

Course: Political and Constitutional Development in Pakistan-II (4668)

Level: M.Sc.

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Pass Marks: 40

ASSIGNMENT No. 2

(Unit 5–9)

Q.1 ‘We will eat grass, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own (Atom bomb).....’ is the famous statement of Z.A. Bhutto. Discuss in detail the practical steps undertaken by Bhutto for acquiring an atom bomb. (20)

The famous statement by Z.A. Bhutto, "We will eat grass, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own (Atom bomb)," reflects his determination to acquire nuclear weapons for Pakistan. Bhutto's pursuit of nuclear capabilities involved a series of practical steps and policies. Let's examine the key actions taken by Bhutto's government in this regard:

1. Laying the Foundation:

- a. Policy Shift: After the 1971 war and the secession of East Pakistan, Bhutto recognized the need for a strong deterrent against India's conventional military superiority. He initiated a policy shift to prioritize the development of nuclear weapons as a means of national security.

- b. **Setting Up Institutions:** Bhutto established the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) in 1972 to oversee the country's nuclear program. He appointed Munir Ahmad Khan as the chairman of the PAEC, who played a pivotal role in advancing Pakistan's nuclear ambitions.

2. Uranium Enrichment Program:

- a. **Securing Technology and Expertise:** Bhutto sought assistance from various countries to acquire uranium enrichment technology. He made use of clandestine networks and engaged scientists, including Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, who later played a crucial role in Pakistan's nuclear program.
- b. **Centrifuge Technology:** Bhutto supported the research and development of centrifuge technology, which is used for uranium enrichment. This technology allowed for a more efficient and cost-effective method of producing highly enriched uranium for nuclear weapons.

3. Diplomatic and Strategic Maneuvering:

- a. **International Support:** Bhutto pursued diplomatic efforts to garner support for Pakistan's nuclear program. He reached out to countries like China, which provided crucial assistance and cooperation in the form of technical expertise and nuclear material.
- b. **Strategic Alliances:** Bhutto aimed to establish strategic alliances with countries sympathetic to Pakistan's nuclear aspirations. This included strengthening ties with Middle Eastern countries, such as Libya and Iran, which provided financial and technical assistance.

4. Public Support and Nuclear Doctrine:

- a. **Mobilizing Public Opinion:** Bhutto rallied public support for Pakistan's nuclear program, emphasizing its significance for national security and sovereignty. He popularized the

concept of the "Islamic bomb" as a symbol of national pride and deterrent against perceived threats.

- b. Development of Nuclear Doctrine: Bhutto initiated the development of a nuclear doctrine that emphasized a credible minimum deterrence posture. This doctrine aimed to deter aggression by ensuring that Pakistan possessed a sufficient nuclear arsenal capable of inflicting unacceptable damage on any potential adversary.

It is important to note that while Bhutto laid the groundwork for Pakistan's nuclear program, it was under subsequent governments, particularly during General Zia-ul-Haq's regime, that Pakistan conducted its first nuclear tests in 1998.

In conclusion, Z.A. Bhutto's pursuit of nuclear weapons for Pakistan involved a series of practical steps, including the establishment of institutions, securing technology and expertise, diplomatic maneuvering, and garnering public support. His determination to acquire nuclear capabilities was driven by the perceived need for a credible deterrent against India. The acquisition of nuclear weapons by Pakistan has since had significant implications for regional security and the geopolitical dynamics of South Asia.

Q.2 Zia-ul-Haq was the most favorite choice for the appointment of Chief of Army Staff for Z.A Bhutto. How had Zia won the confidence of a shrewd politician like Bhutto? Explain in detail. (20)

Zia-ul-Haq's appointment as the Chief of Army Staff by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan at the time, was indeed an interesting decision. Zia had managed to win the confidence of Bhutto due to several factors, including his professional competence, loyalty,

and political astuteness. Let's delve into the details of how Zia-ul-Haq earned Bhutto's favor.

- **Professional Competence:** Zia-ul-Haq had demonstrated his professional competence as a military officer throughout his career. He had served in various important positions within the military, including commanding a division during the 1971 Indo-Pakistan War. His performance in these roles showcased his leadership skills, strategic thinking, and military acumen. Bhutto recognized Zia's capabilities and believed that he would be able to efficiently lead the army.
- **Loyalty:** Zia-ul-Haq had exhibited unwavering loyalty to the government and Bhutto himself. During Bhutto's tenure as the President and later as the Prime Minister, he faced numerous challenges, including opposition from various political factions and religious groups. Zia was known for his dedication to upholding the integrity of the military and ensuring its loyalty to the government. Bhutto perceived Zia as someone who could be trusted to safeguard the government's interests and maintain stability within the armed forces.
- **Political Astuteness:** Zia-ul-Haq was not just a military officer but also had a keen understanding of politics. He was well-versed in the political dynamics of Pakistan and had developed relationships with key political players. This made him a valuable asset for Bhutto, who needed someone with political acumen to navigate the complex political landscape of the country. Zia's ability to comprehend the intricacies of politics and provide strategic advice likely impressed Bhutto and contributed to his decision to appoint him as the Chief of Army Staff.
- **Compatibility with Bhutto's Vision:** Zia-ul-Haq's ideology and worldview were aligned with Bhutto's vision for Pakistan. Both Bhutto and Zia were proponents of Islamic socialism, which aimed to combine Islamic values with socialist principles. This

ideological similarity likely played a significant role in Bhutto's decision to appoint Zia. Bhutto saw in Zia a military leader who would support his government's policies and work towards the realization of their shared vision.

