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Nature and Steps of Dictatorial Regime: A Case of General Zia in Pakistan (1977-1988)

Abstract

Dictatorship is a pattern of system which emerges for the short while to run the affairs of a state in a crucial situation but afterwards a dictator gives justification of its prolongation in the pretext of implementation of law-and-order situation in that it leaves positive impacts on the administration of the state and proclaims that it causes peace, security and prosperity as compared to the civilian set up. Democracy gives masses an opportunity to participate in the affairs of a state with sentiments of opposition while in dictatorship there is no capacity of any kind of objection and opposition against the steps of a dictator. A dictator follows unconstitutional method of ruling the state, therefore he uses tactics not only to justify his position but also adopts measures to prolong his hegemonic phase with the logic to create better law and order situation which causes of prosperity for the state. Dictator imposes his self-designed features of regulation which are reflection of hegemonic phase with the cover of justification and strengthen the position of dictatorial regime. Pakistan is the best example of prolonged dictatorial regimes which emerged in a chain of series after one another and especially dictatorial regime under General Zia ul Haq during 1977-1988 in Pakistan is an example of it.

Key Terms: Dictatorial Regime, Nature, General Zia, Pakistan

Dictatorship is a system of government which formulates a single person; who designs pattern of authoritarianism to run the affairs of the regime. The figure who establishes this dictatorship always represents utmost hierarchy and authority for all things with the concern of strengthen his grip on the matters of state. In the general sense dictatorial regime is characterized for being autocratic form of system. The autocratic term is extracted from the Greek language which means that the system of administration is organized and managed by a single person through

authoritarian style. In general way the dictatorship pretends to be unconstitutional system of government as it asserts power through violent measures against public and political space of one country or region. A dictatorship is characterized in general terms to be established through force and violence by using against its opponents. A dictator suppresses and eliminates all those voices that may be contrary in the interests of the dictatorial regime.¹ Samuel Huntington defines dictatorship as the regime in which a single leader or group of leaders who promote limited party culture or party less political culture and in such circumstances, there is no permission to the people for mobilization.² The power of the dictator is unchallengeable and he does not bear any kind of opposition because he covers all his weakness by using force³ and his main effort is to prolong his ruling and he takes all kind of measures in establishing his consolidate grip. In connection with the people, the stooges of dictator become tyrant, who imitate as best as he can the intolerant and despotic behavior of the big boss.⁴

In democracy the rule of law is a volunteer sense of responsibility while in dictatorship to follow the rule of authoritarian regime is mandatory.⁵ The power of the dictator is unchallengeable and he makes his efforts to prolong his ruling as a dictator and takes all kind of measures to strengthen his regime. Basically, dictatorship establishes a prevailing system of one individual a small group and indicates a specific way of life and political behavior.⁶

Dictatorial Regime with Supportive Steps:

Dictatorship always takes such steps which are controversial to the spirit of democracy. Dictatorship utilizes military powers to get control mainly against multi-party system because the flourishing of party system, promotes the democratic form of government which is the base of fundamental rights of the people. While the imposition of dictatorship is deduction of basic and fundamental rights which are against the spirit of human rights and when dictatorship transits to democracy on demand and struggle of masses and a dictator has to surrender which indicates

¹ <https://connectusfund.org/list-of-7-main-pros-and-cons-of-dictatorships> (accessed May 14, 2019).

² Natasha M. Ezrow, Eric Frantz, *Dictators and Dictatorship: Understanding Authoritarian Regimes and Their Leaders*, (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), p2.

³ Mubarak Ali, *The Discipline of History under Dictatorship*, (Society And Dictatorship), (edit) Bernd M.Scherer (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1990), p25.

⁴ Walter Rodney, "People's Power, No Dictator", journal Latin American Perspective, Vol. 8, No.1 (Winter, 1981), [e- Journal] <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2633131>, (accessed October 25th, 2016).

⁵ Khaled Ahmed, *Society Under Dictatorship (Society And Dictatorship)*, (edit) Bernd M.Scherer (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1990), p9.

⁶ Manzoor Ahmad, Islam and Dictatorship, *Society And Dictatorship*, (edit) Bernd M.Scherer (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1990), p29.

the beginning of new phase of basic, and fundamental rights.⁷ When dictators come to power, they initiate measures and steps to strengthen their ruling and also take the step of imposing various kinds of rules and regulations which, strengthen and favor the ruling of their self-made ideology and tried their utmost effort to prove emancipator of the mass and try to get rid of the mass from the system of democracy which is the foundation of all problems in the present scenario through various kind of delaying tactics in conducting elections or though controlled democracy.

