

### ISLAMIC SOCIALISM AND THE UPSURGE OF PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

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#### ABSTRACT

The paper deals with Islamic Socialism and the rise of Pakistan People's Party. This research gives better understanding for the rise of PPP on the basis of its slogan "Islamic Socialism" and tries to explain that how the regime of Bhutto manipulated Islam in order to rule for as long as he can. PPP tried to amalgamate Islam with western philosophy of Socialism which was only cosmetic as it was in theory but not in practice. Islam is the only shadow and umbrella of politics in Pakistan and it harmed the political culture in Pakistan.

The wrong implementation of that philosophy led the country towards many crises after 1977 and the slogan of Islamic socialism by Bhutto was one of the major causes of his downfall. The manipulation of religion in Pakistani politics for the purpose of gaining popularity has discussed in this research, especially with reference to PPP.

Keywords: Socialism, Ideologies, Secular, Islamic, Philosophy

### INTRODUCTION

The topic of the study is, "Islamic Socialism and The Rise of Pakistan People's Party". The ideology of Socialism emerged in Pakistan with the rise of Pakistan People's Party in 1967. Socialism is a philosophy which was propagated by Karl Marx, a Western philosopher. According to this philosophy, everybody has equal rights to use the assets of the state, and the political system of the country is to be based on socialist ideology. It contained materialistic type of beliefs as it deals only with social and economic issues of a society. It is a secular ideology and has no concern with religion. This ideology got popularity all over the world. Many philosophers and thinkers, not only in West but in Muslim countries, were also impressed by it. They thought that it is a positive remedy against poverty, feudalism, and exploitation of the newly emergent industrialist class.

Several Muslim thinkers also got inspiration from the philosophy of Karl Marx. In a Muslim society, the unity and the final supremacy of God has been the corner stone of masses faith, so that type of secular ideology could not get deep roots in such societies. Therefore, the Muslim philosophers tried to reconcile Islam with Socialism, and came up with the idea of "Islamic Socialism". There are huge differences between the Western Socialism and Islamic Socialism. Western Socialism was based on economy having no concern with religion, whereas Islamic Socialism deals within the religious framework.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who was the first elected prime minister of Pakistan, for the first time tried to advocate and implement the philosophy of Socialism in Pakistan. He emerged on the political horizon with Ayub Khan, and remained the right hand of the former till the Tashkent Declaration; as Bhutto manipulated this issue and deserted Ayub's government to join the opposition. After he left Ayub government, he exploited the 'monopoly scandal of twenty two rich families' and on the basis of it, he established his own political party in 1967 with the name of "Pakistan People's Party" (PPP). The basic agenda of his party was equality and social justice.

According to him, Socialism is the only mean to get rid of the political and economic evils of the country. It has been mentioned earlier that Socialism is a secular philosophy and he knew the Psyche of people that they have immense attachment with Islam. He was well aware of the fact that people would not accept this philosophy easily, he used the term "Islamic Socialism" for the purpose of gaining popularity among the masses especially among the religious groups. Bhutto argued that Socialism is only an option which creates equal opportunities for all people and remove the barriers of class differences. The major principles of the party announced by Bhutto were as such; "Islam is our faith, Democracy is our policy, Socialism is our economy, all power to the people." The popular slogan of PPP was *Roti, Kapraaur Makan,* and on the basis of this slogan, PPP won the elections of 1970 and established its government under the President ship of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

PPP government introduced certain reforms on the basis of Socialism, so during this progression it nationalized all key industries, including iron, steel, heavy engineering, electrical, cement, public utilities and petro-chemicals. It also introduced land reforms for the purpose of fulfilling the promise of empowerment of lower class. Labor policy was also introduced by government for the benefit of workers' right. But the PPP government under the leadership of Bhutto could not benefit the common people of Pakistan so, they turned against it. PPP used the name of Islam with Socialism to get support from the religious groups but it failed to please them and faced criticism from these groups throughout its ruling period. An alliance named "Pakistan National Alliance" (PNA) was formed by nine opposition political parties, which finally resulted in overthrowing of PPP government in Pakistan.

