

Historical Dictionary of Pakistan

Third Edition

Shahid Javed Burki



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Editor's Foreword

Since its hasty and messy creation in 1947, Pakistan has repeatedly been in the world news. It has experienced more turbulent internal events and been involved in more dramatic external ventures than most countries. These include partition, wars, coups, the Afghan resistance, internal dissension, and terrorism, as well as a recent deadly earthquake. Nevertheless, it has remained manageable and even made progress, including with its economy, which has grown faster than most. Given its size and location, Pakistan still plays an important role in the region, and what happens there is significant for the world arena. Despite the intensive—if sporadic—media coverage, Pakistan is only superficially known outside its borders.

These facts enhance the value of this updated and substantially expanded third edition of *Historical Dictionary of Pakistan*. Covering the past as well as the present and looking at ordinary aspects as well as the sensational, it gives us much of the indispensable background that is missing in the day-to-day coverage. It reaches back into history to explain how and why Pakistan was founded; it sheds light on the political system and the economy; it provides insight into social, cultural, and religious factors; and it tells us about the often imposing figures who have led the country. This is done through concise but informative entries in the dictionary, which are placed in context by an extensive chronology and an overarching introduction. Those who want to know more can consult the bibliography.

Shahid Javed Burki, who wrote this third edition and also the two previous editions, is a rather special expert on Pakistani affairs. He is not an academic like most of our authors, but is an economist. He held a number of posts in the Pakistani administration, including chief economist for the government of West Pakistan and economic advisor to the Ministry of Commerce. He subsequently joined the World Bank where he was, among other positions, vice president for the Latin America and

Caribbean Region and from which he retired recently. There was a short but significant interruption in his career with the World Bank in 1997 and 1998 when Dr. Burki returned to Pakistan to serve as minister in charge of finance planning and economic affairs in the interim government. He is the author of other writings on Pakistan, with several fine books to his name.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Acknowledgments

This is the third edition of the dictionary. In preparing this edition, I have added a number of entries on what I call the “Muslimization” and “Islamization” of Pakistani society. It is because of these developments that Pakistan has come to be closely associated in the Western mind with Islamic extremism and also with the exploits of al Qaeda and other extremist groups. These developments and perceptions are reflected in a number of entries.

This edition was prepared as I entered retirement, having left the World Bank a few years ago. Most of the work on it was done at home but with the help of my assistant Virginia Baker, who worked hard to understand not only Pakistani names but also the history of the country. I am greatly indebted to her for her help.

I am also indebted to Mehrukh Burki, my niece, who carefully read all the entries and removed ambiguities whenever they occurred. Without her assistance it would have been difficult to put this work together in a relatively short period of time. Ali Burki, my nephew, also researched some of the new entries.

Finally, I want to thank my wife, Jahanara Burki, for her willingness to have me disappear into my basement and spend long hours completing this work.

Reader's Note

There is no standard way of spelling Pakistani names. I have tried to use the most common spelling, which is why Muhammad is spelled the way it is and not as Mohammad or Mohammed. Some of the entries appear under first names since that is the way these people are generally recognized in Pakistan as well as by the Pakistani scholars. Accordingly, Imran Khan is listed under Imran, not under Khan.

Cross references are indicated by the use of bold type at the first mention of a name or term in an entry.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

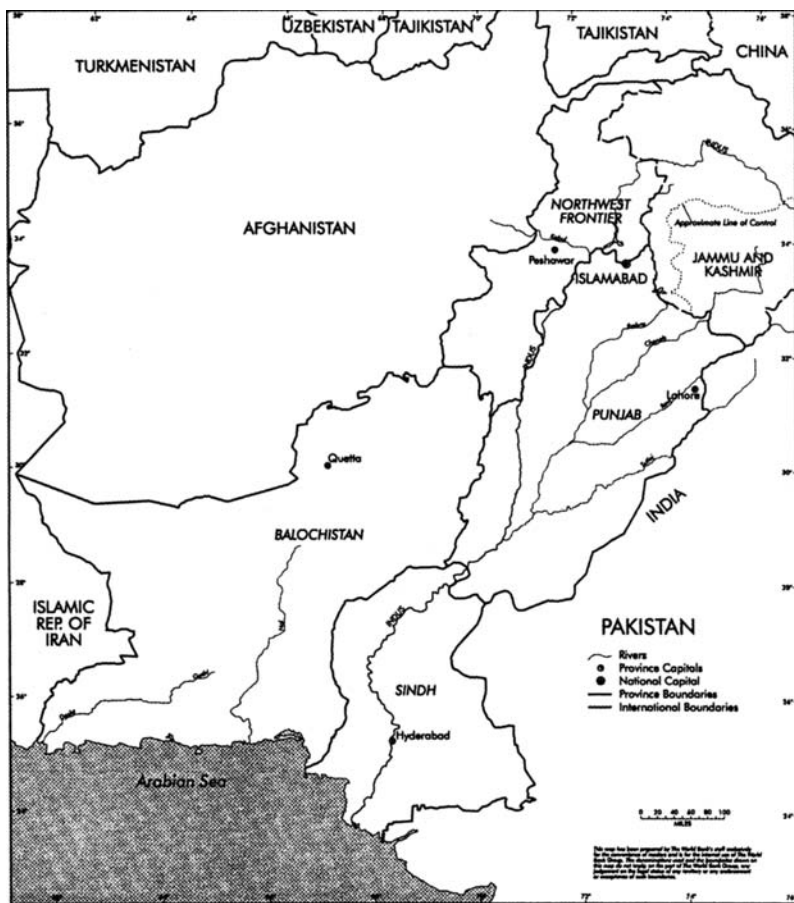
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADBP	Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan
ADF	Asian Development Fund
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIML	All-India Muslim League
AJP	Awami Jamoohri Party
AL	Awami League
AML	Awami Muslim League
ANP	Awami National Party
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APHC	All Parties Hurriyat Conference
APMSO	All-Pakistan Muhajir Students Organization
APPNA	Association of Pakistani Physicians in North America
APSENA	Association of Pakistani Scientists and Engineers in North America
APWA	All-Pakistan Women's Association
BCCI	Bank of Credit and Commerce International
BCCP	Board of Cricket Control of Pakistan
BDs	Basic Democracies
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BLLF	Bonded Labor Liberation Front
BSFF	Baluchistan-Sindh-Frontier Front
CCI	Council for Common Interests
CDA	Capital Development Authority
CDNS	Council for Defense and National Security
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
COP	Combined Opposition Party

CRBC	Chasma Right Bank Canal
CSP	Civil Service of Pakistan
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
DAC	Democratic Action Committee
DCMLA	Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator
DOD	Debt Outstanding and Disbursed
DSR	Debt Service Ratio
ECC	Economic Committee of the Cabinet
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
EME	Electrical and Mechanical Corps
ERRA	Earthquake Relief and Rehabilitation Authority
FMS	Foreign Military Sales
FPA	Family Planning Association
FSF	Federal Security Force
GAVI	Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GHQ	General Headquarters of the Army
GNP	Gross National Product
GST	General Sales Tax
HDI	Human Development Index
HJ	Hilal-e-Jurat
IAEC	International Atomic Energy Commission
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICP	Investment Corporation of Pakistan
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IDA	International Development Association
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IDBP	Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan
IDG	Independent Democratic Group
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFFI	International Finance Facility for Immunizations
IJI	Islami Jamhuri Itihad
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMFESAF	International Monetary Fund's Extended Structural Adjustment Facility
INLF	Islamic National Labor Force

ISI	Interservices Intelligence
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
JML	Jinnah Muslim League
JUH	Jamiatul-Ulemai-Hind
JUI	Jamiatul-Ulemai-Islam
JUP	Jamiatul-Uleami-Pakistan
KDA	Karachi Development Authority
KK	Khudai Khidmatgars
KMC	Karachi Municipal Corporation
KSE-100	Karachi Stock Exchange Index
LFO	Legal Framework Order
LIT	Lahore Improvement Trust
LUMS	Lahore University of Management Sciences
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Association
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal
MQM	Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz
MRD	Movement for the Restoration of Democracy
MSM	Muttahida Shariat Mahaz
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NAP	National Awami Party
NCA	National Commission on Agriculture
NDC	National Defense College
NDFC	National Development Finance Corporation
NDP	National Democratic Party
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NICFC	National Industrial Cooperative Finance Corporation
NIT	National Investment Trust
NLC	National Logistics Cell
NPP	National People's Party
NPT	Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
NSC	National Security Council
NU	Nasawat at Ulema
NVM	National Volunteer Movement
NWFP	Northwest Frontier Province
OGDC	Oil and Gas Development Corporation
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OML	Official Muslim League

OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPI	Overseas Pakistanis Institute
PAEC	Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission
PAI	Pakistani Awami Itihad
PBC	Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation
PDA	Pakistan Democratic Alliance
PDF	Pakistan Development Forum
PDM	Pakistan Democratic Movement
PDP	Pakistan Democratic Party
PIA	Pakistan International Airlines
PICIC	Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation
PIDC	Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation
PMA	Pakistan Military Academy
PMEB	Pakistan Madrassa Education Board
PMKP	Pakistan Mazdoor Kissan Party
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PNP	Pakistan National Party
PPL	Progressive Papers Limited
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PPPP	Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians
PSM	Pakistan Steel Mills
PTC	Pakistan Television Corporation
PTCL	Pakistan Telecommunications Corporation Limited
PUQJ	Pushtoon Ulasi Qaumi Jirga
QMA	Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi
QML	Quayyum Muslim League
QU	Quaid-e-Azam University
RCD	Regional Cooperation for Development
RCO	Revival of the Constitution 1973 Order
RTC	Resolution Trust Corporation
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	South Asia Free Trade Area
SAP	Social Action Program
SAPTA	South Asian Preferential Trading Area
SCARP	Salinity Control and Reclamation Project
SCCP	State Cement Corporation of Pakistan

SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organization
SNG	Sui Northern Gas
SNSF	Sindh National Students Federation
SPAWA	Sindh Punjab Abadgar Welfare Association
SSI	Small-Scale Industry
T & T	Telephone and Telegraph Department
TCWR	Technical Committee on Water Resources
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
TI	Tehrik-e-Istiqlal
TNSM	Tanzim Nifaz Shariat-I-Muhammadi
UBL	United Bank Limited
UF	United Front
UFLA	United Front of Leftist Alliance
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAF	Women's Action Forum
WAPDA	Water and Power Development Authority
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions
WTO	World Trade Organization
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association



Chronology

712 Muhammad Ibn Qasim, an Arab general, conquered the province of Sindh and incorporated it into the Umayyad caliphate.

977 Ibn Shayban, another general from the Arab world, was sent to add more territory to the province of Sindh. He conquered the city of Multan in the province of Punjab.

1001 Mahmud of Ghazni, an Afghan general, began to mount expeditions into northwestern India.

1026 Mahmud of Ghazni raided the temple of Somnath in Kathiawar, west India.

1175 Shahabuddin Muhammad of Ghauri, an Afghan warlord, attacked and conquered Multan.

1192 Ghauri conquered Delhi and established Muslim rule over north India.

1206 Qutubuddin Aibak established the Slave dynasty.

1290 Jalaluddin Khilji established the Khilji dynasty.

1320 The Tughluqs came to India and established their dynasty.

1414 The Tughluq dynasty was defeated by the Sayyids, who founded their dynasty.

1450 The Sayyids were defeated by the Lodis, who founded their dynasty.

1526 Babar, a Mughul general, defeated Ibrahim Lodi, the sultan of Delhi at Panipat, a battlefield north of Delhi.

1530 Babar, the first Mughul emperor of India, died and was succeeded by his son, Humayun.

1540 Humayun was defeated by Sher Khan, a Pathan general, in the battle of Kanauj. Humayun took refuge in Afghanistan.

1555 Humayun regained his throne with the help of the Afghans by defeating Sikander Surs, the governor of Punjab, and recapturing Delhi.

1556 Humayun died in Delhi and was succeeded by Akbar, who became the third Mughul emperor of India.

1581 Akbar proclaimed a new religion, the Din Ilhai, aimed at incorporating India's two major religions, Hinduism and Islam.

1605 Akbar died and was succeeded by his son Jehangir.

1627 Jehangir died and was succeeded by his son Shah Jehan as the fifth Mughul emperor of India.

1659 Shah Jehan's reign was cut short by his son, Aurangzeb, who after incarcerating his father, ascended the throne as the sixth Mughul emperor of India.

1668 Shah Jehan died in captivity.

1707 Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughul emperors of India, died.

1757 Nawab Sirajuddaula of Bengal was defeated by the British (East India Company) at the battle of Plassey.

1774 Warren Hastings was appointed governor-general of British India.

1784 The British Parliament passed William Pitt's India Act regulating the powers of the governor-general.

1785 Lord Charles Cornwallis was appointed governor-general of India.

1793 Permanent Settlement was introduced by Lord Cornwallis, granting proprietary rights to *Zamindars* (landlords).

1798 Lord Richard Colley Wellesley was appointed governor-general of India.

1799 Tippu Sultan, the Muslim raja of Mysore, was killed before the walls of Seringapatana in an encounter with Lord Wellesley's British Indian Army.

1807 Lord Earl Minto was appointed governor-general of India.

1809 The British government in India signed the Treaty of Amritsar with Raja Ranjit Singh of Punjab, establishing the Sutlej River as the boundary between the Sikh state in the Punjab and the British Indian territories.

1848 Lord John Dalhousie was appointed governor-general of India.

1849 The province of Punjab was annexed by the British.

1857 10 May: The Sepoy Mutiny broke out in Meerut. **8 July:** Delhi, the seat of the Mughul empire in India, was captured by the British from the mutineers and Emperor Bahadur Shah II was arrested and deported.

14 September: Lord Charles Canning, the governor-general of India, proclaimed the end of the mutiny and restoration of peace. The East India Company was liquidated and the monarch of Great Britain assumed sovereignty over all territories controlled by the company.

1878 The Treaty of Gandinak was signed between British India and Afghanistan.

1893 A line indicating the boundary between Afghanistan and British India was drawn. The boundary became known as the Durand Line.

1899 George Nathaniel, Lord Curzon, was appointed viceroy of India.

1901 The Punjab Alienation Act was passed by the viceroy, Lord Curzon.

1902 The Indian Army was reorganized by Lord Kitchener.

1905 The province of Bengal was partitioned on religious grounds with East Bengal becoming a predominantly Muslim province of British India.

Lord Minto was appointed viceroy of India to succeed Lord Curzon.

1906 30 December: The Muslim League was founded by Nawab Viqar ul-Mulk of Dacca.

1909 The Muslim community was granted separate representation in provincial legislatures under the Minto-Morley reforms.

1913 Muhammad Ali Jinnah joined the All-India Muslim League.

1916 31 December: An agreement was reached between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League to work together for achieving self-government for India on the basis of separate electorates for Muslims and non-Muslims. The agreement came to be known as the Lucknow Pact.

1917 20 August: Edwin Montagu, the secretary of state for India, declared that “the policy of His Majesty’s Government was that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-government institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an equal part of the British Empire.”

1919 The Government of India Act, 1919, was passed by the British Parliament to allow greater association of Indians in the administration of India. **13 April:** Police opened fire at a public meeting in Amritsar, killing and wounding hundreds of people.

1921 The Treaty of Friendship was signed between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the first formal agreement between the Soviets and a foreign country.

1935 The British Parliament passed a new Government of India Act, which effected important changes in the political and administrative system in the country.

1936 Lord Linlithgow was appointed viceroy of India.

1939 Elections were held in the provinces of British India under the Government of India Act, 1935.

1940 23 March: The All-India Muslim League passed the “Pakistan Resolution” demanding the creation of an independent country for the Muslims of British India. The resolution was passed in a meeting held in Lahore with Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the chair.

1941 The Jamaat-e-Islami was founded by Maulana Maududi.

1945 The Jamiatul-Ulemai-Islam (JUI) was founded by a group of Deobandi Ulema.

1946 19 February: The British government announced the decision to send a cabinet mission to India to arrange for the transfer of power to

the Indians. **24 March:** The cabinet mission arrived in New Delhi. **16 May:** The cabinet mission announced their plan to transfer power to Indians. **4 June:** Indians serving in the British Indian Navy mutinied in Bombay. **6 June:** The cabinet mission plan was accepted by the All-India Muslim League. **16 June:** The cabinet mission and the viceroy, Lord Wavell, announced their proposal to form an Interim Government. **16 August:** The Muslim League observed “Direct Action Day.” Widespread communal riots occurred in many parts of India. Hundreds of people were killed. Bengal was the most seriously affected province. **2 September:** Jawaharlal Nehru was sworn in as prime minister of the Interim Government. **26 October:** The All-India Muslim League joined the Interim Government, with Liaquat Ali Khan assuming the portfolio of finance.

1947 20 February: Lord Mountbatten was appointed viceroy of India. **2 March:** Sirdar Khizar Hayat Tiwana resigned as the chief minister of Punjab. **8 March:** The Indian National Congress passed a resolution demanding the partition of Punjab. **3 June:** The plan to transfer power to two independent states—India and Pakistan—was announced by the viceroy, Lord Mountbatten. **14 August:** The predominantly Muslim provinces of Punjab, the Northwest Frontier, Sindh in the west, and East Bengal in the east of British India were separated to form the independent state of Pakistan. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was sworn in as the first governor-general of Pakistan. Jinnah invited Liaquat Ali Khan to form a cabinet and become Pakistan’s first prime minister. **22 October:** Tribesmen from the northwest districts of Pakistan invaded the State of Kashmir. **26 October:** The state of Kashmir acceded to India.

