In the Name of
Almighty Allah
The Most Gracious
The Most Merciful
PERSONALITY AS A FACTOR IN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

A CASE STUDY OF PAK-US RELATIONS DURING

BENAZIR BHUTTO PERIOD

A thesis submitted in candidature of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science & International Relations in Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan

By

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DECLARATION

I do solemnly declare that this thesis is a result of my personal research work and efforts, except where otherwise stated. I believe in good faith and declare that this thesis has not been submitted before it in any university for any examination or degree.

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DEDICATED TO

My Wife & Daughter
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The personality of a political leader had remained a major issue of discussion among scholars because the personality of a leader has importance in the foreign policy decision-making process of a developing and under developing countries, especially in Africa and Asia.

It is also said that personal characteristics of a political leader on foreign policy of a country are more important. In this regard statements have come from different personality theorists.

Many researchers have focused on the political leader’s beliefs about the nature of politics and political conflicts, his/her views regarding the extent to which historical developments can be shaped. While another school of thought stem from psychological research which is based on personality making content, analysis of speeches and interviews.

This research is based on applying the different theories of personality from general to particular; in the case study of Benazir Bhutto. Her personal style of reacting to external threats had a considerable impact on Pakistan’s relations with US which are focused in this study, because Pakistan’s relations with the United States occupy important place in Pakistan’s foreign policy. The two states have generally maintained favourable dispositions towards each other, but their interaction has not always progressed smoothly.
Pak-US Relations and the significant issues involved between them during her both terms in office had been examined in details. It is tried to assess that to what extent her personality contributed towards relations between Pakistan and the US.

The importance of examining the Benazir Bhutto’s personality and her impact on Pakistan’s foreign policy is much more signified by the fact that she is recognised as a leader at the national as well as the international level.

Benazir Bhutto’s personality is a mixture of varied personality traits. She is determinant and skilful lady. She has tremendous energy and working capacity. She has command over crises management which can be shown at the time when Pakistan’s relations were on the stack and Pakistan’s name was included on terrorist watch list by US it was her policies through which Pakistan’s name was excluded from the list including getting some F-16’s and US economic MoU’s were signed as compare to economic aid. Over all she had outlined her own foreign policy goals and objectives of Pakistan during her premiership.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Problem

The problem to be discussed in this study is to examine how a political personality affects the foreign policy of a country. The problem was tested by applying the different theories of personality from general to particular case study of Benazir Bhutto, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan with special reference to Pak-US Relations during her periods from 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996.

The main question addressed in this study is, “to what extent her foreign policy achieved the main foreign policy objectives for Pakistan, especially with the US?” The issue of impacts of the personal characteristics of a political leader on foreign policy of a country is much controversial. In this regard, statements have come from different theorists, like Greenstein, Rosenau, Salvator R. Maddi, Allport and some other personality theorists. Some theorists say that the personal characteristics of foreign policy-makers are only of minor importance in determining the foreign policy while others believe that this is the major important thing. It is the only factor in the characteristics of a political leader, which have much importance while forming the foreign policy of a country. Shapiro and Bonham are among those personality psychologists who favour it.

Those, who consider that personal characteristics are more important then any other factor in determining the foreign policy in last few decades, have tried to explore more systematically, how the personal characteristics of a person affect the foreign policy.

One group of researchers have focused on the political leader’s “operational codes”, which base on the political leaders beliefs about the “nature of politics” and
“political conflicts”, his/her views regarding the extent to which historical developments can be shaped.

Another school of thought stem from psychological research, which is based on personality, making content analysis of speeches and interviews, with high-level policy makers or focusing on the verbal output on simulated leaders.

In this regard three types of criticism underline the argument against the importance of a political leader’s personal characteristics, while formulating the foreign policy of a country.

- Individual actors are limited by social factors, they can have impact on events, international system, shapes and constrains and policy that individual decision-maker can have little impact.
- In foreign policy arena, leaders who have different personal characteristics behave similarly when placed in common situations and politics. Names and faces may change but interests and politics do not.
- Foreign policy decisions are made in complex bureaucracies; organisational constraints limit the effect of individual characteristics.

Obviously it was Benazir Bhutto’s personality, which deeply influenced the course of Pak-US relations during both of her terms from 1988-90 and 1993-96.

It is believed that political leader’s personal characteristic are much more important than any other single factor in determining the foreign policy of any country. Benazir Bhutto’s period in Pakistan continued to play a vital role in world affairs and in the regional issues in Pakistan’s foreign policy-making. Benazir Bhutto’s personal style of reacting to internal as well as external threats had a considerable impact on Pakistan’s relations with US, which will be the focus of this study. Benazir Bhutto’s time in office is divided into two periods 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996. Pakistan’s relations with the United States occupy important place in Pakistan’s foreign policy. The two states have
generally maintained favourable dispositions towards each other but their interaction has not always progressed smoothly.

Pak-US relations and the significant issues involved between the two countries during Benazir Bhutto’s both terms in office had been examined in detail and examined that to what extent her personality contributed towards Pak-US relations during this period.

**Significance of the Problem**

The personality of a political leader had been a major issue of discussion among the scholars like Walter Mischel & Albert Bandura, because the personality of a leader has central importance in the foreign policy-making process, particularly of a developing country like Pakistan.

Importance of examining the personality of Benazir Bhutto and her impact on Pakistan’s foreign policy, during her both terms, with special reference to Pak-US Relations 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996 is signified by the fact that Benazir Bhutto was recognised as a leader at the national as well as international level. Benazir Bhutto is a brilliant politician and inheritor of the love of the Pakistani masses bestowed upon her father Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, yet she remains in her own words “a shy girl”.

Benazir Bhutto’s personality is a mixture of varied personality traits. She is determinant, skilful lady, has tremendous energy and working capacity, and has command over “crises management”. The last but not the least, she had outlined her foreign policy goals and objectives during her premiership.

The comparative analysis of the leader’s policies enables us to understand the role of her personality in foreign policy making.
Hypothesis

Keeping in view of all the factors, discussed earlier, this dissertation, seeks to test the personality of Benazir Bhutto through the following two hypotheses:

- “The more general interest the head of state/government has in foreign policy more likely his/her personality characteristics are to affect foreign policy behaviour”. (Verba 1969).¹

- “The more crises like is the situation, the more likely the personality characteristics of head of state/government are to affect foreign policy behaviour”. (C.Herman1969).²

Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter consists of introduction of the thesis.
Chapter No.2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE PERSONALITY

This chapter is subdivided into two parts.

- Definitions of personality.
- Theories of personality.

Definitions of Personality

In this sub chapter, different definitions, given by the different personality psychologists at different times, regarding the personality shall be, like Salvator R. Maddi, Allport, Hans J. Eysenck, Raymond B. Cattel, Sigmond Freud, Carl Gustav Jung Alfred Alder Erik H. Erikson, etc.

Theories of Personality

This sub chapter is further discusses five major theories regarding personality, they are:

- Trait Theory.
- Psychoanalytic Theory.
- Behavioural Theory.
- Social Learning Theory.
- Situational Theory.

- Path Goal Theory
- Normative decision theory
**Trait Theory**

By virtue of this theory the temperament, motives, character and attitudes of the personality at different times are measured, so in this sub-chapter, applying this theory on Benazir Bhutto, her temperament, motives, character and attitudes will be measured, as a political leader, at different times, during her both terms in office, as Prime Minister of Pakistan. Walter Mischel, Gordon W. Allport, Hans J. Eysenck Raymond B. Cattel and some others are the persons who have worked on Trait Theory.

**Psychoanalytic Theory**

This Theory played an important role to test the person’s childhood, culture and relationship with parents, love and fear as embodiment of id, ego, and super ego as the emotional outlet or other followers of the personality. This Theory is used by Hummel, to see the interaction of personalities in situations during the crises, in the organisation. Psychoanalytic Theory had been specially tested on Benazir Bhutto’s personality, with special reference to the Pak-US relations, during the “Pressler Amendment”. Sigmond Freud, Carl Jung, Alfred Alder, and some others are among the important persons who have worked on different Psychoanalytic Theory.

**Behavioural Theory**

Behavioural Theorists emphasise the behaviour of a personality, which includes pattern of managerial activities and effectiveness of the personality. This Theory seeks to change behaviour of individuals by systematic application of “principle of learning”. This Theory has been focused on Benazir’s personal interest to organise the peoples, and her effectiveness being a charismatic leader.

B.F. Skinner, Albert Bandura, Walter Mischel, are among the peoples who worked on Behavioural Theory.
Social Learning Theory

Social Learning Theory deals with the, “process of reciprocal determinants” between a person and environment. This theory distinguishes between “response acquisition” and “response performance”. These theories emphasise structural concepts, personal judgement of the personality’s ability to perform the task relevant to particular situation. Social learning theorists also argue that child can learn certain behaviour from parents or other models observing them. This Theory has been applied to examine Benazir Bhutto’s different kinds of attitudes, which she had learned from her parents and other peoples at different time at her childhood as well as a student. Albert Bandura and Walter Mischel are among the Social Learning Theorists.

Situational Theory

Situational Theorists emphasise on the importance of relevant factors such as personality’s “authority and discretion”, “the nature of work” performed by the personality and external environment in which personality lived. This Theory is further divided into two parts.

Path-Goal Theory

This theory examines the personality through nature of task, the work, environment, satisfaction and performance of a personality. The motivation with increase of personal pay off for goal attainments has also been discussed in this theory.

Normative Decision Theory

This theory stands for “decision procedures”, which are most likely to result in effective decision in particular situation. This Situational Theory also focuses on Benazir Bhutto’s right or wrong decisions at right or wrong times if any. Mr. Moos is an important psychologist in this regard.
Elements and Factors in the Development of Personality

These are further divided into two sub-topics:

Elements of Personality

Elements of personality are much related with concepts-representing, something assumed to exit in nature. The conceptualisation of elements of personality is necessary because individual patterns reappear in different situations and because individuals tract differently to what seems to be the same situation.

Freud, Murray, Gold Stein, Angyle and Jung are among important writers.

Factors of Personality

Personality is formed by actions of qualities and learning. These factors in development of personality, which includes:

- Biological Inheritance.
- Physical Environment.
- Culture.
- Group Experience.
- Unique Experience.

Biological Inheritance

They also play a major role in the development of such characteristics as intelligence and temperament, which are been discussed in this thesis.
Physical Environment

Group differences in behaviour are essential due to differences of climate, topography and resources put influence upon personality.

Athabascan is among the theorists.

Culture

Through this factor personality characteristics play a major role in the development of such values, which are discussed in the dissertation.

Group Experience and Personality

It can be argued in a way that the group experience develops personality similarities within groups and differences between groups.

Unique Experience and Personality

Experiences do not simply add to integrate. Why it is necessary that children raised in the same family are so different from one another even though they had the same experience? Through this factor peoples are measured in their own way.
Chapter No.3

BENAZIR BHUTTO: A PROFILE

This chapter contains a life profile of Benazir Bhutto. For having a look into her profile this chapter is also subdivided into four parts.

Benazir Bhutto’s Early Life and Education

This sub-chapter examines Benazir Bhutto’s personal life i.e. since her birth till completion of her university degrees. Her temperament, motives, and attitudes from childhood to university level have been discussed.