# STRENGTH AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

A lot of work has been done on PPP and life of Z.A. Bhutto but very few are written regarding the compatibility of Islam with socialism by Bhutto. This research gives better understanding for the rise of PPP on the basis of its slogan "Islamic Socialism" and tries to explain that how the regime of Bhutto manipulated Islam in order to rule for as long as he can. PPP tried to amalgamate Islam with western philosophy of Socialism which was only cosmetic as it was in theory but not in practice. Islam is the only shadow and umbrella of politics in Pakistan and it harmed the political culture in Pakistan.

The wrong implementation of that philosophy led the country towards many crises after 1977 and the slogan of Islamic socialism by Bhutto was one of the major causes of his downfall. The manipulation of religion in Pakistani politics for the purpose of gaining popularity has discussed in this research, especially with reference to PPP.

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The study raises and tries to address the following research question:

- 1. What is Socialism? Is there any Compatibility between Islam and Socialism?
- 2. To what extent PPP used the tag of Islam for the purpose of gaining popularity?
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- 3. What was the response of religious groups toward Bhutto's Socialism?
- 4. For how long the policies of PPP remained successful and the reasons behind its failure?
- 5. What was the role played by Islamic Socialism in the downfall of Bhutto?

### **COMPARISON OF TWO IDEOLOGIES**

Disagreement and agreement in the world are due to ideologies. The major wars fought in Europe were also due to ideologies. Ideologies play a vital role in creating gaps and in bridging gap among people, societies, religion, countries and allies. The major challenge for west is the Islamic ideology and Muslims also fear western ideology due to Orientalism. The theme of this chapter is to compare the ideologies of the West with Islamic ideology.

# Western Socialism

Socialism is basically an economic doctrine, originated by Karl Marx, a western philosopher-who is considered to be the father of socialism. He wrote two books named *Communist Manifesto* (with the help of his friend Frederick Engels) and *Das Kapital*, which provided the real essence of Socialism (Henderson, 1976). The philosophy of socialism is basically a battle against private ownership; the concentration of wealth and resources in few hands and the rights for proletariats. According to this "ism", everybody has equal right to use the assets of the state. In the context of socialism, everything which is produced in a state must be equally distributed among its people, and the chore of distribution and production of resources is the responsibility of the concerned government.

Socialism is anti-thesis of Capitalism. According to socialists, capitalism creates inequalities among the people as concentration of wealth in the hands of few creates hurdles for the promotion of free market, and widens the gap between the rich and the poor in the society (Farid, 2012). Equality, economic planning, and control and distribution of the means of production are trademarks of a socialist country. Several groups of socialist have proposed a number of ways for the establishment of these characteristics. Some socialists advocated nationalization of all businesses; few supported the idea of

state regulating the capital within a free market while selective nationalization was favoured by social democrats.

### **Islamic Socialism**

Islamic Socialism is an ideology, propagated by different Muslim scholars to meet the needs of spiritual and religious forms of socialism. They thought that there is compatibility between the teachings of Holy Quran and *Sunnah* (Sayings of Prophet PBUH) of the Prophet PBUH, and basic objectives of socialism (equality and distribution of wealth). The philosophy of socialism has been articulated by some scholars as a call for social justice and they traced it back to the Prophet (PBUH) and His Successors (The Four Pious Caliph) (Nasar, 1987).

Jamal-ud-Din Afghani mentioned in is work that Hazrat 'Abu Dharr-al-Ghafri (d.652) (the companion of Prophet (PBUH) was the first person who felt the dangers of accumulation of wealth in the hands of few during the reign of Hazrat Uthman (r. 644-56). He observed that the state was responsible for eliminating social discrimination which could damage Muslim unity; and dubbed such people as non-Muslims who accumulated wealth (Farid, 2012). A number of Muslim scholars consider concept of equality of socialism compatible with the social justice of Islam and make their argument strong with the help of Quranic verses. Haneef Ramay quoted the Quranic verses which say: "God command justice and fair dealing". (Ramay) ..." And Act justly. Truly, God loves those who are just".

