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The Rule of Military in Pakistan: An Agent of Change? A Socio-Political Comparative Analysis of Ayub Khan and Zia-ul-Haq

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Abstract: ***The change covers the meaning of alteration, transformation or fundamental modification to achieve some specific objective. The socio-political change covers the domain of transformational steps by an individual, organization or by state to bring fundamental changes in society and political setup. The political history of Pakistan has seen many ups and downs in the form of four long military interventions in the political setup. The weak political norms and fragile political institutions provide a feasible environment for the organized institution of the military to intervene and establish their rule. Military dictators have posed themselves as the saviour of the nation and a hope for change for the common masses. The special focus of this paper is the era of General Ayub Khan and General Zia-ul-Haq. This paper is an effort to explore the consequences and results of the socio-political transformational policies adopted by both military leaders. The study reveals that both military dictators adopted different stands (economic and religious) to preserve their interests instead of social welfare.***

Keywords: Social Change, Military Intervention, Political Institutions.

1. INTRODUCTION

The politics of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent shows the changing pattern of civil-military relations. In Sub-continent, the military was organized and trained according to the modern needs of the British. The British observed the principle of civilian authority over the military. The British Government in London was the ultimate control of the Indian military. Being the powerful imperial power, it was the need for the government to maintain high-ranking military might. The British government implement the policy of civilian supremacy and did not allow political leaders to demoralize the professionalism in the military. The armed forces remained loyal to the government until the end.

When the Muslim League (the founding party of Pakistan) demanded the division of armed forces, the British Government did not welcome it. The government believed that armed

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forces must remain undivided and responsible for overall defence for both states after independence i.e. India and Pakistan. The British Government and military high command consider the division of armed forces as an attempt to undermine the efficiency, training and strong organization of this institution.

All the military dictators have presented themselves as the saviour of the nation and a ray of hope and change for the masses. The experience shows that the slogan of change bears different connotations over time and mostly revolves around the personal specific interest only. The major concern of the paper will be on the period of General Ayub Khan and General Zia-ul-Haq. The comparative study is an effort to explore the fact that, does the institution of the military proved as an agent of change in state and society or behaved vice versa in the case of Pakistan. It is focused that the socio-political transformational policies adopted by General Ayub and General Zia contributed positively or negatively to promoting healthy political traditions in the state and society.

The core objective of the study is to explore the steps, consequences and results of the socio-political transformational policies adopted by General Ayub and General Zia.

The study is based on a qualitative method of research with historical, analytical and descriptive research designs to interpret results.

A Background Study of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan:

Pakistan came into being on 14th August 1947. It was a fact that Congress did not accept the idea of the creation of Pakistan as a separate state. The Congress President, Acharaya Kripalani, stated on Independence Day, "Let us henceforth bend all our energies to the unification of this land of ours".

Many Indian actions play their role to increase distrust and animosity between the two states. In the words of Dr Askari (2000) "The Kashmir dispute, India's military action in Junagadh (1947) and the annexation of Hyderabad (1948) seemed to have convinced the Pakistanis that India would use force to re-unite the sub-continent" (p.52). A clear example of these reservations can be perceived in the words of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in a letter to the Prime Minister of India (Pandit Nehru) on December 30, 1947.

> "India has never whole-heartedly accepted the partition scheme but her leaders paid lip service to it merely to get the British troops out of the country."
> "India is out to destroy the State of Pakistan which her leaders persistently continue to regard as part of India itself." (Malhotra, 2010, p.22)

The fear of Indian domination has long-lasting impacts on Pakistan's internal politics and her external relations. This situation gave birth to many defence related issues for the newly borne state. Pakistan inherited extremely insecure borders with minimal defence capabilities. The strategic location of Pakistan and a high level of insecurity required her to maintain a highly sophisticated military. Due to that situation, the military got an opportunity to enjoy an influential position over the political setup of the state.

