

Topic 28

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was born on **January 5, 1928**. He was the only son of **Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto**. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto married **Nusrat Isphahani** on September 8, 1951 and in 1953, his first child, Benazir Bhutto, was born on June 21.

In 1958, he joined President Iskander Mirza's Cabinet as Commerce Minister. He was the youngest Minister in Ayub Khans Cabinet. In 1963, he took over the post of Foreign Minister from Muhammad Ali Bogra. In June 1966, Bhutto left Ayub's Cabinet over differences concerning the **Tashkent Agreement**.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto launched **Pakistan Peoples Party** after leaving Ayub's Cabinet. In the general elections held in December 1970, P. P. P. won a large majority in West Pakistan but failed to reach an agreement with **Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman**, the majority winner from East Pakistan. Following the 1971 War and the separation of East Pakistan, Yahya Khan resigned and Bhutto took over as President and **Chief Martial Law Administrator on December 20, 1971**.

Following a political crisis in the country, Bhutto was imprisoned by General Zia-ul-Haq, who imposed **Martial Law on July 5, 1977**.

On April 4, 1979, the former Prime Minister was hanged, after the Supreme Court upheld the death sentence passed by the Lahore High Court. The High Court had given him the death sentence on charges of murder of Mohammad ali raza khan kasuri.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was buried in his ancestral village at **Garhi Khuda Baksh**, next to his father's grave.

KEY POINTS:

Political reforms:

- **20 December 1971**, Zulfikar ali Bhutto became President and chief martial law administrator.
- The 1970 election however had given the PPP an overwhelming majority in the NA.
- He was determined to **limit the powers of the army** so that it would not intervene to thwart his policies.
- He removed the most important army leaders (29 in Bhutto's first four months in power). amongst these were the head of the Air Force, Air Marshal Rahim khan and the C.in-C of the army, General Gul Hasan.
- Appointing his own leaders for example, **General Tikka Khan** was placed in charge of the army in a new post named "Chief of Army Staff".
- Setting up the **FSF** from October 1972, a government controlled military force set up "assist the police force".

The Simla Agreement:

- On **2 July 1972** Bhutto signed the Simla agreement with the Prime minister of India, *Indira Gandhi*.
- India agreed to return prisoners of war to Pakistan in return for a promise from Pakistan that the Kashmir problem would be discussed directly with India and not in international forums such as UN.
- Bhutto's popularity increased by bringing home the prisoners of war.

Establishing a new constitution:

- In April 1972 martial law was lifted and a new assembly was called.
- A committee was set up with representatives from different parties in the assembly to draw up a new constitution.
- The committee reported in April 1973 and its recommendations received almost unanimous support in the Assembly.
- On **14 August 1973** the new constitution became law.
- The most significant features of the new constitution were:
 - (i) There would be two houses, the senate and the Assembly. The assembly would be elected for a period of 5 years and the members of the senate would be nominated in equal numbers from each of the 4 provinces.
 - (ii) The leader of the party with a majority in the Assembly would become PM and select a cabinet.
 - (iii) The president became largely a figurehead, whose orders had to be signed by the PM.
 - (iv) Pakistan was an Islamic Republic and both the PM and president had to be Muslims.
 - (v) Pakistan was a federal state. Each province had its own assembly, elected by universal adult suffrage with the majority party forming the provincial government. The national Assembly could only change the political leadership in the provinces by amending the constitution which required at least a 75 % majority in a vote.
 - (vi) All fundamental basic human rights were guaranteed.
- As a leader of the PPP, Bhutto became PM and Chaudhri Fazal Elahi elected President.

Industrial Reforms:

- Bhutto wanted to bring down inflation from 25 %.
- For that he introduced the programme of **nationalization**.
- The sugar, cotton, vegetable oil and rice industries together with the banking and insurance sectors were taken under the government control.
- 70 major industrial units were placed under the control of a Federal Ministry of production.
- These changes were designed to help the government in the following ways:
 - (i) Control industrial output and channel investment into industrialization.
 - (ii) Raise the workers living and working standards including the provision of cheap housing.
 - (iii) Allow the workers to set up unions.
 - (iv) To erase the inequalities that had collected most of the industrial wealth into a few hands. 20 industrial houses owned 80 % of Pakistan's large scale industry.
 - (v) Create wealth to help fund other government reforms.
 - (vi) Raise the popularity of the PPP.

Problems for nationalization policy:

- (i) Pakistan's education system was not yet producing sufficiently educated workers to take managerial positions in the industries under the Federal Ministry of Production.
 - (ii) Capable factory owner were often replaced by civil servants with little understanding of commerce.
 - (iii) The changes took place at a time when the world was going through a recession .the nationalized industries faced a declining demand for their goods across the world and private companies were forced to close.
- Despite these problems Bhutto's industrial reforms did have some success and inflation fell to just **6 %** in 1976.
 - Economic growth also began to increase.