Some South Asian Muslim thinkers like Shah Wali Ullah, Allama Iqbal and many other proposed the idea of Islamic socialism and argued that capitalism is a real cause of social unrest in society. To rule out this unjust economic system, they favored to establish a just Islamic society based on social and economic justice (equality). (Farid, 2012). Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan also declared on many occasions that "Pakistan would be an Islamic state with a social form of government" (Bhutto, Z. A, 1968).

# **Comparison of Western Socialism and Islamic Socialism**

The central idea of both ideologies (Islamic Socialism and the Western Socialism) is same, which is social justice and equality but some structural differences do exist. "Sayyid Jamal-ul-Din Afghani (b. 1838/9 d. 1897), a well-known Muslim theologian, philosopher and

political leader, studied Western socialism and recommended that Islamic socialism is far better as compared to Western Socialism" (Hanna, 1969). As Socialism is a secular philosophy and it deals with economic needs of the people and has no concern with religion, so it is a failed philosophy. According to socialist agenda, fulfillment of material needs is the real destiny of man.

In Muslim society, religion has a decisive role to play in the lives of common masses. Muslims give much importance to closeness to God rather than the achievement of material needs. Islam presents the concept of higher world which is permanent and everlasting and beyond this materialistic world. The basic concept of socialism is to abolish private ownership and to establish a collective ownership as a mean of production in which the state controls the whole system of production.

No doubt that collective ownership of means and production, and state management of distribution of goods and services ensures the supply of necessities of life to individual citizens but for this gain they loss their natural blessing of free thoughts and actions. In western socialism, production targets are set and then measures are taken to attain those targets by force. Islam is a religion which is created according to the nature of human being as it gives opportunity to people to exercise their talents and capacities for the expansion of their profit. Muhammad Ali (b.1874 d.1951) states: "Islam is thus opposed to Bolshevism, which recognizes no individual rights of property; but it is at same time socialistic in its tendencies, as much as it tries to bring about a more or less equal distribution of wealth" (Ali, 1990).

# RISE OF PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY AND ISLAMIC SOCIALISM

Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was formulated by late Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (ZAB) in 1967 on the basis of Socialism."PPP emerged from numerous contradictions of the decade of Development" (Zaidi, 2011). ZAB was a western educated and appeared on the political horizon during Ayub's era and worked as a Foreign Minister under the president ship of Ayub Khan. Due to personal differences with Ayub Khan, he manipulated the scandal of Tashkent Declaration. Later he left Ayub's cabinet with a desire to establish a political party in Pakistan.

His friends, admirers and followers urged him to set up a political party which reflects the needs of the deprived classes (proletariat). The aims of formation of Pakistan People's Party were to oppose Ayub's government in meetings which were held on 30 November and 1st December 1967 in Lahore at the residency of Dr. Mubashir Hassan (Anwar, H., 1992). Soon after establishing PPP, it got popularity among the common masses as they were annoyed and frustrated by the pro-industrialist policies of Ayub government (Hashmi, 1995). The practical and directly visible impact of Ayubkhan's polices was that, the rich became richer through increased productivity and profits in industry and agriculture but the condition of poor remained unchanged. So, it was the right time to found a political party which reflects the needs of the poor.

J.A. Rahim (Rahim, 1963) was a chief ideologist of PPP who set forth the agenda of the party along with Bhutto. Both of them discussed the internal and external affairs of the country and exchanged their views about socialism. Rahim was the real force behind the formation of PPP and also urged Bhutto to set up a new political party (Jones, 2003).

