

# The Execution of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto: Its Impacts on the Politics of Sindh

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## Abstract

*The purpose of this research paper is to examine the political situation of Pakistan with special reference to the politics of Sindh after the execution of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the first elected Prime Minister of Pakistan. The assassination of Z.A Bhutto left long standing political repercussion in the politics of the country. Bhutto's execution promotes nationalist feelings in his home province on one side and antiestablishment ideas on the other side. This paper would purport the impact of Bhutto's execution on Sindh.*

**Keywords:** *Sindh, Politics, Nationalism, Martial Law, Violence*

## Introduction

In Sindh, it is generally assumed that involvement of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in the murder case of Muhammad Ahmed Khan Kasuri was a political intrigue and his execution was the conspiracy of the Generals and Judges. Nevertheless, the trial appeal and eventual regarding execution of Bhutto left deep and far-reaching effect on the political scene of Pakistan (Khan, 2001, p. 597). It left many impacts on the federalism and nationalism politics of Sindh. Bhutto appointed General Zia as Chief of Army Staff was very sharp and opportunist and he worked under him but Bhutto could not assess his intentions. Even Bhutto assigned him task of negotiation with the leaders of PNA 'Pakistan National Alliance' to settle down the disputes. PNA and Bhutto agreed on some suggestions and there was an understanding and compromise on different issues. Bhutto announced that he would sign the accord next day but it never happened as the military coup ousted Bhutto from his office. After taking over, Zia met Bhutto to show that he was not against him. He imposed the Martial Law and justified it to maintain the law and order situation and holding the next elections.

General Zia changed his mind set and became strong enough to face any agitation and movement. Zia openly started criticizing Bhutto and sent many leaders of Pakistan Peoples Party behind the bars or kept them under house arrest. He contacted many leaders of other parties as well as Pakistan Peoples Party and got assurance from them that they would not support Bhutto. The army officers met and drank with them in the dark night (Talpur, 2002).

Zia knew very well that the main challenge to the military regime could be from the Pakistan People's Party (Yousif, 1999). General Zia was also afraid of Z. A. Bhutto, so he wanted to get rid of him at any cost. Zia was afraid from him because he openly spoke that when he would return in power, he would punish to those who were involved in army coup against the elected government. Lt. General Jahan Dad Khan narrated it as under "However Zia's regime was to face its first test soon after taking power. Bhutto, upon his release, first proceeded to Karachi and then to Larkana. In spite of Zia's warning, he became very defiant and started

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addressing his party workers in the course of which he criticized the promulgation of Martial Law and even threatened that when he returned to power, he would try Zia and his team for treason.” (Khan, 1999, p. 161)

General misused the case of Mohammad Ahmed Khan Kasuri against Bhutto and through this case he was succeeded to execute Bhutto with the help of Generals and Judges (Hassan, 2005).

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was arrested in the murder case of Mohammad Ahmed Khan Kasuri, on 4 September 1977. “Unlike the July ‘arrest’ this time Bhutto was treated as a common criminal after being informed that he was being charged with murder and other serious crimes”. (Ziring, 1997, p. 433) Kasuri was killed by an unknown person in 1974. The name of Bhutto had been included in the First Information Report (F.I.R.) lodged by Ahmed Raza Kasuri, his son, in Lahore on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1974 (Qureshi, 2002). The challan was submitted in the Session Court on 11 September 1977 but the government moved an application in Lahore High Court to transfer the case to the High Court. The Acting Chief Justice Molvi Mushtaq ordered to transfer the case to High Court. The case was transferred to the Lahore High Court without issuance of any notice to Bhutto (Khan, 2001). The case of Nawab Mohammad Ahmed Khan was trialed against Bhutto in the Lahore High Court.