1948 11 September: Governor-general Muhammad Ali Jinnah died in Karachi.

12 September: Khawaja Nazimuddin was appointed the second governor-general of Pakistan.

1949 18 September: Pakistan decided not to devalue its currency with respect to the U.S. dollar, thus changing the rate of exchange with India. **19 October:** Khan of Mamdot was dismissed from the chief ministership of Punjab.

1950 7 September: The Basic Principles Committee of the Constituent Assembly presented its report on the constitution.

1951 5 January: General Muhammad Ayub Khan was appointed commander-in-chief of the Pakistan army. **14 February:** Elections were held in the province of Punjab for the first time after independence. **23 February:** A conspiracy, spearheaded by Major General Akbar Khan to oust General Ayub Khan as the army chief and overthrow the civilian government, was revealed. **16 October:** Liaqat Ali Khan, Pakistan's first prime minister, was assassinated while addressing a public meeting in Company Bagh, a public park in Rawalpindi.

1952 21 February: Thirty-six students were killed in a riot protesting the rejection of Bengali as one of Pakistan's national languages.

1953 6 March: Following widespread rioting against the Ahmadiya community, the province of Punjab was placed under military rule. General Azam Khan was appointed martial-law administrator. **23 March:** Chief Minister of Punjab Mumtaz Daultana resigned. He was succeeded by Feroze Khan Noon. **17 April:** Khawaja Nazimuddin, Pakistan's second prime minister, was dismissed from office by Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad. **17 October:** Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra was elected president of the Pakistan Muslim League by 300 votes against 14 for his opponent, Qazi Muhammad Isa, former ambassador to Brazil and leader of the Muslim League in Balochistan. **2 November:** The Constituent Assembly resolved that Pakistan should be made an "Islamic republic."

1954 25 February: U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower approved a military arms agreement with Pakistan. **5 March:** Pakistan joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). **19 March:** East Pakistan election results were announced. The Muslim League suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the United Front. **26 March:** Abdul Kasem Fazlul Haq, one of the leaders of the United Front coalition of East Pakistan, formed a new government in Dacca. **2 April:** Pakistan concluded a five-year mutual defense agreement with Turkey. **19 May:** Pakistan and the United States signed the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement. Under this agreement, the United States would give material and technical military assistance to Pakistan. **30 May:** Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra dismissed East Bengal's chief minister Fazlul Haq for "treasonable activities." Iskander Mirza, federal defense secretary, was appointed to administer the province as governor. **7 June:** Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra inaugurated the first flight of the govern-

ment-owned Pakistan International Airlines. **16 June:** The princely states of Kalat, Lasbela, Makran, and Kharam were merged with the province of Balochistan. **22 September:** The Constituent Assembly adopted four amendments to the Government of India Act of 1935 (under which Pakistan was governed pending adoption of a constitution), sharply curtailing the powers of the governor-general. **24 October:** In a nationwide broadcast, Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra announced that elections would be held as soon as possible, and that the new representatives of the people would have a fresh mandate to frame a constitution. Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad declared a state of emergency, dissolved the Constituent Assembly and asked Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra to reconstitute the cabinet. General Ayub Khan joined the “Cabinet of Talent” as defense minister. **28 October:** Dr. Khan Sahib, leader of the Khudai Khidmatgar (Servants of God) in the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP), was sworn in as the ninth member of the new cabinet, and was assigned the portfolio of Refugee Rehabilitation and Kashmir Affairs. **2 November:** The central government took over the administration of Bahawalpur State. The state cabinet was dismissed and the state Parliament dissolved on charges of “maladministration and inefficiency.” **8 November:** The Sindh Provincial Cabinet of Abdus Sattar Pirzada was dismissed on charges of maladministration. Pirzada said dismissal resulted from his opposition to the governor-general’s projected plan of merging the whole of West Pakistan into a single unit. **9 November:** Muhammad Ayub Khuhro was sworn in as chief minister of Sindh province. **20 November:** The Central Government completed plans to dissolve all provincial and state governments in West Pakistan and assumed direct control of the area through the appointment of chief commissioners responsible to it. **20 December:** Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, leader of the Awami Muslim League, was sworn in as minister of law, and said that he would begin drafting a constitution.

1955 19 January: The Cabinet unanimously approved Pakistan’s participation in the Southeast Asian Defense alliance. **25 March:** The Supreme Court, in *Tamizuddin Khan vs. the Government of Pakistan*, upheld the constitutionality of the governor-general’s action terminating the Constituent Assembly. **30 September:** West Pakistan’s four provinces were merged to form the single administrative unit of West Pakistan.

1956 2 March: Pakistan's first constitution came into effect. **8 September:** Chaudhri Muhammad Ali resigned as prime minister. **10 September:** Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardhy was sworn in as prime minister.

1957 14 October: Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardhy resigned as prime minister and was succeeded by Firoze Khan Noon, who formed a Republican Party ministry.

1958 17 May: The government gave formal endorsement to the First Five Year Plan (1955-60), two years after a draft of the plan had been released. **7 October:** President Iskander Mirza imposed martial law, dissolved all legislative assemblies, dismissed Prime Minister Firoze Khan Noon and appointed Commander-in-Chief Ayub Khan as chief martial-law administrator. **27 October:** President Iskander Mirza was removed from office and General Ayub Khan assumed the presidency.

1959 24 January: Land reforms were announced by President Ayub Khan, under which no person could own or possess more than 500 acres of irrigated, or 1,000 acres of unirrigated, land.

1960 1 July The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) was launched. **19 September** The Indus Waters Treaty was signed in Karachi by Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India, and Muhammad Ayub Khan, president of Pakistan. **25 September:** Former Prime Minister Chundrigar died in London. **26 October:** The cabinet approved the master plan for Islamabad, the new capital of Pakistan.

1961 2 March: The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance was introduced. **13 July:** In Washington, President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and President John F. Kennedy of the United States, signed a joint communiqué, ensuring close cooperation between the two countries.

1962 23 March: A new constitution was introduced, with extensive powers given to the president. Ayub Khan was sworn in as the president under the constitution. **25 September:** Leaders of the National Awami Party, Jamaat-e-Islami, Nizam-i-Islam, and a portion of the Muslim League decided to revive the defunct National Democratic Party under the leadership of former Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardhy. **18 October:** Former Foreign Minister Manzur Qadir was sworn in as the chief justice of West Pakistan High Court. **25 October:** Abdul Monem Khan was appointed governor of East Pakistan in place of Ghu-

lam Farouque. **14 December:** President Ayub Khan appointed Muhammad Shoaib as finance minister, Khurshid Ahmad as minister of law, and Rana Abdul Hamid as minister of health, labor, and social welfare. Muhammad Munir (law) and Abdul Qadir (finance) resigned from the Cabinet. **28 December:** Pakistan and China announced “complete agreement in principle” on the alignment of their Himalayan border.

1963 **23 January:** Foreign Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra died of heart failure in Dacca. **16 February:** Minister of Industries Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was appointed minister of foreign affairs. **2 March:** A border agreement between Pakistan and China was signed in Peking between Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Marshal Chen Yi, vice premier and foreign minister of China. **12 April:** The Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium meeting in Paris endorsed an aid package of \$500 million for the fourth year of the Second Five Year Plan. **22 May:** President Ayub Khan joined the Muslim League as the party’s president. **19 August:** The speaker of the National Assembly, Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, died. **27 September:** The National Shipping Corporation was established under government control to build or charter ships to supplement the Pakistani fleet. The corporation was to operate on local and international routes. **25 October:** The first group of government employees moved from Karachi to Islamabad, the new capital of Pakistan. **5 December:** Former Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardhy died of a heart attack in Beirut, Lebanon. **25 December:** The National Assembly approved the Fundamental Rights Bill, which amended the 1962 Constitution, making civil rights enforceable in the courts.

1964 **6 January:** The government declared Jamaat-e-Islami an illegal organization and banned all its activities. Maulana Abul Ala Maududi (the party’s leader) and 16 other members of the executive committee were arrested. **8 February:** Prime Minister Zhou En-Lai of China arrived in Karachi for an eight-day visit to Pakistan. **29 April:** The Pakistan International Airlines started service to Canton and Shanghai via Dhaka. **26 June:** The National Assembly approved funds for the construction of two nuclear power stations—one in Karachi and the other in Pabna, East Pakistan. **19 August:** The Muslim League named Ayub Khan as its candidate for the presidential election, scheduled for January 1965. **29 August:** Pakistan’s first submarine, a gift from the United States, arrived in Karachi. **20 September:** The Combined Opposition

Party (COP) nominated Fatima Jinnah, sister of Pakistan's founder, as its candidate for the presidential election. **9 October:** West Pakistan's High Court ordered the release of 44 leaders of the Jamaat-e-Islami, including Maududi and Farid Ahmad. **22 October:** Former Governor-General and Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin died in Dacca of a heart attack.

1965 1 January: The first presidential election was held under the 1962 Constitution, with Fatima Jinnah of the Combined Opposition Party (COP) opposing Field Marshal Ayub Khan of the Muslim League. Ayub Khan won a narrow victory. **4 January:** A victory parade in Karachi, sponsored by Ayub Khan's Muslim League and led by his son Gohar Ayub, was marked by violence, with a death toll of 23. The army took control of the city from the local police. **23 March:** President Ayub Khan was sworn in for his second term as president. **23 April:** Indian and Pakistani troops fought a major battle in the Rann of Kutch. **14 June:** The government reduced the development program by 5 percent to meet defense costs in the next fiscal year. **1 July** The Third Five Year Plan was launched, with estimated expenditures of 52 billion rupees—34 billion rupees in the public and Rs. 18 billion in the private sector. **13 July** U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson informed President Ayub Khan of a delay in aid commitments. Ayub criticized this aid delay and defended Pakistan's ties with China and other communist countries. **21 August:** Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri of India charged Pakistan with sending 3,000 to 4,000 infiltrators into Kashmir and warned of an attack if "aggression" were to continue. **6 September:** Pakistan declared war on India, and India attacked West Pakistan at several points, including the city of Lahore. **23 September:** Following a resolution passed by the UN Security Council, India and Pakistan ceased fighting.

1966 10 January: President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri of India signed the Tashkent Declaration "affirming their obligation . . . not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means." **25 February:** At a Lahore meeting of opposition parties, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman presented his "six point program" for gaining autonomy for Pakistan's federating provinces. Mujibur Rahman was arrested and charged for conspiring with Indian officials to destroy Pakistan. The event came to be known as the Agartala Conspiracy.

1967 30 November The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was formed in Lahore, with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as its chairman. J. A. Rahim was appointed secretary-general.

1969 25 March: Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan resigned as the president of Pakistan and was replaced by General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan. General Yahya Khan abrogated the Constitution of 1962, dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies, and placed Pakistan under martial law.

1970 20 March: President Yahya Khan announced the Legal Framework Order, which prescribed the ground rules for transferring power back to civilian authorities. **19 April:** Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan from 1958 to 1969, died of a heart attack at his home in Islamabad. **12 November** East Pakistan's coastal districts were hit by a cyclone and tidal waves 30 feet high. More than a million people were killed. **7 December:** Elections were held for the National Assembly. One hundred sixty of the 300 seats in the assembly were captured by the Awami League, whereas 81 seats, all from West Pakistan, were won by the Pakistan People's Party.

1971 21 March: Mujibur Rahman was arrested by the army in Dacca. Military operations were started against the Awami League followers. **4 November** Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi assured U.S. President Richard Nixon in a meeting in Washington that "India has never wished the destruction of Pakistan or its permanent crippling." **16 November** Indian troops moved into East Pakistan and began to advance toward Dacca. **16 December:** The Pakistani Army surrendered to Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora of the Indian Army in a ceremony held in Dacca. **20 December:** Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was sworn in as the president of Pakistan.

1972 3 January: In a mammoth public meeting held in Karachi, Bhutto sought and received the people's approval to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from jail. **3 March:** Lieutenant General Gul Hassan, chief of staff of the army, and Air Marshal Rahim Khan, commander of the air force, were replaced by General Tikka Khan and Air Marshal Zafar Choudhery, respectively. **4 April:** The National Assembly was convened in Islamabad to frame a new constitution for Pakistan. **3 July** A peace agreement was signed at Simla (India) by Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the prime minister and president of India and Pakistan,

respectively. **11 October:** The Federal Security Force (FSF) was established as a parliamentary organization to help the police in the task of maintaining law and order. **20 October:** A constitutional accord was signed in Islamabad by the leaders of various political parties.

1973 12 April: The constitution was authenticated by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. **14 August:** Pakistan's third constitution came into effect. Bhutto stepped down to become prime minister.

1974 22 February: A conference for heads of government and state of 37 Muslim countries began in Lahore and was hosted by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Pakistan recognized Bangladesh. **5 May:** India exploded a nuclear device, thereby joining the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China as a member of the nuclear club. **11 September:** The National Assembly declared the Ahmadiya sect to be a non-Muslim community. **13 December:** Dr. Mubashir Hasan replaced J. A. Rahim as secretary-general of the Pakistan People's Party.

1975 10 January: The Pakistan People's Party was reorganized and began work on an election manifesto. **8 February:** Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao, chief minister of the Northwest Frontier Province, was assassinated while addressing a public meeting in Peshawar. **12 February:** The United States lifted the arms embargo on Pakistan, which was imposed during the 1965 Pakistan war with India. **15 February:** The National Awami Party led by Abdul Wali Khan was declared illegal and banned.

1976 11 March: President Muhammad Daud of Afghanistan visited Islamabad to hold discussions with Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. **17 March:** Prime Minister Bhutto visited President Muhammad Daud of Afghanistan in Kabul. **22 May:** Muhammad Zia ul-Haq, the Pakistan Army's most junior lieutenant general, was chosen by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to be chief of the army staff. **25 December:** Pakistan celebrated the 100th anniversary of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's birth. He was the country's founder and its first governor-general.

1977 7 January: In a speech in the National Assembly, Prime Minister Bhutto announced March 7 as the date for the next general elections. **11 January:** The Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was formed by nine political parties to face Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, in

the national and provincial elections. **7 March:** General elections were held to elect 200 members of the National Assembly. **10 March:** Elections were held for the four provincial assemblies. **March–July** Agitation against the government launched by the opposition to protest what it said was wide-spread rigging of the elections gained momentum. **5 July** General Zia ul-Haq, the chief of the Army Staff, removed Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from office, declared martial law, and appointed himself the chief martial-law administrator. **20 July** Martial Law Order No. 12 was promulgated, giving General Zia ul-Haq, the chief martial-law administrator, sweeping powers to detain people suspected of acting against the interest of the state. **3 September:** Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was charged with conspiracy to murder. **4 September:** Martial Law Regulation No. 21 was issued, requiring all politicians to submit declarations of the assets they held in 1970 and 1977. **18 September:** Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was arrested in Larkana. His cousin Mumtaz Ali Bhutto was also imprisoned. **10 November** The Supreme Court issued its judgment on *Begum Nusrat Bhutto vs. Chief of Army Staff and Federation of Pakistan*, validating the imposition of martial law. **30 November** A presidential ordinance was issued, repealing the Federal Security Force Act of 1973 and disbanding the FSF.

1978 1 January: The Hyderabad Special Tribunal, which had been trying the cases of a number of political leaders including Wali Khan, was disbanded. More than 11,000 persons, imprisoned for political reasons by the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, were released. **14 March:** President Muhammad Daud of Afghanistan visited Islamabad. **18 March:** In a unanimous opinion of the Lahore High Court, the charges against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were found to have been “proved to the hilt.” The deposed prime minister and co-defendants were sentenced to death. **30 April:** President Muhammad Daud of Afghanistan was assassinated, and his government was overthrown by elements of the Afghan Army. **25 July** The martial law administration published a “white paper,” reporting the results of its inquiry into the conduct of the Bhutto government during the 1977 election. **12 September:** General Zia ul-Haq visited Noor Muhammad Tarraki, the Marxist leader of Afghanistan, in Kabul. **16 September:** General Zia ul-Haq, the chief martial-law administrator (CMLA), was sworn in as Pakistan’s sixth president, replacing Fazal Elahi Chaudhry. **5 December:** Afghanistan and the Soviet Union signed a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. According to Article 4 of

the treaty, both countries “will hold consultations and, with the agreement of both parties, take appropriate measures with a view to ensuring the security and territorial integrity of the two countries.”

1979 10 February: *Shariat* benches, made up of three Muslim judges (*Qazis*), were established in the high courts. **12 March:** Pakistan announced its decision to withdraw from the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), the last of its remaining alliances with the Western world. **4 April:** Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was executed in Rawalpindi’s central prison and buried in the Bhutto family graveyard near Larkana. **23 August:** President Zia ul-Haq announced his government’s decision to hold elections for local bodies on a nonparty basis. **16 October:** A number of Islamization measures were announced by President Zia ul-Haq. President Zia ul-Haq announced the decision to indefinitely postpone general elections set for November 17. Anticipating adverse reactions from most political parties, the government toughened martial law regulation against political activity. **17 November** Maulana Abul Ala Maududi, the former *amir* (president) of Jamaat-e-Islami, died in Lahore. **20 November** Fanatic followers of a Sunni Moslem extremist group occupied the Grand Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. **21 November** The United States Embassy in Islamabad was sacked and burned by a mob. Two U.S. marines died in the fire. **27 December:** The Soviet Army invaded Afghanistan. President Hafizullah Amin was executed and Babrak Karmal was installed as the new head of state.