- **Trust and Personal Rapport:** Personal chemistry and trust between leaders can play a vital role in decision-making. It is possible that Zia-ul-Haq had developed a strong rapport with Bhutto, leading to a high level of trust and comfort. This trust could have been built through interactions over time, discussions on military and political matters, and the belief that Zia would be a reliable ally for Bhutto's government.

It is important to note that while Zia-ul-Haq initially enjoyed Bhutto's favor and appointment as Chief of Army Staff, their relationship eventually deteriorated. Zia staged a military coup in 1977, overthrowing Bhutto's government and subsequently executing him in 1979. The complex dynamics of power, personal ambitions, and changing circumstances in Pakistan's political landscape ultimately led to a fracture in their relationship.

Q.3 Discuss the politics of MRD and the ways Zia regime dealt with MRD. Elaborate with facts. **(20)**

The Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was a coalition of political parties and groups in Pakistan that united against the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq. The MRD aimed to restore democracy, press for political reforms, and oppose Zia's authoritarian rule. The Zia regime, on the other hand, employed various tactics to suppress and undermine the MRD. Here are the key aspects of the politics surrounding the MRD and the Zia regime's response:

Formation and Objectives of the MRD: The MRD was formed in 1981, bringing together a diverse range of political parties, including the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Benazir

Bhutto, the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) led by Nawaz Sharif, and various other smaller parties and factions. The MRD sought to challenge Zia's military dictatorship, demand the restoration of civilian rule, and advocate for fundamental rights and political freedoms.

Protests and Opposition: The MRD organized a series of protests, rallies, and strikes across Pakistan to mobilize public support and put pressure on the Zia regime. These protests often faced violent repression from the government, with security forces using tear gas, baton charges, and arrests to suppress the demonstrations. Despite the crackdown, the MRD managed to maintain its momentum and keep the anti-Zia sentiment alive.

Political Repression and Electoral Manipulation: The Zia regime employed various tactics to undermine the MRD politically. It banned political parties, curtailed press freedoms, and imposed strict censorship to control the narrative. The regime also carried out mass arrests and detentions of MRD leaders and activists, weakening the movement's organizational structure and capacity to mobilize effectively.

Rigged Elections: As part of its efforts to undermine the MRD, the Zia regime held non-transparent and rigged elections. In 1985, the regime introduced the controversial "partyless elections" system, which aimed to sideline political parties and consolidate Zia's power. The MRD boycotted these elections, arguing that they lacked legitimacy and were designed to perpetuate military rule.

Co-option and Divide-and-Rule Strategy: The Zia regime also employed a divide-and-rule strategy to weaken the MRD. It selectively co-opted some political leaders, offering them positions in the government or favorable treatment in exchange for their loyalty. This tactic aimed to sow divisions within the MRD and undermine its unity and effectiveness.

State Repression and Martial Law: The Zia regime utilized the draconian powers granted under martial law to suppress dissent and maintain control. It introduced the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution, which concentrated significant powers in the hands of the President and military, eroding democratic checks and balances. The regime's intelligence agencies, such as the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), were notorious for their surveillance, torture, and harassment of MRD activists and leaders.

International Pressure and Isolation: The MRD sought international support to highlight the undemocratic practices of the Zia regime. It actively engaged with human rights organizations, foreign governments, and international forums to draw attention to the violations of political rights in Pakistan. This put pressure on the Zia regime and led to its increasing isolation on the global stage.

Despite facing immense repression and challenges, the MRD played a crucial role in keeping the spirit of democracy alive in Pakistan during the Zia era. Its resilience and determination set the stage for future political developments, including the eventual restoration of democracy after Zia's death in a plane crash in 1988.

Q.4 Critically analyze the General Election of 1988 and its result. How far these elections paved the way for democratic accountability in Pakistan? **(20)**

The General Election of 1988 in Pakistan marked a significant milestone in the country's political history. It was the first election held after the death of General Zia-ul-Haq, who had ruled Pakistan under a military regime for over a decade. The election brought about a transition from military rule to a civilian government and laid the groundwork for

democratic accountability. Let's analyze the election and its results in the context of democratic development in Pakistan:

Transition from Military to Civilian Rule: The 1988 election symbolized a shift from military rule to civilian governance in Pakistan. Following Zia's death in a plane crash in August 1988, a caretaker government was installed to oversee the electoral process. The election itself was a critical step in restoring civilian rule and ending over a decade of military dictatorship.