During this period Molvi Mushtaq Hussain’s status was changed from acting to permanent chief justice of the court. After the imposition of Martial Law General Zia also appointed him as a Chief Election Commissioner. He was the native villager of General Zia. Both belonged to Jalandhar of East Punjab. General Zia knew about his personal grievances against Bhutto. He was superseded when Pakistan People’s Party government appointed Justice Aslam Riaz Hussain as a Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. He was not only junior to Molvi Mushtaq but other six judges too (Khan, 2001). General Zia appointed Mushtaq Hussain with a plan to exploit his grudge against Bhutto (Khan, 2001). Benazir Bhutto daughter of Z. A. Bhutto described the entire phenomenon as “One of Zia’s top judicial appointee Molvi Mushtaq was from Zia’s home area of Jullundar in India and was an old enemy of my father. It was the doubt of the Bhutto family that Molvi would not do justice with them. The mistrust and appeal of Bhutto family against the Judge was needed to change the bench according to the tradition.” (Bhutto, 1994, p. 120)

Benazir wrote about the attitude of the Molvi Mushtaq in these words “The Chief Justice from the Punjab took advantage of the in camera proceeding to reveal his racial prejudice against Sindhis, the race from the southernmost province of Pakistan to which my father belonged” (Bhutto, 1994, p. 131).

Bhutto was released on bail on 13<sup>th</sup> September 1977 but was arrested again on 17<sup>th</sup> September 1977 under the Martial Law Order number 12 from Larkana. The people protested and stoned police and many were injured in this act (Ahmed, 1990).

General Zia was displeased on the release of Bhutto on bail. After that he did not trust the civil court and “announced that Special Military Court would be established under the supervision of a Brigadier or a Major General in Lahore” (Dawn, 1977). Later he retreated from it on the advice of his close advisers.

Nusrat Bhutto wife of Z. A. Bhutto filed an appeal in the Supreme Court against the arrest of Bhutto and other leaders of the Pakistan Peoples Party under Martial Law Ordinance 12. The Supreme Court dismissed appeal of Begum Bhutto on 10 November 1977. The full bench of the Court was consisted of nine judges and Anwar-ul-Haq was Chief Justice. According to

the verdict of Court, “Martial Law was the necessity of the State and justified imposition of Martial Law (Ahmed, 1990).

The Pakistan People’s Party protested and conducted rallies and demonstrations throughout the country. A big procession was held in Karachi on 18<sup>th</sup> December 1977 against the Martial Law Orders. Police injured Nusrat Bhutto in national stadium of Lahore, when she led the procession against Zia regime. In Karachi, protestors attacked on police parties and stoned on the vehicles and blocked roads (Ahmed, 1990, p. 156). Lahore High Court formed five judges full bench for the trial of Bhutto. Molvi Mushtaq was the head of the bench. Dr. K. M. A Samadani was kept out from the bench, who had granted bail to Bhutto. Full bench of the Court rejected the bail on the petition of government. This was clearly violation of the established practice of the High Court’s as the petition of the cancellation of bail is fixed before the same judge who granted it in the first place or before a bench in which he be a member (Khan, 2001). Though Bhutto was already in Jail so there was no physical difference after the cancellation of bail but a question was raised in the minds of the people that why the existing practice was violated. The doubt of the impartial of the Chief Justice became more doubtful when a “Sindhi judge Samadani was transferred from Lahore High Court.” (Wolpert, 1993, p. 320).

The full bench of Lahore High Court consisted of Chief Justice Molvi Mushtaq Hussain, Zakiuddin Pal, M.S.H. Qureshi, Aftab Hussain and Gulbaz Khan. Bhutto and his party leaders showed mistrust on the bench, they claimed that Molvi Mushtaq Hussain had grievances against Bhutto due to his promotion. Pal was the old Muslim Leaguer and did not like Bhutto while Aftab Hussain was very close and dependent on Mushtaq Hussain. The Director General of ‘Federal Security Force’ (FSF) Masood Mahmood and Ghulam Hussain were the witness against Bhutto in the murder case and both were already pardoned before the trial. Mian Mohammad Abbas a senior officer of the Federal Security Force, Ghulam Mustafa, Arshad Iqbal and Rana Ikhtiar Ahmed, all the three were the junior officials of the FSF and were also accused in the case. Except Bhutto all of them belonged to Punjab.