1980 17 March: The Islamic University was founded in Islamabad. **20 June:** The Zakat and Ushr Ordinance (No. XVII of 1980) was promulgated.

1981 27 April: The Ministry of Finance issued a notification exempting Shias from the levy of *zakat*.

1983 25 January: The government established an ombudsman’s office, the *Wafaqi Mohtasib*.

1984 10 January: Benazir Bhutto left Karachi for London after having been allowed to leave Pakistan for medical treatment. **19 January:** The countries belonging to the Organization of the Islamic Conference met for their fourth summit at Casablanca. President Zia ul-Haq played a prominent role in getting Egypt readmitted to the organization.

1985 **1 January:** Non-Islamic banking was abolished. **12 January:** The election schedule was announced by President Zia ul-Haq. **25 February:** General elections were held for the 200-member National Assembly. **23 March:** Muhammad Khan Junejo was invited by General Zia ul-Haq to form a civilian Cabinet. **1 July** The economy was declared to be in conformity with Islam. **30 December:** Martial law was lifted.

1986 **18 January:** Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo was elected chairman of the Pakistan Muslim League. **10 April:** Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan and addressed a mammoth public meeting in Lahore. **23 July** The National People's Party (NPP) was formed under the chairmanship of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. **8 August:** The seventh round of "proximity talks" between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the Afghanistan issue were suspended in Geneva. **14 August:** The Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) launched a campaign against the government, demanding new general elections. **16 August:** Benazir Bhutto was arrested in Karachi. **6 September:** Benazir Bhutto was released from prison. **20 November** Army troops were called out to assist police in quelling riots in Karachi. **13 December:** The Pakistani government launched an operation to remove 20,000 Afghan refugees from Sohrab Goth in Karachi. **22 December:** A new federal Cabinet was sworn into office by President Zia ul-Haq, with Muhammad Khan Junejo as prime minister.

1987 **25 February:** Eighth round of "proximity talks" between the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan began in Geneva under the auspices of the United States with Diego Cordovez, undersecretary for political affairs, providing the link between the two delegations. **30 November** Local body elections were held in the four provinces of Pakistan. **18 December:** Benazir Bhutto married Asif Ali Zardari in Karachi.

1988 **10 April:** An explosion in the ammunition depot in Ojheri, an army camp near Rawalpindi and Islamabad, killed 100 people while injuring another 1,000. **15 May:** Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo expanded the federal government to 33 members by taking in five new ministers and three new ministers of state. **29 May:** President Zia ul-Haq dismissed the government of Prime Minister Junejo, dissolved the National Assembly, and ordered new elections to be held within 90

days. **31 May:** President Zia ul-Haq dissolved all provincial assemblies. **17 August:** President Zia ul-Haq was killed in a plane crash near the city of Bahawalpur in south Punjab. Also lost in the crash was a number of senior officers of the Pakistan army, including the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Akhtar Abdur Rahman. Arnold Raphael, U.S. ambassador to Pakistan, also died. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, chairman of the Senate, was sworn in as acting president. General Mirza Aslam Beg was appointed chief of the Army Staff. **17 November** Elections were held for the National Assembly; the Pakistan People's Party won 92 out of the 207 seats contested. **2 December:** Benazir Bhutto was sworn in as prime minister. **8 December:** The government submitted a revised budget to the National Assembly. **12 December:** Ghulam Ishaq Khan was elected president of Pakistan. **15 December:** Balochistan Governor Muhammad Musa dissolved the Provincial Assembly on the grounds that no party had won a majority and therefore could not form a stable government. **31 December:** During a meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in Islamabad, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi held private talks and signed agreements on cultural relations, taxation, and safeguarding the two countries' nuclear installations.

1989 **23 January:** The Balochistan High Court declared the December dissolution of the Provincial Assembly unconstitutional and ordered the body's reconstitution. **5 February:** Nawab Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti of the Balochistan National Alliance was sworn in as chief minister of Balochistan. **15 February:** The Soviet Union completed the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. **10 March:** The Supreme Court ruled that the May 29, 1988 dissolution of the National Assembly was unconstitutional. **13 March:** In the Punjab assembly, Chief Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif won a vote of confidence in a session demanded by the PPP. **30 April:** Labor Minister Malik Mukhtar Ahmad Awan announced the lifting of a ban on trade-union activities. **22 May:** The government approved a 20-year plan for developing nuclear power generation. The program was to rely heavily on co-manufacturing with foreign firms. **3 June:** The budget for the 1989-90 fiscal year was presented to the National Assembly by Minister of State Ihsanul Haq Piracha. **4 June:** Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was elected to lead a 94-member opposition coalition in the National Assembly. **20 July** The Afghan mujahideen began their assault on Khowst, a town close to the Pakistan

border. **21 July** Officials in New Delhi, India said that Pakistan was violating the informal understanding reached between the two countries on the Siachen Glacier. **3 September:** The *New York Times* carried a story according to which the United States and Pakistan had changed their policy with respect to the provision of arms and supplies to the mujahideen. Under the new policy, assistance was to be provided directly to the fighters in Afghanistan and not through the seven political groups operating out of Pakistan, as had been done previously. **8 September:** The government denied a report published in the *Financial Times* that a number of army officers had been arrested following a failed coup attempt against Benazir Bhutto. **13 September:** General Aslam Beg, chief of the Army Staff, said that the purpose of the armed-forces exercise planned for later in the year was to test their readiness for effective defense. The exercise was named *Zarbe Momin*. **15 September:** The U.S. Senate approved a \$460 million aid package for Pakistan for 1989–90 while voicing concern over the direction of the country’s nuclear-development policy. Half of the amount fell in the category of foreign military sales (FMS). **20 September:** Prime Minister Bhutto reshuffled her Cabinet. **1 October:** Pakistan rejoined the Commonwealth. **31 October:** Prime Minister Bhutto survived a vote of no-confidence by a narrow margin of 12 votes. **11 November** Prime Minister Bhutto included three members from IJI, the opposition party, in her Cabinet. **13 November** Prime Minister Li Peng of China arrived in Pakistan for his first visit to the country. **26 December:** Hyderabad was put under 24-hour curfew following riots that claimed scores of lives in four days.

1990 **29 January:** The Federal Cabinet, meeting under the chairmanship of Senior Minister Nusrat Bhutto, took stock of the situation created by continuing troubles in Kashmir. There were reports of massing of troops by Indian and Pakistan along their common border. **2 February:** Prime Minister V. P. Singh of India warned Pakistan to stay out of Kashmir and to stop assisting the forces of opposition in the Indian state. He promised Pakistan “a fitting reply” if it continued its activist policy in Kashmir. **18 February:** President François Mitterrand of France arrived in Pakistan on a first-ever visit to the country by the French head of state. **26 February:** Aftab Shahban Mirani was sworn in as chief minister of Sindh province. **28 February:** The Board of Investment, meeting under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, approved 13 proj-

ects at a cost of 5.7 billion rupees. **24 April:** The U.S. State Department expressed the hope that talks between India and Pakistan would avert another war on the unresolved Kashmir dispute. **25 April:** Talks were held in New York between Foreign Ministers Yaqub Khan and Kumar Gujral of Pakistan and India, respectively, on the situation in Kashmir. **3 May:** Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan met with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in Islamabad. After the talks, Bhutto offered to meet with V. P. Singh, her Indian counterpart, in order to avert a war between the two countries. **14 May:** A strike by businessmen shut down all commercial areas of Karachi. The strike was to protest the government's inability to stop crimes and kidnappings against the business community. **20 May:** Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto arrived in Cairo to explain Pakistan's position to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. **30 May:** Ethnic violence in Karachi spread to a number of areas in the city, bringing the death toll to 103 in four days of fighting. **2 June:** Ethnic troubles continued in Karachi, bringing the number of dead to 200. **7 June:** Minister of State for Finance Ihsanul Haq Piracha presented the budget for the 1990–91 fiscal year. **10 July:** Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto arrived in Baghdad, Iraq at the start of her second mission to the Middle East to solicit support for Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. **20 July:** Indian Foreign Secretary Muchkund Dubey said in Islamabad that his country did not want war with Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. **6 August:** President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and her Cabinet, dissolved the National Assembly, and ordered national elections for October 24, 1990. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the leader of the opposition in the National Assembly, was sworn in as caretaker prime minister. Senators Sartaj Aziz and Sahibzada Yaqub Khan were appointed finance and foreign ministers, respectively. **20 August:** Pakistan announced its intention to contribute its forces to the coalition army being assembled in the Middle East under the leadership of the United States in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. **22 August:** Twenty-seven people were killed, including two women and four children, in Karachi when gunmen raided various camps and offices of Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz. **31 August:** Caretaker Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi asked India to pull back its troops from the border with Pakistan. **4 September:** President Ghulam Ishaq Khan filed "references" against three former federal ministers for alleged misdeeds and corruption. The references were made to special tribunals set up to investigate the conduct in office of elected officials

during the administration of Benazir Bhutto. **12 September:** The special tribunal comprising Justice Munir A. Sheikh returned the “reference” to President Ghulam Ishaq Khan that had been filed by the president against former minister Jehangir Badr for want of sufficient evidence to warrant further proceedings. **20 September:** President Ghulam Ishaq Khan met with President Yang Shangkun of China in Beijing. **30 September:** Benazir Bhutto appeared in Karachi before Justice Wajihuddin Ahmad in response to a “reference” filed against her by President Ishaq Khan. **24 October:** Elections were held all over Pakistan. Bhutto’s PPP lost in all the provinces to IJI, an alliance of rightist parties. **10 November** An 18-member federal government was sworn in by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Mian Nawaz Sharif became prime minister, while Sartaj Aziz and Sahibzada Yaqub Khan stayed on as finance and foreign ministers, respectively. **21 November** The fifth summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation was held in Male, Maldives. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif met with Chandra Shekhar, his Indian counterpart. **9 December:** While on a visit to Sindh, Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif announced a special Rs. 12 billion program for the development and reconstruction of the provincial economy. **15 December:** The Cabinet meeting under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif decided to allow the establishment of passenger and cargo airlines in the private sector.

1991 5 January: The government announced plans to distribute 350,000 acres of land to the *haris* (landless peasants) in Sindh. **10 January:** The government coalition, IJI, won the majority of the seats in the national and provincial by-elections. **18 January:** Demonstrations were held all over Pakistan to protest the bombing of Iraq by the United States and other coalition forces. **25 January:** Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif met in Amman with King Hussein of Jordan to find a solution to the crisis in the Gulf. **1 February:** A devastating earthquake hit the northern areas of Pakistan. The death toll was estimated at more than a thousand. **25 February:** Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif went on a visit to China. **26 February:** Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yaqub Khan resigned from the Cabinet. **14 March:** Elections were held for the Senate. The government coalition, IJI, maintained its control of the upper house. **20 July** Azad Kashmir President Abdul Qayyum Khan resigned. **9 September:** The Sindh High Court acquitted Asif Ali Zardari, Benazir Bhutto’s husband, of charges of fraud and corruption.

Unidentified gunmen assassinated Fazle Haq, former governor of the Northwest Frontier Province. **19 December:** Opposition members walked out of the National Assembly when President Ghulam Ishaq Khan rose to deliver his annual address.

1992 1 January: China revealed that it had agreed to build a nuclear power station in Pakistan at Chasma on the Indus River. **6 February:** In a meeting with the *Washington Post*, Foreign Secretary Shahrayar Khan admitted that Pakistan had acquired the technology to build nuclear weapons. **5 May:** Jamaat-e-Islami announced the decision to leave the ruling coalition formed by Islami Jamhuri Itihad. **14 July** Sunni gunmen killed several Shiite Muslims while they were observing the death anniversary of Imam Hussain. **18 August:** Indian and Pakistani officials met to hold talks on Kashmir. **10 October:** Asif Ali Zardari was acquitted of some more charges of corruption and fraud by the Sindh High Court.

1993 5 February: Pakistan observed a strike against India's presence in Kashmir. **27 March:** Pakistan Muslim League leaders nominated Mian Nawaz Sharif to succeed Muhammad Khan Junejo as the party's president. **17 April:** In a nationally televised speech, Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif accused President Ishaq Khan of "unscrupulous and dirty politics." **18 April:** President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif and dissolved the National Assembly. A caretaker administration was appointed under Prime Minister Balkh Sher Mazari. **20 May:** The Supreme Court held the prime minister's dismissal unconstitutional. Sharif was reinstated. **18 July** President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the National Assembly for the second time in three months and then resigned. Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif also resigned. Moeen Qureshi, a former senior official at the World Bank and who had lived outside Pakistan for nearly four decades, was appointed caretaker prime minister. **19 August:** The prime minister announced a program of structural reforms. **6 October:** The Pakistan People's Party won the most seats in the National Assembly but did not obtain a majority. **17 October:** Benazir Bhutto was sworn in as prime minister. She saw off caretaker Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi at the Islamabad airport. **4 December:** Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari of the Pakistan People's Party was elected president.

1994 26 January: Bhutto brought new ministers—Anwar Saifullah Khan, Khalid Ahmad Kharal, Makhdum Fahim Amin, Mustafa Khar,

Ahmad Mukhtar—into the Cabinet. **26 February:** Western governments announced pledges amounting to \$2.5 billion to support the development plan. **26 May:** President Farooq Leghari visited Washington and held talks with senior U.S. officials. **5 June:** Murtaza Bhutto, the brother of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, was released from jail. **6 June:** The Bhutto government announced the budget for the 1994-95 financial year. **26 June:** The Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry went on strike to protest government budget proposals. **25 August:** The government announced plans to expel one million immigrants of Afghan, Burmese, Bangladeshi, Indian, and Iranian origin who had settled in Karachi. **1 September:** Bhutto decided against visiting Gaza without permission from Israel. **11 September:** Opposition launched “oust Bhutto” campaign with a train march from Karachi to Peshawar. **21 September:** A strike call by opposition leader Mian Nawaz Sharif resulted in widespread violence and disruption of economic activity. **30 September:** 60 persons were reported killed in Karachi in MQM-related violence. **10 October:** Some 1,100 opponents of Benazir Bhutto were arrested by the government. **18 October:** The army was called out in Karachi after 13 persons were killed in sectarian violence involving the Suni and Shia communities. **31 October:** 84 persons were reported to have been killed during the month in MQM-associated violence. **12 November** Suffering a major diplomatic defeat, Pakistan was forced to withdraw a resolution on Kashmir tabled at the UN General Assembly. **13 November** Mian Muhammad Sharif, Nawaz Sharif’s father, was arrested. **30 November** 104 persons were reported killed during the month in MQM-related violence. **4 December:** Muhammad Salahuddin, editor of the Urdu newspaper *Takbeer*, was shot dead outside his office in Karachi. **31 December:** 168 persons were reported killed during the month in MQM-related violence.

1995 **10–12 January:** U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry visited Pakistan. **12 January:** Khalid Latif, chairman of Allied Bank, Pakistan’s second largest private-sector bank, was arrested by the government. **16 January:** India rejected preconditions set by Pakistan for the resumption of bilateral talks on Kashmir. **31 January:** 92 persons were reported to have been killed during the month in MQM-related violence. **12 February:** Ramzi Youssef, the main suspect in the terrorist bombing of the World Trade Center in New York, was arrested in Islamabad and immediately deported to the United States. **18 February:** Opposition leader

Ijaz ul-Haq—member of the National Assembly and the son of the late Zia ul-Haq—was arrested. **28 February:** 170 persons were reported to have been killed during the month in MQM-related violence. **29 October:** The government devalued the rupee by 7 percent and increased fuel prices and import duties. **13 November** Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto ordered the arrest of Mian Muhammad Sharif, the father of Nawaz Sharif, on charges of tax evasion. **21 December:** President Leghari appointed General Jehangir Karamat chief of the Army Staff.