The military of a nation when decides to take the step of coup, the working Army General (Chief) remains on the dominant position till his death and the chain of armed forces remains under his command due his dominant position. The prevailing conditions cause unbearable for democratic minded among masses because the military can enforce laws adverse to democratic norms and traditions.⁸ In the military regime there is collaboration of military junta which consists of high ranked officers and the dictator personally selects the figures around him and give them tasks of all keen issues. The dictators do not favor the party base politics, usually opt controlled pattern of democratic trend to engage masses through military institution by entangling political scene in their favor to run the office in suitable circumstances to remain successful in the internal and external policy.⁹

The dictatorial regime is a symbol of strictness and no voice can be raised against the atrocities of the dictator and if any one dares to raise public opinion, he has to face institutions designed strategy to break public gathering and various regulation as a to give harsh kind punishment of whiplash which indicates that the opposition against dictatorial regime is not an easy task. The main objective of dictatorship is to design methods to control the population. The most effective method is to change the country into a police state. Another is to hold in the abeyance basic and fundamental rights of individuals within the society like free delivery of speech, procession and agitation which are the norms of democratic set up. Such oppression on the part of a dictator may work in the short duration to control the situation but mostly it is prolonged.

The main target of dictators to remain in power for indefinite time for achieving their aims they design imaginative opponents of the state and imposed military rules and regulations to overcome the required security threats. The main objective of all their exercise is to prolong their ruling; they divert the challenges of opposition on the pretext of security which are source of disturbance for dictatorial

⁷ Hina Jilani, "*Human Rights Under Dictatorship*", Society And Dictatorship),(edit) Bernd M.Scherer (Lahore : Progressive Publishers, 1990),p59.

⁸ <https://connectusfund.org/list-of-7-main-pros-and-cons-of-dictatorships> (accessed May 14, 2019).

⁹ Erica Frantz, Natasha Ezrow, *The Politics of Dictatorship: Institution and Outcomes in Authoritarian Regimes*,(Colorado: USA,Viva Books Private, 2012),p3.

regime. A dictator utilizes the suppression tactics to divert the attentions of the people and launches the process of accountability. A dictator also designs political structure according to their whims and judicial system that is a suitable source to their rule. In such a dictatorial regime legal judicial system is used against political opposition by levelling charges of financial corruption or treason cases, designed depending on the position of the opponents.¹⁰

Religion is used as an opium and spiritual drinking for people while a dictator gives justification of being a superior than the mass to weak opposition and maintaining supremacy of ruling against him by using religion pretext. Hitler and Mussolini also used religion for strengthening their dictatorial regime in their respective states. Hitler like Mussolini pretend to support Church against Marxism; which indicated his involvement of religion for his personal political benefits¹¹. The dictatorial regime the factor of religion is the most suitable option to give justification of ruling and prolonging the regime. The dictators used the religion for the protection of their ruling and make alliance with religious groups for support to strengthen their position.

The process of election during the dictatorial regime is manifold and the dictator chooses a group of people to legitimize his position, who support the ideology of the dictator and strengthen his regime in the eyes of the masses, some dictators conduct elections only to strengthen their regime in such condition only regime supporter candidates win hundred percent victories in the decision of the so-called ballot process. In some cases, the voters have a single choice they have to cast their ballots. The dictatorial regime manufactures such pattern of election which always goes into the favor of the dictatorial regime and chooses such figures that support the dictatorial regime.¹²

Dictator does not conduct free and fair election because it does not favor the cause of dictator and a dictator always favor controlled and strict politics and considers political activities dangerous for the dictatorial regime therefore, a dictator does not allow the political parties to flourish under his supervision. The dictators designed the scenario shrewdly where the existence of party politics cannot be possible. They took the step for law-and-order situation and introduce a pattern of regulation which does not favor the existence of the mobilization of the masses.

¹⁰ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/333361/symbols-of-dictatorship/> (accessed March 12, 2019).

¹¹ Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, (Harvard University Press, 1956), pp247-250.

¹² Natasha M. Ezrow, Eric Frantz, *Dictators and Dictatorship: Understanding Authoritarian Regimes and Their Leaders*, (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), pp67-71.