Benazir Bhutto’s Political Career

This part deals with the birth of Benazir Bhutto, and with the time her nourishment was started on the track of politics. The circumstances under which she had to enter into the politics have also been discussed. It also deals with her political career and the pattern on which she was groomed as a political leader by her father.

Benazir Bhutto’s Marriage with Asif Ali Zardari

In this part the marriage of Benazir Bhutto with Asif Ali Zardari is discussed. It is tried to find out the reasons that why she decided to get married with him? The implication of her marriage on her political career are has also discussed.

Benazir Bhutto’s Struggle for Survival and Supremacy

This subchapter consist of Benazir Bhutto’s political struggle since the time when her father’s premiership was overthrow, and later was hanged. It is explained that how she, as a Co-Chairperson of Pakistan People’s Party, mobilised the masses through MRD against General Zia-ul-Haq and under what circumstances she started her political campaign and became Prime Minister of Pakistan.
Chapter No.4

PAK-US RELATIONS DURING 1988-90

This fourth chapter is also been divided into further five parts:

Objectives of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy

This sub chapter examines in detail with the main objectives of Pakistan foreign policy, which Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, has mentioned in his speeches at different places and the way and the means through which these objectives can be achieved.

Historical background of Pak-US Relations 1947-87

Here the historical background of the co-operation between Pakistan and the United States of America, with special reference to the Diplomatic, Economic and Defence ties from 1947 to 1987 are examined. The circumstances under which Pakistan joined US in the alliances such as SEATO and CENTO are also discussed. The reasons of US withdrawal from its support for Pakistan during the Indo-Pak wars of 1965 and 1971 are explained.

The year 1979 becomes the remarkable year in the history of International relations due to USSR’s intervention in Afghanistan. In this regard the US gave aid to Pakistan worth million dollars in the shape of economic and military equipments against USSR. So the years of 1980’s became more prominent to both countries. Relations between Pakistan and US in 1980s were friendlier as compared of 1950s, but after the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan, Pak-US relations went another change. This sub-chapter has examined all these matters in detailed and also looks into the change of government in Pakistan and in the US as well and also examines the recent friendly phase in the history of Pak-US relations.
Pak-US diplomatic ties 1988-90

This part of the chapter deals with diplomatic ties of Pakistan and the United States of America with special reference to Benazir Bhutto’s first tenure. In this part the causes and circumstances of her are discussed.

Pak-US economic ties 1988-90

This part deals with the Pak-U.S economic ties during 1988-90 and will see that how she was successful in getting economic aid from the US through signing of different Memorandum of Understanding.

Pak-US military ties 1988-90

This sub chapter deals with the desire of Benazir Bhutto to make Pakistan a nuclear power and her clear stand on this issue. Her stand on F-16 aircraft’s problem is also discussed in this sub chapter as it emerged during her first tenure as Prime Minister.
Chapter No.5

PAK-US RELATIONS DURING 1993-96

This fifth chapter will comprise of three parts:

Pak-US diplomatic ties 1993-96

This part deals with diplomatic relations of Pakistan and the US with special reference to their nuclear interests. Pakistan wants to show its positive image to the world community through UN peacekeepers and it wants to rebuild its relations with the US. The issue of non-proliferation in the region during the post cold war era is also discussed.

Pak-US economic ties 1993-96

This sub chapter deals with the economic ties of Pakistan and the US, and how Pakistan got the economic deals, through the US Energy Secretary’s visit to Pakistan. Her visit is very much significant regarding economic ties with Pakistan. Pakistan got massive economic aid from the US and the US agreed to refund the amount paid by Pakistan for F-16 aircraft’s.

Pak-US military ties 1993-96

This part of the chapter deals with Pakistan’s relations with the US, with special reference to her second term as Prime Minister. This part examined the personality of Benazir Bhutto that how she dealt with the Pressler Amendment, non-proliferation and F-16 issue between Pakistan and the US and how she came out of the crises.
Chapter No.6

PERSONALITY FACTOR IN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

This chapter is further divided into six parts:

Personality a factor in politics

In this part difference between political scientists and psychologists has been discussed, because both have different explanations of the term personality. Political psychologists suggest broad type of personal characteristics, which are more relevant to personality decision in the politics, and it has been discussed in this part of the chapter.

Personality Factor in Decision Making Process

This part discusses the role of personality in decision making process, because with the perception, images and personal characteristics of a decision-maker, policy is made. Idiosyncratic variables like anger, supremacy destructiveness, confidence, rashness etc. are concerned with perceptions, images and personal characteristics of a decision-maker, which are discussed in this part of the chapter.

Gender as Factor in Decision-making

In this part it has been discussed that why women have generally been excluded from the institutions and who makes and implements foreign policy. In this regard debate between maximizers and minimizers has also been discussed.

Development of Attitudes

In this part assumptions like general interest, training and sensitivity to environment have been discussed. Other four types of personal characteristic
have also been discussed here, which are very much related to the foreign policy making.

Assumptions

In this part of the chapter twelve main Assumptions have been discussed regarding the personal characteristics which affect the foreign policy of any country.

Assumptions applied to Benazir Bhutto’s Personality

In this part some of the above selected assumptions are tested on Benazir Bhutto’s personality through the interviews of different people; her political behaviour shall be measured, with special reference to decision making process in foreign policy.

Chapter No.7

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of the above discussion is discussed; that how Benazir Bhutto’s personality played role in foreign policy decision making process to gain maximum benefits from the US during her both periods in the office as first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Questions to be raised

Following questions helped the researcher in this study to find out the personality of Benazir Bhutto as a decision-maker:

- What personality traits, account for decision-making in foreign policy?
- What is the nature of relationship that functions between personality traits and decision-making process?
• Does the individual have any significant role in foreign policy decision-making?
• What personality traits of Benazir Bhutto influenced decision-making?
• How did foreign circumstances, and environment during her both terms’ office enabled or disabled her personality traits to play the role?
• Did her personality bring positive or negative affect on Pakistan’s foreign policy towards the US?
• To what extent her foreign policy achieved major objectives for Pakistan?

Research Methodology

Both the above-mentioned hypotheses have been tested through deductive research method in this research.

The first hypothesis has been tested with special reference to Benazir Bhutto’s personal interest in foreign policy decision-making process during her two terms.

Regarding the second hypothesis her personality has been analysed through the issues of Pressler Amendment as a crisis management deal, and how she dealt the Pak-US relations during her both terms. This research is mainly based on primary as well as secondary sources. The primary research is based on e-mail interviews with Benazir Bhutto and her mother Begum Nusrat Bhutto. As the secondary source this will be based on:

• Personal interviews from her political friends as well as her opponents.
• Benazir Bhutto’s speeches, statements and interviews in context of specific circumstances or environment such as national, international and personal on political, economic and defence conditions of the country
related to the topic, with special reference to Pak-US relations has been analysed.

As the secondary source, books, journals, magazines, daily newspapers have also been used as source material in substantiating the major thrust of this research.
REFERENCES


CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF PERSONALITY

This chapter consists of the theoretical framework of the term “Personality”. It also includes different definitions regarding the term. Moreover, some theories have also been discussed to analyse the Personality’s behaviour. It also includes the elements and the factors, which are common to the development of Personality.

The term ‘Personality’ is the product of social interactions. It is the complex of sentiments, ideas, skills, habits and attitudes of individuals. The word ‘Personality’ has no standard meaning or definition. Every scholar has given its own definition. Most of them attempt in one way or the other. To include the whole personality, the abilities, tendencies and other innate or acquired characters distinguish her or her from other peoples.

Definitions of Personality

During the last many decades, large number of work has been conducted to investigate the term “Personality”. It is always viewed as organised, enduring and characteristics. However, several definitions of personality do offer a representative outlook on the subject.

Following are some definitions regarding the term, which are suggested by Personality Psychologists:

- Mr. Salvator R. Maddi writes, “Personality is a stable set of characteristics and tendencies, which determine those commonalties and differences, in psychological behaviour (thoughts, feelings, and actions) of the people, that have continuity in the time, and that time may not be easily understood as the sole result of the social and biological pressures of the moments”. ¹
Allport, G.W. argued that “... the dynamic organisation within the individual of those psychological systems, that determine his/her characteristic behaviour and thought”.  

Sullivan, H.S. argued as “The relatively enduring pattern of recurrent interpersonal situations, which characterise a human life”.  

According to Guild Ford, J.P. “… a person’s unique pattern of traits”.  

Hall C and G. Lindzy say, “Personality consists concretely of a set of values, or descriptive terms, which are used to describe the individual being studied, according to the variables or dimensions, which occupy a central position within the particular theory utilised”.  

While Angyl, A. says, “Personality is hierarchy of systems, an organised whole, patch personality having its own particular or system principle”.  

Jaspers, K. writes “... Personality is the individual’s differing and characteristic, totality of meaningful connections in any one psychic life”.  

McClell and D.C. said that “... the most adequate conceptualisation of person’s behaviour in all its details”.  

While Paul B. Horton quotes Yinger as, “Personality is the totality of behaviour of an individual, with a given tendency system interacting with sequence of situation”.  

Hall C and G. Lindzy quote Carl Gustav as:” Personality is the supreme realisation of the innate idiosyncrasy of living being, it is an act of high courage flung in the face of life, the absolute affirmation of all, that constitutes the individual, the most successful adaptation in the universal conditions of existence coupled with the greatest possible freedom, for self determine”.  

Ronald Forgus quotes Newcomb’s as “Personality is known only as we observe individual behaviour. By observing John Doe in such capacity as host, employee and employer. We can discover those kinds of order and regularity in his behaviour, which are the goals of the student of Personality”.
• While Ronald Forgus and Bernard Shulman quote Newcomb’s as, “The enduring organisation of a person’s character, temperament, intellect and physique, which determine his unique adjustment to his government”.12

Theories of Personality

Personality psychologists have developed many theories to explain the human personality. Theories of Personality defined the Personality, as the sum of characteristics of the individuals. To further understand this phenomenon, it will be appropriate to have a brief review of various theories, of studying the personality to have an insight in the comparison of different theoretical models.

Theories of Personality are mainly divided into following five categories.

• Trait Theory.
• Psychoanalytic Theory.
• Behavioural Theory.
• Social Learning Theory.
• Situational Theory.

Trait Theory

The term trait can be defined as the broad disposition to behave in a particular way; trait is a persistent (enduring) characteristic or dimension of individual differences. The term trait refers to consistent differences between the behaviour and characteristics of two or more peoples. Trait approaches begin with the common sense and observations, which individuals often differ greatly and consistently in their response to the same psychological situations or stimulus.

According to Walter Mischel, “trait is generalise and focalise neuropsychic system, (peculiar to the individual) with the capacity to render many stimuli functionally equivalent and to initiate the guide consistent (equivalent) forms of adaptive and expressive behaviour.”13
Hundreds of traits studied, were conducted during first half of the 20th century; to discover these equivocal qualities, Gordon W. Allport, Hans J. Eysenck, Raymond B. Cattell and George A. Kelly, are much more important among the theorists who worked on trait theory.

Allport shared his belief, in the fundamental uniqueness of each individual's internal needs and dispositions. He also believes that traits never occur in any two peoples in exactly in the same way, but they always operate in unique way in each person.