The major principles of party announced by Bhutto were as such: "Islam is our faith, democracy is our politics, socialism is our economy and all powers to the people" (Bhutto, 1968). "Bhutto grasped the political opportunity and was able to fire the imaginations and harness the emotions of his audiences with promises of nationalization, producing benefits for all, and an appealing campaign slogan of "*Roti, Kapra, makan*" (food, clothing and shelter). He presented himself as a champion and supporter of the poor citizens of Pakistan. As through the platform of PPP, Bhutto promised to eliminate once for all the poverty and the discrimination in the country. Rahim and Bhutto assumed that these large deprived groups of the society would support PPP to change the existing system (Ashraf, 2009). Members of educated class like intellectuals, students, journalists, poets, writers and leftist attracted towards the PPP's slogan and joined it devotedly.

The ideology of PPP and the party's agenda was laid down in a series of documents called the *Foundational Documents*. Bhutto studied western political system and he was aware of the fact that the ideology of party was necessary to appeal the masses. These

foundational documents briefly analyzed political and economic system of the country and criticized the existing systems under Ayub. Due to capitalistic system of government, wealth was in the hands of elite class but the burden of taxation was on the middle class whereas poor class was unable to earn for their basic needs. Documents show that socialism could improve the political and economic problems of the country. It was briefly discussed in one of the document titled "Why socialism is necessary" (Grover, 2009).

"The aim of the party is the transformation of Pakistan into a socialist society...only socialism creates equal opportunities for all, protect from exploitation, removes barriers of class distinctions and privileges can establish economic and social justice. Socialism is highest expression of democracy and its logical fulfillment...socialism is therefore in direct interest of Pakistan, which is an underdeveloped country marked by internal and external exploitation" (Grover, 2009).

In such a chaotic situation, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto argued that socialism was the only answer to the economic problems to finish the capitalistic exploitation. Under these circumstances, Bhutto observed that country's economic crisis could not be solved without socialist agenda. In 1971, when East Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh, the military ruler Yahya Khan (r.1969-71) transferred power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, whose party won majority of seats in 1970 National Assembly Elections in West Pakistan because in East Pakistan Mujib won the majority of votes. At that time people wanted a new command, so they supported PPP in these elections. PPP leader thought that socialism could solve the problems of Pakistan and would liberate its masses from poverty and exploitation.

It has been mentioned in section one that socialism is a secular philosophy. People of Pakistan have immense attachment with religion and they could not easily accept a philosophy without religion. When Bhutto used the slogan of socialism, *ulama* as well as religious parties criticized PPP's socialism. Therefore, he attached the word "Islam" with "Socialism" to gain popularity from masses especially from religious groups sas Islam is the only umbrella and shadow in the politics of Pakistan. ZAB was accused of being a "Secular Socialist" and "Atheist" (Bhutto, 1968). But later when he welcomed the demands of *ulama*, they stood by his side and favored his policies. Every move of Bhutto which favored ulama was welcomed and

criticism was put under the carpet enabling Bhutto to continue his regime.

# **CRITICISM TOWARDS PPP FROM RELIGIOUS GROUPS**

Numerous Muslim scholars and thinkers believe that socialism is inherently atheist. During the time of Bhutto, socialism was criticized because *ulama* considered it as a secular ideology which was based on materialistic concerns. It deals only with economic needs and has no link with religion. *Ulama* were against the Bhutto's radical program of socialism and condemned Bhutto's government for its socialist programs and considered it as a threat for Islamic Laws.

In 1970, when the PPP government announced the date for general elections, PPP started its campaign and declared its manifesto which was again on socialism. "Socialism is our economy" was extremely criticized by religious groups (Ashraf, 2009). They launched propaganda campaign against PPP and opposed Bhutto's agenda of socialism. The traditional religious parties like Jama'at-i-islami (JI) expressed their anger against PPP and declared its socialist program as anti-Islam (Shafqat, S.,1989) As a reaction, Bhutto explicate that socialism is not a separate thing, it is within the teachings of Islam.