Elections in the form of referendum is designed by dictators and they use this pattern of election in their favor to pave the way to prolong their rule.

There is also another perspective through which dictators get support through political parties and they strengthen their whims and policies. They also win support during elections through the campaign of the allied political parties. Jason Brownlee points out that political parties help to carry fraud during the process of elections. The dictators also have the option to implement such kind of rules which only favor the dictatorial regime,¹³ and designed such kind of regulations which declare and pretend to be mandatory to maintain law and order situation as political gatherings cause disturbance which are harmful for the common citizens. Dictators also have to use every kind of mean under their authority to counter all steps of their opponents. They can use every mean and source to strengthen and prolong their regime.

A dictatorial regime relies upon the wish of someone as well as the group of the high ranked officers. The implementation of power is enforced through strict measures which are totally contradictory to the democratic set up and may come with new designed regulations which are viewed as rather strict by other forms of government. The dictators consider themselves not to be accountable to Constitutional frame work or other governing bodies as their style is to impose absolute power. The dictators have absolute right to impose will and desire on the people at any time and without any reason. There are examples in history when dictators relied upon self-imposed identification like Adolf Hitler of Germany and Saddam Hussein of Iraq.¹⁴

Dictators have the option of using police force and intelligence agencies against the opponents. The most effective source, they use judiciary to prolong the dictatorial regime.¹⁵ The setup of personal dictatorship relies upon the governing body which is monitored by the dictator themselves and most of the cases the Presidents have the complete authority to control all matters,¹⁶ related to the affairs of the state.

A dictatorial regime depends upon the security set up for its survival by creating institutional misbalancing. The national resources are utilized towards the matters of state security. The dictatorial set up relies upon propaganda machine and for that purpose controls every source of this context. On the base of self-designed

¹³ Natasha M. Ezrow, Eric Frantz, pp74-76.

¹⁴ <https://vittana.org/16-pros-and-cons-of-dictatorship> (accessed May 14, 2019).

¹⁵ Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, (Harvard University Press, 1956),p299.

¹⁶ Paul Brooker, *Twentieth – Century Dictatorships: The Ideological One – Party States*, (London: MACMILLAN PRESS LTD, 1995),p19.

regulations media is moulded according to the favorable broadcasting. The main object of propaganda machine is aimed to character assassination of opponents.¹⁷ The system which exists under the control of a dictator always favors his personality all the result obvious according to expectations of a dictator. With the passage of time the role of a dictator transferred as a “President” through the elections and he retains power. Even autocratic dictators that have no soft corner for the lives of their people can hold the ruling place for long duration.¹⁸

Dictators adopt the attitude like politicians to remain in the arena of politics after occupying the system of state. The democratic system depends upon the wining of elections, the dictators mould the system according to their desire and decide pattern for winning of elections. Various authoritarian states are replaced with the new system of elections which are supportive to dictators. Autocrats also formulated self-support and self-designed coalitions. They engage mass with the promise to give employment, security, special support and share in electoral process, and all kinds of welfare steps. The existing coalition support dictators to suppress all kind of obstacles against them through negotiation, nepotism and suppression. The dictators who inhaled from the army extend the retirement age through reshaping the structure and authority under the influence of dictators the eminent judges have to retire or to take new oath of loyalty. The judicial system and its structure become paralyzed and rely upon the personality of dictator.¹⁹

The authoritarian leaders use the media source for their benefits and popularity. Especially through television coverage, the presence of opposition is considered harmful and dangerous for state and it is pointed out that progress and prosperity of state remain accessible if system of dictatorial regime continues. Through media the image of dictator is presented to be saviour of the people and the position of opposition remains ineffective in the mind of people. The control of the media is essential for the dictatorial regime. The modern trend of censorship remains affective for the self-imposed rulers. When an authoritarian figure holds power, one of the most important targets is to control the broadcasting sector of the media, which leaves great effect upon public opinion as well as voting behavior.²⁰

Dictators try to maintain their hold on power the main and easy source to achieve this target is media source. Through positive broadcasting of news dictatorial regime gets benefits and negative news is broadcasted against the

¹⁷ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/333361/symbols-of-dictatorship/>(accessed March 12, 2019).

¹⁸ <https://connectusfund.org/list-of-7-main-pros-and-cons-of-dictatorships> (accessed May 14, 2019).

¹⁹ <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2016-03-07/helping-hurts> (accessed April 7th 2019).