Political Scenario after Independence:

The internal domestic political conditions of Pakistan were not much satisfactory. The basic problem was to develop a stable political system to confront many challenges of economic, social, administrative and security issues.

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The political machinery fragmented quickly after the death of Jinnah (1948) and Liaquat Ali khan (1951). The Muslim League (the founding political party) remained incapable to take the nation on the road of democracy, stability and prosperity. This party faced the problems of factionalism, regionalism and opportunism with personal individual gains and advantages rather than the interest of the state. This situation awarded the military with strength and exposed the incompetence of the civilian government. The civilian government increase its reliance on the military and bureaucracy to encounter the challenges of law and order and natural calamities.

The military intervened in civil affairs directly in 1953 after the eruption of the Anti-Ahmadi riots in Punjab. The provincial government remained unable to control the situation. The military was called and Martial Law was imposed in Lahore on 6th March 1953. The situation was back to normal within a few days under the supervision of Major General Azam Khan. The call of the army brought the situation back to normal within a few days. Daily Dawn commented on the period of military rule in Lahore as:

> ..Memories of the Army rule in Lahore will linger for a long time to come and the new look that Lahore has acquired and the sense of discipline among its people inculcated by the army will bear eloquent testimony to the good work done by Major General Azam Khan and his men.

The civilian leadership remained busy in the power struggle and the norm of civilian supremacy was ignored. That power struggle forced the military to intervene in the political process.

First Military Rule in Pakistan: The Ayub Regime (October 1958 – March 1969)

The military coup in Pakistan (1958) was not a sudden reaction of the military. It was a clear example of how a military can be drawn into a political setup because of the failure of political rulers. The military possesses the tradition of aloofness from politics and remains loyal to the civil government. This institution provides its services to combat law and order issues and natural calamities. Over time, the military appears as an important element in the decision-making process. While on the other hand, the political crisis had become worst. Corruption, political bargaining, nepotism and parochial affiliations become the order of the day.

In the words of Khalid bin Sayeed (1959),

> "Pakistan was very much like Hobbes' state of nature where every political or provincial group fought against every other group. It was a ceaseless and ruthless struggle for power. Most of the leaders thought of themselves, their families or at best their provincial groups and did not give a second thought to Pakistan. Pakistan needed a desperate remedy for this malady. And Martial law was the Leviathan which emerged to maintain law and order and the public good at the point of the sword" (p.389-90).

In the presence of a continuous political crisis, the general masses were looking to the military for strong leadership and stability in society. The military coup and declaration of Martial law in the state as consisting of two phases. The first phase covers the abrogation of the constitution of 1956, dissolution of provincial and central assemblies, ban on political parties and General Ayub Khan's appointment as Supreme Commander of Armed Forces by

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President Iskander Mirza on 7th October 1958. The other phase (8th to 27th October) cover the forced resignation of Iskander Mirza and with this step, all powers shifted to the military.

General Ayub Khan addressed the nation on 8th October 1958. In his address, he tried to justify the entry of the military into politics in these words, "with great reluctance but with the fullest conviction that there was no alternative to it except the disintegration and complete ruination of the country." Muhammad Ahmad (1960) quoted a conversation that shows the insecurities of military personnel against political leaders.

At some other place in early 1958, a few correspondents questioned Ayub Khan if he was prepared to defend Pakistan under such a chaotic political situation if some hostile neighbour suddenly attacked. He replied, "Do not you worry about the defence of the country. That is my business. Attend to your leaders who are wrecking the country. Do not talk about external dangers. The real danger is within the country. Cannot you see it?" (p. 102-03).

The Coup of 1958 by General Ayub Khan was a bloodless civilian coup. The transfer of power was smooth. The coup was accepted by the majority of the people of all classes happily. No violence was observed throughout the state on the account of Martial law imposition. The reason behind the smooth imposition of martial law was the good image of the military in the eyes of the general masses. The military leaders used to say this coup was a revolution. In the words of Khan (1960), "the revolution of October 7, 1958, was not aimed against the institution of democracy as such. No, it was only against the manner in which its institutions were being worked."