High Court Lahore issued charged sheets against all five accused on 11 October 1977. In the beginning, trial proceedings were open for the public but later were closed for the common people and case was processing in camera.

On the witness of some officers of the Federal Security Force (FSF), full bench of High Court Lahore found Bhutto and four other accused guilty and sentenced them to ‘death’ on March 18<sup>th</sup> 1978. Three accused namely Ghulam Mustafa, Arshad Iqbal and Rana Ikhtiar Ahmed confessed their involvement, and two including Bhutto denied from the charges; but court did not discriminate between them in the judgment.

After the decision of High Court Lahore, Zia declared himself as President of Pakistan in the month of September in the same year (Ziring, 1997). Before this, Zia frequently expressed his opinion that he was not interested in politics. The change behind this position of Zia was the case of Bhutto. According to law of Pakistan, it is the power of the President to pardon any person in any case. Zia had a doubt that Fazal Elahi Choudhary as President would accept the appeal of clemency of Bhutto, so, he occupied the seat himself and controlled power of the clemency in his own hands.

The partiality of the regime was evident from the series of white papers that were published during the trial with details of many crimes of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and his administration. Zia could now publicly describe Bhutto as a murderer, stating that Kasuri had not been the only victim of the

Quaid-i-Awam's decision making apparatus (Ziring, 1997). Justice Shamim Hussain Qadri has mentioned that "Acting Chief Justice (Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain) was confirmed during the trial, for that he once or twice to my knowledge communicated to General Zia to either confirm him or he would transfer this case to a district session judge for a normal trial." (Qureshi, 2002, p. 363).

Z. A. Bhutto filed an appeal in the Supreme Court of Pakistan against the verdict of High court. Supreme Court formed full bench for his trial. The bench consisted of nine judges. Chief Justice Anwar-ul Haq, Justice Karam Elahi Chohan, Justice Mohammad Akram, Justice Nasim Hassan Shah, Justice Kaiser Khan, Justice Wahiduddin Ahmed, Justice Dorab Patel, Justice G. Safdar Shah and Justice Mohammad Haleem. The bench was led by the Chief Justice Anwar-ul- Haq. At that time he was also Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan. Bhutto's advocate Yahya Bakhtiar raised the question against his partiality and mistrust on Chief Justice. Z. A. Bhutto also showed his mistrust on existing judges.

The two judges of the Supreme Court retired during the hearing of appeal of Bhutto. Unluckily, the retired judges were in favour of Bhutto. (Hassan, 2005). The advocate of Bhutto, Yahya Bakhtiar took four months (long time) in the arguments. If he had not prolonged his arguments, the retiring judges could have participated in the decision (Ahmed, 2004). On February 6<sup>th</sup> 1979, Supreme Court dismissed the appeal of Bhutto and confirmed the verdict of High Court Lahore. The judgment of the Supreme Court was passed by the marginal majority by 4-3. Four judges including Chief Justice Anwar-ul Haq supported the decision of the High court while the remaining three senior judges acquitted Bhutto. Four Judges who were in favour of sentenced to death of Bhutto belonged to Punjab. Three judges who acquitted Bhutto belonged to smaller provinces. Professor Craig Baxter, an expert on South Asian politics wrote on February 6<sup>th</sup> 1979 that the vote appeared to be slanted (biased) by province: the four Punjabi justices voted to uphold the conviction; the three from other provinces voted to strike it down.