1996 **1 January:** Pakistan and India exchanged a list of nuclear installations. **13 January:** General Jehangir Karamat assumed the position of chief of the Army Staff. **28 January:** A banking tribunal directed two Iteffaq Group concerns owned by Mian Nawaz Sharif and his family to deposit Rs. 1,770 million against bad debts claimed by two banks. **31 January:** 155 people were reported killed in Karachi violence during January. **5 February:** The United States accused China of supplying nuclear-weapons technology to Pakistan in 1995. **8 February:** The Privatization Commission approved the sale of 26 percent of the shares of United Bank Limited to a Saudi businessman. **29 February:** 56 persons were reported killed in violence in Karachi during February. **6 March:** Pakistan completed construction on its first multipurpose nuclear reactor located at Chasma on the Indus River. **20 March:** The Supreme Court ruled that the government did not have the executive power to appoint judges to the superior courts. **31 March:** 24 persons were reported killed in violence in Karachi during March. **14 April:** Seven people died in a bomb attack on the Shaukat Khanum Memorial Hospital, which was established by Imran Khan. **23 April:** The Aid to Pakistan Consortium approved Pakistan's request for \$2.3 billion in assistance for the 1996–97 fiscal year. **4 May:** The government announced that wheat output for the 1995–96 growing year was a record 18 million tons. **10 May:** The United States decided not to impose sanctions on China for the alleged transfer of nuclear technology to Pakistan. **27 May:** The Supreme Court declared that the president had the final authority to appoint the chief justice. **13 June:** A Rs. 500 billion budget for the 1996–97 fiscal year was presented to the National Assembly. Defense expenditure was raised 14 percent to Rs. 131 billion, debt servicing to Rs. 186 billion, and development expenditure to Rs. 104 billion. **20 June:** The business community organized a protest against the taxation proposals in the budget. **20 July:** Leaders of the Ja-

maat-e-Islami began a 1,000-km. whistle-stop tour of the country to oust the “corrupt and incompetent” government headed by Benazir Bhutto. **31 July:** Prime Minister Bhutto brought seven new ministers into her Cabinet including her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, who was assigned the portfolio of Investment. **26 August:** The first consignment of U.S. arms released under the Brown amendment arrived in Karachi. **13 September:** Sectarian tensions mounted in Kurram Agency as the death toll rose to 200. **20 September:** Mir Murtaza Bhutto and six of his followers were killed in an ambush in Karachi. **24 September:** Gunmen killed 21 worshippers at a Sunni mosque in Multan, Punjab. **27 October:** The Jamaat-e-Islami organized strikes in Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Islamabad. More than 150 persons were arrested in Lahore. **28 October:** Naveed Qamar was appointed finance minister. **30 October:** Four army officers accused of a coup attempt were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. **5 November** President Farooq Leghari dismissed Prime Minister Bhutto, dissolved the National Assembly, and appointed a caretaker administration with Meraj Khalid as prime minister. Shahid Hamid and Umar Afridi were appointed ministers of defense and interior, respectively. The Punjab assembly was also dismissed and Tariq Rahim was appointed governor. Asif Ali Zardari was arrested. **7 November** The Sindh assembly was dissolved and Mumtaz Bhutto was appointed chief minister. **8 November** Shahid Javed Burki took leave of absence from the World Bank and joined the Cabinet. He was put in charge of finance, planning, and economic affairs. The Balochistan Assembly was dissolved. **12 November** The NWFP Assembly was dissolved. **18 November:** President Leghari instituted the Ehetasab Ordinance to address the problem of corruption. **1 December:** Chinese President Jiang Zemin arrived in Pakistan. **15 December:** President Farooq Leghari filed a document with the Supreme Court to defend his action against the Bhutto government. **16 December:** The Supreme Court dismissed the petition to postpone elections. The chief election commissioner approved the election schedule. **23 December:** 9,540 persons filed nomination papers for elections.

1997 4 January: Shahid Javed Burki traveled to Beijing to enlist Chinese support for resolving the balance-of-payment crisis. **6 January:** President Leghari established the Council for Defense and National Security, consisting of military leaders and members of the caretaker administration, to advise the government. **29 January:** The Supreme Court upheld the

dismissal of the administration of Benazir Bhutto by the president, accepting President Leghari's contention that the dismissed government had been corrupt and was also responsible for hundreds of "extrajudicial" killings in Karachi. **3 February:** Mian Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League scored a massive victory in the general elections, whereas Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party performed very poorly. **17 February:** Mian Nawaz Sharif was sworn in as prime minister; Sartaj Aziz was appointed minister of finance. Shahbaz Sharif became the chief minister of Punjab. **23 February:** Prime Minister Sharif appealed to the Pakistanis living abroad to donate generously to a fund set up to reduce the country's external debt. **1 March:** The United States placed Pakistan on the decertification list for drug-producing and transit countries. Pakistan was granted a waiver on attendant sanctions, however. **9 March:** Benazir Bhutto was elected chairperson for life of the Pakistan People's Party. **12 March:** The Pakistan Muslim League won 23 seats in the Senate out of the 34 contested. This gave the PML a two-thirds majority in both houses of Parliament, sufficient to amend the constitution. **21 March:** Waseem Sajjad was elected chairman of the Senate. **1 April:** Both houses of Parliament unanimously adopted the 13th amendment to the constitution, taking away the power of the president to dissolve the National Assembly and dismiss the prime minister. **9 April:** The Pakistani and Indian foreign ministers met in New Delhi, the highest level meeting between the two countries in seven years. **15 April:** Scarcity of wheat flour led to riots in Lahore. **2 December:** President Farooq Leghari resigned. **31 December:** Muhammad Rafiq Tarar, a close associate of Prime Minister Sharif, was elected president.

1998 **1 February:** The U.S. State Department issued a harsh criticism concerning human-rights treatment in Pakistan. **7–17 March:** A population census was conducted with the help of the armed forces. Because of local opposition the count could not be carried out in Quetta, the capital of Balochistan. **1 April:** Corruption case against Asif Ali Zardari began to be heard by a magistrate in London. **2 April:** A magistrate in London rejected the plea by Benazir Bhutto and Asif Zardari to stop the government of Pakistan's investigation against them. **10 April:** Pakistan test fired the Ghauri, a medium-range missile. **12 April:** Pakistan refuted reports that foreign assistance was received by the country in the production of the Ghauri missile. **10 May:** A spokesman for Pakistan People's Party announced that a court had issued warrants for the arrest of Benazir Bhutto. **11 May:** India announced the successful testing of three nuclear

devices in a desert testing ground in the state of Rajasthan, near the border with Pakistan. The announcement of the test by the prime minister was followed soon after by condemnation from most of the important world capitals. The United States threatened to impose economic sanctions, while Pakistan suggested that it may also be forced to act. **13 May:** India carried out two more tests of nuclear devices. U.S. President Bill Clinton called the tests a “terrible mistake” and announced economic sanctions against India. **28 May:** Pakistan conducted five tests of nuclear devices at Chaghai, a site in Balochistan. **30 May:** Pakistan followed up with one more test of a nuclear device. The United States and Japan imposed sanctions on Pakistan. **2 June:** Israel denied Pakistan’s allegation that it was preparing an attack on its nuclear facilities. **3 June:** Prime Minister Sharif set up a National Self-Reliance Fund and appealed to all Pakistanis for donations to help the country face the situation created by the imposition of sanctions. **16 June:** Prime Minister Sharif ordered stern action against 25 top bank-loan defaulters, including seven persons belonging to the Pakistan Muslim League. **3 July:** The Supreme Court ordered the Lahore High Court to decide the government’s case against Hub Power Company, one of the dozen private companies that had invested in power generation during the time Benazir Bhutto was prime minister. **14 July:** The Karachi Stock Exchange Index (KSE-100) closed at 755, an all-time low. **7 August:** Terrorists bombed United States’ embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing more than 200 people, including 12 Americans. Pakistan arrested Muhammad Siddique Odeh, a Palestinian, at the Karachi airport who confessed to having worked with a group that bombed the embassies. **18 August:** Pakistan arrested two additional suspects in the embassy bombings. **19 August:** A judge in Switzerland indicted Benazir Bhutto on charges of money-laundering tied to contracts with two Geneva-based companies. **20 August:** The United States fired cruise missiles at Khowst, Afghanistan to attack the camps maintained by Osama bin Laden. The U.S. action came in response to the terrorists’ attacks on its embassies in East Africa. Some missiles landed in Pakistan, killing several people. **21 August:** Pakistanis protested against the U.S. missile attack. **23 August:** Pakistan lodged a formal complaint with the United Nations that the United States had violated its air space in the missile attacks on Afghanistan. **7 October:** General Jehangir Karamat, chief of the Army Staff, resigned after giving a speech at the Naval Staff College in Lahore. The speech was highly critical of the way

Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif was handling the economy. General Pervez Musharraf was promoted and appointed chief of the army staff. **8 October:** The National Assembly passed the 15th Amendment to the Constitution by a vote of 151 in favor, 16 against, and 40 abstaining. The amendment adopted the *sharia*—the Islamic law—as the law of the land. It was sent to the senate for ratification. **12 October:** The government initiated action against Hubco, a power-generation company owned in part by Britain’s National Power. The company was accused of having bribed senior officials in the government of Benazir Bhutto in order to receive favorable terms. **17 October:** Hakim Muhammad Said, former governor of Sindh and a prominent social worker, was shot dead by unknown assailants. **6 November** Hafiz Pasha, Advisor to the Prime Minister for Finance, resigned. He was replaced by Ishaq Dar as finance minister. **7 November** The army was brought in to manage the affairs of the Water and Power Development Authority. **2-4 December:** Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif visited Washington and held meetings with President Bill Clinton and other senior U.S. officials. **18 December:** Three army personnel were ambushed and killed in Karachi. **24 December:** Military courts were set up in Karachi to try people accused of terrorism.

1999 **20 February:** Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee traveled by bus to Lahore to inaugurate a bus service between India and Pakistan. **21 February:** The Indian and Pakistani prime ministers issued a statement—the Lahore Declaration—promising to work towards an improvement in relations between the two countries. **10 April:** India test-fired the Agni II missile (with a range of 2,000 kilometers). **14 April:** Pakistan launched the Ghauri II missile (with range of 2,500 kilometers). **15 April:** Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and her husband, Asif Zardari, were convicted of corruption and sentenced to five years in prison. The court also issued orders for the confiscation of their property. **21–22 April:** Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif visited Moscow for discussions with President Boris Yeltsin. Russia and Pakistan issued a joint statement pledging for the establishment of durable peace and security in the region. **May to June:** Pakistan and India fought a sharp war in the Kargil area of Kashmir. Pakistani troops occupied some of the Indian military positions in the area. India retaliated by heavy bombardment using its air force with artillery. **4 July** Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif traveled to Washington and met with President Bill Clinton of the United States at the Blair House in Washington. The meeting led to the

declaration that Pakistan will pull out its troops from Kargil without imposing any conditions. **7-10 September:** Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif sent his brother Shabaz Sharif to Washington to warn the U.S. administration of the possibility of a military coup in Pakistan. The State Department issued a statement following discussions with the younger Sharif saying that the United States was in favor of democratic rule in Pakistan. **12 October:** Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif dismissed Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf while he was flying back from Colombo, Sri Lanka. He promoted Lieutenant Khwaja Ziauddin as the new chief of army staff. The senior generals of the army refused to accept the appointment, ousted the prime minister, and anointed General Musharraf as the country's chief executive. **14 October:** Chief Executive Musharraf addressed the nation and read out a seven point agenda for the economic and political reform of the country.

2000 17 January: General Musharraf arrived for a two day visit in Beijing, China and met Prime Minister Zhu Rongji and Li Peng, Chairman of China's National People's Congress. **18 January:** General Musharraf met with President Jiang Zemin of China. Both leaders vowed to strengthen their strategic partnership. **19 January:** Rehmat Hussain Jaffrey, the presiding judge of the anti-terrorism court framed charges against former prime minister Nawaz Sharif and his co-defendants in the "October 12 plane conspiracy case." **18 June:** Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz presented the military government's first budget in a televised address. GDP growth for the year ending June 30 was estimated at 4.5 percent, compared with only 3.1 percent in the previous year. **13 July** Maulana Abbas Ansari, a Shia leader and head of the *Ittihadul Muslimeen* was elected to lead Kashmir's APHC in a meeting of the organization's executive council. It abstained from the meeting. Ansari was in favor of initiating talks with India without bringing Pakistan to the table at this preliminary stage. This position was not acceptable to the APHC members who had strong links with Pakistan. **1 August:** General Musharraf announced the arrangements for local elections. **6-8 September:** Heads of state and government representing the members of the United Nations adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which included halving the number of people living in absolute poverty in the world by the year 2015. General President Pervez Musharraf represented Pakistan at the meeting. **15 September:** The APHC General Council elected Syed Ali

Shah Geelani its new chairman. The groups based in Pakistan recognized Geelani's election. **12 October:** An explosive-laden dinghy exploded next to the American destroyer *Cole* in Yemen, killing 17 sailors. Abu Zubayda was identified as the chief commander of the attack. **30 December:** The Hamood ur Rahman Commission report on the conduct of the military's operations in East Pakistan in 1971 was declassified. The report cited professional incompetence; defective defense strategy; lack of coordination among the army, navy and air force; and the moral degeneration of the military high command as the major reasons for the 1971 debacle. **31 October:** The first phase of elections to the local bodies was held in 18 districts. The turnout was estimated at between 35 and 50 percent. Chief Election Commissioner Abdul Qadeer Chaudhry said the elections were "held with fair, free and transparent manner and there were no complaints received from any polling station."

2001 1 January: Pakistan and India exchanged the lists of nuclear installations as required by an agreement between the two countries to prevent attacks against such installations in the two countries. The agreement provides for the exchange of this information on the first working day of each year. **2 January:** The Mutahida Jihad Council, an alliance of mujahideen groups fighting against the Indian occupation of Kashmir, reiterated its rejection of the "so-called cease fire" by India. **5 January:** Pakistan completed the withdrawal of its troops from the LOC while the chairman of APHC, Abdul Gani met with Ashraf Jahangir Kaji, Pakistan's high commissioner in Delhi. The BJP, the party in power in India, indicated it was against any Kashmir peace formula that involved the partition of the state. **7 January:** Justice Muhammad Bashir Jehangir was sworn in as the 16th chief justice of Pakistan at a ceremony in Islamabad. **11 January:** Kashmir. The APHC named a five-member delegation made up of Maulvi Umar Farooq, Syed Ali Shah Gilani, Abdul Gani Lore, Sheikh Abdullaziz, and Maulvi Abbas Ansari to travel to Islamabad for talks scheduled for 15 January. It omitted Abdul Ghani Bhat and Yasin Malik from the delegation. The APHC urged the Indian authorities to issue passports to the members of the delegation. **15 January:** Vijay K. Nambrs, India's high commissioner in Pakistan, met with General Musharraf in Islamabad. Pakistan's foreign office termed the meeting "very significant." **13 July** President Pervez Musharraf arrived at India's Palam airport where he was re-

ceived by Minister of State for Railways Digvijay Singh. This was his first visit to India since his family had left the country in 1946 for what was to become Pakistan in 1947. **16 July** Pakistan and India broke off their three day summit at Agra without issuing a communiqué. **17 July** India and Pakistan reaffirmed their desire to continue their dialogue initiated in Agra. **18 July** Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee won the crucial support of his cabinet to pay a return visit to Pakistan to resume the dialogue begun at Agra. **9 September:** Ahmed Shah Massoud, the leader of the mujahideen group assembled under the banner of the Northern Alliance, was assassinated by two suicide bombers who triggered an explosive device hidden in a camera. The bombers had gained admission to Massoud's office posing as journalists. **11 September:** 19 Muslim hijackers, led by Muhammad Atta, an Egyptian, commandeered four jet liners from Boston and Washington airports, crashing two into the World Trade Center at New York and the third at the Pentagon near Washington. The fourth plane crashed in Pennsylvania en route to Washington, D.C. More than 3,000 people were killed in the attacks. **12 September:** Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage summoned General Mahmoud Ahmad, head of the Pakistani Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), to his office and told him that the U.S. would make a series of requests that would force "deep introspection" on the part of his country concerning its relations with Pakistan. "Pakistan faces a stark choice, either it is with us or it is not. This is a black or white choice with no gray." **13 September:** General Mahmoud returned to Armitage's office and was handed a list of seven demands the U.S. was making on Pakistan. "This is not negotiable, Armitage told the general. You must accept all seven parts. The list was put together earlier in the day by Armitage working together with Secretary of State Colin L. Powell. **14 September:** President Pervez Musharraf accepted all U.S. demands and agreed to join the U.S. war on terrorism as a fully committed ally. **7 October:** The U.S. began military operations in Afghanistan with some of its planes and missiles flying over Pakistan territory. **14 November:** Ministers representing the members of the World Trade Organization met in Doha, the capital of Qatar, and agreed to launch another round of trade negotiations. **1–15 December:** After two weeks of U.S. air bombardment of al Qaeda forces in the Tora Bora Mountains, the Northern Alliance fails to fully engage al Qaeda; bin Laden, al-Zawahiri, and most of their fighters escape to Pakistan. **11**

December: The Indian Parliament compound in Delhi was attacked by a group of Muslim fundamentalists. The Indian government suspected the hand of *Lashkar-e-Taiba*. **13 December:** Pakistan arrested Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, president of the *Lashkar-e-Taiba*. **31 December:** Train and air services between India and Pakistan were suspended. However, Pakistan's move against *Lashkar-e-Taiba* and India's favorable reaction to that move were interpreted by western diplomats as a small thaw in the frosty relations between the two countries.