On February 26, 1970 an assembly of 113 *ulama* issued a *fatwa* (religious verdict) against socialism, which was led and drafted by Deobandi *ulama* with the help of Brelvi, Ahl-i-Hadithand Shia *ulama*. (Hussain, S. M, 1996). They declared socialism as the greatest threat to the security of Muslims and requested all Muslims to rise and condemn this "accursed ideology" (Zafar, R. R. 1973). They also stated that the people who were implementing and following the secular ideology of socialism are revolting against Allah and his Book (Quran). Voting for PPP was declared as a big sin and collaboration and assistance of socialists was considered *Kufar* (anti-islamic) and *Haram* (unlawful) (*Dawn*, 1970).

Due to this opposition, a most heart touching slogan appeared on the street walls, "Socialism kufr hai, Muslim milatAik ho" (Feldman, H., 1975). The religious groups criticized socialism and advocated the Islamic system for Pakistan. Some religious groups like JUI Hazarvi group supported the idea of Islamic Socialism because it did not contradict with Islamic teachings (Afzal, M.R., 1998). Maulana Ghulam Ghas Hazarvi said that anything can be adopted which is not contrary to Islam (Pirzada, S. A, 2007). Ulama should discover the ways to remove the economic problems, instead of declaring socialism as *Kufr*.

Most of the religious parties like Jama'at-i-Islami (JI), Jamai'ati-Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP), and Jami'at Ulema-i-Islam (JUI) etc. expressed that socialism was a threat to Islamic values. They criticized socialism and demanded for the enforcement of *Nizam-e-Mustafa* (Islamic System). For this purpose, they organized Islamic conferences to gain the public support and oppose the PPP agenda of socialism (Afzal, M.R., 2001). Maulana Madudi (leader of JI) condemned socialism and Bhutto's contact with leftist (Afzal, M.R., 1998).

Maulana Madudi comment: "They found out that their socialism cannot dance naked...After realizing this they started calling socialism 'Islamic...If it is really based on the Quran and the Sunnah then what is the need for calling it socialism?...Now when they can see this too does not work they have stated it calling it Islamic equality (*masawat*) and *Muhammadi Masawat*" (Espositio, J. L., 1980).

The *ulama* of JIP also criticized socialism. They thought that if socialist government came into power, the Muslims would suffer like the people of central Asia suffered under Soviet Union (Ashraf, S.,) J.A. Rahim, the member of PPP said that the *ulama's* anti-socialist activities were like Jewish conspiracy against Islam (Daily News, 1970). The leftist parties raised slogan against the leader of JI like *"Maduditha! Ek Madudisau Yehaudi"* (Bahadur, K., 1987). Pakistan was created in the name of Islam, so the basic concern of *ulama* was Islam. They wanted to set up an Islamic system. On the other hand, Bhutto said that any system which served the interest of people was a part of Islamic system, and a system which did not serve the interest of poor people, was un-Islamic (Morning News, 1970).

### SOCIALISM ALONG WITH POLICIES OF BHUTTO'S REGIME

When PPP came to power, its leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced economic policies including nationalization, land reforms and labour reforms to improve economic condition of the people in the country. Economy of Pakistan severely turned down after the debacle of East Pakistan. After the transfer of power from Yahya Khan to Bhutto, it was necessary for him to announce economic policies and programs for benefitting the common masses.

## **Nationalization Policy**

In election campaign, PPP had promised the nationalization of all key industries and financial institutions. Bhutto promised to eliminate poverty and discrimination in Pakistan (Bhutto, Z.A., 1972). During Ayub Khan's era, large scale industry, commerce, banking and insurance was under the control of twenty two families. PPP promised to break the power of these twenty two families. In January 1972, the government announced a program of nationalization aimed at public take-over of thirty-one firms in ten basic industries (Hussein, I., 2000). These industries included iron industry, steel industry, basic metal industry, heavy engineering industry, motor vehicle assemble and manufacturing industry, tractor assemble and manufacturing industry, and cement and public utilities industry.