Lawrence A. Pervin had quoted Allport’s theory in which Allport says: “Yet some thing must account for the recurrences and stability’s in personal behaviour, we do find that, personality is relatively stable over time, and in different situational fields, The scientific evidence for the existence of a trait, always comes from demonstrating by some acceptable method the consistency in a persons behaviour”.

In the same way George A. Kelly, who is also a trait theorist, argued about the trait as fundamental postulate, according to him, “A person’s processes are psychologically channelled by the way in which he anticipates events”.

Another trait theorist Raymond B. Cattell sees the trait as a mental structure of human being. He believes that the understanding of personality is basic to the understanding of the more restricted and specialised disciplines in psychology, such as perception and learning.

Explaining his trait theory Cattell said, that, “The scientific study of personality seeks to understand personality. As one would the mechanism of the watch, the chemistry of the life processes in a mammal or the spectrum of remote star. It aims at objective insights, at the capacity of predict and control what will happen next, and at establishment of the scientific laws of a perfectly general nature, a trait may be defined as that which defines what a person will do when faced with a defined situation”.

On other hand, Hans J. Eysenck, supports trait theory. He emphasise the need to develop adequate measures of traits, in his research. He found two basic dimensions to personality as Introversion, Extroversion and Neurotics. This means it is the trait of the personality, to be quite, reserve, careful, thoughtful, to be social, outgoing, talkative etc.

Lawrence A. Pervin quotes Eysenck as, “there is a middle ground, between treating as if they were exactly alike, and treating them, as, if they were, all entirely different from each other. This intermediate position is that adaptation of some type of typological approach, the delineation of certain important dimensions of personality, along with individuals can be ranged.” (Extraversion - introversion would be an example of such dimension). \(^{17}\)

So review of the research on trait theory found not up to the mark because every trait theorist has his/her own meaning and definition of trait theory. But they only join on one thing and that is, two peoples can not have the same type of traits at the same time’.

**Psychoanalytic Theory**

The term psychoanalytic means the method of treating through human mind. The important psychoanalytic theorists are Sigmond Freud, Carl Gustav Jung, Fared Alder, and Erik, H. Erikson. Among those, Sigmond Freud is called the father of psychoanalytic theories.

Psychoanalytic theorists have the marked influence on psychohistories. They are trying to understand adult political personality of their childhood deprivations, culture milieu and relationship with parental authority. Freud’s psychoanalytic theory postulates, among other things, is that plasticity of motives is still basic to contemporary psychodynamic views.

Freud’s this theory divided the personality structure into three parts id, ego and super ego, each of them was held to constitute a portion of total personality
which have a unity of its own. These were, however, supposed to operate in interaction and the behaviour of the individual, which was said to be the consequence of these interactions. Separately the id was seen as original structure of the personality system and as consisting of inborn primitive inherited characteristics or tendencies. It is associated with Freud’s principle of pleasure, through which the ego is associated with. His principle of reality and super ego are theorised as to represent the person’s adoption of social values.

We can understand that *id* is conceived as a primitive unconscious part of the personality, on other hand *ego* is the rational aspect of the personality and the individual’s moral attitudes reside in *super ego*.

Carl Jung has also influenced on personality theories but in much different way as Freud. He as an analytical theorist emphasizes that stages of life, like childhood, youth and young adulthood, middle age and old age put much impact on personality.

According to Jung, ‘…ego has two modalities (thinking and feeling) which generate four separate functions, each of which may be the basis for an individual temperament.’ He believes that man is able to progress more complete more highly differentiated levels of development in the stages of life.

Alfred Adler has also difference with Carl Jung’s philosophies. His theory is known for its emphasis on human’s superiority and on importance of its conscious activities.

William Samuel quoted Alfred Adler as; ‘…childbearing practices had a strong influence on the individual’s characteristic, way of dealing with human relationships or the individual’s style of life’.  

Striving for social acceptance and influence personality of a person was viewed by Adler as the constantly struggling, towards the goal of what other theorists call self-realisation.
Eminent psychoanalytic theorist Erikson who favours Freud’s *id, ego* and *super ego* concept was of the opinion that these three factors are much more important which help to develop the personality of a child; he had also described eight different stages in the development of personality, he called them the ‘epigenetic process.’ They are:

- Infancy: trust v/s mistrust.
- Early childhood: autonomy v/s shame and doubt.
- School: initiative v/s guilt.
- School age: industry v/s inferiority.
- Puberty: identity v/s identity confusion.
- Young adulthood: intimacy v/s isolation.
- Middle adulthood: generatively v/s stagnation.
- Late adulthood: integrity v/s despair\(^{20}\)

The review of the psychoanalytic theories suggests that research should not focus only on the studies of traits, attitudes and motives, but also on studies that reflect the psychoanalytic view, that personality never ceases to develop and that even the rate of personality modification changes during the course of life.

**Behavioural Theory**

The behavioural theorists emphasise over behaviour more than thoughts, feelings or stress on the importance of situational conditions. Behaviour is shaped by patterns or schedules of reinforcement in the environment. Complex behaviours are developed out of the reinforced building up of simpler behaviours. Walter Mischel defined behavioural theories as “approach to psychology, emphasising observable, objectively measurable behaviours and the relationships between these behaviours and specific events or stimuli in the environment”\(^{21}\).

These theories also describe the typical pattern of managerial activities. Because of that B.F. Skinner argued “.... There is nothing more mysterious about the
origins of complex human behaviour”. His theory of “operant condition” also focuses on the specific behaviour rather than the general personality characteristics.

Some believe that environmental conditions put impact on behaviour of a personality. Because of that most research on personality-effectiveness has focused on behaviour individually, rather than examining how effective personalities use the patterns on specific behaviour to accomplish their agenda. In this way one can argue that behaviour of a person plays a significant role in the development of the personality.

**Social Learning Theory**

Social Learning theory is an evolving influential and popular theory of the personality, which emphasise on the learned pattern of behaviour and learning independent of reinforcement and the importance of cognitive process results in a different view of the human organism.

Some Psychologists also emphasise for experimental research like behavioural theorists, but they differ in social learning theory from behavioural theorists in following three ways.

- Social learning theorists suggest that reinforce such as praise much punishment is important in determining whether behaviour being acquired or learnt. For example child can learn certain behaviours from parents or other models observing them without the necessity of reward. However children will be more likely to perform behaviours they have observed if they are rewarded for such performance.

- Social learning theorists also suggest that much complex behaviour is learnt as a whole rather than shaped out of simpler behaviour.

- Social learning theorists emphasise the importance of internal process, such as thoughts in the development, and the regulation of behaviour.
This theory put much stress on the process of reciprocal determinism between person and the environment; they distinguish between response acquisition and response performance. Peoples can learn complex behaviour through an observation of others performances. Such type of behaviours, emotional reaction can be conditioned vicariously through the observational learning or modelling, in which people acquire complex nature of behaviour and maintenance of behaviour even without reward. Thus behaviour is regulated by its consequences which can come from person (self-praise and self-criticism) as well as from the environment. These standards permit the person to continue working towards a goal in the absence of outside reward or despite outside interference and punishment. They form the basis for self-regulation and self-control.

The main focus remains on processes explaining the acquisition and maintenance of behaviour. Social learning theories have recently also emphasised structural concepts such as goal, plans and self. Particularly important here is concept of self-efficiency or the person’s judgement of him or her ability to perform the task relevant to a particular situation. Self-efficiency judgements are viewed as cognitive mediators of action functioning together with self-evaluative judgement to mediate between goal and actual performance. They influence through the pattern, motivation, performance and emotional arousal, it viewed growth and development as resulting from the interplay of biological and experiential factors.

It can be argued that an analogy can often be seen between peoples and computers. Like computers peoples are studied in term of ways in which they organise, retain and utilise information. Personality is understood in term of ways in which the person processes information about the world including the self.

**Situational Theory**

This theory emphasises the importance of its relevant factors such as personality’s authority and desecration, the nature of work performed by him or her and the external environment, in which he/she is living. Peoples do not only impose
their own meanings on situation but also select and create them through their own behaviour. Especially they tend to choose and generate environments likely to further reinforce and encourage their existing behavioural propensities. Many researchers in this perspective also hope that their ideas and work will help people to enhance their opinion and possibilities.

In different situation different individuals react in their own way. In this regard Walter Mischel quoted Moos as: ‘a person might be high on a dimension of behaviour like friendliness in the morning but not at lunch’. 24 This theory seeks to discover how situational variables moderate the relationship between personality’s attributes (traits, behaviour) and measures of its effectiveness, which depends upon how well a personality understands the demands and the long run effective personality acts to modify the situation to make it more favourable. It also focuses on the fact that individuals can construct and interpret themselves, their experiences and explain events in ways that help to empower them. These theorists also argued that personality impacts not only the social environments which the individual selects, but also how those environments and the people in them react to that individual, in other words how the peoples react on that issue. In this regard self-efficiency of individual counts a lot among other variables of individual.

Situational theory based on assumptions, different traits and behaviour patterns which are effective in different ways in different situations. This theory is more subdivided into following two theories:

- Path - Goal Theory
- Normative Decision Theory

**Path-Goal Theory**

According to this theory personality gives higher performance through acting in the way which influence them. In this regard aspects of the situation such as, the nature of task, the work, the environment in which he/she operates are much more important.
Normative Decision Theory

This theory gives five decision procedures which are most important in decision making for the individual in a particular situation.

These are:

- Autocratic decision by personality.
- Autocratic decision after seeking additional information.
- Consultation with individuals.
- Consultation with groups.
- Group decision.

It is also suggested that situational variables and the rules to determine the particular decision affect in particular situation.

Elements and Factors in the Development of Personality

These are further divided into two sub-topics:
Elements of Personality

In contemporary psychology elements of personality are hypothetical. They are concepts representing, something assumed to exist in nature. They are inferred from behaviour but there are never one to one relations between an observable pattern of behaviour and an element of personality. All observable behaviours function not only of processed in the person, but also of the situation in which the person exists at the moment. The conceptualisation of elements of personality is necessary because individual patterns reappear in different situations and because individuals tract differently to what seems to be the same situation.

It is not surprising that the psychologists have offered many and varied proposals for the analysis of personality. In this regard the major underlying issues are:

- Whether to begin with a conceptual scheme of the total personality or to begin with empirical methods.
- Whether there is a distinctive psychology of personality or a general psychology that includes personality.
- Whether to use behaviour theory which focuses on the particular stimulus-response-relationship in the hope that the development of empirical laws governing precisely measured variable will eventually lead to undressing of complex processes or to use a dynamic – orgasmic theory, which assumes that simple processes such as stimulus – response connections are always in part determined by larger structures within which they occur – structures explicable only as wholes.

“Freud and Jung considered that personality was synonymous with, ‘mind’ or ‘psyche’ and that their theories were general psychological theories. The same position was taken by Murray, Gold Stein and Angyle”.

Factors of Personality
Personality is formed by the joint action of inherited qualities and learning. These factors in development of personality are often discussed as if they are separate and infect all are always contributing to development of every personality characteristic and they include:

- Biological Inheritance.
- Physical Environment.
- Culture.
- Group Experience.
- Unique Experience.