2002 **1 January:** India downgraded its diplomatic relations with Pakistan by recalling its high commissioner (ambassador) from Islamabad. **14 January:** Pakistan reopened its embassy in Kabul resuming diplomatic relations with Afghanistan at the counselor level. Meanwhile the U.S. remained concerned about escalating tensions between India and Pakistan. **23 January:** *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl was abducted in Karachi while going to interview Shaykh Sayyid Giliani, leader of *Jamaat al-Fuqra*, a group based in Pakistan and North America and tied to al Qaeda and Kashmiri guerrillas. Pearl was beheaded. His remains were found in May 2002. **27 February:** *Jamaat-i-Islam amir* (chief) Qazi Hussain Ahmad was released on bail in Lahore by a judge of the Anti-Terrorist Court. **14 March:** President Musharraf, while on a visit to Tokyo, Japan met Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi who lauded the effort the Pakistani leader was making to bring peace to the region. **28 March:** Al Qaeda leader Abu Zubaydah was captured in Faisalabad, Pakistan. A 30-year-old Palestinian with Saudi citizenship, Zubaydah was a chief recruiter and ran an Afghan training camp. He was under a Jordanian death sentence for his part in al Qaeda's millennium plot to attack U.S. and Israeli targets. **2 April:** A car, packed with explosives, failed to detonate while a convoy of cars carrying General Musharraf and his entourage was traveling on a busy Karachi street. **15 April:** Interior Minister Moinuddin Haider told newsmen that the planned presidential referendum was allowed under Section 48(b) of the Constitution. **25 April:** A bomb ripped through a Shiite Muslim mosque in Punjab's Bhakkar district, killing 12 worshippers, all of them women. **8 May:** In Karachi, a car bomb was driven into a minibus carrying French naval technicians who were working for Pakistan's navy: 11 French workers were killed, 12 wounded; two Pakistanis were killed and 12 wounded. **17 June:** A car bomb exploded outside the U.S. consulate in Karachi, killing 11 and wounding more than 40. **10 Septem-**

ber: Ramzi bin al-Shibh was arrested in Karachi. He was to be a pilot in the 11 September attacks but failed to get a U.S. visa. **13 July** Grenades were thrown at an archaeological site near Manshera, Pakistan, wounding 12, including seven Germans, one Austrian, and one Slovak. **5 August:** Islamists raided a Christian school for the children of foreign aid workers northwest of Islamabad. Six staff members are killed. **10 August:** A Christian church in Taxila, Pakistan, is bombed. Five people were killed, including three nurses, and 25 were wounded.

2003 2–3 January: New governments took office in Karachi, Sindh, and Lahore, Punjab. **7 January:** Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was elected unopposed as president of the Pakistan Muslim League (Q). **13 January:** General Musharraf told the Dubai-based Arabic television channel that he “guaranteed 400 percent that nothing has taken place between us and North Korea. No transfer of nuclear technology has taken place in the past and it will not happen in the future.” **30 January:** The George W. Bush administration designated the Pakistani Sunni Muslim Group *Lashkar-i-Jahangi* as a foreign terrorist organization. **4–6 February:** India expelled Jalil Jilani, Pakistan’s acting high commissioner, and four other Pakistani diplomats. **9 February:** Prime Minister Vajpayee accused Pakistan of failing to deliver on a promise made a year earlier to put an end to cross-border terrorism. **13 February:** Police in Quetta arrested Mohammed Abdel Rahman, son of jailed Gama’a al-Islamiyya’s spiritual leader Shaykh Omar Abdel Rahman. Bin Laden had cared for him after his father’s arrest in the United States. **28 February:** Islamists attacked Pakistani police guarding the U.S. consulate in Karachi, leaving two dead and five wounded. **1 March:** Pakistani police arrested al Qaeda operations chief Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in an upscale section of Rawalpindi. Mohammed had designed the 11 September attacks, was involved in the East Africa and *Cole* bombings, and participated in Ramzi Ahmed Yousef’s 1995 plot to destroy U.S. airliners flying Pacific routes. Pakistani police arrested al Qaeda financial officer Mustafa Ahmed al-Hisawai. Hisawai had funded the 11 September attackers via wire transfers. **18 April:** At a meeting in Srinagar, the first to be addressed by an Indian prime minister since 1986, Atal Bihari Vajpayee invited Pakistan to a dialogue with his government to resolve all outstanding issues. **19 April:** President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan and several members of his cabinet visited Islamabad and met with President Musharraf and Prime Minister Jamali. **29 April:** In Karachi,

Pakistani police arrested Tawfiq bin Attash and Amar al-Baluchi, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed's nephew. A Saudi citizen of Yemeni origin, bin Attash was a close friend of bin Laden, had fought with him in Afghanistan, and had run the attack on the U.S. destroyer *Cole*. Al-Baluchi was an al Qaeda financial officer and had sent nearly \$120,000 to Mohammed Atta, the leader of the 11 September attacks. **8–15 May:** A group of Pakistani parliamentarians began a visit to India after having twice postponed their trip at the request of the Indian hosts. **9 May:** India appointed Shiv Shankar Menon, its ambassador to China, to be the next high commissioner to Pakistan. **28 May:** Pakistan appointed Aziz Ahmad Khan as high commissioner to India. **7 June:** Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz presented the national budget for 2003-04 financial year. **24 June:** President Pervez Musharraf met with President Bush at the Camp David retreat. The U.S. announced that it would assist Pakistan with a \$3 billion aid package stretched over a period of five years. **28 July:** A two-day conference on Kashmir began in Washington at the initiative of U.S. Senator Thomas Hawkins and Representative Joseph Pitts. **7 August:** Karachi Stock Exchange broke two records by reaching a new high at the KSE-100 Index closing at 4205 with a record turnover of 959 million shares. **25 August:** Two taxis packed with the military explosive RDX were detonated 15 minutes apart in the Indian city of Mumbai, killing 53 and wounding more than 190. Indian police arrest four men they say belong to the Kashmiri Lashkar-e Tayyiba—an ally of al Qaeda—and are tied to India's Student Islamic Movement. The Indians said the groups also detonated bombs in Mumbai in December 2002, killing 17 and wounding 189, and speculated that both attacks were retaliation for anti-Muslim riots in Gujarat state in March 2002. **September–October:** Events undercut Pakistan President Musharraf's pro-U.S. policy. Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon made an official visit to India, supported India on Kashmir, and sold India three Phalcon radar systems. The Phalcons will allow India to see far into Pakistan. The visit coincided with U.S. criticism of Musharraf for letting Kashmiri fighters enter India and a joint U.S.-Indian Special Forces exercise in Indian Kashmir. **18 September:** Prime Minister Jamali announced that five factions of the Pakistani Muslim League had merged. **20 September:** Pakistani security arrests 15 Asian Islamic seminary students in Karachi and charges them with being linked to the Jemaah Islamiya, the Indonesian militant group allied with al Qaeda.

21-25 September: General Pervez Musharraf arrived in New York to attend the 56th Annual Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly. During his visit, President Musharraf met with President Bush. **30 September:** Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali arrived in New York on a 10-day visit to the United States. **11 October:** Pakistan continued to sign agreements with its donor nations to reschedule the debts it owed. An agreement was signed with South Korea to reschedule \$500 million of debt. **18 October:** Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz visited Pakistan and announced an increase in assistance. **22 October:** Indian Foreign Minister Yashwant Singh announced a proposal to revive stalled efforts to normalize relations with Pakistan. **1-4 November** President Pervez Musharraf visited China and concluded a number of agreements with the country on control of terrorism, increased trade and greater economic cooperation between the two countries. **14 and 25 December:** Pakistan president Musharraf survived two attempted assassinations near Islamabad. On 14 December a mine was detonated along his travel route; on 25 December his convoy is hit by two suicide car bombs.

2004 1 January: The government formally approved the sale of Habib Bank, the country's largest bank, to the Agha Khan Foundation for Economic Development. By a vote of 56.2 percent in favor, in a combined "sitting" of the national and four provincial assemblies, President Musharraf won a vote of confidence and elected to stay in office until 31 December 2007. **4-6 January:** The 12th SAARC summit was held in Islamabad, Pakistan. It approved the establishment of the South Asia Free Trade Area by 1 January 2006. On the sidelines President Musharraf met with Prime Minister Vajpayee of India and issued the Islamabad Declaration for resolving all outstanding disputes between the two countries through dialogue. **13 January:** The Indian Government invited Kashmiri separatist groups, including the All Parties Hurivat Conference, to meet with Deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani. **17 January:** Musharraf addressed the parliament for the first time during his tenure as president. **2 February:** New information about the extent of scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan's involvement in providing assistance to Iran, Libya and North Korea continued to trickle out of Islamabad. **4 February:** In a televised address, A.Q. Khan admitted to providing nuclear weapons and expertise to Iran, Libya and North Korea. **16-18 February:** Senior officials of the Ministries of External Affairs of Pakistan and India met in Islamabad to

draw up an agenda and timetable for future talks between the two countries. **2 March:** An attack by grenades and automatic weapon fire on a Shia procession in Quetta, Balochistan killed 44 people and injured another 150. **12 March:** India began its first cricket tour of Pakistan in 17 years with a one day international played in Karachi. **15 March:** U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell on a visit to Islamabad said that his country will seek information from Islamabad about the nuclear proliferation network run by A.Q. Khan. **31 March:–2 April:** Ten Islamists fighters were arrested in Canada and Britain after a long police investigation; all were Pakistanis and naturalized Canadians or Britons. British police also seized 1,100 pounds of fertilizer suitable for making a bomb. UK intelligence sources told the media that the eight men arrested in London were tied to al Qaeda members in Pakistan. **20 May:** The three-party National Alliance led by Milat headed by former President Farooq Leghari merged with Pakistan Muslim League (Q), the ruling party. **10 June:** Dr. Arbab Ghulam Rahim was sworn in as chief minister of Sindh. **19 June:** India and Pakistan began their first talks on easing the risk of nuclear war since 1998, when they tested nuclear bombs. According to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, India has 100 to 150 nuclear warheads while Pakistan has an arsenal of 25 to 50 bombs. **26 June:** Zafarullah Khan Jamali resigned as prime minister and nominated the ruling Pakistan Muslim League president, Shujaat Hussain, as acting prime minister. **27 June:** The PPP put forward Amin Fahim as its candidate in the forthcoming contest in the National Assembly for prime ministership. **28 June:** The ruling PML decided to nominate Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz as its candidate for prime minister's position. Since Aziz is not a member of the National Assembly, he will have to first seek election to a seat in the assembly. **29 June:** Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was sworn in prime minister. **19 July** Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz filed papers to contest the by-election for NA-59, a seat in the national assembly from Attock, in north Punjab. **25 July** It was revealed later that a top al Qaeda operative, Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani, who was wanted in connection with the August 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, was arrested after a shoot out in the eastern city of Gujarat on 25 July 2004. **30 July** Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz survived an attempt on his life by a suicide bomber after he addressed a public meeting at Fatchjang near Attock. His driver was killed. **18 August:** Shaukat Aziz won the by-election from two seats, one at Attock and the other at Tharparaikar, a con-

stituency in rural Sindh. **28 August:** Shaukat Aziz was elected prime minister by the National Assembly, receiving 191 votes in a house of 342 members. His only challenge came from Javed Hashmi, who was in jail charged with an attempt to provoke a rebellion in the army. **24 September:** President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh met in New York at the sidelines of the meeting of the UN General Assembly, and issued a joint statement. “They agreed that confidence building measures of all categories under discussion between the two governments should be implemented keeping in mind practical possibilities.” **14 October:** The National Assembly passed a bill allowing President Musharraf to remain in uniform beyond 31 December 2005. **22 November** Asif Ali Zardari, jailed on 4 November 1996 on corruption charges, was released after the Supreme Court granted him bail. **25 November** Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz held talks with Manmohan Singh, his Indian counterpart. **29 November** Pakistan test-fired the indigenously developed short-range surface-to-surface ballistic missile Hatf III Ghaznavi. **30 November** Acting President Mohammedmian Soomro signed into law the “President to hold another office bill” passed earlier by both the National Assembly and the Senate. President Musharraf was on a visit to Latin America having left Soomro, Chairman of the Senate, in charge. **5 December:** Presidents Musharraf and George W. Bush met in Washington and discussed a number of world issues including the Kashmir and Palestine problems. **15 December:** China and Pakistan signed a number of agreements in the areas of trade, communications and energy during a visit to Beijing by Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz. **23 December:** The KSE-100 index on the Karachi Stock exchange reached the 6000 mark. **27 December:** Pakistan and India held a meeting at the secretary level in Islamabad at which Pakistan presented a list of 20 confidence-building measures. **30 December:** President Musharraf announced that he will retain the position of chief of army staff until December 2007, the end of his term as president. The move was opposed by all parties in the opposition. The Pakistan People’s Party, the largest opposition party in the national assembly, asked Musharraf not to discredit democracy in the country by continuing to stay in uniform.

2005 **8 January:** General John Amizaid, commander-in-chief of the United States Central Command, visited Islamabad and met with President Pervez Musharraf. **14 January:** Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani, arrested on 25 July 2004, a top al Qaeda operative, was handed over to U.S. authorities.

16 March: U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice met with President Pervez Musharraf and also held meetings with Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz and Foreign Minister Khurshid Kasuri. The discussions covered Pakistan's participation in the on-going war against terrorism, situation in Afghanistan, relations with India, the sale of F-16 aircraft, and restoration of full democracy in the country. **22 March:** President Hamid Karzai arrived in Islamabad for two days of consultations with President Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz. He agreed with Aziz to give a high priority to the construction of the 1,680 km, \$3.5 billion pipeline that would bring Turkmenistan gas to Pakistan via Afghanistan. **24 March:** The cabinet reinstated a requirement, first introduced in 1980, that passport holders state their religion. **2 May:** Pakistani authorities arrested Abu Farj al-Libbi described as the third ranking official in al Qaeda. The arrested terrorist was implicated in to assassination attempts on President Pervez Musharraf in December 2003. **17 May:** Minister of Information Sheikh Rashid Ahmad announced that President Musharraf will run for reelection when his current term expires in 2007. **27 May:** A suicide bomber attacked the Bari Imam shrine and mosque near Islamabad and killed 20 people and wounded another 67. **29 May:** A suicide bomber and an accomplice died in an attack on a Shiite mosque in Karachi that killed two people, including a policeman and wounded at least 24 others. **1 June:** Nine separatists leaders from the Indian-held part of Kashmir walked across the recently constructed "peace bridge" connecting the two parts of the divided state to become the first separatists politicians to visit Pakistan in 58 years. On the same day, Lal Krishna Advani, President of Bhartiya Janata Party began a visit to Pakistan at the head of a large delegation. **6 June:** Pakistan released the *Economic Survey, 2004–05* which showed a rate of GDP growth of 8.4 percent in 2004–2005. **27 June:** The Supreme Court began hearing the case of Mukhtaran Bibi in Islamabad. **3 July** President Pervez Musharraf started a three-day visit to Saudi Arabia. He was accompanied by Shujaat Hussain, president of the Pakistan Muslim League (Q) and Rao Sikander Hayat Khan, leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party (Forward Block), suggesting that domestic politics were the reason for the trip. **4 July** In a statement the US military said that an air strike in the eastern province close to the Pakistan border had killed an unknown number of "enemy terrorists and non-combatants." **11 July** It was revealed that of the four suicide bombers implicated in the bombings in London, three were young men belonging to families of Pakistani origin. **19 July**

Pakistan authorities launched a massive campaign to address the problem of Islamic extremism. More than 100 individuals were arrested in police raids. **1 September:** Foreign Minister Khurshid Kasuri met with his Israeli counterpart in Istanbul. This was the first high-level contact between senior officials of the two countries. **17 September:** President Musharraf was the guest of honor at a dinner hosted by the American Jewish community in New York. The Pakistani president pledged to improve relations between the Muslim and Jewish communities while not promising immediate recognition of the state of Israel. **8 October:** A 7.6 Richter scale earthquake shook most of northern Pakistan and Azad Kashmir. The tremor killed 87,000 people and injured another 150,000. Three million people were left homeless.

Introduction

Pakistan is unlike most other countries. It is one of the two nations—the other being Israel—founded on the basis of religion. Although it was created to provide a homeland for the Muslim community of British India, in its original form it was able to accommodate only about half of the people of Islamic faith who lived in the subcontinent. Pakistan's birth in 1947 resulted in one of the largest movements of people in human history when some 14 million people left their homes with 8 million Muslims leaving India for Pakistan and 6 million people moving in the opposite direction. This was the first large-scale incidence of ethnic cleansing the world was to witness. Within a matter of months, the proportion of Muslims in what is today's Pakistan increased from about 75 percent of the population to 95 percent.

There were other population movements that deeply influenced Pakistan's history. Among them was the migration of millions of people from the country's northern areas to build Karachi, the first capital of Pakistan. In 50 years, Karachi's size increased 40-fold, from a small port city of 250,000 in 1947 to a mega-city of more than 10 million people in 1997. By the end of 2005, the city's population was estimated at 13 million. This explosion brought a number of ethnic and linguistic groups that could not be accommodated socially, politically, and economically in the expanding city. Karachi's institutional development did not keep pace with its demographic expansion. Karachi consequently became one of the most violent cities in the world.

Demographic convulsion also brought four million Afghan refugees to Pakistan in the 1980s and later more than a million Kashmiris displaced by the earthquake in October 2005. There was also an outward movement of people from Pakistan to the Middle East, Great Britain and North America that created three large Pakistani diasporas that began to interact in several different ways with the homeland. For the last

several years, members of the diaspora began to remit annually \$3 to \$4 billion to Pakistan, equivalent to 5 percent of the country's GDP. This helped to ease the country's resource constraints. However, not all the interactions were benign. For instance, three of the four suicide bombers who attacked London's transport system in July 2005 belonged to families of Pakistani origin. Many members of the diaspora sent their children for education to Pakistani *madrasas*, some of which give training in radical Islam and the pursuit of *jihad*. This became a matter of concern for the countries that had large Pakistani communities.

Pakistan is also fairly unique among developing countries to have split into two almost equal halves as a result of ethnic tensions. Founded on the basis of religion, Islam did not provide a strong enough glue to hold together the two wings of the country on either side of India. While religion proved to be a weak nation-building device, it has had another kind of impact. The ethnic cleansing of 1947 "Muslimized" the country enough to become the center of Islamic radicalism that shook the world on 11 September 2001 with lethal attacks on the United States. The war between Islamic extremists on the one side and the West led by the United States on the other became intense in the first few years of the 21st century.