The famous Newspaper Guardian wrote, "After a mock trial presided over by the Punjabi judges of the Lahore High Court in April 1979, having established a hot line with the Supreme Court, General Zia sent Bhutto to the gallows" (Guardian, 1979). The execution was receiving worldwide condemnation (Eastern Economic Review, 1979). Professor Ayesha Jalal also called the execution of Bhutto as a 'Judicial Murder'. She wrote that "The civil bureaucracy in the province is largely non-Sindhi as is the police. And of course the judicial murder of Bhutto in 1979 provided the Sindhis with a martyr." (Jalal, 1995, p. 195) Pir Pagaro supported the decision of the Supreme Court (Bukhari, 1994). While the Sindhi nationalist and leader of the Jeay Sindh G. M. Sayed did not appeal for the mercy of Bhutto (Kazi, 1989). Even worldwide appeals were reached for the mercy of Bhutto. Secretary General of United Nations also appealed to General Zia for his mercy. American President, British Prime Minister, the UAE Amir of the Kuwait and Qatar sent mercy appeals to the President of Pakistan (Ahmed, 1990).

Mir Murtaza Bhutto son of Bhutto told in the press conference at London, "If Bhutto would be hanged the civil war would be started and it would be danger for the integrity of the country." (Ahmed, 1990, p. 321) Bhutto's execution left deep impact on the minds of the people of Sindh. The economic and administrative disparity also flourished after the death of Bhutto. Mohammad Waseem narrated it as "these economic and administrative grievances were ignited by the psychological shock of Bhutto's execution for which the Punjabi army was held responsible. It assumed a violent character in Sindh." (Waseem, 1994, p. 396)

On other side, Ahmed Raza son of Mohammad Ahmed Khan Kasuri appealed to the authority

and said that if Bhutto would be released it would be danger for the country and he would become Sheikh Mujib for Sindh. (Ahmed, 1990) Benazir Bhutto explained the division of judges into 4 -3 as under:

“Four Punjabi judges from the military heart of the country –two of them had been appointed on adhoc and their tenure was confirmed by the military regime after the verdict – had voted to uphold the lower court, while the three senior judges from the minority provinces had voted to overrule.” (Bhutto, 1994, p. 152)

It was the decision of the Supreme Court but was controversial because before the decision of the court the President of the country openly said, “If the Supreme Court releases him, I will have the bastard tried by a Military Court and hung.” (Hussain, 1991, p. 265) Zia also shared Roedad Khan that “It’s either his neck or mine.” He added, “I have not convicted him, and if they hold him guilty, by God, I am not going to let him off”. (Wolpert, 1993, p. 327) So when court gave verdict against Bhutto, people thought that it was decided in pressure of General Zia and not on merit. So the credibility of the court also became doubtful in the eyes of the common people especially in Sindh.

According to the law of country, execution of any person is announced at least one week before but it did not implement in the case of Bhutto. Benazir also mentioned it as, “under the Pakistan Law the date of any execution must be announced at least one week before its implementation. But in the case of Z. A. Bhutto it was not announced.” (Bhutto, 1994, p. 11) The action of the military regime traced the biasness of the junta towards Bhutto.

The doubt of the injustice in the trial was increased in the people of the country when Bhutto was sentenced to death. There was no example in the history of the judiciary of the Britain that the person who was involved indirectly in the murder case was punished to death sentence according to the Criminal Act 302. It was implemented from 1860. It is the international accepted law that if, the judges of the bench were divided in the decision of the case than less punishment should be followed but that rule was not followed in the case of Bhutto. The three judges out of seven acquitted Bhutto from the murder charges. This point also increased the doubts about the partiality of the judges in the case.

Impacts of the Execution are:

- 1) Rise of violent politics in Sindh.
- 2) Increase of Sindhi Nationalism.
- 3) Bhutto became a Legend.

### **Violence Factor in Politics**

After court’s decision, the government tried to suppress the dissent voices and arrested thousands of the workers of the Pakistan People’s Party before the execution of Bhutto as a precautionary measure. Even then the wave of protest started all over the country after the execution of Bhutto. When government tried to deal the protests highhandedly, they became violent. At that time many workers sentenced to lashes by the military courts. Benazir claimed, “60,000 people were arrested from Sindh. Race courses were converted into open-air prisons.” (Bhutto, 1994, p. 133) Even then the government did not succeed to prevent the demonstrations against the military junta. Many vehicles, petrol pumps were burned in Hyderabad, Kotri, Dadu, and Nawab Shah on April 5<sup>th</sup> and on next day the violent demonstrations were held in Shikarpur, Thatta and Sukkur. Protesting demonstrations were

launched throughout Pakistan. (Waseem, 1994) The curfew was imposed even in small towns such as Mehar (a small town of District Dadu). The railway line sleepers were burned in Sukkur (Ahmed, 1990). There was unrest throughout the country and the “violence followed by the military trials, which sentenced a large number of Bhutto’s supporters ranging from rigorous imprisonment to lashes” (Waseem, 1994, p. 362).