**Biological Inheritance**

Biological factor plays a major role in the development of such characteristics as intelligence and temperament. The importance of inherited factors in personality is investigated through three methods:

First is called selective breeding which is used in animal while studing their traits corresponding to personality traits in humans. This method involves mating animals with a desired trait to see if that trait is passed on the offspring.

Second and third methods involve humans in one method identical and fraternal twins are compared in term of some personality characteristic identical genes, while fraternal twins come from different eggs and share only some genes. Therefore if a personality characteristic is inherited identical twins should be much more similar in this characteristic then are fraternal twins.

Third method of studying is the inheritance of personality involves children given up for adaptation. The similarities of these children to their biological parents can be compared with their similarity to their fostering parents. Greater similarity to their biological parents in particular, personality characteristic suggests that the importance of inherited factors while greater similarity to their fostering parents suggests the importance of environmental factors. Biological inheritance provides
the raw material of personality, and this raw material can be shaped in many different ways.

All normal healthy human beings have certain biological similarities. Such as two hands, five senses, six glades, and a complex brain. These biological similarities help to explain some of the similarities in the personality and behaviour of all the people.

Every person’s biological inheritance is also unique which means no other person (except an identical twin) has exactly the same inherited physical characteristics. Not long ago most people believed that each person’s personality was little more than the unfolding of the person’s biological inheritance. Such personality traits as perseverance, ambition, honesty, criminality, sex deviation and most other traits were believed to arise from inherited predisposition; few believe this today. Instead it is now recognised that all personality characteristics are shaped by experience. ‘In fact some claim that individual differences in ability, achievement and behaviour are almost entirely environmental and those individual differences in biological inheritance are not very much important.’

The question of heredity versus environment is not simply a scientific question but is also a political issue. Thus Marxists and others who promote the goal of equality of rewards are annoyed by evidence that people differ in native abilities.

In this regard ‘One recent study found evidence for heredity evidence for heritability strong for sociability compulsives and social ease, but found heritability to be unimportant for leadership impulse control attitudes and interests.’

**Physical Environment**
Some Psychologists suggest that group differences in behaviour are due mainly to differences in climate, topography and resources. Such theories fit beautifully into an ethnocentric framework for geographical explanation of our national virtues and other people’s vices.

‘The physical environment has some influence upon personality. Athabascan developed a set of dominant personality traits, which enabled them to survive in a harsh sub arctic climate’. 28 Physical environments are at least often important.
Culture

Everywhere infants are nursed or fed by older persons live in-groups learn to communicate through language, experience, punishments and rewards of some kind and have some other experiences common to the human species. It is also true that each society gives to virtually all its members certain experiences which may other societies do not offer.

In this regard ultra factors play a major role in the development of such values, the environment is important in personality information because it provides different individuals with different opportunities for learning specific ways of thinking feeling and behaving.

Personality characteristics are acquired or learned as a result of membership in the culture. A social class and a family culture involve those beliefs and traditions which are shared by most members of a society. Individuals, growing up in western culture, share different experiences and then those growing up in an eastern culture. Social class involves differences within a society such as wealth and education. Individuals, growing up in the upper class group, share different experiences then those growing up in a middle class or working class group. This diversity contributes to the uniqueness of each person’s personality. Our culture provides certain fairly uniform experiences for all members of our society.

Group Experience and Personality

‘Children begin to use ‘I’, which is clear sign of definite self-awareness, a sign that the child is becoming aware of being a distinct human being’. 29 It can be argued in a way that the group experience develops personality similarities within groups and differences between groups.
Unique Experience and Personality

Experiences do not simply add to integrate. Why it is necessary that children raised in the same family are so different from one another even though they had the same experience? The point is that they do not have same experiences. Psychoanalysis claims that certain incidents in one’s experience are crucial because they colour one’s reaction to later experience. The unique experience of each person shapes his/her individuality.

Different theorists suggest Personality in their own way some says that every Personality have personal traits, they are the set of values, on other hand some suggest that personality characters are dynamic organization in individuals of the personality are the values. Traits have persistent characteristics they are different at the same time in two persons, through different in personal behaviour we manage their role in the society. These theories suggest the difference of opinion, feeling, and effects at different stages of a person, their observations change the personality behaviour with the conditions under which he/she falls. Observable behaviour can be seen in which a person exists at that moment. On other hand it also can be observed that physic, culture socialization and unique experiences also affect the behaviour of the personality. In a nutshell personality affects so much in different situations.
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CHAPTER THREE

BENAZIR BHUTTO: A PROFILE

This part contains the life profile of Benazir Bhutto. The first part examines her temperament, motives and attitudes since her birth to completion of the degrees. Second part deals with her nourishment, career and pattern on which she was groomed as a political leader and the circumstances in which she had entered into the politics. In third part her marriage with Asif Ali Zardari and the reasons/causes of her decision in this regard are discussed. It is also tried to find out the implication of this marriage on her political career. In the last her political struggle and getting crown as PM of Pakistan since the time her father’s premiership was overthrow and later was hanged is briefly discussed.

BENAZIR BHUTTO’S EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Ms: Benazir Bhutto the daughter of the former Prime Minister of Pakistan Late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and the grand daughter of Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto was born on Sunday, June 21st, 1953, at Dr. Pinto’s clinic at Karachi. 1 She was the elder child among her father’s four children. At her birth she was named as Benazir, “… to them she was return of other Benazir her aunt, whom the Bhutto family lost in Bombay at the age of fifteen,” 2 but this Benazir with her nickname “Pinkie” by her father, herself writes, “My skin was evidently so rosy that I immediately nicknamed “Pinkie”. 3

Being the first child of the family she was very much beloved of her family. As we know that in our male dominated society boy child had always been given favoured on girl child, but in her father there was no any such type of discrimination. He wanted that she must set an example for his family as he (Z.A Bhutto) himself was. She writes, ‘like his father before, my father wanted to make examples out of us the next generation of educated and progressive Pakistanis’. 4 For this purpose Benazir at her earliest age was send in one of the top schools of
Karachi. As she herself writes, ‘at three I was send to Lady Jennings Nursery School then at five to one of the top schools in Karachi the Convent of Jesus and Mary’.\(^5\)

As a Muslim woman she completed the reading of Holy Quran at her home in evening time. Due to her father’s heavy responsibilities her mother (Nussrat Bhutto) had to join her husband (Z.A Bhutto) and Benazir Bhutto was the only elder member of her family after her parents so she was also made the in-charge of the home in the absence of her parents to look after the matters of the home. This was her first responsibility at this age. She writes, ‘...though I was just learning my sums at school every night in her (mother’s) absence I would climb on the stool in the kitchen and pretend to go over the accounts with Babu, our long-time loyal major-demo’.\(^6\) When she grew up to the age of seven and due to the state responsibilities of her father, her family shifted to Rawalpindi where she was enrolled in the “Presentation Convent” for further education. At Rawalpindi she was not alone to look after the home matters but free. Therefore, she began to sleep in her mother’s bedroom along with her for the sack of Morning Prayer.

After completion of her primary education in Rawalpindi at the age of ten her father sent her and her younger sister Sanam to boarding school at Murree, because her father was of the opinion that if Benazir will stay in boarding school she will be able to take care of her own. Benazir Bhutto herself writes, “For the first time I had to make my own bed, polish my shoes, and carry water for bathing and tooth brushing back and forth from the water taps in Corridors.”\(^7\) Like her father Benazir was very much fond of reading. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto used to take her along with him to the famous bookstores in Rawalpindi where historical books and selected biographies of great personalities of the world were her preferred choice.

Benazir thoroughly enjoyed her stay at Murree. She made many good friends there; she also took an active part in curricular as well as in co-curricular activities and proved as one of the best students of the school because of that she became apple of the eyes of her teachers as well as her parents. She never created trouble for her teachers or parents. After her father’s political clash with Ayub Khan in 1966,
her family moved back to Karachi. There she was admitted once again in her old school for ‘O level’. She used to live much organised life at Karachi and always go to Sindh Club where she swam, played squash, moved around in her own social circles in her spare time. She had very closed circle of friends.

In November 1968 when she was preparing for her ‘O Level’ exams scheduled to be held in December, her father was arrested by Ayub government and was kept in Mianwali jail. This was the very terrible time for Benazir Bhutto who at that time was giving full concentration to the studies. She was of the opinion that missing of the examinations means wasting one full year. As the examinations were conducted from England so her mother directed her to study for her exams at Karachi, while her mother herself along with her other kids left for Lahore to file a petition in Lahore High Court against her husband’s detention.

Now Benazir lived alone at her home in Karachi where she started her studies with full concentration. She herself writes, “I buried myself in my work going over and over my subjects with the tutors who came to house every day”. She appeared in her ‘O level’ examinations under the most stressful conditions in Karachi. When the result came she was among the successful students who passed O level. Now she had two options; either to apply for her admission in some American universities, or to go for ‘A Level’ in Karachi first, then to proceed abroad for her bachelor Degree. She and her father preferred the first option but the problem arose that she was under age for the admission in university. The reason was that she had taken two double promotions during her school, which indicate her competency and ability to complete her studies two years before her other contemporaries.

She decided to go for both options in the sense that she applied for the admission to US at Harvard University’s Radcliff College as well as got admission in Karachi Grammar School for her ‘A level’ at the same time. At Karachi Grammar School she kept herself busy in number of curricular and extra curricular activities including debates. She spent a little time there because in the same year in April she received the conformation letter for admission from Radcliff, according to which
her classes were to start from autumn term. Now she started preparations for leaving for Radcliff-Harvard USA. In this way she became the first woman of the family to get admission in any foreign country like USA.

Benazir Bhutto was a shy girl at school level but when she reached at USA she became much more confident. She herself writes, ‘My fledgling confidence soared up and I got over the shyness that had plagued my early days. In Pakistan my sisters, brothers and I moved within a small circle of friends and relatives as a result I was uneasy in front of the people.’ At Radcliff she proved to be a good student right from the beginning. In her second year she had successfully completed her major courses of study. Though, she herself was interested in Psychology but her father was of the opinion that she must take Political Science. So for the next seven years Benazir had to chase her father’s dream though reluctantly. On the other hand ZA Bhutto had a successful movement against Ayub Khan. He was replaced by General Yahya Khan, the then Commander-in-Chief of the Army. He imposed Martial Law in the country, conducted the first general election in the country in 1970. Bhutto’s Pakistan Peoples Party emerged as the largest Party of the West Pakistan. As a result of the East Pakistan crisis, he was designated as the Deputy Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. He was sent to UNO for Pakistan’s representation.

This was the period in which Pakistan was under severe crises. Its independence was on the stake. During this time Benazir was at Harvard where she received her father’s message in which she was asked to meet with her father in New York and assist him in his efforts to save Pakistan. Z.A. Bhutto also referred to her presence in his speech saying that, ‘…he had asked her to come down for security council’s meeting it was because of that when she grew up she would remember these difficult and tragic moments in the country’s life and would learn that in the worst of time nation must hold its head and in the darkest moments look to the future with hope. Benazir learnt this lesson by heart’. In USA Benazir Bhutto continued to assist her father where her father had initiated several diplomatic and political initiatives at his hotel’s room to stop any Indian onslaught.
Benazir while assisting him attended the calls on her father’s behalf. In international politics fundamental lesson of the diplomacy is to keep your opponents in confusion about your intentions and never to show them your true cards. Her father gave him these lessons that ‘during meeting you must interrupt the meeting. If American’s are with me in meeting tell me the Russian’s are calling, if the Russian’s are here with me tell me the Chinese are on the phone and don’t tell anybody who really are there? “…I followed his instructions but not the lesson, I always lay my cards on the table” 11. In this way Benazir took massages from phone and passed them on to her father in the said way which she was told.