Pakistan also lies on several fault lines in the Muslim world. It is in Pakistan that Arab Islam meets South Asian Islam, the first much more conservative than the second. It is also in Pakistan, with the second largest Shia community in the world, that the Sunni and Shia sects of Islam are attempting to coexist. And it is in the northern areas of Pakistan on the border with Afghanistan that Central Asian Islam is seeking to define its future—to accommodate itself in the non-Muslim worlds of South Asia and Europe or to move towards Islamic extremism.

Under General Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan's fourth military president, the country is attempting to wean itself away from radical and political Islam and move towards what the country's president calls "enlightened modernization." Whether the country succeeds in achieving this goal will depend on both domestic policies, particularly in the sector of education, as well as the way the West deals with the Muslim world.

A series of demographic convulsions, the Muslimization of the country at the time of independence, the rise of radical Islam inside the coun-

try's borders as well as in the Muslim world around it have all brought volatility to Pakistan. If all this energy is channeled into productive endeavors, Pakistan could follow India—another populous South Asian country—and become a dynamic part of the global economic and political systems. If these forces are allowed to destabilize the country, Pakistan could become the epicenter of an earthquake that would rock the rest of the world.

LAND AND PEOPLE

The modern nation of Pakistan came into being in December 1971, after the separation of Bangladesh following a bitterly fought civil war. From 1947 to 1971, Pakistan was made up of two 'wings,' East and West Pakistan, separated by 1,600 kilometers of Indian territory. West Pakistan became today's Pakistan in 1971, following India's intervention in the conflict between the two wings of the country founded in 1947 as a homeland for the Muslims of British India.

Modern Pakistan has four neighbors, Afghanistan in the north, Iran in the northwest, India in the south, and China in the East. It has an area of 796,000 square kilometers, roughly the size of Texas. It has a land border of 6,159 kilometers of which the longest is with Afghanistan (2,430 km), followed by that with India (2,240 km), Iran (909 km) and China (580 km). The country has a coast line of 1,046 km.

Pakistan can be divided into four major geographical zones that run from east to west. In the east are the high mountains of the Himalayas, the Karakoram and Hindukush ranges, with several peaks reaching above 5,000 meters. A number of rivers, including the Indus, originate in this mountainous terrain and flow into the plains of the Punjab, the next geographical area. In these plains live more than 80 percent of the country's population. They are fertile, and have access to the waters of the Indus River System for year-round irrigation. There are several large cities in the plains including Lahore, Multan and Faisalabad. While the winters are bitterly cold in the mountainous region, there can be scorching heat in the plains of Punjab during the summer months. The plains gradually turn into arid land and then into an extensive desert that makes up most of the provinces of Balochistan and Sindh. There is little agriculture in this geographic zone. They are also

sparsely populated. The fourth zone is a narrow sea belt with marshlands through which the Indus joins the Arabian Sea. Karachi, the country's largest city, is located at the southern part of the coastal belt.

The Indus is Pakistan's main river; it has six tributaries, each of them a major river in itself. From north to south the tributaries are the Kabul, which joins the river on its right bank, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Sutlej, all flowing into the river from the left side. The five southern tributaries give the name of Punjab (*pun* means five in Sanskrit, *ab* means water in Persian) to the country's largest province.

Pakistan sits on the northern edge of the Indian tectonic plate that has been slowly moving north at the speed of five centimeters a year. This forward move is hitting against the Eurasian plate producing pressures that often result in severe earthquakes. One such tremor occurred on 8 October 2005 that resulted in the deaths of 85,000 people while another 150,000 were seriously injured. Some three to four million people were rendered homeless. The clash between the Indian and Eurasian plates also produced the mountain ranges of the Himalayas, the Karakoram, and the Hindukush.

In 2005 Pakistan had a population of 155 million people, which was increasing at an annual rate of 2 percent, one of the highest rates of growth in the world. If this rate of increase is maintained, Pakistan could become the world's fourth most populous country in 2050, after India, China and the United States. The population is divided into six major ethnic groups. The Punjabis, with about 60 percent of the population, is the largest. They speak Punjabi or several of its many dialects, including Seraiki. The second largest group are the Pashtuns, who account for 17 percent of the population, and are concentrated in the provinces of Northwest Frontier Province, Balochistan, Karachi, and the western part of Punjab. They speak Pushto. About 13 percent of the population are Sindhis, living in the province of Sindh, and speaking Sindhi, an ancient language. The Balochis, living in the province of Balochistan, constitute about 6 percent of the population, and speak Balochi. The Muhajir constitute the fifth ethnic group, about 3 percent of the total. They are concentrated in the cities of Karachi and Hyderabad. The Muhajir (refugees), as the name implies, migrated from India to Pakistan in 1947. They speak Urdu, which is also the country's national language.

Some 95 percent of the population is Muslim, of this 75 percent are Sunnis and 25 percent are Shias. Minorities constitute 5 percent of the

population, made up of Christians and Hindus. Since 1977 the Ahmadiya community, a break-away sect of Sunni Islam, has been declared a minority.

Although Urdu is spoken by a small proportion of the population, it is the country's national language because of its association with the Muslim rule in British India. The language is the principal medium of instruction in schools. However, provincial languages are also taught in the schools located in the various provinces. English is widely used as a medium of instruction in colleges and the universities. The business of the government, as well as that in the modern sectors of the economy is conducted in English.

In 2005 almost two fifths of the population lived in urban areas. Karachi, with 13 million people, is the largest city in the country; while Greater Lahore, the capital of Punjab, with a population of 10 million people, is the country's most dynamic urban center. Karachi has the country's two main ports, most of its large industry, and is also the center of finance. That notwithstanding, the city has suffered because of violence among its many ethnic groups, which has stunted its growth. Lahore, which is the educational and cultural center of the country, has now begun to attract industry as well as finance and is catching up with Karachi as the center of urban activities. Another dozen cities have populations of more than a million people and are scattered throughout the country. Islamabad, the current capital, is a new city which began to be constructed in 1962 in the foothills of the Himalayas, 16 kilometers northeast of Rawalpindi, the headquarters of the army. In 2005 it had a population of more than a million people.

THE ARRIVAL OF ISLAM IN INDIA

Pakistan's history really begins with the arrival of Islam in India in the eighth century. In 712, Muhammad Ibn Qasim conquered and incorporated Sindh province in the Umayyad caliphate, headquartered in Baghdad, Iraq. Under the Abbasids, the successors of the Umayyads, Sindh was culturally integrated in the *Dar al Islam*, the nation of Islam. The Arab control of Sindh was consolidated in the eighth and ninth centuries; in 977 Ibn Shayban was sent by the Fatimid caliphs, by now the rulers of Dar al Islam, to conquer the adjacent province of Punjab.

Multan, a city in the south of Punjab, was conquered and annexed to the Arab domain.

In the 11th century Islam began to encroach on India from another direction. Mahmud of Ghazni, a general operating from a southwestern province of Afghanistan, began to mount expeditions into northwest India. His purpose was to plunder rather than to conquer. His first incursion came in 1001 when he defeated Jaipai, a Hindu ruler, in a battle fought near Peshawar, a city in northern Pakistan. His most famous foray into India was in 1026, when he destroyed the famed temple of Somnath, in Kathiawar, and took the accumulated wealth he found in the temple back to Ghazni. His last Indian expedition was made in 1027 against Multan, which was by then a Muslim city, under the control of the Arab viceroys of Sindh.

This entrance of Islam into the Indus Valley from two different directions—from the Arabian Sea in the southwest by the Arabs and through the Khyber and other passes in the northwest by the Afghans—profoundly affected the social, cultural, and political life of the area that was to become Pakistan. The Arab Islam commingled with the native cultures and religions and laid the ground for the founding of several Sufi orders in Sindh. The saints of Sindh were the direct descendants of these orders and they were to have a significant influence on the economy and political structure of the lower Indus valley. The Islam that came to the northwestern parts of the Indus valley through Afghanistan was much more spartan in character; it was also much less accommodating of indigenous cultures and faiths. Its descendants settled in the Northwestern Frontier Province and in the northern districts of Punjab. These two Islamic traditions found it difficult to coexist, even when the Indus valley gained independence in the shape of Pakistan.

Shabuddin Muhammad of Ghauri followed Mahmud of Ghazni into India, but his objective was to conquer not to plunder. It was also from Ghazni that Ghauri started on his Indian campaign, beginning with an attack on Multan in 1175, and culminating with his victory over Prithvi Raj of Delhi in 1192. This victory led to the establishment of Muslim rule over northern India. Delhi became the capital of the Muslim rulers. Ghauri's sway over northern India was cut short by his death in 1206. A succession of Muslim sultanates followed Ghauri and ruled India from 1206 to 1526. The Slave dynasty (1206–1290) was founded by Qutubuddin Aibak, who was originally an employee in the service of

Ghuri. In 1290, the Slave dynasty was overthrown by Jalaluddin Khilji, who established a dynasty that took his name (1290–1320), which was replaced in turn in 1320 by the Tughluqs. The Tughluq dynasty (1320–1388) was succeeded by the Sayyid dynasty (1414–1450), which was followed by the Lodi dynasty (1450–1526). Ibrahim Lodi was defeated by Babar in the battle of Panipat in 1526; Babar went on to Delhi, proclaimed himself the emperor of India and established the Mughul empire, which lasted until 1857.

Although the first five Mughul emperors of India, from Babar (1526–1530) to Shahjahan (1627–1658), were Muslims, they showed considerable tolerance toward other religions, in particular Hinduism, the dominant faith of the region. Most of them brought Hindu women into their harems and allowed Hindus to hold senior court and military appointments. One of them—Akbar the Great (1556–1605)—went so far as to proclaim his own religion, *Dine-Ilhai*, as a synthesis of the common faiths of India. Aurangzeb (1658–1707), the last of the great Mughul emperors, adopted a different stance, however. He was not prepared to accommodate other religions and was also not tolerant of the independent states on the borders of Mughul India. Attempting to bring all of South Asia under his control and to spread Islam among his subjects, Aurangzeb exhausted his own energies as well as those of the Mughul state.

It was the turmoil created by Aurangzeb's foray into South India that provided the British East India Company with the opportunity to establish its trading outposts in Bengal. As the Mughul power declined, that of the British trading company increased. The traders became generals able to use their immense profits to hire native soldiers and build an army. The East India Company army was better equipped and disciplined than the militias commanded by local warlords, who took over the periphery of the shrinking Mughul empire. The Mughul empire in India had all the attributes of a large continental state: strong at the center and weak around its periphery. It was the periphery that the British successfully penetrated.

The British advance toward the center took about a century; the only major challenge to it came in 1857 when the *sepoys* (soldiers), paid by the Company, rebelled against their employers. The Great Indian Mutiny of 1857 was the result; the leaderless *sepoys* inflicted a great deal of damage on the British, but they were finally defeated and

brought under the control of the Company's forces. The mutiny produced important political consequences for Muslim India: the East India Company was dissolved; Bahadur Shah, the last Mughul emperor, was deported from India; and India was made a part of the British empire. The capital was moved from Muslim-dominated Delhi to Calcutta, a new city the British had founded and in which the Hindu merchants flourished. After more than 1,000 years of uninterrupted rule in some part or another of India, the Muslims were now without a territory they could call their own.

It took the Muslims 90 years, from 1857 to 1947, to reestablish a state of their own in the Indian subcontinent. But the passage from subjugation to independence was not an easy one: It produced what the British administrators in India began to describe as the "Mussulman problem."

TOWARD THE DEMAND FOR PAKISTAN

In the 1940s when the demand for Pakistan gained momentum, there were some 100 million Muslims in British India, slightly more than one-fourth of the total population. Religion was the only thing this community shared; there were some vast differences of language, culture, social, and economic backgrounds between, for example, the Muslims of the Punjab and those of Bengal, or, again, between the Muslims of the Northwestern Frontier Province and the state of Hyderabad in British India's deep south. Within this one Muslim nation there existed at least three separate communities: one in the northwest (the provinces of Punjab, Sindh, and Northwest Frontier, the princely states of Bahawalpur, Kalat, and Khaipur); the second in the northeast (the provinces of Bengal and Assam); and the third in the north, central and western parts of British India (United and Central provinces, provinces of Bihar, Orissa, and Bombay, the capital city of Delhi, and numerous princely states scattered all over this part of the country). Most of the descendants of the Muslims who lived in the northwest are now the citizens of Pakistan; most of those of the northeast now live in Bangladesh; some of those in the third area either migrated to Pakistan or stayed behind in independent India.

The first two communities constituted clear majorities in their areas: of the total population of 60 million in the northwest, 60 percent pro-

fessed Islam to be their religion; of 90 million in the northeast, some 55 percent were Muslims. It was only in the north-central provinces that Muslims were a small minority, comprising no more than 20 percent of the total population. Muslims who belonged to this community were more educated, urbanized, and possessed a modern outlook compared to those in the other two. Although agriculture was the principal source of income for the Muslims in the northwest and northeast, those in the north-central provinces depended mostly on government, law, medicine, commerce, and industry for their livelihood.

In many ways the Muslims of the northwest had benefited from the British raj. There was some threat of economic competition from the non-Muslims once the British lifted the protection they had provided, but for them this threat constituted only a minor worry. The Muslim landed aristocracy was powerful in the countryside, the religious leaders had a great deal of support in villages as well as towns, and even the small urban community of Muslims had been reasonably well accommodated in the professions and in public services. The Muslims in the northeast constituted a totally different socioeconomic class. Unlike the northwestern Muslims, they owned little land, did not have much education, and had not found a comfortable place for themselves in the modern administrative and economic institutions the British had brought to India. Those in the northwest constituted the aristocracy of the Indian Muslim society; those in the northeast made up its peasantry and proletariat.

In between these two social and economic polar extremes were the Muslims of Delhi, the United and Central provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, and Gujarat. They were the descendants of the Mughul raj: sons, grandsons; great-grandsons of the families that had, for over two centuries, served the Mughul administration in various capacities. This was the elite the British conquest of India had hurt the most; they were deprived not only of their traditional jobs, but also of their social and cultural status. In 1857 this community made one disorganized but bloody attempt to regain the power it had lost to the British. The community called it the War of Independence; the British labeled it the Great Indian Mutiny. The British, with great force and much brutality, put down the mutiny. Once the situation had returned to normal, the Muslims found that their position had become even more precarious, in part because the languages they used were not to be those in which the matters of state

would be conducted. Up to 1857 the East India Company that governed the British territories had continued to use Persian and Urdu as quasi-official languages. After 1857 the responsibility of administering these territories passed to the officials appointed directly by the government in Great Britain. English became British India's lingua franca, and the Hindu community, freed from Muslim control and freed from the need to learn Muslim languages, eagerly became students of English.

English became the medium of official communication; because the Muslims had shown considerable disdain for all things English, including the language, they suddenly found themselves functionally illiterate and unemployed. The places they vacated were quickly occupied by the Hindus. "The pliant and adaptable Hindu was not agitated by the scruples which had tormented the Muslims," wrote W.W. Hunter, a contemporary British administrator. The Muslims stayed away—or, some believed, were deliberately kept away—from the British raj. "A hundred and seventy years ago," Hunter went on to say, "it was impossible for a well-born Mussulman to become poor; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue to be rich. . . . There is no Government office in which a Muslim could hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of inkpots, and a mender of pens."

Bringing this community out of this state of self-imposed exile, therefore, became a major preoccupation with a number of Muslim reformers. The most successful of these was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan who, having started his professional career as a minor government functionary, discovered that his people would not be able to make much headway without modern education. For Pakistan (its creation as well as its political and social development), Sir Sayyid's educational program had two important consequences. First, those who accepted his outlook and his philosophy were able to find their way back into the economic and social life of modern India. The university that he founded in the town of Aligarh soon began to produce graduates who could easily move into the upper ranks of the British Indian Army, and also into the upper echelons of the rapidly expanding administrative system of the British raj. They could enter as well the modern professions—law, medicine, banking, commerce, industry, teaching—that had helped the Hindus advance rapidly in British India. It was this Aligarh generation that not only provided the Pakistan Movement with its leadership, but was to provide Pakistan with its first ruling elite.

The second important consequence of Sir Sayyid's efforts was that they helped at least one segment of the Indian Muslim community to modernize by changing its identity. Aligarh made it possible for a large number of Muslims to finally leave behind the "Mughul" society of the early 19th century, in which Muslims identified primarily with family and lineage, and through these with the Mughul political system. At Aligarh University young Muslims discovered a new political identity. The Aligarh generation began to seek for themselves, and for the members of their community, a political future in which they could practice their religion in comfort and in which they could preserve their culture from being overrun by the more numerous Hindus. In many ways Aligarh prepared the ground in which Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founding father, and his like-minded associates could plant the seed of Pakistan—a separate homeland for the Muslims of British India. These seeds in order to sprout and grow needed the political waters of the other two communities of Muslim India.