After assuming power, General Ayub Khan adopted many political transformational steps to get legitimacy for his dictatorial rule. Like every dictator, he wants to secure his office and achieve legal cover for his rule at the national and international levels.

Political Transformational Steps:

The political steps taken by General Ayub Khan have four phases. The first phase includes the introduction of a new local self-government system known as the system of Basic Democracies. The second phase covers the presidential referendum. The third phase revolved around the formation of the constitutional commission. And the final fourth phase deals with the enforcement of the constitution.

The System of Basic Democracies:

The first step toward the civilianization of military rule was the introduction of the system of basic democracies. The system of basic democracies was introduced on 27th October 1959. According to Askari (2003), the basic objective of this system was to build support at the 'lowest level of society without ceding any power at the highest level' (p.96). It was a four-layer system, initiated from the village level to the divisional level. The division of 80,000 single-member constituencies was made and equally divided between West and East Pakistan for the system of basic democracies. The number of constituencies increased from 80,000 to 1, 20000 later.

The second layer of the system of basic democracies was the creation of the Tehsil Council in West Pakistan and the Thana Council in East Pakistan. The second layer in urban areas was named as Municipal Committee. The third layer in rural and urban areas was the District Council. The District Council performed various welfare-related work with the supervision of

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lower-level councils. The fourth layer was the Divisional Council. This body was assigned to coordinate and supervise the work of the lower bodies.

The military government want to make sure that by establishing a local body system, popular leadership will come from. The Government also showed generosity in releasing funds to local body units to make their work successful. The elections for the local body system were conducted twice, once in December 1959 and the second time in October 1964 after the martial law period under the strict control of the military.

This system was initiated with good intentions but certain shortcomings made the system ineffective. The shreds of evidence showed that the priority of this basic democracy system was not administrative tasks but political one. The bureaucracy possesses an extreme influence on the local body system. The electoral legitimacy of the basic democracies was also controversial. In the words of Ronaq Jahan (1972) "in the absence of a clear mandate, the democracies were open to government pressure and manipulation" (p.119).

Overall it was a good effort of the military government to introduce democracy at the grass-root level. According to Huntington (1968), "the Basic Democracies brought politics to the rural areas and created a class of rural activists with a role to play in both local and national politics. For the first time, political activity was dispersed outward from the cities and spread over the countryside. Political participation was thus broadened, a new source of support created for the government and a major step taken towards creating the institutional link between the government and the countryside which is the pre-requisite for political stability in a modernizing country" (p.252).

The Presidential Referendum:

The military government feel new strength and confidence after the smooth launch of the basic democracies system to seek ratification of its policies. The other important step of General Ayub khan towards the civilianization of his military rule was the conduct of a referendum. The presidential referendum was conducted on 14th February 1960. In this referendum, only the members of the basic democratic system were certified to show their confidence in General Ayub Khan. As a result, a big majority of members voted in favour of General Ayub Khan and showed their full confidence in the leadership of General Ayub Khan. On 17th February, General Ayub Khan was sworn in as the first elected president of Pakistan.

The Formation of Constitutional Commission:

After assuming the office of president, General Ayub Khan appointed a constitutional commission under the chairmanship of Justice Muhammad Shahabuddin (a senior judge of the Supreme Court). The purpose of this commission was to frame proposals for the new constitution by keeping in mind the wide-ranging analysis of Pakistan's history. The constitutional Commission submitted a detailed report to the President with various important recommendations about the nature of the political system of Pakistan.

Enforcement of the Constitution:

The other step of General Ayub Khan toward the legitimacy of his military rule was the formation and enforcement of the constitution. The new constitution was declared by Ayub Khan on 1st March 1962. The enforced constitution was different from the recommendations

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of the constitutional commission on many issues. The new constitution gave a more authoritarian system to the nation. The constitution ensured a very strong executive, weak parliament and a system of indirect elections which favoured the government. "The introduction of the 1962 constitution was a planned disengagement of the military from power and a careful transition to civilian rule by political and constitutional engineering" (Rizvi, 2003, p.101).