Her father was in the UN Security Council to present the case of Pakistan and she accompanied her father, sat two rows behind him in the hall of the UN Security Council and witnessed the proceeding with other diplomats and ministers who were called from all over the world. It was 15th December 1971 when the East Pakistan had virtually been taken over by the Indian Army on that day her father while speaking in General Assembly shouted and teared up his notes and thundered in the UN Security Council which she still remember and said that her father said, ‘…I am leaving; leaving your Security Council sir!’, then he rushed out of the hall. Benazir along with other members of the delegation also came out from the hall. From that time there Benazir Bhutto got prominence because whenever Bhutto’s speech was played on TV Benazir Bhutto was seen standing behind him. Now at Harvard Benazir was no longer known as Pinkie from Pakistan, but Pinkie Bhutto daughter of the President of Pakistan’. 12

At last she graduated from Harvard. Just to please her father she took the subjects of Politics, Economics and Philosophy and remained there for four years to complete her studies. We may also say that, ‘Benazir was there in US to bear the burden of the politics of military dictator’. 13 In June 1972 when Benazir Bhutto came to Pakistan for spending her summer vacations at home; her father wanted her to accompany him to India as to witness the ‘Simla Accord’. So she was included in her father’s official delegation to India. He once again suggested her lesson of diplomacy while taking on the board that, ‘Everyone will be looking for signs of
how the meetings are progressing, so be extra careful you must not smile and give the impression that you are enjoying yourself, while our soldiers are still in Indian prisoners-of-war camps. You must not grim either which people may interpret as a sign of pessimism.\textsuperscript{14}

It was her father’s lessons on diplomacy through which ‘Ms: Bhutto’s behaviour is typically oriented no high-pitched talk, no open-mouthed laughter, no giggles but a pleasant smile played on her lips and eyes; she was quite reserved’,\textsuperscript{15} after return from India Benazir left for Harvard to resume her studies. On her arrival at Harvard she found something changed in herself. The reason was that she had visited China and Soviet Union in the same year with her father, in this way she had visited places that non-of her classmates had even thought of. After completion of her graduation from Harvard her father wanted to see her at Oxford University for her Master degree. Benazir argued, ‘It was my father who decided that I should go to Oxford’.\textsuperscript{16}

Between the period of Harvard and Oxford she flew back to Pakistan to spend her summer holidays with her parents. On arrival to Pakistan she once again went with her father to an official visit to the number of European countries which was a good experience for her. She was in Pakistan when new Constitution of 1973 came into force formally on 14\textsuperscript{th} August 1973. Then she proceeded to England for doing her graduation at Oxford University. During studying at Oxford she got more experiences; while giving an interview she says: ‘while doing my graduation at Oxford I was known as ‘Benazir’ but when I was studying at Harvard and by the time I came to Oxford I was known as ‘Pinkie’.\textsuperscript{17}

While studying at Oxford University in September 1973 she went with her father on a visit to the US where she met with President Nixon and the Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at a White House Dinner. Kissinger was very much impressed from Benazir Bhutto’s personality. At dining table he talked to her and turned to ZA Bhutto and told him, ‘... Mr. Prime Minister, your daughter is even more intimidating then you’.\textsuperscript{18}
In February 1974 her father called her in Pakistan to learn from the second Islamic summit conference which was scheduled to be held in Pakistan, so she flew from London to Lahore to witness and learn something from the most important second Islamic Summit at Lahore in which the top most leaders of Muslim Ummah were participating.

Through such kinds of experiences she had emerged as one of the most popular and active student of Oxford. Now often with the peoples going out for lunches and dinners she attained confidence. During this time Benazir Bhutto was the first Pakistani student who was elected on the Standing Committee of Oxford Union Debating Society. She had earned this position for herself through her own wit and talent. Now slowly and gradually she took interest in people and their problems she enjoyed sharing with them. In the year 1976 she got graduation in Politics, Philosophy and Economics from Oxford University and planned to return back to Pakistan with the intention that she will have to join Foreign Office of Pakistan or to resume her own newspaper.

Her father was of the opinion that first she must complete her one-year postgraduate course before joining foreign services. During the course of an interview Benazir Bhutto says, “... My father felt strongly that his children by virtue of being the Prime Minister’s children had to be doubly qualified for any job so that no one could accuse him of favouritism”.

So she took admission to one-year postgraduate programme at Oxford where she studied International Law and Diplomacy. She returned back to Pakistan after completing her post graduation degree in June 1977. Benazir returned to Pakistan with different plans for herself. She was not much interested in politics. Actually she wanted to join the Foreign Service but she found that her father wanted to see her in politics. In this regard she was required to contest the National Assembly elections but minimum age required for contesting this election was twenty-five years and she was under age at that time. So her father gave her a compromising formula for that, “Get the First-hand knowledge of the politics of Pakistan, assist me
in my office for the next six months if it is of some interest you may continue, otherwise you may go to seek the Foreign Service qualification.’ 20 She accepted that formula and started her work as an advisor to the Prime Minister where she dealt with the Inter-Provincial Co-ordination Committee. The function of this Committee was to sort out basic differences between the provinces and the federation of Pakistan. The importance of the assignment was that the relations between the provinces and the federation had been the core issue in internal politics of Pakistan. In addition to this her father also assigned her the task of preparing summaries for the Prime Minister which helped him to understand that how good her comprehension was.

Only few days after joining her duties in the Prime Minister’s Office, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq staged an Army coup, which followed Bhutto’s imprisonment in 1977 along with other party leaders. In the absence of her father the responsibility of running the campaign for restoration of democracy fell on the shoulders of her mother and herself. The Central Executive Council of the Pakistan Peoples Party decided to request her mother Begum Nussrat Bhutto to take up the responsibilities as acting chairperson of the Party till her husband is released and Benazir herself was assigned the duty as the political secretary to the acting chairperson. With this assignment her formal role in Pakistan Politics started.

During the course of an interview Benazir Bhutto argued that, “…my role was junior one. Bhutto Sahib along with his full leadership of the party was arrested. We had to manage the election campaign and contact the people. There was lot of love and affection a lot of support by the peoples of Pakistan.” 21

During these days she and her mother along with many other political workers were jailed several times and were subjected to different types of tortures. This was the first time when Benazir Bhutto was exploring the real Pakistan in a very short spell of extreme adversity because she went to a number of cities of Pakistan to mobilise the masses first time but at last she was arrested in Sahiwal.
Now the battle between the government and the workers of Pakistan Peoples Party started at judicial front as well as on the fronts like political pressure. International public opinion was also there to exert pressure on the military ruler to end the victimisation of the workers. While the government had all the resources at its command, she and her mother were all alone and without any resource. Majority of the workers of Pakistan Peoples Party had been arrested. Benazir Bhutto along with her mother was arrested and re-arrested during this period; both were detained in Karachi, Sihala and in Sukkur Central Jails. Following the judicial murder of her father, her mother has been elected as the chairperson of the party and Benazir Bhutto continues to act as her political secretary, she argued: ‘I had to write letters, do the schedules, do the meetings, write the statements to be released on her behalf and to assist her in interviews’.22

During the illness of her mother she herself was elected as the co-chairperson of the party at a later stage with the responsibility to organize the ranks of the party. Then she was appointed a full-fledged chairperson, and finally the life-chairperson of the Pakistan Peoples Party for next twenty years.

**BENAZIR BHUTTO’S POLITICAL CAREER**

Since the birth of Benazir Bhutto, her father Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was of the opinion that she must join her hands with him in the politics. Keeping it in view, her father started her training on the track of politician. He arranged her education in the best schools of Pakistan as well as abroad for higher studies. ZA Bhutto was aware of the fact that only good education could equip a person for a sound political career. He provided academic as well as training facilities as a politician to make her successful in both fields.

ZA Bhutto being father, always sent her political lessons during her school days at Murree, Benazir Bhutto herself wrote that, “At Murree my father continued our political education by mail, Sanam and I learned some political lessons at first hand.”23 She always travelled with her father on different occasions at different
places, because her father thinks that in this way Benazir Bhutto would take interest in the politics. Salman Taseer wrote that, “…Benazir Bhutto seems to display most of her father’s political magnetism. Bhutto took upon himself to advise her on her reading and enthusiastically endorsed her political activities”. 24

During her stay at Karachi, Benazir spent much of her time among the politician and took her at different political forums when she was student, just to enhance her interest in politics before and after boarding school at Murree. In this connection she wrote in her biography that, “My father always encouraged me to feel part of the greater world, though some times his lessons went over my head”. 25

At the age of fourteen Benazir Bhutto officially became the member of the Pakistan Peoples Party. She was among the first few members of the party and she enthusiastically paid two Anna’s dues to join the party.

When she reached and chose the subject of Comparative Politics at Radcliff. In which she read the authorisation of constitution, mandate and legitimacy, then she understood the real meanings and difference of democracy and dictatorship. Since the chosen field of politics, she took interest in Pakistan’s politics especially her father’s period, she herself wrote that, ‘Professor Womack had pinpointed the state and contempt in Pakistan under Ayub, Yahya Khan and later Zia-ul-Haq. The authority of these dictators to govern was self-made but not a mandate from the people. I saw clearly for the first time why the people in Pakistan saw no reason to obey this sort of regime no reason to ‘stop’. Where there was no legitimate government there was anarchy.’ 26

First time Benazir Bhutto practically participated in politics as a students union at Harvard University where she became the Social Secretary of Eliot Hall, where she was residing. Her father was in touch with Benazir Bhutto there, she was aware of what was going on in Pakistan at that time, she become very happy to listen the news of her father’s political victory in Pakistan.
During Indo-Pak War of 1971, she was a student at Harvard, from where she accompanied her father to the Security Council of United Nations. This was her first visit to the United Nation’s Security Council where she saw its mode of actions of the council. When Benazir Bhutto came back home from Harvard for spending vacation, she accompanied to India along with her father. She wrote, “…and again my father wanted me to be there. What ever the result of that meeting? That will be the turning point of Pakistan’s history. I want you to witness it first hand.”

After being trained at the Radcliff, she moved to Oxford where she got very good experience of politics, she was the first woman of the Asian region to be elected as the President of the Oxford Union, she herself wrote that, “I had to admit he (her father) was right. He was right as well in urging me to join the Oxford Union.”

She herself was not interested in becoming a politician but it was her father’s wish which was to be completed by her daughter so because of that she argued, “Nevertheless I joined the Oxford union to please my father, as well as fulfilling my father’s wishes.”