The other Muslim communities, those in the northwest and northeast, by and large remained untouched by the reform movement that affected the Muslims in the central provinces and by the growing sentiment among the Muslims of British India that they must aggressively seek a separate identity for themselves. This was the case in particular for the upper echelons of the Muslim community of India's northwestern provinces—Punjab, Sindh, and the Frontier—where, as already noted, the Muslims were comfortable with their present situation as well as with their future prospects. If Aligarh touched this community, it was only at the margin. Some prominent families from the northwestern provinces sent their sons to Aligarh; but these sons, after graduation, seldom returned to their homes and to the areas of their parents' residence. Aided by modern education and in full command of English, they usually found their way into either government service—into the various branches of the civil administration or the army—or into one of the many modern professions. Many of the Aligarh graduates from the northwest were to play very significant political roles in Pakistan. In these roles they were torn between the teachings of Aligarh—the virtues of parliamentary democracy and laissez-faire economics—and the values of the society to which they belonged, which favored paternalism and statism.

Although the leadership of the Pakistan movement came essentially from among the Muslim minority provinces of British India—Muhammad

Ali Jinnah was from Bombay; Liaqat Ali Khan, his principal lieutenant, was from a small Punjab city on the border of the United Provinces; Chaudhry Khaliquzzman was from the United Provinces; the Nawab of Bhopal and the Raja of Mahmudabad were from two of the several princely states in and around the Central Provinces; I.I. Chundrigar was from Bombay—the Pakistan movement would not have developed the force it did without winning the support of the Muslim-dominated provinces in the northwestern and northeastern parts of the country. Initially, the idea of Pakistan was slow to take hold. Once it caught on in Bengal, parts of Assam, Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and the Northwest Frontier Provinces, the emergence of Pakistan became inevitable. But it was a different dynamic that brought about the conversion of these three Muslim communities to the idea of Pakistan. It was political frustration that persuaded the Muslims of the north-central provinces to opt for the idea of Pakistan; religion played an important role in winning over the northwestern Muslims; and social and economic deprivation were the main reasons for the support eventually given by the northeastern Muslims to the demand for Pakistan.

The state of Pakistan, therefore, was the product of a number of different aspirations expressed quite unambiguously by three rather different Muslim communities of British India. It was because of the extraordinary political genius of Muhammad Ali Jinnah that these aspirations could be accommodated within one movement; that Bengalis, Punjabis, and Muslims of United Provinces could work together resolutely toward one political objective; the attainment of Pakistan. For seven years—from the passage of the Lahore Resolution in 1940 that demanded the creation of Pakistan to independence in 1947—all differences were brushed aside as Jinnah led his Muslim League to electoral victories in all the provinces that were important for the future state of Pakistan.

But what kind of country did the Muslims create for themselves in the territory of British India, where they constituted a majority? It was meant to achieve different things for different people: emancipation from the Hindu landlords for the peasantry of Bengal and Assam; the creation of new economic and political opportunities for the frustrated urban Muslim classes of Delhi, Bombay, and the United and Central Provinces; establishment of a Muslim—albeit not Islamic—state for the *pirs* and *sajjada nashins* of Sindh, Punjab, and a Northwest Frontier.

Certainly the task was not easy; to this day it remains unfinished. Bangladesh, the eastern wing of a two-winged country, left in 1971 after a bitter conflict and a civil war; and the western wing, the present-day Pakistan, once again began the arduous task of nation building that remains unfinished to this day.

SIX PERIODS IN PAKISTAN'S HISTORY

The remaining part of this introduction and the period covered in the dictionary will deal only with the new Pakistan—the country that emerged after the secession of East Pakistan as Bangladesh in December 1971. Pakistan's evolution is best understood if its history of nearly 60 years is divided into six periods. The first period lasted for 11 years, from 1947, the year of Pakistan's birth, to 1958 when the Pakistani military first intervened in politics. The second period covers 13 years of the first long military rule, from October 1958 to December 1971, during which two generals, Muhammad Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, governed as presidents. The third period, from December 1971 to July 1977, witnessed the emergence of the first strong political government led by a civilian politician, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The fourth period lasted for 11 years from 1977 to 1988 when Pakistan was under the rule of the military once again. The fifth period saw the reappearance of democracy. This period lasted for 11 years, from 1988 to 1999, and ended with the re-entry of the military into politics for the fourth time in the country's history. Pakistan is still in the sixth period, once again under the domination of the military.

A Struggling Democracy, 1947–1958

For two reasons Pakistan found it difficult to overcome the trauma of partition. It took the country more than 11 years to create the environment within which the lingering pangs of birth could be dealt with. To begin with, although the sister state of India could continue with the institutions established by the British, Pakistan had to start with a completely new state. A new government, with new ministries and departments, moved to a new capital, Karachi. A new diplomatic corps had to be organized and a new military force had to be created. A new currency had to be printed; for

several months, Pakistan used the Indian rupee with the word “Pakistan” stamped on it as its legal tender. A new central bank had to be established. A new court system had to be set up. All of these were daunting tasks.

All this was made even more difficult in light of the second problem partition brought to the new country. Within a few months of Pakistan’s creation, it received eight million Muslim refugees from India, while six million Hindus and Sikhs moved in the opposite direction. Nobody had expected a transfer of population of this magnitude. When the first population census was taken in February 1951, 30 months after the country’s birth, West Pakistan, the western wing of the country, had been thoroughly cleansed ethnically. The proportion of Muslims living in this area had increased by 26 percentage points, going from 70 percent to 95 percent of the total. The exchange of population had a profound social and political impact. It resulted in the “Muslimization” of the Pakistani population.

The refugees came in two streams. One stream originated in the north-central provinces of British India and went to Karachi and other cities of Sindh. The people in this stream quickly assumed control of most of the modern institutions created after independence. They staffed the civil administration; set up businesses; and went into such modern professions as banking, law, medicine, and teaching. Because their political base was narrow, they were not in a great hurry to establish modern political institutions they, because of their small number, could not dominate. The other stream of refugees came from the eastern districts of Punjab, which were now part of India. The people from this stream settled mostly in Pakistan’s Punjab and took over the land and agricultural businesses vacated by the departing Hindus and Sikhs. The armed forces also offered employment opportunities to which a large number of the new settlers were attracted. The great migration from India, therefore, transformed the social scene of what was now West Pakistan. The refugees who went to Sindh took over the modern sectors of the economy and dominated most institutions of government. The refugees who settled in Punjab carved a niche for themselves in agriculture and entered the armed forces in large numbers.

The fact that most established leadership groups in Pakistan had not been warm to the idea of Pakistan created political space for the new arrivals at the top of the political structure. Operating from the top, the refugees sought to broaden their base but because this was a time-consuming task, Pakistan’s political development proceeded very slowly.

However, neither of these two streams of migrants had formed clear views on what kind of political structure should be adopted in the country they helped create. The host population, comfortable with the institutions the British had created—or adapted from the systems operated by the Sikh and Mughul rulers—would have preferred a strong executive capable of delivering the services they wanted. Enthusiasm for the Islamic revivalist sentiment that had grown during the campaign for the establishment of Pakistan had resulted in the expectation that the new country would Islamize some of the established systems. Some elements within the host population, therefore, wished to introduce some Islamic features into the mode of governance. The presence of East Bengal added the fourth variable to this complicated political equation. The result was a political impasse that lasted for nearly nine years, at the end of which Pakistan promulgated its first constitution.

The structure of Pakistani society as it evolved after the country was born also had a profound impact on the way its economy developed during this period. With the muhajir community in control of most institutions of government and with the National Assembly not powerful enough to influence economic decision-making, the policy-makers were able to deflect the government's resources away from the sectors dominated by the host population. Agriculture was starved of resources, while funds were lavished on the new sectors of manufacturing, large-scale commerce, and construction. India's decision to terminate all trade with Pakistan in 1949 further helped the pace of industrialization. The Indians took the decision to punish Pakistan for its refusal to follow Delhi which, along with other capitals in the British Commonwealth, had devalued its currency with respect to the U.S. dollar.

Largely as a result of this series of traumatic events, the first period in Pakistan's history witnessed only a modest increase in the rate of growth of the gross domestic product and stagnation of agricultural output. Although the provinces that were now part of Pakistan were once called the granary of India, by 1954 the country had become a net importer of food grains.

First Military Period, 1958–1971

When General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the first Pakistani to command the army, began to plan the takeover of the government by the

military, he was convinced that his move would have popular support. There were many reasons for his confidence. The political chaos of the previous 11 years, economic dislocations caused by the trade war with India, the resentment of the host population over loss of power to the refugee community, were some of the factors that had created a deep crisis of governance in the country. Pakistan was ready for a dramatic change and it came in October 1958 in the form of military rule. Ayub Khan and his associates moved with caution. The first step was to persuade President Iskander Mirza to issue a proclamation putting the country under martial law. This was done on 8 October and Ayub Khan was appointed chief martial-law administrator. The second step was taken on 27 October when President Mirza was persuaded to resign and Ayub Khan took over as president.

It took Ayub Khan four years to decide on the political structure he needed to govern. He wished to accomplish two things: First, he wanted to bring the indigenous leaders, mostly landlords, back into the political fold. He chose an ingenious device for accomplishing this objective. A system of local government—the Basic Democracies—was put in place that gave significant powers to local communities and also brought them closer to the instruments of the state. In the constitution promulgated in 1962, 80,000 Basic Democrats, 40,000 from each wing of the country and directly elected by the people, became, in turn, the electoral college for choosing the president and the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies. Second, the new constitution provided a strong executive at the center, thus bringing back the figure of great political authority with which West Pakistan's indigenous population had become so familiar while the Mughuls, Sikhs, and British ruled these areas. The Constitution of 1962 was thus able to “indigenize” the politics of West Pakistan that had been so disturbed by the arrival of millions of refugees from India.

By relocating the capital from Karachi to Islamabad, a new city built near Rawalpindi, the headquarters of the Pakistani army, Ayub Khan helped to further erode the political power and the control of the refugee community on public institutions. The landed aristocracy, discredited earlier by its failure to enthusiastically support the Pakistan movement, walked into the political space the refugee community was forced to vacate. This was, of course, deeply resented by the refugees, who many years later proclaimed themselves a separate nationality—separate from

the Balochis, Pathans, Punjabis, and Sindhis—and organized themselves under the banner of a new political entity called the *Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz*. On the other hand, the landlords were pleased to be back on the center stage of politics. No man better personified this development than Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan Kalabagh, who as governor of West Pakistan wielded the kind of power and influence possessed by the governors of the days of the British raj. Pakistan's political culture returned to the values held in the first half of the 20th century.

Ayub Khan's social and political engineering brought stability and laid the ground for the remarkable economic progress made during the "decade of development." Agriculture led this recovery; in the late 1960s Pakistan witnessed what came to be called the "green revolution"—a sharp increase in agricultural productivity fueled by the adoption of high-yielding wheat and rice varieties. With small- and medium-sized farmers at the vanguard of this revolution, there was a palpable improvement in income distribution in the countryside. The effect of the revolution was also felt in the small towns that provided services and markets for the rapidly modernizing agricultural sector.

While the countryside was in the throes of the green revolution, large-scale industries continued to expand, moving into new product lines and into new areas of the country. Under Ayub Khan, Punjab and the Northwest Frontier also began to industrialize. Had the political sector been more accommodating, the economic progress achieved during the Ayub Khan period might have been sustained. The virtual exclusion of large segments of the population—in particular the muhajir community of Karachi and the urban professionals—created considerable resentment against the regime, the extent of which surprised the ruling elite. The active opposition Ayub Khan faced in the presidential elections of 1965 was the first manifestation of this growing sentiment. It was contained briefly by the September 1965 war with India, but resurfaced with even greater force following the end of the war and the signing of the Tashkent agreement with India in 1966. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Ayub Khan's foreign minister, left the government, accusing the president of surrendering at Tashkent what he believed had been achieved on the battlefield. In March 1969, Ayub Khan was forced out by the military, which now considered him a liability rather than an asset.

General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, Pakistan's second military president, oversaw the country's breakup. His handling of the political

agitation that resulted in Ayub Khan's removal from office unleashed political forces he neither anticipated nor was able to contain. East Pakistan, unable to take advantage of the massive electoral victory in the general elections of 1970—the first to be held on the basis of adult franchise—rebelled against the domination of West Pakistan. After a brief but bitter civil war, East Pakistan emerged as the independent country of Bangladesh in December 1971. Yahya Khan, presiding over a demoralized country, surrendered the presidency to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, whose Pakistan People's Party (PPP) had won a majority in the 1970 elections at the expense of the Muslim League.

A Populist Interlude, 1971–1977

The third period in Pakistan's history also began with a social revolution that was as profound as the one caused by the arrival of eight million refugees from India or the one produced by Muhammad Ayub Khan's politics of indigenization at the start of the second period. Social transformation at the beginning of the third period resulted from the practice of "naïve socialism." Bhutto's rhetoric and the policies followed by his administration once he took office bestowed a considerable amount of political and economic power on a number of groups that had been largely excluded from the political and economic system. The socioeconomic groups that benefited during Bhutto's short tenure included the urban poor, workers in large-scale organized industries, and urban professionals.

The policies adopted by the Bhutto government to reach this new constituency were spelt out in considerable detail in the "Foundation Papers" of the PPP issued soon after the formation of the organization in 1968. The approach to be adopted was a simple one. Because the founding fathers of the PPP believed that the private sector as it was organized in Pakistan would neither benefit the poor nor bring about an improvement in income distribution, the state had to intervene directly in managing industrial, commercial, and financial assets. This approach was implemented aggressively once the PPP was in power. In a series of acts of nationalization executed in 1972-74, the state assumed control over large segments of industry and commerce operated by private entrepreneurs. It also took over all commercial banks and insurance companies. It went so far as to nationalize educational institutions that were operating in the private sector.

Bhutto believed that in order to run an economic system dominated by the state, he had to concentrate political power in his hands and in the hands of his close associates. He began to subvert the constitution he had himself drafted the moment it was promulgated. The subversion was meant to take away all power from the instruments of government that he did not fully control. The powers of the National Assembly were curtailed and fundamental rights granted by the constitution were suspended. A paramilitary force—the Federal Security Force (FSF)—was created, ostensibly to help police maintain law and order. In fact, it was used to openly intimidate and harass the regime’s opponents. Even Bhutto’s close associates were not spared if they dared disagree with him. There were rumors that the FSF had been ordered to kill some of Bhutto’s more intransigent opponents. Later, it was one of these murders that resulted in Bhutto’s receiving the death sentence and his subsequent execution.

Bhutto’s social and economic policies and the way he conducted himself in office produced a number of predictable results. Of special concern for many people was the loss of political liberty. There was an expectation of a return to democracy following the end of the long military rule. Instead, Bhutto established a form of “civilian dictatorship” that was much more vicious than the military rule of Presidents Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan. Economic difficulties further aggravated the situation. There is now good understanding among economists on how this type of approach—called here *naïve socialism*—can do a great deal of damage to the economy. This happens for three reasons: First, countries with a highly intrusive state of the type developed by Bhutto tend to have a higher share of the informal economy in total GDP. This occurs as private entrepreneurs work to escape government’s controls and regulations and move “underground.” Second, a large underground economy usually feeds corruption as the owners of assets in this part of the economy have either to bribe officials to keep the assets hidden, or have to buy services, such as protection of property and enforcement of contracts. Third, as more and more people escape into the economy’s underground, the government is unable to collect taxes. With the tax base narrowing, the government can no longer provide fully the services expected of it. This in turn weakens the government and affects its legitimacy. All of this occurred during the Bhutto period and ultimately contributed to his downfall.

People's reactions to Bhutto came following the elections of 1977 in which the opposition had expected to do much better than indicated by official results. The results announced by the Election Commission indicated a massive victory for Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party. The opposition, convinced that the regime had rigged the elections, took to the streets and brought down the government. On 5 July 1977 the army, under the command of General Zia ul-Haq, intervened for the third time in Pakistan's political history. Bhutto's removal from office began the second long interval of army rule and the fourth period in Pakistan's history.

Second Military Rule, 1977–1988

Unlike the first three periods in Pakistan's history, the fourth did not begin with a major social change. But like the three periods before it, this period also ultimately witnessed a significant transformation of the society. This change occurred gradually but left a deep and lasting impression. By the time Zia ul-Haq left the scene—he was killed in an airplane crash that also claimed the lives of several senior officers of the army and that of the U.S. ambassador to Islamabad—Pakistan had been set on the road towards Islamization. It had lost much of its Western orientation and was considerably closer to the Muslim countries of West Asia.

In all probability, Zia did not assume control of the country intending to keep it under martial law for a long time and to remain in power himself for an extended period. He became involved largely because of a fear that the failure to act on his part could bring about a serious rift within the ranks of the armed forces. The ferocity with which the opposition had fought Bhutto after the elections of 1977 not only surprised the prime minister. It was also not anticipated by the army intelligence. Called to the aid of civil authority, the army had to use great force against street agitators. With casualties mounting among the agitators, middle-ranking officers in the army began to question why they were being called upon to kill innocent people to protect an unpopular regime. Zia listened and decided to move against Bhutto in order to prevent the army from being politicized. Once Pakistan was placed under martial law, Zia took one step at a time. Unlike Ayub Khan, he did not have a clear strategy for the future.

Zia belonged to the social group—urban, middle-class professionals—that had high expectations from Bhutto when he took over the reins of government. Greatly disappointed with the way Bhutto had behaved in office, this class was at the forefront of the agitation that brought down the prime minister. Zia believed that Bhutto's term in office had created a serious divide between the rulers and the middle classes. Ordinary citizens of Pakistan expected some decency from the people in power. They had seen little of that from Bhutto and his close associates. One way of closing the gap was to tell the people that the rulers were not much different from them, that they shared the same set of values. Zia believed that this message could be communicated clearly if he explicitly followed what was expected from a Muslim leader. He would bring comfort to those who had been disillusioned by Bhutto by spearheading a movement to bring Islamic values to the country. After all, Pakistan had been created for the Muslims of British India. It was now necessary to turn this Muslim country into an Islamic state.