²⁰ <https://freedomhouse.org/report/modern-authoritarianism-elections> (accessed February 7th, 2019).

enemies of the state. Dictators become essential part of everyone's life. During elections, process they propagate the final result by curtailing press liberty, limiting the opposition's ability to campaign and spreading their message during election campaign or during any campaign against autocracy.²¹

The source of media broadcasting remains under the control of existing set up of the administration. The dictatorial regime uses it according to the designed targets. If the media resist against dictatorial regime, the autocratic or self-imposed rulers impose the hurdle of censorship or pre censorship to mould all kinds of broadcasting according to their favor and benefits. Media source is only the main focus of the authoritarian regime which indirectly affects the other spheres of the state and dictators properly manage it according to targets.

Dictatorial Regime 1977-1988 in Pakistan:

On assuming power General Zia ul Haq conveyed the image of political novice and reluctant ruler but in reality, very cautiously and carefully consolidated his personal power.²² He extended two reasons for the military's intervention in his opening speech on the 5th July to the nation, Firstly the country was on the threshold of a civil war. Secondly, Islam had not been effectively put in to practice in Pakistani society. Zia said that he had faith in democracy and the election would be held in 90 days and power would be transferred to the elected representatives of the people. However, all political activities were banned till further orders. Justifying his action, Zia ul Haq observed that the political leaders had failed to steer the country out of crisis and further added that I saw no prospect of a compromise between the PPP and the PNA because of their mutual distrust and lack of faith. It was feared that failure of the PNA and the PPP to reach at a compromise would throw the country into chaos.²³ Zia's Dictatorial regime served as an example of "reactive militarism" as it took place as the result of "political impasse" between the various sanction that to a situation in which the military once again asserted itself to serve as an umpire for the holding of elections.²⁴

Zia's dictatorial regime prolonged as compared to the previous two dictatorial regimes of Ayub Khan (1958-1969) and Yahya Khan (1969-1971) in Pakistan, by giving responsibility of various civil departments to army officers.²⁵

²¹ <https://knowledge.insead.edu/blog/insead-blog/fighting-against-dictatorship-8161>, (accessed March13, 2019).

²² Saeed Shafqat, *Civil Military Regulations in Pakistan: From Zulifqar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*, (West view:Boulder,1997).p189.

²³ *Pakistan Times*, (Lahore), 6th July1977.

²⁴ Veena Kukreja, *Military Intervention in Politics: A Case Study of Pakistan*, (New Delhi: NBO Publisher's Distributors, 1985), p134.

²⁵ Aqil Shah, *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan*, (London: Harvard University Press,2014),p154.

CMLA also abrogated 1973 Constitution especially Article 6 according to it any person who indulged in the matters of violating constitution would be declared traitor and he was to be given the punishment of hanging.²⁶ The CMLA Zia ul Haq gave the surety of three week election campaign after the *Ramzan* through his interview related to the conduct of October elections which he committed in his very first speech. The COAS also clarified that during the campaign of elections all the political parties were to be given equal opportunities during the election and there would not be any element of discrimination related to the matter. The political parties would be facilitated during the election complain. But there would be some kinds of restrictions like procession were not to be allowed.²⁷

The CMLA Zia ul Haq on the eve of the meeting related to election rules review of election committee and gave clarification that rules would be finalized within two days further CMLA gave the reference of previous civil war of PPP and PNA during the process of 1977 elections and clarified that the “Operation Fair Play” would continue during the process of elections. Further CMLA Secretariat issued the election rules in which clarified that there would not be permission for procession hoisting of party flags and any kind of controversy which could cause political tussle and bitterness among political parties. Mr. Justice Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain was given the task to run the affairs of high-power election committee.²⁸

Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain also expressed that CMLA was clarified to arrange fool proof arrangements for the conduct of elections.²⁹ Military ruler preferred the system of less participation of the masses and ideal form of government for him was Basic Democracy. His main intention was to modify the political system according to new dimensions while directions were not suitable for participants under military institutions³⁰ during conduction of non-parties elections. CMLA in his broadcasting speech gave the time frame of election schedule in the month of October. After the accomplishment of election process the responsibility to run the affairs of the country was to be given to the elected representatives.³¹

Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) and Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) negotiation conveyed the impression that the military intervened at a time when an accord for political settlement between the two political sides had been reached. According to Kausar Niazi Prime Minister Z.A Bhutto had virtually conceded to all

²⁶ V.Y Belokrenitsky and V.N.Moskalenko, *A political History of Pakistan, 1947-2007*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press 2013), p264.