General Khalid Mahmud Arif expresses the similar views; “Students of Jamshoro University set three vehicles and a police station on fire. A few shops, public buildings and banks were attacked in Larkana and its telegraph office was set at blaze. Minor incident of violence took place in Nawabshah and other towns in Sindh” (Arif, 1995, p. 197). It was done in the worst and strict measures, which were taken by the Zia *junta* before the execution of Bhutto. Thousands of the workers of the Pakistan People’s Party and political activists were sent behind the bars. “The administration machinery in all the provinces was put on alert in February 1979. The political atmosphere being emotionally charged, it was considered to take pre-emptive measures and act with firmness to maintain peace and tranquility (Arif, 1995, p. 198).

The militant organizations were organized after the execution of the Bhutto. Some young, committed, and reactionaries chose the way of terrorism in politics. They secretly formed the militant organization for the guerrilla war. They openly talked about revenge of Bhutto from the Zia and his associates. Bhutto’s sons lead those persons and formed “Peoples Liberation Army” (Arif, 1995, p. 267). The head quarter of the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) was in Kabul. Kabul regime was pro Russian and against military government of Zia. The PLA was changed into Al-Zulfiqar Organization (AZO) on the birthday of Z. A. Bhutto. AZO also led by Bhutto’s sons, Mir Murtaza and Shah Nawaz. They were active against the military rule in the country. The organization accepted many terrorist actions. The PIA plane was high jacked in 1981 and Al-Zulfiqar Organization accepted its responsibility. Murtaza Bhutto was the first person who met with hijackers (Ahmed, 1993, p. 73).

### **Intensity in Feelings of Sindhi Nationalism**

During the military rule of Zia-ul-Haq; “Bhutto’s home province Sindh became the main venue of provincial dissidents” (Jalal, 1995, p. 194). Ayesha Jalal depicted the real picture of the Sindh province in his book entitled *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*. This all was the result of the oppressive policies of Zia regime. Musa Khan Jalalzai, an Afghan Journalist, commented on the military coup and the hanging of Bhutto as “The Sindhis faced worst nightmare in their history under General Zia’s most reactionary Martial Law. The hanging of Bhutto inflicted the greatest setback to Sindhi people who were beginning to feel at home in Pakistan.” (Jalalzai, 1993, p. 198). The division of the judges on the basis of the Punjabis and non-Punjabis created many questions in the minds of the people. There was a general resentment in the majority of Sindhis that Bhutto was hanged because he was Sindhi. Four judges of the Supreme Court who favoured the decisions of the High Court Lahore were all Punjabis.

The leaders of Pakistan People’s Party in Sindh and other parties expressed their anger about the division of the judges of Supreme Court in the decision. They interpreted it as Punjabi chauvinism. This situation intensified sentiments of the ethnic division and disparity in the country. Jahan Dad Khan wrote about it: “The sentence was received with deep shock in the interior of Sindh where it was openly termed as a verdict by a Punjabi High Court against a Sindhi Prime Minister. There was, however, no large-scale agitation against this verdict, as the Pakistan People’s Party leadership did not pay attention to the mobilization of the public

against Bhutto's trial" (Khan, 1999, p. 162).