She also learnt a lot from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Islamic Conference at Lahore but her main aim was to become a diplomat not a politician. At last when Benazir Bhutto completed her education at Oxford and planed to join the Foreign Services of Pakistan or to run a newspaper. For that purpose she came to Pakistan from England on a short visit, her father Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto insisted her that she should take part in politics to which she was not initially inclined. After much discussion she agreed to work. Benazir Bhutto wrote that, “My father had discussed some of his tentative plans for me which including working for Prime Minister’s office during the summer as well as for Inter-Provincial Council of Common Interests so that, I could familiar myself with common provincial concern.”

While doing her work at Prime Minister’s secretariat, she spent very short time. During this time, Z.A. Bhutto promoted General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. But he overthrew Bhutto’s government and became Chief Marshal Law Administrator and later
President of Pakistan. In this way Benazir Bhutto dragged into political arena contrary to her will.

**BENAZIR BHUTTO’S MARRIAGE WITH ASIF ALI ZARDARI**

It is not possible for a young girl to remain single for a long spell of time in an orthodox society of Pakistan where the religious leaders are still debating the issues whether a woman could be the leader of an Islamic state or not.

On the other hand, General Zia himself was of the opinion that if she would get married it would be difficult for her to continue her political career and she would turn to a housewife. It was the time for Benazir Bhutto to get marriage, Benazir Bhutto, the foreign qualified lady got arranged marriage on July 29, 1987, in a very simple and traditional way with Asif Ali Zardari, a good golfer, well educated, businessman, son of Hakim Ali Zardari an influential businessman cum land lord, a politician and a former ANP (Awami National Party) Chief of Sindh Province.

Benazir Bhutto was well aware about the rumours spreading about her life by different people who assumed the marriage meant the end of Benazir Bhutto’s political career. On the wedding day she issued a press statement in which she expressed that, ‘Today, on an occasion so personal and solemn for me, I want to reaffirm my public pledge, to the people of Pakistan and restate my most solemn vow to devote my life towards the welfare of each citizen, and freedom of this great nation of ours from dictatorship.’

General Zia was very much disappointed at this statement because Benazir Bhutto’s marriage did not hamper her political activities. This remained the big question mark for long to the western press and the media that how a western educated woman could get her arranged marriage a success. While favouring her aunt and her own arranged marriage she wrote that, “I don’t know how they did it, because my aunt arranged, my father’s sister arranged my marriage, so we’ve lost the art-how they find out background, the education, the characteristics, the
adaptability, where two people will be happy together, but they seem to be quite good at it because many of the arranged marriages seems to be flourishing but it is dying art.”

On the other hand Asif Ali Zardari himself believed, ‘It is true that before marriage to Benazir Bhutto, he was not introduced with her in real sense and basically the discussion of our marriage was our family.’ Benazir Bhutto also supported her husband in this regard she said, “… at the time of their arranged marriage in late 1980’s they didn’t know or love each other.”

Benazir Bhutto admitted in her book that, “An arranged married was the price of personal choice. I had to pay for the political path my life had taken. My high profile in Pakistan precluded the possibility of my meeting a man in the normal course of events, getting to know him and then getting married”. She did not see any reason to decline the engagement/marriage with Asif Ali Zardari. General Zia tried to get the engagement because of that she believed that, “…and even though it was an arranged marriage, he wanted to marry me and he made his own satisfactions to marry me…if I had been interested in money he would have never got married to in the first place. He comes from a business family and his family was one of the few successful business families from the province of Sindh. He knew that his business contracts would all dry up due to this marriage but he chose to me at the cost of his business. When he got engaged to me, General Zia offered him many lucrative contracts to break his engagement to me”. Considering this all detail, it can be said that, She is a great champion of the working woman, she always talk about the lessons of Islam which allowed woman to work side by side with men for the betterment of the humanity.

Through this detail of Benazir Bhutto’s married to Asif Ali Zardari, that how she is working on both fronts a wife and mother domestic as well as political and being the Pakistan Peoples Party’s chairperson; she is performing her role as a vigilant politician. While at domestic level, she is living like a Muslim lady with devotion to her family.
BENAZIR BHUTTO’S STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL AND SUPREMACY

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was overthrown in 1977 in a military coup by his own promoted General Zia-ul-Haq and he was executed after a short trial in Lahore High Court and her whole family was put under house arrest many times from 1977 to 1979 in Karachi. Due to mental stress it was too difficult for her old mother to bear such a shock. In the year 1979, along with her mother, Benazir Bhutto was also made co-chairperson of her father’s party; subsequently she spent five years in detention including ten months in solitary confinement. During this period she had to bear the shock of her father’s death. She remained in jail until from 1977 to 1981. After her father’s death; it was not easy for Benazir and her family to participate in politics. But both women accepted this challenging situation and being the co-chairperson of Pakistan Peoples Party, Benazir Bhutto started struggle for democratic government in Pakistan despite in prison.

In February 1981, a political alliance named ‘Movement for Restoration of Democracy’ known as MRD was formed by Pakistan Peoples Party along with the other parties of Pakistan. During this time her mother who had not yet come out of shock of her husband’s assassination, was suffering too much and became patient of lungs cancer in July 1981.

She had to be released on medical grounds and was allowed to go abroad for treatment in November 1982. In her absence Benazir had to spend another year in detention. She was released for short time as a trial case. During this time she started this movement with the collaboration of other political parties against General Zia-ul-Haq under the banner of MRD. But she was arrested again and sent to jail. On other hand, once again General Zia took a summersault just two days before Independence Day in the year 1983; he announced the non-party basis elections, which were promised to hold in March 1985. He had reached the conclusion that if he conducted the polls on party basis that Pakistan Peoples Party under the leadership of Bhutto family would win the election and it was possible that they would take the revenge of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s murder.
On the other hand, all political parties announced to boycott of the non-party basis elections except Jammat-e-Islami. This party was being supported by General Zia’s stance in opposition of the MRD. In the meanwhile on 14th August 1983, MRD launched its new movement Benazir Bhutto was in jail at that time but she contributed in the movement her part from jail, she drafted an appeal in the name of Nussrat Bhutto the chairperson of Pakistan Peoples Party. In which she addressed the people of Pakistan and provoked them to rise against the dictatorship of General Zia. Eventually the people of Pakistan arose against dictator. For the first time in the history, not only the big cities of the country but the rural areas also joined hands in agitation against Zia-ul-Haq specially Sindh rural people which showed the concern of the masses for democracy.

General Zia applied all oppressive measures to crush the movement, Sindh province was in the forefront of the movement. Government admitted that in first week two thousand peoples were arrested, 189 persons were killed and 126 were injured. The political impact of the MRD snatched all the cards of the game from General Zia.

After the first encounter with General Zia, Benazir Bhutto was released in 1984 under the international pressure. Soon after being released from jail she left for the UK. It that time her mother was living in Geneva, She wanted her to come and live with her in Switzerland but Benazir Bhutto refused to go to Geneva because she wanted to make London the base camp of the struggle against Military dictatorship of Pakistan. In this regard, many Pakistani joined hands with Benazir Bhutto in her cause against General Zia at London as well.

In December 1984 General Zia announced a referendum on the issue of Islamization. This was actually an effort to grab power for five more years. MRD boycotted the referendum. When the pressure became unbearable for General Zia then he once again announced the new date for elections in the fall of 1984. There was also the same old pattern of non-party basis but this time once again political parties decided to boycott.
Benazir Bhutto herself was interested in taking part in the elections through independent looking proxies. She was of the view that no field should be left open for the dictators to manipulate. But she was out of the country and had to depend much on the party leadership for handling the matters inside Pakistan. She was of the opinion that “they decided to boycott the polls because of their being conducted on non-party basis. She had to agree to the unanimous decision of her colleagues”.

On other hand, General Zia changed the whole spirit of the constitution. On March 02, 1985, he announce the revival of the 1973 constitution under order ‘RCO 1985’. With this announcement the supremacy of judicial review was set aside by an executive decree. The RCO was formally brought into force by March 10, 1985. The most important change was made in article 6 of Para I. Through this change, the Army could not be implicated by this article and the powers of the President of Pakistan were too much enhanced on, while the power of Prime Minister were reduced violating the traditions of Parliamentary system.

Under RCO, the President enjoyed more powers as compared to the Prime Minister. During this period, Benazir Bhutto had been lived for two years in London. In the mean-time Benazir went through a tragedy. In July 1985, her youngest brother Shahnawaz was poisoned to death in France. She took the dead body to Pakistan to bury in her family’s ancestral graveyard. After burial, she was once again detained by the government and was released at last in November 1985. This concession was given only to testify in a French court in connection with her brother’s death.

This time General Zia played another trick, he announced the lifting of Marshal Law by December 30, 1985. MRD took impression that General Zia was tired and wanted to hold election. So once again MRD decided to start campaign against Marshal Law on December 14, 1985. As the result of this campaign, many workers of the MRD were put into jails and torture cells. MRD demanded mid term elections. In the meantime, General Zia announced that Pakistan was not
capable of democracy, so Pakistan must follow the line of Islamization. Now Benazir Bhutto finally decided to launch her final assault against the Marshal Law ignoring of the consequences. In this backdrop, she decided to return to Pakistan on 10th April 1986. For this purpose, her co-politician in Pakistan worked very hard to make her arrival a success. On her return, electronic as well as print media gave full coverage. Media correspondents specially travelled along with her on board from UK to Pakistan.

Benazir Bhutto landed at Lahore Airport, where she was warmly welcomed by millions of peoples. This was the beginning of an end for General Zia-ul-Haq. Lubna Rafique wrote that, “The carefree girl who first left home in 1969 to study at Harvard had now turned into a woman with an iron will to fight the battle left incomplete by her father.” She addressed so many rallies in Pakistan. Everywhere people demanded new elections along with transfer of power to the genuine representatives of the people. International media and influential political forums also supported democratic process in Pakistan. While this campaign was going on Benazir Bhutto was once again arrested and sent to jail on August 14, 1986 on detention orders.

On the other hand, all the political parties of Pakistan (except Jammat-e-Islami) joined hands in MRD and protested against Marshal law, to suppress this which General Zia killed and arrested thousands of innocent party workers through army. During campaign of MRD, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq was under pressure and was disturbed because he was aware of this fact that Benazir Bhutto’s coming into power would mean end of his rule. He always tried to avoid elections on one or other pretext. Once Gen. Zia-ul-Haq replied to a newsman, “It is Miss Bhutto’s unnecessary impractical ambition and her attitude towards acquiring power which is objectionable.”

Unwillingly through the MRD and international pressure, General Zia-ul-Haq once again released Benazir Bhutto on September 10, 1986, from jail but many of her people remained behind the bars. Struggle against Gen. Zia-ul-Haq
was intensified by Pakistan Peoples Party and other political parties within and outside of MRD under the guidance of Benazir Bhutto.

In July 1987, Benazir Bhutto got married. Her marriage never posed a problem for her political career. So she continuously worked for her party to strengthen it, Lubna Rafique wrote that, “while Pakistan Peoples Party increased its strength as a political institution. Gen. Zia consistently claimed the party was out for revenge. Bhutto retaliated against this by saying that her party was speaking not out of vengeance but for nation building” 40

General Zia-ul-Haq took a positive step by making Mohammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister but he dismissed his government as well as the National and all the Provincial Assemblies on May 29, 1988 under the amended constitution and article 58-(2) (b). He announced November 16, 1988 as for new Election Day.