²⁷ *Dawn* (Karachi) 14th July 1977.

²⁸ *Dawn* (Karachi) 15th July 1977.

²⁹ *Dawn* (Karachi) 17th July 1977.

³⁰ Emajuddin Ahmad, *The Military Rule and Its Impact on Socio- Economic and Political Change in Third World*, (Journal of South Asian Studies, Vol. 4 No.1 January, 1987), p76.

³¹ *Pakistan Times* (Lahore) 28th July 1977.

the principal demands of the opposition, most important of holding fresh elections, which he expressed in the press conference in the same night at 11:30 prior to the imposition of martial law only the matter of signing an accord was pending till the next day. The military intervention at such late stage was unwarranted.³²

Zia and his Generals had in mind that military had the right to run the affairs of Pakistan and to oust the Civil Government which was responsible for political crisis in the system of administration. Zia presented his narrative which was the solution to manage the constitutional affairs of the state according to the prevailing circumstances,³³ and having assumed the office of CMLA announced that he wanted to make it absolutely clear that he neither had any political ambition nor did the army want to be detracted from the profession of soldiering. He further said that he was obliged to step in, to fill the vacuum created by the political leaders and accepted this challenge as a true soldier of Islam. Zia ul Haq (CMLA) promised free and fair polls and transferred of power to the elected representatives of the people "In the next ninety days my total attention will be concentrated in holding the fair elections and I would not like to dissipate my own power and energies as CMLA on anything else". He further said that the tension created during the political confrontation in the country and the mutual distrust between the PPP and the PNA had made the prospects of political compromise impossible. At the end of his address, he said what was to become his justification to remain in power in the years to come, to conclude, I must say that the spirit of Islam demonstrated during the recent movement was commendable. It proves that Pakistan, which was created in the name of Islam will be continued to survive only if it sticks to Islam. That is why; I consider the introduction of Islamic system as an essential pre-requisite for the country.³⁴

Special and Summary Courts were established to deal with the cases under Martial Law Regulations (MLRs) to impose various kinds of punishments like death sentence, life imprisonment, confiscation of property, fines and imprisonment for various terms and lashing. The Judgments could not be challenged in the regular civilian courts but the High Courts and Supreme Court managed to exercise a little power of review until March 1981. The courts were set up to punish people for violation of MLRs.³⁵ The Military Regime unfolded its strategy gradually; regime assigned itself the twin task of deconstruction of the political and economic structure that was built by PPP regime and re-assertion of the process and institutions that

³² Kausar Niazi, *Aur Line Cut Gai*, (Lahore: Ahmad Publications 2008), p170.

³³ Veena Kukreja, *Military Intervention in Politics: A Case Study of Pakistan*, (New Delhi: NBO Publisher's Distributors, 1985), p137.

³⁴ General Zia-ul-Haq, s first speech after promulgation of Martial Law on 5th July 1977 broadcast on Radio and T.V.

³⁵ Abrar Hassan, *Constitutional Crisis and Judiciary in Pakistan*, (Karachi: Asian Law House, 1991), pp215-218.

would strengthen the military's hegemony. For the achievement of these objectives and expanding the coalition the regime used the following policy instruments;

- Comprehensive control of the political affairs of the country
- Islamization and ideological cleansing
- Alliance with US on the base of strategic and economic policies
- Development of the corporate interest.³⁶

The CMLA took every kind of step to counter any kind of motivation from the side of the mass, therefore, 14MLRs was issued to give various kind of punishments to those people who indulged in political agitation and crime.³⁷ General Zia ul Haq eradicated the role of political parties after taking charge as CMLA and implemented the new system on ideological grounds. He had aims and targets in his mind which he could achieve according to his own design and structure. His steps were on patterns as, firstly, justification of his rule; secondly, introduce a new administrative set up on federal, provincial and local basis, thirdly, introduction of new Martial Laws alternative of 1973 Constitution of Pakistan to engage people of Pakistan according to his expected results. It was strange and interesting that "local bodies" were given priority on general elections which were conducted in 1985. When military set up strengthened its roots for first time after promulgation of martial law and elections contest was announced on non-party based and never allowed the parliament to work more than three years. It was preplanned to introduce the local bodies, elections on non-political party basis. General Zia divided the people on rural and urban basis, focused the urban areas (Anti-Bhutto) and gave less importance to rural areas (Pro-Bhutto). As political influence was more in rural areas as compared to the urban, So General Zia was against such kind of pattern. He designed his own political framework with a slogan of welfare of the people and political parties were put under strict ban. It was centralized way to link with the people in the manners to legitimization. He also organized the "local bodies" elections on non-party basis.³⁸ CMLA also imposed the order for the detention of any person on the issue of security and peace in the country³⁹ during the election campaign; it was the strategy of the CMLA to hold all matters under his control on the matter of security.