In the beginning of PPP tenure, the government decided to control only the management, and not the ownership, of industries. At the same time, shares of these firms in the stock market were banned. Bhutto promised that the government would not nationalize remaining industries so it was indented to merge both private and public sectors. He urged the private sector to treat their workers with dignity so as to ensure maximum production (Ashraf,S.2009). Bhutto promised that no more enterprise would be nationalized. In 1973, due to floods in Pakistan, the prices of vegetable ghee were raised. On August 16, 1973, Bhutto announced the nationalization of ghee industry, blaming the private businessmen for exploiting national crisis to gain personal advantage. On January 1, 1974, all private owned banks were nationalized and in July 1976, the government nationalized two thousand rice husking mills, wheat flour mills and cotton gins were seized by the government.

### Land Reforms

On March1, 1972, President of Pakistan Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto address to the Nation: "From its inception and, throughout its struggle against injustice, the Pakistan People's Party has been committed to the eradication of the curse of feudalism and man's unjust over lordship of the good earth. The reforms I am introducing will bring dignity and salvation to our rural masses who from today will be able to lift their heads from the dust and regain their pride and manhood, theirs elf-respect and honor" (Herring, R.J., 1979).

In many countries redistribution of land, taking it from existing owners and giving it to other under various conditions, partially to increase the agriculture production and to promote social justice in the society. During Bhutto regime, Shaykh Muhammad Rashid was the Minister of land reforms. Under PPP's land reforms, landholdings were limited to 150 acres for irrigated lands and 300 for un-irrigated lands.

Lands exceeding the fixed ceilings would be taken from owners and would be distributed among landless tenants and peasants, which would be free of charge. Capital expenses were divided between landlords and tenants, and the landlords were made responsible for the provision of seed as well as payment of all land taxes.

# Labor Reforms

On February 10, 1972, Bhutto introduced labor reforms. Muhammad Hanif Khan was the Minister of labor. These reforms included medical coverage, compensation for injuries at work, life insurance and certain safeguards against arbitrary termination of employment. Cheap housing was provided to employers and education was given to at least one child of every worker. Old age pension and insurance against injury were also promised by the government (Gustafson, W.E., 1974).

#### **CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF BHUTTO POLICIES**

PPP promised with depressed class of labour and peasants that reforms would be introduced, but these reforms failed to change the condition of the common masses. Bhutto's government introduced policies to change the destiny of the poor, but targets could not be achieved due to wrong implementation of these policies. Poverty and discrimination were not demolished from the society. Due to his economic policies, he lost the support of industrialist and landlords and faced opposition from all classes of the society. His socialism based policies were also one of the reasons for his downfall.

# **Criticism to Nationalization Policy**

Nationalization program initiated by PPP government, created a major structural change in the economic system of Pakistan.

Economists observed that the nationalized industrial units did not work well, for that reason economy of the country suffered a lot. Eric Gustafson is of the view that "many of these industries had been mismanaged and faced financial problems as a result; these industries were close to bankruptcy" (Gustafson, E., 1980). Shahid Javed Burki is of the view that the mismanagement of the nationalized industries not only decreased the production, but also weakened the leftist in the PPP (Burki, S. J., 1980).

The nationalization of over two thousand industrial units was not a wise decision. The production was declined because private traders were replaced by civil servants. The industrialist lost their urge to invest in Pakistan. Business class lost the trust on Bhutto because he had broken his words. The impact of the nationalization policy was the flight of businessmen and capital from Pakistan to the countries in Africa and the Middle East. (1998). The small businessmen lost the confidence in the regime, who suffered from nationalization of ricehusking and cotton trading industries. The small traders and merchants were at front position of anti-Bhutto movement in 1977.

# **Criticism on Land Reforms**

Bhutto faced opposition due to implementation of land reforms. The power of landlords did not hold down because of these reforms. The limit was fixed in terms of the individual and not to family holdings. As a result, many landlords managed to get around the limitation of ceiling by transferring their land to their relatives. The second round of ceilings was announced by Bhutto on January 7, 1977. The ordinance reduced the ceiling to 100 acres irrigated and 200 un-irrigated lands. There was a political motive behind this second round of land reform. Actually Bhutto wanted to minimize the power of landlords and to strengthen his position as he himself was a big landlord of Sind.