The news of election sent a wave of jubilation in Benazir Bhutto’s supporters but on July 21, 1988, General Zia announced that the election which would be scheduled to be held on November 16, 1988, would take place on non-party basis, P.L Bholla wrote that, “The date was fixed keeping in the view the advance stage of Benazir Bhutto’s pregnancy, so that she might no be able to campaign for election”.41 But after listening the news regarding non-party, Benazir Bhutto turned to the courts challenging Zia-ul-Haq’s party less polls order.

She was very confident that there would be justice and dictatorship of Zia-ul-Haq would be ended and the new dawn of democracy would rise, about that she expressed that, “Just as flower can not bloom in a desert, political parties can not flourish in a dictatorship. That the political parties have managed to survive and flourish despite their lives for democracy……we are the conscience of the country…." 42

On August 17, 1988, General Zia while returning back from the Khairpur Tamenwali firing range (in district Bahawalpur) where he had gone to witness demonstration of the US made M 1 Abrams tanks along with other thirty top
ranking companions died in an air crash emerged his death gave shock to whole state and sudden vacuums in Pakistan politics because he held two most important key posts of Pakistan, the Army Chief and the President of Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto’s reaction to his death was composed and calculated ‘The Times’ quoted her saying, ‘Life and death is in the hands of Allah.’

It was Benazir Bhutto who mobilised world opinion General Zia’s violation of human rights in Pakistan and for restoration of democracy in Pakistan for thirty months. General Zia tried his best to keep Benazir Bhutto away from contesting elections but he failed to do so.

After the death of General Zia, one possibility was that the Army should take control and impose Marshal Law. Other option available was that the constitutional path should be followed and the Chairman Senate Ghulam Ishaque Khan be appointed as the acting President of Pakistan. The decision went in favour of Mr. Ghulam Ishaque Khan Chairman Senate. He took oath as President. He also announced the same date for elections as was already planed November 16, 1988, but he did not make it clear weather it should be on party basis or on non-party bases.

During her election campaign Benazir Bhutto was passed through times of a woman’s life. She was expecting her first baby by middle of October 1988. But due to over-work the expected delivery date regressed by around four weeks and she gave birth to her first child a son Bilawal Ali Zardari on September, 21, 1988, at Lady Dufferin Hospital in the Lyari area of Karachi.

Benazir Bhutto was unaware of the delaying tactics of General Zia she started her political campaign on October 30, 1988, and she covered whole of Pakistan with in a short period of two weeks.

On other hand the case against non-party basis was in the court which had already been filed by Benazir Bhutto, after the death of Gen. Zia-ul-Haq court
passed verdict on the petition saying that the government had to hold election on
party basis.

On November 16, 1988 the Pakistani nation went to polls, from which Pakistan
Peoples Party emerged as the largest party in the National Assembly.

On next day President Ghulam Ishaque Khan, nominated her as the Prime
Minister of Pakistan. In the capacity of being the leader of the largest elected party
of the country, she deserved this seat. In this way she took the oath of office of the
Prime Minister of Pakistan on, December 2, 1988. With this she became the first
leady head of government in and Muslim State as well as the youngest Prime
Ministers in the world at the age of 35years.

Different aspects of Benazir Bhutto’s life are touched as the first girl child of
her family to study in top school of Pakistan as well as abroad. Her father was of the
opinion that she must join her hands in politics and through the education she can be
good politician, because he always wanted to see her in Pakistani politics and that’s
why he trend her on the track of politics, Z A Bhutto always suggest him diplomatic
lessons even through post, when he was out of the country. She herself wanted to
join Pakistan Foreign Services or run an independent newspaper in Pakistan. During
the military cough, she herself witnessed the assassination of her father. After her
father’s death, she faced so many problems; she was compelled to joined national
politics to achieve her father’s goals and objectives. Through the MRD, one can
judge her traits as a political personality, that how she mobilized the masses against
Military regime of Gen: Zia and became successful. Her arranged marriage with
Asif Ali Zardari does not affect her political career, though Gen: Zia tried to keep
her away from the politics but he fail to do so.
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CHAPTER FOUR


In this chapter Pak-US relations during 1988-1990 along with main objectives of Pakistan’s foreign policy which was articulated by Quaid-e-Azam. Pak-US relations of thirty years has been analysed keeping in view mutual friendship between the two countries which ups and downs in their relations with Pakistan signed mutual agreement with the US in SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization). But era of détente, saw deprive of means as they were abandon by the US. Pakistan also faced this situation but intervention of Soviet troops in Afghanistan brought change in Pak-US relations. US reaffirmed its interests in South Asia and Pakistan became front line state. After disintegration of Soviet Union, Pakistan witnessed low priority in the post cold war era and was placed under the sanctions due to the nuclear explosions. In characteristic as a coaster ruler-ride up to different decides of ups and downs. Pakistan’s economic ties were also significant due to heavy load of refugees, Pakistan’s economy suffered a lot, so she managed to conclude certain pacts with the US to boost Pakistan’s economy. In Pak-US military ties remained in tense during Benazir Bhutto era, because, the US has already imposed economic as well as military sanctions on Pakistan through Pressler Amendment through which Pakistan was unable to receive the aid according to which American President provide a certificate regarding the nuclear ability of the country that Pakistan does not posses any nuclear device. Benazir Bhutto visited the US where she talked on F-16 issue and referred to link it with the roll back of nuclear installations and realised the US administration to supply these aircrafts and other military weapons for which Pakistan had already paid. During her first tenure Benazir Bhutto signed different Military agreements to strengthen Pakistan’s defence system.

In the modern age no state can keep itself away from involving in the world politics. These purposes, manners and principles are widely known as the
objectives of foreign policy of a state. Foreign Policy of every state seeks following major objectives:

- Territorial integrity.
- Conflict or co-operation.
- National interest.
- Promotion of economic interest.
- Enhancement of influence on other states.1

OBJECTIVES OF PAKISTAN’S FOREIGN POLICY

Before examining the objectives of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy, we must see the circumstances in which Pakistan had achieved its status as an independent state. These were quite different from those which are witnessed in the case of other countries.

Keeping in view the Indian hegemonic designs is Pakistan’s foreign policy was formulated on much wider bases than normally the state behaviour Pakistan had to provide a comprehensive framework for simultaneous action in many directions; it had to be a policy which could:

- Insulate Pakistan in domestic affairs from external intrigues.
- Help in providing the country armed strength adequate to deter military invasion.
- Generate resources to meet the above mentioned two requirements as to well as provide enough funds for social and economic development. 2

The main objectives of Pakistan’s foreign policy lies in the speech Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who addressed the nation on February 1948 as first governor general:

“We have no bitter relations with other countries; the object of our foreign policy is to maintain good and friendly relations with other countries. We believed
in international justice. We would cooperate to spread peace, solidarity and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan would never keep herself away from assisting needy and poor nations. We would abide by the rules and regulations of UNO. \(^3\)

Pakistan formulated its foreign policy on the principle laid down by the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as under:

- Preservation of political independence and territorial integrity of Pakistan.
- Maintenance a powerful and sophisticated defence system.
- Strengthening brotherly relations with and fostering unity among the Muslim countries.
- Development of Pakistan Economically.
- Support for gaining emancipation of colonialism, imperialism and apartheid policy.
- Maintenance of International peace and security. \(^4\)
Political Independence and Territorial Integrity

Pakistan was in search of maintaining its newly found independence. The first problem which faced Pakistan was the settlement of refugees which migrated from India. Their settlement required capital on urgent basis administration of the newly created Pakistan.

Defence System

In order to maintain powerful defence system of Pakistan, Benazir had to develop conventional as well as modern like nuclear weapon system to deter the Indian threat and for this Pakistan needed trustworthy friends to get help in the time of crises.

Promotion and Preservation of Islamic Ideology

Being an Islamic state, Pakistan’s security and its development is a matter of primarily concern of its foreign policy. So that Pakistan as an Islamic state must be vied as a part of the Islamic Ummah.

Economic Development

Economic development is one of the top priorities of Pakistan. Nature and state of economy is to be improved for industrialisation. According to the UN statistics, Pakistan is one of the less developed states of the world. Even at the time of partition, doubts have been expressed about economic and financial viability of Pakistan. To raise the standard of living of the people of Pakistan and to get a place among the industrialised nations, Pakistan made effort and gave much importance to trade and other economic relations with the developed as well as the developing countries on bilateral basis. Pakistan had requested and received economic and financial assistance particularly from the United States and international financial institutions like the I.M.F. and the World Bank. Pakistan also maintains friendly relations with the Muslim Ummah from where economic assistance in the shape of
cash and other products, like crude oil is offered to Pakistan. This given aid support in the times of her needs, particularly by the Middle Eastern countries.

**Emancipation from Colonialism and Apartheid**

Pakistan gained independence from colonialism and she had undergone bitter colonial rule, so Pakistan had great sympathy with those countries that fought and are still fighting against colonialism and their policy of apartheid. Pakistan has consistently supported the liberation movements in Africa, Asia or anywhere in the world. To achieve this objective, Pakistan has always been supporting the struggle of the freedom fighter Kashmiri People against Indian occupation or struggle of the Palestinians, against Jews.

Pakistan always supported the freedom movements within Muslim countries such as Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Somalia, Mauritania and Eritrea etc, both inside and outside the United Nations. Pakistan also extended its full diplomatic support to the black peoples of South Africa and former Rhodesia, (Zimbabwe) to fight against the biased policies of their racist governments. She had always condemned the colonialism and racialism in all its manifestations on all International forums.

**Maintenance of International Peace**

Pakistan know the importance of peace because without peace development cannot be achieved particularly with the neighbours and generally in the region Pakistan has to spended huge amounts on defence expenditure because the strategic environment of the region in which Pakistan exists was unfortunately based on the Indian hegemonic policies, which threatened the survival of all the smaller neighbouring countries of this region. So peace of in this region and in the world is the pre-requisite for any meaningful economic progress.

No doubt, the main aim of these objectives of Pakistan’s foreign policy was to consolidate its newly independence because India who is its immediate bordering state in the East is many times bigger in its size, population and military power,
another aspect of Pakistan’s foreign policy is the maintenance of, fundamental rights of human beings held by the United Nations in its charter, after the World War-II.

**Historical Background of Pak-US Relations 1947–1988**

Since 1947 Pakistan had been looking for friends who could boost up her economy as well as her military power because newly independent country due to economically and militarily needed friends and allies who could render material aid and come forward to rescue her in case of aggression. The fear of aggression was not unreal because the forces which had opposed the creation of Pakistan had not recognised themselves to her existence. 5

Pak-US relationship was a natural corollary of insecurity corollary of sense of insecurity. Pakistan and the United States have now completed about sixty years of their relationship. United States was among the first few nations of the world who not only extended diplomatic recognition but at the same time also sent their official delegate to the formal ceremonies at Pakistan’s independence; United States helped Pakistan get membership in the United Nations. It was only the United States with which Pakistan established its trade links.