With the enforcement of the constitution on 8th June 1962, the military rule was over when assemblies start working. Centralization of power lies with the president only. Due to that power structure, a patron-client relationship was developed as far as the President and other governmental institutions are concerned. A civilian constitutional government under President Ayub Khan replaced his previous military rule. But this political transformation of the Ayub regime was a cosmetic one, not the real transformation of his rule.

A realization also developed with Ayub Khan that no political system could function well without the participation of political parties. Ayub Khan also joined a political party named Pakistan Muslim League in search of legitimacy but no effort was being made to organize that party at the masses level in both wings.

The Presidential Elections (1965):

The last step of Ayub Khan towards political transformation includes the conduct of presidential elections in the state. Ayub Khan was approved as a presidential candidate for re-election from the platform of the conventional Muslim League**.** The opposing presidential candidate was Ms Fatima Jinnah. The basic democracies were declared as the electoral college for the presidential election. This setup was totally in favour of Ayub Khan. Elections were held on 2nd January 1965 and resulted in a big majority of Ayub Khan over Ms Fatima Jinnah. The opposition parties apprehend that elections were not free and fair. According to The Pakistan Times, on 4th January 1965, Ms Jinnah believed that "these elections have been rigged. I am sure that the so-called victory of Mr Ayub Khan is his greatest defeat."

The disputed results of the election affected the legitimacy of Ayub Khan's government. The victory of Ayub Khan as the president of Pakistan was the final transitional step toward civilianization.

Social Transformational Steps:

General Ayub Khan also initiated some serious steps for social change and transformation. Social transformation indicates the process of change in values, norms, the pattern of interaction and institutional arrangement in a society. Generally, the concept of social transformation in social sciences denotes the change in systematic characteristics of a society. According to the report of UNESCO, this integrates the process of modification in the prevailing bounds of a social system including economic, political and technological rearrangement.

Introduction of Family Laws:

The most important step taken in societal setup was the initiative of the Family Laws in 1961. The family regulations bring an end to the traditional discretion of the male segment of society regarding marriage, divorce, inheritance and other related family matters. The family is considered the most basic unit of society. An effort was been made to bring gender equality

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from the grassroots level. The minimum age of marriage for women was increased from 14 to 16 years. Special measures were taken with the collaboration of international agencies to control the rapid growth of the population.

Educational Reforms:

The military government have announced many changes in the educational system of Pakistan. The national education commission was established in 1958. The purpose of this commission was to pay focus to rebuild the education sector in the state. The syllabus contents were updated and revised. The majorly focused areas of course contents were the Islamic ideology and identity of Pakistan. The engineering and agricultural universities were established in each wing. Many polytechnic institutes were established to provide skills to students after high school. Student unions were banned.

Land Reforms:

Feudalism has remained a prominent feature of Pakistan's society. Landlords dominated on legislature and executive from the inception of Pakistan. In such a scenario no land reforms were worked on by the government. The military government felt the need for time and appointed a land reform commission to deal with the matters relating to the ownership and tenancy of agricultural land. Ayub khan announced land reforms, after the submission of the land commission report. The major reforms included:

The landholding criteria were declared fixed. As 'no individual could own more than 500 acres of irrigated or 1,000 acres of unirrigated land, or individual total landholding should not exceed 36,000 produce Index units' (Rizvi, 2003, p.91). All land awards were eliminated. These developments introduce many measures to help farmers. As encouragement on use of modern means of farming, improvement in irrigation facilities, measures to control water-logging and salinity and improved access to the market. Due to these progressive measures, the economy of East Pakistan showed some signs of growth.

Legal reforms:

A special law reform commission was formed in December 1959 to bring improvement to the prevailing legal and judicial system. Its basic task was to search for ways for how justice can be delivered to people in a better and more speedy way. It was also decided to update the method of investigation more scientific. It was a good step taken by the military government but many political controversies contribute towards its ineffectiveness.