The nationalist forces of Sindh, specially the *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* led by G. M. Sayed exposed the so-called unity of the federation despite the fact that G. M. Sayed was against Bhutto. He was supporter of PNA movement and General Zia but some workers of Jeay Sindh participated in the agitation. Bhutto's execution was really a big shock not only for Sindhis but all the patriotic citizens of the country. It was very harmful for the unity and integrity of the country. General K. M. Arif wrote, "Bhutto's execution polarized the country" (Arif, 1995, p. 214).

The resentment and resistance against the military regime of General Zia ul Haq was felt throughout the country. However, in Sindh the sense of sorrow and bitterness was more than any other part of the country and the worst in its nature, tinged with the lament for a son of the soil (Ahmed, 1999). The leader of the *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* G. M. Sayed, who was the political opponent of Z. A. Bhutto, also wrote about it that military regime took strict measures to crush the any mass reactions in the result of execution of Z. A. Bhutto. G. M. Sayed wrote: "Eventually, the rulers sent Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to the gallows. In order to prevent any adverse reaction among the youth in Sindh, strict Martial Law rules were imposed; some were beaten to death in torture cells. Some were maimed. No consideration was given to age or sex" (Sayed, 1995, p. 199).

Omar Noman said about it "Thus Bhutto's trial was perceived in Sindh to be motivated by the Punjabi elite's intolerance of competing claims to power from other regions" (Noman, 1988, p. 181).

That thought arose in the mind of the people of Sindh, because from the day of the independence it was the first Sindhi who reached on the highest post of the country, and was hanged. So the growth of the Sindhi nationalism as a result of death of Bhutto was natural. Sindhis went far away from the main stream of the administration.

Federalist politicians and even the followers of Bhutto started to support Sindhi nationalism. Babar Ali narrated political scenario as "If a referendum were held in Sindh and the people were asked, whether they would (i) be willing to stay with Pakistan (ii) Join India (iii) become independent, there is little doubt that a great majority of those whose mother tongue is Sindhi would take the third option" (Ali, 1992, p. 187).

Though Bhutto was Pakistani nationalist and did not believe in Sindhi or Punjabi nationalism, his ouster from power and death increased Sindhi nationalism. Harrison comments his death as, "Bhutto's ouster at the hands of the military and execution in 1979 made him martyr to Sindhi cause" (Harrison, 1992, p. 241).

Common people of Sindh took it as the execution of Sindhi by Punjabis. (*Awami Awaz*, 1991). So, the execution of Z. A. Bhutto increased the sense of deprivation in Sindhi speaking peoples. "They considered Zia their principle enemy and he had similar feelings for them" (Shah, 1997, pp. 55-56). Benazir Bhutto remarked: "When you want to break a nation, you make the national party and the national leader a target because when you take out the national leader and the national political party, you have provincial leaders and you have grown the provincialism which means you have grown of secessionism. So Zia-ul-Haq took a conscious decision to persecute Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto because in my opinion he is not a friend of Pakistan, he want to destabilize, destroy and disintegrate Pakistan. And this is the very reason why he wanted to clear the country from having a national leader" (Bhutto, 1988, p. 39).

Benazir added, “General Zia worked to destroy the Pakistan for that purpose he visited G. M. Sayed and “G. M. Sayed has never made secrete of the fact that Sindh should be an independent nation. Zia-ul-Haq patronized him, visited him, and praised him. G. M. Sayed is the same to him; Zia said ‘G. M. is doing my work’ while G. M. said ‘Zia is doing my work’. Both were doing each other’s work and destroying Pakistan and taking it to the point of disintegration.” (Bhutto, 1988, p. 40).

Due to his charismatic personality, Bhutto’s death created the resentment among the people, as it was the death of the masses. In this regard, Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah wrote, “For Sindh the hanging of Bhutto was a moment of shock, disillusionment and disenchantment, as history in Pakistan was going to repeat itself by a single murder instead of a mass murder.” (Shah, 1993, p. 112). He further wrote in same book as, “The single death left scare and wounds and created an awe which millions of death could not generate” (Shah, 1993, p. 113).