The election process according to the statement of Justice Mushtaq Hussain (CEC) after the promulgation of martial law started on 2nd August 1977 and

³⁶ Saeed Shafqat, *Civil Military Regulations in Pakistan: From Zulifqar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*, (West view, Boulder,1997), pp215-218.

³⁷ *Dawn* (Karachi) 11th July 1977.

³⁸ Zahid Yaseen, Muhammad Abrar Ahmad, Tahir Mahmood Butt, *Hypothetical Political System of Martial Laws: A Case Study of General Zia ul Haq*, (Journal of Historical Society Punjab University), Vol 29, No.1, June 2016), pp 130-131.

³⁹ *Dawn* (Karachi) 23rd July 1977.

remained up to 17th August 1977 the nomination papers of provincial and national assembly seats and final date of election contest was declared on 18th October 1977.⁴⁰ The whole process of nomination papers, appointment of Retuning Officers (ROs) and candidates were also finalized. The process of printing ballot papers and other security measures were also finalized. The political mobilization of the political parties and politician was on the zeal. There was the move of elections from all sides all were expecting that after conduction of elections the affairs of the country would come under the control of the public representatives and wave of democracy would come according to the commitment of the CMLA. General Zia ul Haq expressed in his interview to Indian newspaper the daily “Sunday” that there were eighty-three political parties but if elections were to be conducted on party basis, one political party would again come into power. So, he took a step to postpone elections.⁴¹

In that scenario when there was all possibility of election CMLA postponed the conduction of election through his speech broadcasted on radio and television on 1st October 1977 with the indication that the country environment was not suitable for the conduction of elections; so, the election process and political parties’ engagement were suspended for undecided duration. The MLR 23 was also promulgated with the speech of CMLA.⁴² There was the collaboration of military and alliances of military they raised the slogan of accountability prior to elections and took every step to defame Z.A Bhutto the expected results were to eradicate the influence of PPP leadership among masses which was not expected after taking all kind of arrangements, another secret aspect which was not highlighted prior to conduct of elections was the secret reports of intelligence that was indicating the clear victory of PPP. This aspect caused threatened to General Zia ul Haq if PPP would win elections, he would also have to face the charge of the violation of constitution, so he decided to suspend the election for indefinite duration.⁴³

The step was also taken to justify legality and proportional representatives in Pakistan in coming elections and task was given to ex Chief Justice Hamood ur Rehman to formulate proportional representation as practiced in Germany and Switzer Land. Justice Hamood ur Rehman visited concerned countries and designed a report however it could not fulfill the expectation of General Zia ul Haq. In the same direction Sharifuddin Pirzada also prepared a new pattern of election but at the last all over and procedure was stopped.⁴⁴ When political activities could not be

⁴⁰ *Dawn* (Karachi) 3rd August 1977.

⁴¹ Malik Muhammad Qasim, Interview by Jazib Sohail, *Jang Magazine* (Lahore), *Aj Kay Daur Mein Ghair Jamaati Intkabat Ka Tasawar Be Nahi Kia Ja Sakta*, 3rd October 1982.

⁴² *Dawn* (Karachi), 2nd October 1977.

⁴³ Murtaza Anjum, *Quaid-e-Jamhuriat*, (Lahore : U Publishers, 2007), p269.

⁴⁴ Iqbal S. Hussain, *Pakistan: From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (Lahore: Humanity International Publishers, ,2007), pp64-65.

limited then CMLA promulgation of MLR 25 that private body related to the political bodies was totally banned and candidates at the provincial and national level would not hold any honorary or prestigious status of any trust or company details like assets, documents within seven days to the nominee of the CMLA.⁴⁵

Prior to the Z.A Bhutto's assassination, General Zia ul Haq arranged an *Iftar* party for the journalists inhaled from Rawalpindi /Islamabad. There was a huge gathering and many questions were asked there as "Sir what is your point of view about the institution of *Ameer-ul-Momeneen*"? The reply was also interesting in Urdu words "*Jo aay kay baith gya*" (*Who had taken the hold*), the people gathered there gave a sound laughter after the response of General Zia ul Haq. After hanging incident of Bhutto General Zia ul Haq got confidence and behaved like having the master key to resolve issues and showed wisdom but the actual matter Zia was to face after the absence of Z.A Bhutto that he was the most prominent charismatic figure,⁴⁶in the political arena.