Political Pluralism and Party Competition: The 1988 election witnessed a vibrant political landscape, with multiple political parties participating and competing for power. The main contenders were the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Benazir Bhutto, daughter of the executed former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), a coalition of right-wing parties supported by elements of the military establishment. This multiparty competition demonstrated the growing political pluralism in Pakistan and the emergence of alternative political forces.

Election Irregularities and Allegations of Rigging: The 1988 election was marred by allegations of rigging and electoral irregularities. There were reports of voter intimidation, ballot-stuffing, and biased conduct by the Election Commission. The fairness of the election process was called into question, and these irregularities cast a shadow on the credibility of the results.

Benazir Bhutto's Victory and Democratic Accountability: Benazir Bhutto's PPP emerged as the largest party in the election, securing the most seats in the National Assembly. Her victory marked a significant achievement for democratic forces in Pakistan. The peaceful transition of power from a military regime to a democratically elected civilian government was a crucial step toward democratic accountability.

Fragile Coalitions and Political Instability: Despite the success of the 1988 election in establishing civilian rule, the subsequent governments faced challenges in terms of political instability and fragile coalition governments. The first Benazir Bhutto government was dismissed in 1990, and subsequent governments in the 1990s experienced similar fates, leading to frequent changes in leadership and governmental instability. This hampered the consolidation of democratic accountability and governance.

Legacy and Lessons: The 1988 election demonstrated the desire of the Pakistani people for democracy and civilian rule. It showed that popular support for democratic institutions and practices was strong, despite years of military rule. The election also highlighted the challenges and shortcomings of the electoral process, such as irregularities and allegations of rigging, which underscored the need for electoral reforms to ensure free and fair elections.

While the 1988 election was a critical moment in Pakistan's democratic journey, it alone did not fully establish democratic accountability in the country. The subsequent years witnessed a complex interplay of political, institutional, and societal factors that influenced the level of democratic consolidation. Issues such as corruption, weak governance, political polarization, and military interference continued to pose challenges to democratic accountability in Pakistan.

Overall, the 1988 election was a significant step towards democratic accountability in Pakistan, signaling a transition from military rule to civilian governance. However, the journey towards stable and consolidated democracy requires continued efforts to address challenges and strengthen democratic institutions, ensure electoral integrity, promote political inclusivity, and foster a culture of transparency and accountability in the country.

Q.5 Discuss in detail the causes of disenchantment between then the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and then the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. How had the disagreement between these two exploited by the military to strengthen its hold on power? (20)

The disenchantment between President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in the 1990s was a significant political rift that had far-reaching consequences for Pakistan's democratic system. The causes of their disagreement can be traced to various factors, including personal ambitions, differing visions of governance, allegations of corruption, and a struggle for power. The military, led by General Waheed Kakar, exploited this conflict to intervene in politics and strengthen its hold on power. Here's a detailed analysis of the causes and the military's exploitation:

Personality Clash and Power Struggle: President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had differing personalities and leadership styles, leading to a clash of egos and a struggle for power. Both leaders were strong-willed and sought to assert their authority. This clash escalated as each sought to consolidate power and assert dominance over the other.

Vision of Governance: President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had divergent visions of governance. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, as a symbol of the old bureaucratic order, preferred a more centralized and powerful presidency. Nawaz Sharif, on the other hand, advocated for greater executive authority and sought to enhance the power of the prime minister's office. These contrasting visions created tension and disagreements over the distribution of power.

Corruption Allegations: The government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif faced allegations of corruption, particularly related to economic mismanagement and cronyism. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, as the head of state, held concerns about corruption within the government and its

impact on national stability. These allegations deepened the mistrust and strained the relationship between the two leaders.

Use of Presidential Powers: President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, citing concerns about corruption and governance issues, invoked the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution, which empowered the president to dissolve the National Assembly and dismiss the prime minister. Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed Nawaz Sharif's government twice, in 1990 and 1993, triggering a constitutional crisis and exacerbating the conflict between the two.

Military Intervention: The disagreement and power struggle between Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif provided an opportunity for the military to intervene and strengthen its hold on power. General Waheed Kakar, the Chief of Army Staff at the time, saw an opportunity to intervene in politics under the pretext of resolving the political impasse and restoring stability. The military brokered a compromise between the two leaders, known as the Islamabad Declaration, which effectively reduced the powers of both the president and the prime minister and placed constraints on civilian governance.

The Role of the Establishment: The military establishment, particularly the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), exploited the discord between Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif to consolidate its influence and maintain control over key aspects of governance. The military saw the political turmoil as an opportunity to assert its authority and play a decisive role in shaping the political landscape of Pakistan.

Undermining Democratic Institutions: The conflict between Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif, coupled with military intervention, undermined democratic institutions and processes in Pakistan. The military's interference weakened civilian institutions, created a culture of political instability, and eroded public trust in democratic governance.

The disenchantment between President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, coupled with the military's exploitation of the situation, contributed to a turbulent political environment in Pakistan during the 1990s. The military's interventions and the erosion of democratic norms and institutions during this period set a precedent for future military interventions and political instability in the country.

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