Agricultural reforms:

- Bhutto believed that improved technology and better farming methods had raised production.
 - So landowners could maintain their income on smaller, more productive, areas of land.
 - He therefore ***cut the ceiling to 250 acres from 500 acres irrigated and 500 from 1000 acres un-irrigated.***
 - The surplus land could be sold to the smaller peasant/farmers to make better profits.
 - The cunning big landlords started transferring their holding to their members or to their trusted tenants.
 - Bribery and corruption emerged among patwaris.
-
- Bhutto also wanted to give tenants security of tenure of the land they farmed.
 - The tenants can purchase their farmed land from landlord but cannot sell to a third party who might then evict the tenants.
 - Such a measure encouraged tenants to make improvements on their lands as they knew they knew they would not be evicted.

Education:

- The standard of education was very deplorable.
 - Only 50 % children attending the school and literary rate were 25 %.
 - Bhutto's government outlined 8 ambitious goals.
- (i) to eradicate ignorance
 - (ii) Education for all including women, mentally impaired and illiterate adults.
 - (iii) To ensure that the curriculum meets Pakistan's social, economic and political needs.
 - (iv) To ensure uniformity of education
 - (v) To raise the self confidence of the common man.
 - (vi) To raise aspiration for higher education.
 - (vii) To develop each person's personality and potential.
 - (viii) To develop Pakistani culture and identity.
- Government nationalized all private schools and colleges to remove discrepancies.
 - More schools were built to provide free primary education for all.

Problems for new education policies:

- In remote areas these policies were not implemented effectively.
- Only 13 % budget was allocated for education which was not sufficient.
- Education was free even then rural people couldn't afford the loss of earnings they faced it they sent a child to school instead of sending it out to work.
- Standard of education was not maintained due to high strength of students.
- Non availability of trained teachers.
- Instead of all the government efforts the literacy rate was not increased more than 1 %.

Health and Social Reforms:

- Pakistan had the highest infant mortality rate and life expectancy was very low.
 - In august 1972 Bhutto launched a health scheme designed to correct these anomalies.
- (i) He introduced Rural Health Centre (RHCs) and Basic Health Units (BHUs) in urban areas to provide more widespread healthcare. The plan was to set up 1 RHC for every 60,000 people and 1 BHU for every 20,000 people.
 - (ii) Training colleges for doctors and nurses were expected to admit students on merits. Once qualified, doctors had to work the first year wherever the government placed them.
 - (iii) The sale of medicines under brand names was also banned which reduced the costs of medicines. Medicines were made available without prescription.

Problems for health policies:

- There were always a shortage of doctors and nurses.
- The removal of brand names from medicines also saw a fall in the income of chemists and many international drug companies closed down their operations in Pakistan as they could not make profits.

The 1977 elections:

- Bhutto called a general election in 1977 and confident of victory.
- Once the election was called 9 of the various opposition parties combined to form the **Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)**.
- They all wanted to end rule of Bhutto (PPP) and to enforce Islamic Law in Pakistan.
- PNA started gaining support but their rallies were attacked by the Bhutto's supporters.
- The government introduced a law limiting public gatherings to just 5 people to stop public support for PNA.
- The results of the elections showed a landslide victory for the PPP.
- Of the 200 seats contested PPP won 154 against the PNA's 38.
- PNA accused the government of rigging and demanded new elections.

Steps to downfall:

- Bhutto refused to agree to refresh elections and PNA organized mass protests against the government.
- He offered fresh elections in some of the disputed constituencies and to appease the religious factions, banned gambling, restricted the sale of alcohol, declared Friday to be the weekly holiday.
- On 19 April he declared a state of emergency placing Pakistan under Martial Law.

- PNA leadership was arrested and 10,000 supporters were in prison.
- Consequently on 5 July the army staged a coup, named: "**Operation Fairplay**".
- Bhutto and all other political leaders were arrested that night.
- Two days later the chief of army staff General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq announced the suspending of the constitution and the dissolution of all national and provincial assemblies.
- Once more the army was in control in Pakistan.

EXPECTED QUESTIONS:

- Question No.1:** how successful was ZAB as P.M of Pakistan. Explain your answer. (14)
June 2000 Q.4 c
- Question No.2:** give the reasons why ZAB was executed in 1979. (7) NOV. 2000 Q.5 b
- Question No.3:** in which of the following did ZAB have most success,
Reform and control of the armed forces
Constitutional reform
Education and health reforms?
Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. (14) NOV 2002 Q.4 c
- Question no 4:** why did ZAB fall from power in 1979? (7) June 2003 Q.5 b
- QuestionNo.5:** Constitutional reforms were the most important of ZAB's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977.do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2004 Q.5 c
- Question No. 6:** social reforms were the most important of ZAB's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2006 Q.5 c
- Question No. 7:** why was ZAB arrested and subsequently executed in 1979? (7) NOV 2007 Q.5 b.
- Question No.8:** education reforms were the most important of ZAB's domestic policies between 1971 and1977. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) NOV 2008 Q. 4 c
- Question No.9:** Why did ZAB come to power in 1971? (7) NOV 2009 Q. 5 b
- Question No.10:** what was the Simla Agreement? (4) NOV 2010 Q.5 a
- Question No. 11:** In December 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. His party had an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly and he was determined to introduce radical measures to bring about changes in Pakistan. He established a constitution and introduced a range of domestic measures relating to industry, agriculture, education and administrative, health and social reforms. However, he was unable to stay in power and fell from office before the end of the decade.

Describe Bhutto's downfall from power. (4) Nov. 2012 Q. 5 a