The opinion of General Zia ul Haq about constitution and constitutional government was not hidden and he gave obvious indication about moulding constitution. He gave interview to Iranian newspaper the daily "*Kehaan*" during he expressed what is constitution? Only twelve pages pamphlet which he tore into pieces when he desired.⁴⁷ Zia ul Haq (CMLA) issued Provisional Constitution Order (PCO) 1981, the status of 1973's constitution was still held in abeyance; PCO was implemented with immediate effect it was mainly related to party registration and protection of all the regulation and ordinances after the proclamation of martial law on 5th July 1977 issued by CMLA. There was immediate mandatory oath revision of High Court and Supreme Court Judges. According to PCO those parties were to be given prestige to participate in election process after the process of fresh registration. General Zia ul Haq secured the status of CMLA and became President, further he also got prestige right to further amend in the constitution ⁴⁸ according to his whims.

He further clarified about the method of referendum to find out the solution of challenges facing Pakistan and opinion of the majority of the people of Pakistan to seek out the final decision related to these challenges. CMLA gradually griped the system to implement his policies. General Zia ul Haq gave indication of using censorship and Federal Advisory Council set up would deal the new cabinet which was the major objectives which infused the set up for the forthcoming scenario⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Dawn* (Karachi), 18th October 1977.

⁴⁶ Syed Shabbir Hussain, *Ayub Bhutto and Zia: How they fell victim to their own plans*, (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications,2001),p226.

⁴⁷ Azhar Suhail, *General Zia Kay GayarahSaal*, (Lahore : Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd.1988),p96

⁴⁸ *Imroze* (Lahore), 25th March 1981.

⁴⁹ *Dawn* (Karachi) 18th January 1981.

while all the administrative decision CMLA had taken the initiative with slowly and steadily by griping all matters according to his desires. When he had to release those prisoners who were indulge in highjacked plan incident with proclaimed to firm believe in democracy but under Islamic system ⁵⁰ at a suitable time.

General Zia ul Haq learnt two things from his predecessors, 'military and civil rulers, firstly to run the matters not on the same patterns because the people fed up with the continuity of matters, secondly not to trust upon anyone. This was the reason General Zia ul Haq ran the affairs of the administration on tentative patterns and accomplished his scheme quite secretly.⁵¹ General Zia ul Haq as (CMLA) also dissolved the assemblies of Pakistan through his press conference by using article 58(2b) and Sharia Ordinance would be implemented in country and process of election would be completed within ninety days. He also expressed that assemblies had been unsuccessful to give protection to the citizens of Pakistan and also the targets set at the time of elections, and that it was necessary to take appropriate in these directions. According to CMLA, Senate would retain its status but the provincial and national assemblies would be dissolved with immediate effect,⁵² it was the method to prolong his dictatorial regime and creating hurdle in the process of democratic norms.

Conclusion:

Dictatorship at the time of its imposition has not long targets under the command of a dictator; it is taken as an emergent perspective of administration but with the passage of time opting harsh attitude towards mass which a dictator uses to strength his regime roots in the administration of the country the supporting factors provide opportunities to a dictator to use environment according to his whim and desire and sometimes condition remains in progress. The system supports a dictator to mould all kinds of opposition in his favor and remains in position of unchallengeable till luck and factors of support stand ally with a dictator when supporting factors reverse the condition a dictator has to topple his throne and process to move forward towards changing of figure in political scenario. The factors of support caused prolonging the dictatorial regime of Zia ul Haq who remained in the arena of politics from 1977 to till 1988 and explosion of C-130 ousts him otherwise his dictatorial regime would have continued, in spite of the factor of resistance which remained as parallel to his dictatorship.

⁵⁰ *Dawn* (Karachi) 19th March 1981.

⁵¹ Azhar Suhail, *General Zia Kay Gayarah Saal*. (Lahore: Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd.1988), p77.

⁵² *Mashriq* (Lahore), 30th May,1988.