members in government
- Problems in Kashmir/India
- Inept visit to Kuwait on eve of Iraqi invasion.

1993-96

- Kashmir tension
- Family feuding. Bhutto's brother murdered in 1996
- Nawaz Sharif and opposition demonstrations
- Prosecution of opposition members
- Banking scandal
- Terrorism/bombings 1995. 2000 people murdered
- Unemployment/inflation
- Unrest in army/arrest of 40 army officers in 1995
- Chief Minister of Punjab dismissed
- IMF concerns 1996 follows devaluation of Pakistan rupee. Balance of payments worsened

[14]

LEVEL 5: As Level 4 - also produces a judgement or evaluation.

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(b) Why was Benazir Bhutto dismissed from office a second time in 1996? [7]
(NOV.2015) [1]

LEVEL 1: Simplistic answer

She was unpopular [2-4]

LEVEL 2: Identifies reasons

There were allegations of corruption [5-7]

LEVEL 3: Explains reasons

Opposition from Nawaz Sharif tried to undermine her government with some success, organising strikes, marches and critical speeches. Opposition increased when these leaders were arrested. Family feuds over control of the PPP also highlighted the problems she faced especially as these were well publicised. The killing of her brother Mir Murtaza in a police ambush raised suspicions of government involvement especially when none of the police involved were arrested and some were promoted. Her husband Asif Ali Zardari was accused of receiving money from government deals and being involved in political murders and although the allegations were never proved, the inference was that the government was tarred with corruption.