Economic Reforms:

The era of Ayub khan is known for economic development and industrialization. After assuming power, the military government paid much focus to check corruption, black marketing and hoarding. Security measures were tightened on the international borders of India and Afghanistan to check and control smuggling. Serious action was also taken by the military government against corrupt officials.

A "bonus voucher scheme" was introduced in January 1959. The purpose of this scheme was to increase exports. The private sector was encouraged to flourish. The economic planning commission was formed to take measures to boost the economy and make strategies to achieve set economic targets. But these adopted policies of military government resulted differently. In the words of Askari (2003),

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> "The government had consciously pursued a policy of 'functional inequality' that ignored the equity imperatives on the assumption that such a policy would raise savings, encourage the greater accumulation of wealth and promote rapid growth whose rewards, it was claimed, would later 'trickle down' to the lower strata of the society" (p.93).

These policies neglected the development of the social sector and encouraged disparities among different sections of people as well as regions.

Labour Laws:

The military government also paid attention to improving labour management relations. A new labour policy was announced. The basic motive of this policy was to bring better working conditions for the labour, development of a good relationship between the employers and employees to increase productivity and provision of social welfare benefits (education, health and housing etc.) to labours.

The above discussed were the few steps taken by the Ayub Government to uplift social development in society. In the era of General Ayub Khan, the capacity of political institutions was made vulnerable. The military government of General Ayub Khan gave priority to economic development over political development. The political system introduced by the military government was authoritarian. That type of controlled democracy ensured stability rather than people's participation in state affairs. Institutional development failure was the basic reason for the Ayub regime's downfall. The wide-range political agitation against Ayub Khan exposed the fact that economic growth is not the only way to success. Economic growth must go hand in hand with economic justice and social change.

General Ayub Khan handed over power to Yahya Khan on 25 March 1969, when he realized that he lost his popularity in public. The transfer of power from General Ayub Khan to General Yayha Khan was, in fact, another opportunity for the military and bureaucracy to exercise political power without any popular base. After assuming power, the following problems were looking for their immediate solution by the military government of Yahya Khan.

1. Constitutional problem.
2. Inter-provincial ethnic rivalry.
3. Restoration of real democracy in the state.

After coming to power, Yahya Khan assured many times to the nation that the Army did not possess any political ambitions. He assured to conduct of 'free and fair' elections to hand over power to a civilian government. The legal framework order issued by Yahya khan provided a guideline for the general elections and defined the principles for National Assembly to formulate a new constitution for the state.

The elections of 1970 were the first general elections conducted in the political history of Pakistan. The conduct of elections was the first successful step towards the restoration of civilian Government. But the result of the elections gave birth to a more serious political crisis. The military government remained unable to solve the confrontation between PPP (Pakistan Peoples Party) and the Awami League. This confrontation finally disintegrated Pakistan.

The rule of Yahya Khan in the political history of Pakistan must be given credit for conducting free and fair elections at the national and provincial levels. The transformation of

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Yahya's rule from military to civilian can be described as the actual transformation. But he remained unable to transfer power peacefully to elected representatives.

Third Military Rule in Pakistan: The Zia Regime (July 1977-August 1988)

After the debacle of East Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto got an opportunity to rule the state of Pakistan. After providing the constitution of 1973, Z.A Bhutto tried to develop civilian supremacy. He also introduced different new clauses relating to the structure of the military. The military remains silent during that period because the disintegration of Pakistan brought the military's image to the lowest ebb. Z.A Bhutto adopted certain policies, those created problems for Z.A Bhutto's rule to survive successfully. The following factors played their role to destabilize the political process of the state during the rule of Bhutto.

1. He started to personalize power rather than focusing on the formation of participatory institutions and processes.
2. Different opposition leaders started an agitation move against Bhutto's rule. Through their actions, they made it clear to the military that the intervention of the military in politics will not be challenged if the military overthrew Z.A Bhutto's government.
3. The institution of the military had recuperated from the shudder of 1971.