### **Bhutto as a Legend**

Bhutto became the hero of Sindhis after his death. Sindhi counted the execution of Bhutto as the judicial murder of a Sindhi leader by the Punjabi judges and generals. They took the death of the Bhutto as *Shahadit* (martyrdom). Those people who were against the Pakistan Peoples Party or Bhutto also turned their hatred into sympathy to Bhutto and his family. Bhutto family was regarded as an oppressed family of Sindh. The behaviour of the military junta towards Bhutto was one of the main causes of the increasing of sympathy towards Bhutto and Pakistan Peoples Party. General Khalid Mahmud Arif accepted that the graph of Pakistan Peoples Party and Bhutto increased after the hanging of Bhutto. He wrote, “The Bhutto tragedy created a wave of sympathy for the Pakistan Peoples Party.” (Arif, 1995, p. 214). It was also proved in the elections of 1988, when the Pakistan Peoples Party swept the election from Sindh province. In the elections the most opponent leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party, Pir Pagaro that was happy on the execution of Z. A. Bhutto, was bitterly defeated by the Pakistan Peoples Party worker Sayed Parvez Ali Shah.

Bhutto became the hero of Sindhis like other national heroes such as Hoshu and Dodo. Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, a well-known scholar of Sindh narrated it as under:

“Sindh was benumbed at what happened. He was not the first one in the line of this kind of crucifixion – Dodo, Housho, Shah Inayat, Makhdoom Bilabial, Allah Bakhsh, Pir Sibghatullah Pagaro, made a proud and unparalleled line of the braves. Sindh was proud of him when he lived, will remain proud of him when dead and will adore him in history” (Shah, 1993, p. 98).

### **Conclusion**

The execution of Bhutto was the greatest tragedy for Pakistan. This decision was made without much consideration and was badly opposed and resented throughout the country and it was the biggest mistake of the history to choose the more cruel and inhumane path to establish the military regime with long-term negative and horrible consequences for the country. It was the killing of democracy and opening of an oppressive and dark era, which kept the state under a decade-long military dictatorship depriving the nation of its civil rights and liberties and intensifying the feeling of deprivation particularly in Sindhis. They were already under the impression that the larger province was depriving them of their rights. Implementation of this cruel decision and ignoring the after effects with falsehoods and

illusions brought the worst result in the province.

The appeal of mercy was not accepted by military dictator. It increased further hatred thinking against military as well as the Punjabis in Sindh and enhanced the gap between the Punjabis and Sindhis. After the death of Bhutto, the continued imprisonment of Bhutto ladies and other leaders increased the same hatred thinking. The Sindhis also considered that the Court made partial decision and it was generally assumed that it was an intrigue of the Punjab against the Sindh because Maulvi Mushtaq Ahmed, Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, who penalized Bhutto, a Sindhi Prime Minister, to death and Sheikh Anwar ul Haq, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, who rejected his appeal, were both from the Punjab. It was widely recognized as hostility against Sindh and was taken to be a deliberate suppression of the Sindhis.

It was the time when the federal politics in Sindh entirely depended on Pakistan Peoples Party and there was not any other politician in Sindh who could get the support of the people of Sindh in the favour of federation of Pakistan. It was, however, the strategy of Pakistan Peoples Party leadership that they preferred the interest of the country. They were in position to lead to the governmental instability and fragmentation of the political structure, which could generate sectionalism and parochialism that would then become permanent features of politics and may lead to end of the provincial unity. But the party avoided exploiting the situation for greater interests of the state. This murder also catalyzed the assertion of Sindhi national identity in Pakistan, and became a forerunner to Sindhi nationalism, which invoked different movement for greater provincial autonomy and democracy. This murder led the Sindhis to think about the freedom from the subjugation of the Punjabis and laid down foundation of hatred. If this issue was not generated, other grievances never came on the surface and there was no nationalist movement and division of Punjabi and Sindhi at any level. If it had not occurred, people of Pakistan would be in better position and integrated in one nation without emergence of nationalist movements. The need of time is to give proper and equal status to all provinces of Pakistan with a respect for leadership of all parts of the country.

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