Zia's program of Islamization moved on three fronts—social, political, and economic. He was a practicing Muslim himself and set a personal example of piety and modesty that he expected his associates to follow. His beliefs were the beliefs of the lower and middle classes of Pakistan. He observed the basic tenets of Islam in a very public way. Official meetings were interrupted to allow time for prayers. Prayer times were announced on public radio and television. Government working hours were adjusted to make it easier for people to fast during the month of Ramadan. Zia encouraged government officials to go to *haj* and *umrah*; he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca himself a number of times. He expected that women would stay at home and not enter the workplace.

Zia sought to bring Islam into politics in several other ways. Although he had decided not to abrogate the Constitution of 1973 and thus had not followed the example set by Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, he brought changes in the political structure that were supposed to make it Islamic. He nominated a *majlis-e-shura* (an assembly) to take the place of the National Assembly, which had been dissolved following the imposition of martial law. The people nominated to the assembly were supposed to be good Muslims. New clauses were inserted in the constitution to recognize in an explicit way that Pakistan was not

just a country with the majority of its citizens belonging to the Islamic religion but was an Islamic state. Among the changes incorporated was the creation of the Shariat Court as an adjunct to the Supreme Court, to ensure that all laws enacted by the legislature were Islamic. If the citizens were troubled by some legislation on the grounds that it went against the teachings of Islam, they were encouraged to seek remedy from the Shariat Court.

Efforts were also made to Islamize the economy. The most significant changes introduced by the Zia regime in its Islamization efforts related to the banking and fiscal systems. Commercial and investment banks were no longer permitted to charge interest on the loans made by them or to pay interest on the deposits kept with them. All depositors were treated as shareholders earning a return on their equity. By loaning money the banks became partners in the business for which funds were provided. The government introduced *zakat*, an Islamic tax on wealth, the proceeds from which were used to assist the “deserving.” Zakat funds were managed by zakat committees that were responsible for identifying the “*mustahiqeen*,” the deserving. Zakat funds were also allocated to *madrasas* (religious schools). The curriculum taught in these schools had to have the approval of boards of education set up for this purpose. Although Islam encourages private enterprise, the Zia administration made few efforts to reduce the size of the state inherited from Bhutto. A few small-scale enterprises that had been taken over by the Bhutto government were privatized but the role of the state remained large and intrusive. The tendencies detailed previously—the growth of the underground economy, increase in the levels of corruption, and the inability of the state to provide basic services to the people—continued during the Zia period.

Apart from Islamization, the Zia government left one more enduring legacy. When, in December 1979, the Soviet Union sent its troops into Afghanistan to protect the communist regime established a few years earlier, Zia enthusiastically recruited Pakistan to the cause of ridding its neighbor of communism. In this it had the support of the United States and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan became the conduit for arms that began to flow from the West to the Afghan *mujahideen* (freedom fighters); its intelligence services, in particular the Interservices Intelligence (ISI), provided active support to the Afghans and the freedom fighters were allowed to operate bases in Pakistani territory. The mujahideen won; the

Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989 and two years later the weight of the military endeavor in Afghanistan contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union. These successes notwithstanding, Pakistan paid a heavy price for its involvement in this conflict. For years to come, it had to suffer the consequences of its support to the mujahideen, which included the flow of arms into the country and the development of a drug trade. Zia's emphasis on Islamization and his support for the war against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan brought an exceptionally militant Islam to Pakistan. "Sectarianism"—a violent confrontation between different sects of Islam—which arrived in Pakistan in the middle of the 1990s, was the direct consequence of the policies of President Zia ul-Haq. And as the world was to learn later, after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on the United States, some of the groups and many of the institutions Zia ul-Haq had promoted had aligned themselves closely with al Qaeda, an organization that was committed to removing all western presence, in particular that of the United States, from the Muslim world.

Competitive Democracy, 1988–1999

The fifth period in Pakistan's history began with an unforeseen development: President Zia ul-Haq's death in an air crash near the city of Bahawalpur on 17 August 1988. Had Zia not died, there were indications that he would have tried to perpetuate his rule by changing the constitution. The "Islamabad establishment"—the name given by Benazir Bhutto to the coalition of groups that wielded an enormous amount of political power in Pakistan's capital and included the senior army and civil officials and the representatives of large-scale industry and commerce—was not prepared to accept this move. The group briefly toyed with the idea of putting the country back under martial law, but decided in favor of accepting the constitutional provision that in case of the death of the president, he would be succeeded by the chairman of the Senate, the upper house of the national legislature. The fact that Ghulam Ishaq Khan, a veteran civil servant turned politician, occupied this position contributed to this decision. Khan was a prominent member of the Islamabad establishment.

The caretaker regime headed by the acting president decided to hold elections in October 1988 and when Benazir Bhutto's PPP won the most

seats in the National Assembly, the establishment then decided to offer her the prime ministership provided that she accepted some conditions. These included the formation of an informal governing council made up of the president, the prime minister, and the chief of the army staff. This arrangement came to be known as the “troika” and was responsible for making all important decisions. When Bhutto tried to free herself of this constraint, she was dismissed under Article 58.2(b) of the constitution, which had been inserted by President Zia ul-Haq. Another general election in October 1990 brought Mian Nawaz Sharif, a Zia protégé, to power. He too felt constrained by the “troika” arrangement and his efforts to gain independence met with the same fate—dismissal by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan under Article 58.2(b).

Sharif appealed his dismissal to the Supreme Court and won his case. He was reinstated as prime minister but the president refused to cooperate, creating a constitutional crisis. It was resolved by the army, which worked behind the scenes, forcing both the president and the prime minister out of office. Yet another election was held in October 1993 and resulted in Benazir Bhutto coming back to Islamabad as prime minister. The main lesson Bhutto learned from her previous occupation of this office was to get one of her loyal lieutenants to be elected president. Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari became president in December 1993 and served under Bhutto’s shadow for nearly three years. Troubled by the amount of mismanagement and corruption that prevailed during her tenure, Leghari surprised her in November 1996 by using Article 58.2(b) to dismiss her. The people of Pakistan went back to the polls again in February 1997 and presented an overwhelming mandate to Nawaz Sharif, the leader of the opposition and the president of the Muslim League.

The elections of February 1997 brought new administrations to power not only in Islamabad, the federal capital, but also to Lahore, the capital of Punjab, the largest province. The federal and Punjab provincial governments were formed by the Muslim League, the party in opposition during Benazir Bhutto’s term in office. The League governments took office with very comfortable majorities in the National and Provincial Assemblies. The party received a clear mandate from the people to set the country back on track; in particular, to provide good governance and restore health to the battered economy.

The fact that Pakistan held four elections that placed four administrations in office, each of which was either dismissed by the president

or removed from office by the military, resulted in extreme political instability during this period. The reason for this was simple. The country had failed to bridge the great divide that separated the structure of the society from the structure of the political system. The society had evolved rapidly since independence. A number of new socioeconomic groups had emerged that wanted to carve out a place for themselves in the political structure. This was not provided, because the political system remained dominated by one socioeconomic group: the landed aristocracy. This group, although powerful, was insecure about the future. It realized that if the political system was allowed to evolve as envisaged in the constitution, it would lose a great deal of power to the new groups. The constitution of 1973 had provided for the reapportionment of seats in the National Assembly on the basis of population distribution. The distribution of population was to be determined by censuses held every 10 years. This was not done; the landed interests were able to prevent a census from being held for 17 years. With the political system thus atrophied, the groups not fully represented had no choice but to resort to extra constitutional means. This pressure contributed to the periodic dismissals of prime ministers.

Third Military Rule, 1999–?

General Pervez Musharraf moved against the government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on 12 October 1999. He was persuaded to take this action because of the changes that were being introduced by the prime minister in the military's senior management. On 12 October the prime minister dismissed General Musharraf while he was flying back from Colombo to Karachi, and appointed one of the generals who were close to him as his successor. This move was not acceptable to the military, which took over the country's airports, television and radio stations, and other strategic assets while General Musharraf was still en route to Karachi. The general's plane landed safely at the Karachi airport and he flew on to Islamabad to proclaim himself the country's chief executive.

Once General Musharraf had taken over as the head of the new military government, he moved quickly to bring about economic stabilization. He appointed a number of professionals to manage the economy, and promised to bring growth back to the country. The first two years

of the Musharraf period, from 1999 to 2001, were spent in stabilizing the economic situation. This was done with the assistance of the International Monetary Fund, which persuaded Islamabad to adopt a very conservative fiscal strategy. The result of this was a slowdown in the rate of economic growth to only 3 percent a year. This was not enough to provide for the poorer segments of the population. The pool of poverty consequently increased.

The terrorist attack on the United States of 11 September 2001 brought a fundamental change in Pakistan's fortunes. With General Musharraf deciding to side with the United States, he not only gained recognition as Pakistan's legitimate leader, a status that was denied him following the overthrow of a democratically elected government, large amounts of foreign capital also began to flow into the country. This helped to revive economic growth.

While the performance on the economic front was impressive General Musharraf did little to open the political system to larger participation by the people. In fact, he brought the army into a number of areas in which it had not encroached under the previous military administration. Serving as well as retired senior officials of the military were given positions of importance in the government as well as serving as managers of various parts of the public sector. The result of this was growing resentment against the military's role in managing the country.

During Musharraf's period, the Islamic parties managed to create an important place for themselves in the political landscape. This poses a serious challenge for the president since he has vowed to modernize various aspects of the Pakistani society by implementing a program that he labels "enlightened modernization."

Pervez Musharraf has held the reins of power for more than six years. Barring an accident or some unfortunate event—there were two unsuccessful attempts on his life in December 2003—he could govern the country for several more years. He has already indicated his intention to contest the presidential elections scheduled to be held in 2007. By that time he would have governed for eight years; another five years as president would extend his tenure to 2012, a total of 13 years. This would be the longest period in office by one leader in Pakistan's history. It would also be the most significant since it will define what kind of country and state Pakistan will become. In October 1999, when General Musharraf assumed power, Pakistan had begun to be described as a rap-

idly failing state. He may have rescued the country from following that course but whether he will succeed in pulling Pakistan back from the abyss towards which it was headed will depend upon a combination of circumstances—the general’s ability to address the five challenges he faces at the end of 2005 (discussed in the section below) and the way the still-building conflict between the forces of radical Islam and the West shape up.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

At the time of the independence in 1947, Pakistan was primarily an agricultural economy, with the sector producing two thirds of the gross domestic product and providing employment to 80 percent of the population. However, within a short period of time the economy began to industrialize and urbanize. There were two reasons for this transformation. One, the large-scale movement of people that accompanied independence and brought 8 million Muslims, mostly from the urban areas of India, into Pakistan. Of the 6 million Indus and Sheiks that left the country and went to India, about a third were from the countryside. The migration, therefore, produced a significant increase in the proportion of urban population. The second reason for the structural transformation was the trade war with India in 1949 that forced Pakistan to industrialize in order to compensate for the goods that were previously imported from India.

Under Ayub Khan, Pakistan’s first military president, the state worked hard to promote industrial development as well as the development of such modern sectors of the economy as finance and insurance. During Ayub Khan’s 11 years in power, from 1958 to 1969, Pakistan’s rate of growth at 6.4 percent of GDP a year was among the highest in the developing world. At that time the country was regarded as a model for growth and structural transformation.

However, the economy suffered from a jolt as a result of two developments, one in 1965 and the other in 1972. In 1965 Pakistan fought a brief but destructive war with India. Although it lasted for only 17 days, the economic impact was significant. It suddenly brought to a halt the inflow of external resources on which Pakistan had relied heavily during the period of Ayub Khan. The second jolt came in 1972

when President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who replaced General Yahya Khan, Pakistan's second military president, undertook to nationalize all large-scale industries as well as institutions in the sectors of finance and commerce. This sudden expansion of the state in economic management slowed down the rate of growth of the economy and introduced inefficiency and corruption into the management of the economy. Bhutto's six year period was marked by economic stagnation, an increase in the incidence of poverty, and a deterioration in the system of public education.

Bhutto was replaced by General Zia ul Haq, who brought the military back to power and governed the country for 11 years. This period saw three significant developments. One, the reactivation of the private sector; two, increased flows of foreign capital into the country as a result of the support provided by the United States to Pakistan in the war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan; three, the first serious attempt to Islamize the economy. The economy once again expanded at more than 6 percent a year and the incidence of poverty declined considerably. By the end of this period less than one-fifth of the total population lived in absolute poverty, the lowest proportion ever in the country's history. However, Zia's Islamization efforts confused the economic and social picture. This was particularly the case in the sector of education in which the introduction of Islam weakened the curricula in public schools and developed a parallel system of religious education.

General Zia's death in 1988 brought the politicians back to the center stage of politics. However, the 11-year period, from 1988 to 1999, was marked by political instability, increased inefficiency of the government, and a significant increase in the level of corruption. Economic growth suffered, the incidence of poverty increased, and the public sector became largely dysfunctional. One unfortunate consequence of these developments was the neglect of education which suffered because of the failure by the public sector to cater to the needs of the growing population. Some of the gaps left by the public sector were filled by religious seminaries (*madrasas*) which had gained in strength during the period of Zia ul Haq.

In October 1999 the military, under the command of General Pervez Musharraf, returned to power. With professionals assigned to key positions as economic managers, the economy began to recover. Pakistan's decision to support the United States in the latter's war against interna-

tional terrorism brought the country significant amounts of foreign capital which helped to lift the rate of increase in GDP to 6.1 percent in 2003-04, and to 8.4 percent in 2004-05. With the bounce back in economic growth the pool of poverty also began to shrink. In 2005 Pakistan's economic growth was among the highest in the developing world.

Will Pakistan be able to sustain this rate of growth into the future? As discussed below, the prospects for doing this were not good at the end of 2005. The country suffered a devastating economic blow because of the earthquake on 8 October that killed more than 80,000 people, injured another 300,000 and displaced more than a million.

PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

The program of economic, political and social reforms initiated by President Pervez Musharraf under the title of "enlightened modernization" is faced with a number of challenges. Its ability to overcome these hurdles will have a profound impact on Pakistan's economic, political, and social future. There are at least five challenges that the government must face. The most important of these is the strength of religious parties and Islamic fundamentalism. They gained strength after 1978—the start of the war against the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan—and now have a significant presence in the political system. Not only does the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), a coalition of six religious parties, have a large presence in the national assembly, it also controls two of the four provincial governments. The provinces of Balochistan and Northwest Frontier, which have MMA-led or dominated governments, border Afghanistan and have been reluctant to pursue the drive against Islamic extremism that the government of President Musharraf launched in late 2001.

The second challenge is posed by the underdeveloped political system which still does not allow full participation to the people. The military under President Musharraf has been reluctant to loosen its grip on politics fearing that this would bring the discredited politicians back to power or increase the strength of the Islamic extremists. A new set of elections is scheduled for 2007 when new assemblies will be elected at the national and provincial level. President Musharraf

has already declared his intention to seek another term as president once the new assemblies are in position. Yet, there is growing opposition to the continuing involvement by the military in politics. If President Musharraf refuses to yield space to political forces, this political instability will return.

The third challenge Pakistan must address is the continuing underdevelopment of its human resource. There is still significant illiteracy in the country and there is a need to improve the levels of skill among the young. The government of President Musharraf has launched a massive drive to increase enrollments at all levels of the educational system. There is also an effort to have the private sector participate actively in promoting human resource development. If these efforts succeed, Pakistan may be able to turn its large population into an economic asset. If they fail, the country will face political, economic, and social instability.

In spite of the sharp increase in the rate of economic growth in the 2004-05 financial year, and despite the government's belief that it has set the economy on a trajectory of high growth rates for several years—if not for decades—it is by no means certain that Pakistan has joined the ranks of rapidly expanding Asian economies. The country continues to face a number of serious structural obstacles to achieving sustained growth. These include a low rate of domestic savings which increases the country's dependence on external capital flows. The availability of foreign capital on a sustained basis is not ensured, especially when much of it depends on Pakistan's ability to stem the rise of Islamic extremism. Also on the external side, the country has not been able to develop an export sector that can benefit from rapidly expanding international trade. Pakistan continues to rely heavily on textiles, an industry whose products face protection and sharp competition in the world's major markets. And, as already indicated, the woeful neglect of human development has turned the country's large but young population into a burden rather than an economic asset. This is the fourth set of challenges the country faces.

The fifth challenge is presented by the continuation of the conflict over Kashmir, a state that has been the main cause of prolonged hostility between India and Pakistan. Since 2003 India and Pakistan have taken small steps to ease the tension between them. There appears to be a genuine desire on the part of both Delhi and Islamabad to bring about greater cooperation between the two countries and greater contacts be-

tween the two people. Kashmir, however, continues to be the main stumbling block.

Thus Pakistan stands at a crossroads. It is possible that the country may be able to successfully deal with the many problems it faces and become an active participant in the global economic and political system. However, if that does not happen, then Pakistan could become the epicenter of instability in the entire Muslim world. The global community therefore has a great stake in the country's future.