If a state possesses a history of military intervention in a time of crisis, that norm can be observed easily again in a feasible environment. This was the same happened with the government of Z.A Bhutto in 1977. The military intervened due to the lack of management power on the part of politicians to resolve the political crisis of 1977.

General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq declared martial law throughout the state on 5th July 1977. With the imposition of martial law in the state, he became the third military ruler in Pakistan. The Prime Minister, his cabinet members and the foremost opposition leaders were arrested. The constitution of 1973 was not abrogated but suspended. Federal and provincial assemblies were dissolved. While the president was allowed to perform nominal functions. A military Council was established as the highest decision-making body. This council consists of the chairman, the Joint chief of staff committee and the services chiefs. Special military courts were formed to punish violations of martial law regulations.

After assuming power, General Zia proposed himself as a hesitant ruler, who assumes the power to settle the political crisis in the state. He claimed on many occasions that the military has no political ambitions. But with time General Zia expanded the goals of the coup to stay in power for a long. He took over as a caretaker ruler but later decided to introduce many socio-political changes in society.

Political Transformational Steps:

Like every military ruler, General Zia also planned to civilianize his military rule by initiating the following political and constitutional changes. A verdict of the Supreme Court 'The doctrine of necessity' provided the military rule with legal legitimacy and justification to rule. This verdict was conditioned on the holding of free and fair elections. Although no time limit was prescribed.

The real process of civilianization of military rule started with the plan announced by General Zia to conduct elections and transfer power to the elected civilian body. But in fact, he

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intended to prolong his stay in power. He unfolded his plans in phases to achieve that specific purpose. Later he declared that 'he would "share" power rather than "transfer" it (Rizvi, 2000, p.260).

Local Government Reforms 1979-85:

After the civilian rule of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, local governments were restored under the military rule of General Zia. Zia opted for the Ayubian-phased strategy to transform his military rule into civilian. It was only an effort to gain legitimacy for his rule rather than the decentralization of political power. With the imposition of Martial Law, political centralization was achieved by the military ruler General Zia. Local governments were restored on a non-party basis, through the proclamation of the Local Government Ordinance. In the words of Ayesha Jalal (1995), 'by this act, the army sought to use its old strategy of 'divide and rule' by creating a new and competing class of 'collaborative' local level politicians'.

There were three levels of local government in rural areas: union councils, tehsil councils and district councils. While in urban areas the setup of local government comprises four levels i.e. Town committees, Municipal Committees, Municipal Corporations, and Metropolitan Corporations. The state institutions (especially bureaucracy) continued to intervene in the domain of local government, which affected the credibility and functions of local bodies. These all efforts were left with the personalization of politics at the local level.

Presidential Referendum 1984:

The presidential referendum of General Zia was the second step towards the political transformation (civilianization) of his rule. General Zia decided to continue his role as president even after the restoration of the participatory democratic process. To achieve the purpose of legitimizing his rule, popular support was required. He did not want to take the risk of the mobilization of people against him. A referendum was the strategy adopted by General Zia to save his political future. As he apprehends that he could not be elected in fair elections.

A referendum was organized in December 1984. This referendum was to seek public support for all policies adopted by General Zia. The official results showed a high turnout with 97.71 votes in favour of the president (Rizvi, 2000, p.261). While independent sources showed dubious concerns over results. The opposition parties (that launched movement for the restoration of democracy (MRD) in the state) also showed reservations about the credibility of referendum results. With the referendum, Chief Martial Law Administrator General Zia became the President of Pakistan for the next five years.

Conduct of General Elections 1985:

When General Zia secured his position in power, the election schedule was announced by him. The day of 25th and 28th February 1985 was decided for the polls to national and provincial assemblies respectively. These elections were unique in the nature that they were conducted on a non-party basis. The principle of the separate electorate on a religious basis was also incorporated in these elections. M.R.D boycotted the elections for being ignored regarding their demand to conduct elections on a party basis.