Reforms of Bhutto suffered from irregularities. More than half of the land given up by landlords were uncultivable and lacked irrigation facilities. A small portion of land was distributed among the peasants and in many cases; the landless peasants were the owner of the land in papers. The reforms strengthen the position of landlords rather than shifting balance of power in favors of tenant class. The 1972 land reforms did not really break the hold of the large lands and

were more a show piece political ploy, despite the avowed political program of the PPP.

## Labor Reforms

Labour had played an important role in anti-Ayub campaign of 1969. As a result of strikes and protests against Ayub khan, they became confident that the government could be forced to fulfill their demands by the use of force. During May-June 1972, labour leaders launched their militant campaign of *gherao* (forcible Confinement of owners and management in the factory by workers)until they agreed to their demands (Shaheed, Z. A., 1983). Some of the labour leaders had leftist leanings and all of them had political links. A famous labour leader Miraj Muhammad Khan was one of them.

The workers thought that their threats to destroy the factories would be effective in order to accept their demands for higher wages. The government promised that the share of the labour would be four percent in case of profit to the industry (Jasarat, 1972). Although, the promises were never fulfilled and there was a rampant unemployment in the country as a result of nationalization. Moreover, inflation increased in the country which resulted in flight of labor to the Middle East. As a result, in 1977 election hence the beneficiaries of Bhutto's economic program led the movement to remove him from power; just as the results of Ayub Khan's program caused his downfall (Zaidi, S.A., 2011).

### CONCLUSION

Western Socialism is a secular ideology and has no concern with religion. It revolves around the economic system. On the other hand, Islamic Socialism deals within the religious frame work. Some Muslim scholars and thinkers argued that Islam contains some element of Socialism, and thus, the reconciliation of the two ideologies is possible. Islam, like Socialism, is opposed to Capitalism, but it also modifies some key concept of socialism such as accepting the individual rights of property while favoring equal distribution of wealth with a view to bring social justice in society.

In Pakistan, Bhutto was the first man who used this philosophy for gaining power. He was the first leader who rose to supremacy through widespread mandate. PPP arose as national political party, because of its ideology and party agenda. His party has the potential to

widen its support base; because of its ideology of Islamic Socialism which had appeal to the masses. He used tag of Islam to manipulate the people. As a result, Bhutto won the support of people and gains the power. In initial years, he was fair in his purpose to change the fate of people but later his positive thinking is converted into his own personal interest for the sake of power.

He had sparked to introduce number of economic reforms to change the condition of poor masses but the implementation of these policies was not in the right direction. Natural disasters like floods, oil socks, severe weather etc were also one of the reasons of failure of his policies. PPP ideology of Islamic Socialism is criticized by religious groups and they demanded for the government which based on Islamic Laws. As a result of this criticism, nine opposite parties made an alliance named as Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) and they propagated rallies against the Islamic Socialism of PPP.

Bhutto took certain steps to please the religious groups like declaring Ahmadiyys as Non-Muslims, announcing Friday as a holiday and proclaimed Islamayiat as a compulsory subject. These measures were failed and opposite parties start agitation against PPP. According to some analyst, PNA movement was assisted by foreign actors especially USA because the relationship between Pakistan and America during Bhutto's era was not stable due to his socialist policies and its tilt toward China. In 1977 election, Bhutto won but the PNA leader protest against him and blamed him of rigging in election. In a nutshell, the execution of Bhutto in the hand of military dictator was also the result of his socialism. His economic policies led the country in too many crises.

As the start of PPP was with the dismemberment of East Pakistan, in the same way the ending of the tenure of PPP during Bhutto regime was with the start of a rule of a Military dictator. PPP government during Bhutto regime faced many failures and at the Pakistan was brought in such a situation in which it is still trapped, such as Terrorism, Mullahcracy and Inflations.

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