The attitude of General Zia was very hostile toward politicians. He blamed politicians for their misdeeds. In this election, people elected many new faces and many well-known politicians remained unable to secure success in elections.

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Amendments in the Constitution:

The constitution of 1973 recommended a parliamentary system of government in Pakistan. The parliamentary system is where the balance of power is inclined toward the prime minister. The president was declared head of state with nominal powers. The president could not exercise any power without the advice of a prime minister. This power-sharing setup was not acceptable to General Zia being the nominal president of the state. So he decided to alter the constitution before its revival. 'On 2nd March 1985, Zia-ul-Haq issued the Revival of the Constitution Order (RCO) which amended or substituted 57 articles, added 6 articles and deleted 2 articles of the original 1973 Constitution' (Rizvi, 2000, p.263).

The parliamentary form of government was retained but with the inclusion of the 8th amendment in the constitution, many discretionary powers were reserved for the office of president. The original parliamentary character of the constitution 1973 was diluted with the introduction of amendments to the constitution. The RCO also validated all martial law orders, laws and regulations. President became the centre of power. The civilianized rule of General Zia was started on 23rd March 1985, when General Zia assumed office as a civilian elected president for the term of five years in the first session of the elected national assembly. Muhammad khan Junejo was appointed as the Prime Minister. The amended constitution of 1973 was restored on 30th December 1985, when General Zia got enough confidence that withdrawing martial law will not affect his power status.

Zia-ul-Haq followed the same phased civilianization formula to transform his military rule as adopted by Ayub Khan. Local bodies' elections, a planned referendum to ensure his stay in power and the conduct of general elections on a non-party basis are different phases of transformation from military to civilian rule.

Social Transformational steps:

General Zia-ul-Haq also took steps to transform the societal setup. The major policy adopted by the military rule in this regard was Islamization in Pakistan. This policy ranges from the Islamization of the state institutions, and the constitutional system and the Islamization of society.

The Policy of Islamization:

The Islamization of the polity remains the major concern of Zia's military regime. He wished to restructure society on Islamic lines. But these intentions were not shown in the early days of the takeover. This policy was also an effort of military rule to cope with the legitimacy crisis that emerged with the expansion of the motives of the coup. By adopting this policy, he desired to implement the ideology of Pakistan in a true sense.

The military regime of General Zia took many steps to eradicate non-Islamic practices in the state.

Major steps taken according to the policy of Islamization were as:

1. The Council of Islamic ideology was re-formed to accommodate the government to make existing laws according to Islam in the true sense.
2. The Shariat benches were established in all high courts in 1979. Later these Shariat benches were replaced by the Federal Shariat Court. The Federal Shariat Court has the power to declare any law and any administrative action as null and void if seems un-Islamic.

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3. According to Hudood Ordinance, Islamic punishments were prescribed for theft, drinking and adultery.
4. An effort was been made to make the banking system of Pakistan an Interest-Free system.
5. The system of Zakat (a compulsory tax-2.5 % annual deduction from all investments and saving accounts) was imposed.
6. Another tax Ushar on agricultural produce (with a one-tenth ratio) was introduced in 1983.
7. The revised education policy (1979) paid special focus on the projection of Islamic teachings and the ideology of Pakistan in the curriculum of various classes.
8. Un-Islamic practices were strictly discouraged in electronic media.
9. The system of Salat was enforced. The ordinance was also issued for the sanctity of Ramadan.
10. A majlis-i-Shoora was formed in 1980 by General Zia. It acts as the Parliament of Pakistan instead of the National Assembly. This shoora comprises members like Ulemas, journalists, intellectuals, economists and professionals. This Shoora was like an advisory body for the President.

Zia's policy of Islamization could not achieve its desired results. This policy gave birth to many reservations by different schools of thought (sects). Confusion was increased in society and no importance was given by the military government to building consensus on the different interpretations of Islamic law by different sects. Instead of unifying the societal setup, this policy gave birth to social division and sectarianism. Intolerance emerged in society for other religious groups. Special resentment was seen by the Shia sect on the issue of Zakat. These controversies caused many violent incidents.

Participation in the Afghan war:

In 1979, Russian forces invaded Afghanistan. The Afghan people resisted Russian aggression. General Zia decided to stand against the communist expansion in the region. In such a situation Zia's policy of Islamization became more relevant as it was observed that Islam was in danger in neighbouring Afghanistan. In the Russian invasion, Pakistan decided to play the role of a front-line state in America's proxy war to combat communism in Afghanistan. This decision mainly served the strategic concerns of America. A large number of Afghan refugees got political asylum in Pakistan. The refugees were an extra economic burden on Pakistan.

The policy of involvement in proxy war internally gave birth to many cultural and social conflicts in society. After the disintegration of the USSR, the US left Afghanistan and the region unattended in the 1990s which implant the seeds of terrorism in later years. Pakistan has to pay a heavy price for General Zia's decision to fight a proxy war.

Economic Policies:

The economy of Pakistan showed positive signs under the military rule of Zia. His rule achieved good results in their short-term economic management by relying on bureaucracy. Export incentives were increased through a flexible exchange rate policy. Serious efforts were made to create a situation suitable for private investment. The growth rate reached as

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high as 6.6 per cent per annum during 1977-1988. But the credit for the high growth rate goes to the remittances of overseas workers instead of government policy (Talbot, 1998, p.246-7). The defence capabilities were increased with military aid provided by America. Pakistan emerged as the second-largest receiver of US aid after Israel. But adequate attention was not given to structural change in the agriculture and the industrial sector which made all economic efforts cosmetic. The social sector was not addressed by the government. Defence expenditures increased due to involvement in the Afghan war. An increase in security and defence expenses became the reason for the cut down in developmental expenditures. The military rule of General Zia ended with his death in a plane crash on 17 August 1988.

Overall the legacy of the Zia era can be seen in the expanded Islamic sectarian sentiments that emerged in Pakistan as the result of the Afghan conflict with its approach of jihad and a huge supply of weapons (Talbot, 2009, p.287-93).

The use and availability of drugs increase in society exponentially. The question of which interpretation of Islamic law should be implemented as public policy became the major source of conflict between Shia and Sunni schools of thought. The relations of Pakistan with America were increasingly strengthened as funds and aid provided for the cause of war increased the security and reduce the military imbalance with India.

Malik (1997), views the military rule of Zia as "under General Zia-ul-Haq, in particular, Pakistan suffered the most suffocating years of its existence and, in the wake of depoliticisation, regimented ideas like Chaadar and Chaardiwadi denoted women's place in the home, democracy was portrayed as an anathema to Islam and media was made use to silence the opposition" (p.94).

2. CONCLUSION

Overall the political history of Pakistan shows that the military takeovers of 1958, 1969 and 1977 were not designed or pre-planned efforts of the military to attain power. All these unconstitutional steps were the results of internal unstable conditions. These coups can be considered under the category mentioned by Janowitz (1964) as "reactive militarism" where the coup was provoked by "the weakness of civilian political institutions and the direct pressure of civilian groups which sought to co-opt and enlarge the role of the military establishment" (p.16).

It was the failure of civilian leaders and institutions that made the environment feasible for the institution of the military to intervene in the political process of the state as a reaction. After assuming power, all military rulers initiated socio-political and economic reforms to deal with the crisis created by the politicians and make the state prosperous. But in reality, the purpose of those reforms proved as a tool adopted by the military to prolong their stay in power. All three military regimes i.e. 1958, 1969 and 1977, remained unsuccessful to promote and establish strong and effective civilian institutions. They also remain failed to act as an agent of socio-political change in society. Historical facts show that the military may prove a good medicine for a short temporary period of crisis, but cannot resolve long-term political issues effectively.

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