In the beginning of 1940’s, Pakistan offered its support to US, whenever demanded. In 1950, when Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan visited the US, President Truman, promised to provide massive economic as well as military aid to the newly independent state of Pakistan, in 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea, US wanted Pakistan’s full supported in the UN. 6

Both countries chose alliance relationship for their respective reasons. Pakistan needed financial as well as military help to face India while, the US needed Pakistan’s help against Communist threat in the region. So keeping in view, they both signed the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement on 19th of May 1954, through which both countries agreed to maintain world peace. Pakistan also joined the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) in September 1954 and the
Baghdad Pact (later called CENTO) in September 1955. Through these pacts, the US wanted to stop the spread of Communism and Marxism in the South Asian region and the Middle East. Pakistan joined hands with the US, through these pacts Pakistan got military equipment’s and economic assistance from the US. In March 1959, two countries signed an Agreement of co-operation during President Eisenhower era. Through these developments, the relations between Pakistan and the United States became more cordial and strong.

Relations between Pakistan and the US became cold when John F. Kennedy took over as President of the US in January 1961. He was of the opinion that China is a greater threat than the Soviet Union for free world so he decided to develop good relations with India as a counter-force to Communist China instead of Pakistan.

Relations between Pakistan and the US became somewhat bitterer when in 1962 China invaded India. During the Sino-Indian war, Kennedy administration decided to take side with India and also decided to supply arms to India against China as other western countries did; because of it the relations became sour during his time.

Pakistan gave its air bases to the US Air Force under the treaty of Mutual Defence Agreement of 1959. American took benefit of it and results US spy plane named as U2 shot down while taking the photographs of Soviet Union’s nuclear installation this in their boundary was shot down by the USSR, while spying in the Soviet territory. It was confirmed that it had taken off from Peshawar base. So Soviet leader Khrushchev threaten Pakistan of biter consequences, Pakistan sustained the risk and continued to allow US to use her air bases.

In Ayub era particularly during the Indo-Pak war of 1965, Pakistan’s relations with China became warm particularly warm. So keeping in view the friendship of Pakistan and China, US imposed military embargo on Pakistan. Now Pakistan and the US appeared in each other’s eyes. In other words the Indo-Pakistan
war of September 1965 severely strained the relations between Pakistan and the US particularly because the US had put arms embargo on Pakistan. The US bases in Pakistan had lost its importance because of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) and Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBM) had been made by US. These missiles could be launched from the US and the Indian Ocean respectively direct to its target.

This military embargo was due to use of those weapons which were supplied to Pakistan under the agreements of SEATO and CENTO. Pakistan was restricted to use these weapons against expression of communism. During 1970’s, which is the era of détente, the US tried to maintain good relations with China. The US requested Pakistan to facilitate the secret visit Henry Kissinger to China. It was possible only through Pakistan’s help.  

In 1971, civil war broke out in eastern wing of Pakistan. The US decided to take side with Pakistan and supplied arms to Pakistan which gave help improve to relations between the two countries.

Pakistan withdrew from SEATO in November 1972 due to loss of its eastern wing but continued to be a member of CENTO. In March 1979, the revolution came in Iran against the emperor Raza Shah Pahlvi and Ayatullah Khomeini came in power, Pakistan decided to leave CENTO. The alliance though bilateral Agreement of Co-operation of May 1959 remained operative. The US continued limited economic aid to Pakistan during this period. After the restoration of democratic rule in Pakistan, the arms embargo was partially lifted in March 1973, which was imposed during the war of 1965. It completely lifted in February 1975. So during this period Pak-US relations remained cordial.

Due to Pakistan’s insistence on nuclear technology and recurrence of military coup in July 1977, Pak-US relations once again became bitter. President Jimmy Carter stopped aid to Pakistan through the Symington Amendment on April 6, 1979; which Pakistan-US relations became strained again.
In December 1979 Soviet military intervened in Afghanistan which changed the situation dramatically. The United States reaffirmed its interest in Pakistan due to the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, which had threatened the American national security interests in the region.

During the Afghan civil war, the Reagan Administration improved its relations with Pakistan due to its proxy war in Afghanistan and became closer and warmer than at any time during the previous fourteen years. In the result for the next six year $3.2 billion package of economic aid and military sales was signed in June 1981. It was because the US strongly felt that the strong and stable Pakistan was in the interest of United States. In the spring of 1986, a follow up program of $4.2 billions for next coming years 1988-93 was also agreed. These aid packages included the sale of sophisticated weapons such as F-16 fighter plans, advanced missiles system and eight frigates.

Due to Soviet Union intervention in Afghanistan for the sack of hot waters of Arabian Sea, Pakistan suffered a lot from that invasion directly because Afghanistan has common borders with Pakistan. Millions of Afghan refugees came to the soil of Pakistan immediately not only this but Pakistan viewed the invasion as an aggression and Pakistan gave full response to the invasion politically, morally and militarily. In this way from 1986 to 1989, the US sent full economic as well as military assistance to Pakistan which actually pipeline for Afghan Mujahideen and called the frontline state by the US against Soviet invasion. During this period, Pakistan signed an agreement with the US, through US was bound to supply its 71 most modern fighter air crafts, F-16’s. For that purpose, Pakistan had paid all the money in advance but Pakistan received only 60, in this way 11 aircrafts remained in the US custody.

Pakistan-US relationship of the 1980’s proved useful for both countries and contributed toward peace and stability in the region. As a result of the Mujahideen’s fighting and as strong Pak-US ties brought close collaboration between the two countries. The Soviets were compelled
through Geneva Accord to withdraw from Afghanistan by February 15, 1989. The US military aid to Pakistan had somewhat reduced after the agreement signed by the Soviet Union.

If we examine Pak-US relations, we will come to know more durability and credibility in 1980s than the alliance relationship of the 1950s because Pakistan was directly involve in US proxy war in Afghanistan. This war became symbol for the fall of communism and US became sole superpower.

Reagan administration strengthened Pakistan economically and militarily. It provided economic aid sophisticated weapon systems. It exempted Pakistan (till March 1990) from the purview of the Symington Amendment; through which Pakistan could pursue its nuclear program-short of exploding a nuclear device without fear of losing the American aid.


After the death of General Zia fresh election were held in November 1988 in which Pakistan Peoples Party got majority of seats in National Assembly. These elections were also important for the US due to Afghan war because at that time the US foreign policy interest was to help those Afghans who were engaged in fighting against former Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The other concern of the US’s foreign policy was that of combating the so called Islamic fundamentalism. The Americans were successful, after the collapse of the Soviet Union through Afghan Mujahideen and Pakistan. In win-win position they were thinking about controlling Afghan Mujahideen in future because Mujahideen could cause trouble for the US in future. Another concern in South Asia was the restoration of human rights in the region. A democratic government was formed in Pakistan, which was headed by Benazir Bhutto. On the other hand the major aim of Pakistan’s foreign policy was to prevent Pakistan from the hegemonic designs of India. It was persuade that India might again attack on Pakistan because India had never accepted Pakistan’s creation/independence in the real sense. Another reason was its concern of Pakistan’s foreign policy which is still present that India has not solved the Kashmir
problem and it always refused to do so. Two wars had already been fought on Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan in 1948 and in 1965, so Pakistan had always under threat from India.

During this period, the government changed in the US and George Bush (Senior) became the President. At Capitol Hill, George Bush had already promised to continue the policy of Reagan government on Afghan issue. Before taking oath as the first lady Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto hold a meeting with US Ambassador Mr. Oakley, Care- taker President Ghulam Ishaque Khan and three Services Chiefs of Pakistan Armed forces were present in this meeting and discussed about the current political situation of the region and future prospects. Benazir formed her cabinet and Samizdat Yaqoob Khan was asked to continue as foreign minister in newly established cabinet. Daily ‘The Economist’ wrote under a title ‘A Victress in Chains’ that ‘…before she was sworn in as a Prime Minister she had agreed to continue General Zia-ul-Haq’s Afghan policy and not to tinker with the army’s share in government spending. Sahibzada Yaqoob Khan continues to be the Foreign Minister under the new political set up in Pakistan’.

After meeting with the Americans and Pakistani officials, she was sworn in as new Prime Minister of Pakistan on December 02, 1989. At that time Pakistan occupied a prominent place in the US foreign policy due to its strategic location. Pakistan had had also much importance after the intervention of Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The US also looked at Pakistan in the context of its strategic interest in the Gulf region too. So in her first press conference, she observed that our friendship with the US is of special importance as it is based upon shared perception of peace and stability in this region. The US had significantly contributed to Pakistan’s economic development and had strengthened its defence capability. Replying a question in an interview about the continued General Zia’s Afghan policy and Sahibzada Yaqoob Khan as Foreign Minister she explained that, ‘… It was in the interest of Pakistan’s foreign policy to continue the same policies in Afghanistan and Sahibzada Yaqoob Khan as Foreign Minister because he had much
knowledge of Afghan problem and he could handle that issue in a very good manor.”

This was the time when the Cold War had almost came to an end and a new Unipolar world was emerging because of that it is said that, “Ms. Bhutto had taken over power at a time when the bipolar world of the cold war era is collapsing and new competing centres of power are emerging in the world.

Within short period after taking charge of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, the US Senator Stephen Solarz arrived on a good will visit of Pakistan. He was known as the Indian and Jewish Lobbyist in the US Congress. While touring Pakistan he argued that they would not push Pakistan into the Indian arms, though the reasons could be others, but reluctantly he also talked about the policies of Pakistan and US.

This was the policy of Benazir Bhutto that for the first time Pakistan allowed the US for a direct deal with the Afghanistan’s resistance movement through a special American envoy. Otherwise Pakistan was the mediator between Afghan Mujahideen and the US through which dealing was done. It was due to the civilian government in power. No doubt, the restoration of democracy in Pakistan produced positive impacts on the world politics in general and the US in particular. President George Bush personally invited Benazir Bhutto on official visit to the US. It is well known that the relations of the countries could be strengthened through visits and signing different agreements from time to time. Keeping in view Benazir Bhutto visited the US. The main proposes of her visit in a broad perspective was to strengthen friendship through mutual co-operation in economic, trade and different types of agreements. She paid official visit to the US in June 1989, during her visit she met with President George Bush and took him into confidence about Pakistan’s role as it would continue bilateral relations with the US. For the first time, Benazir Bhutto talked about the investment on equal sharing as she said that, ‘She looked forward to a new partnership between the two countries.’

During this visit many agreements were signed through which relations between Pakistan and the US became stronger.
In February 1990, when Pakistan wanted to get nuclear plant from France, the US reacted on the French help to Pakistan against nuclear power plant. This problem was settled down latter on.

During this period, different secretaries, ministers, and delegations visited each other’s countries just for the sack of strengthening ties between two countries.

**Pak-US Economic Ties 1988-1990**

The reason for American aid to Pakistan was to boost its economy and cause for the US was the treat perception of the expansion of communism. After disintegration of Soviet Union the reason behind the US policy was changed, since Afghan refugees a large number came into Pakistan and the effect of that migration affected Pakistan’s economy badly. During military rule General Zia gave Pakistan a gift of economic debts from the US. The change of administration in the US did not affect economic aid pipeline to Pakistan. The Bush administration had proposed the assistance of $621 million to Pakistan for the year of 1989-90. 13

The US also promised to continue its aid policy and will further provide 245 million-dollar assistance to Pakistan. Though some peoples were of the view that after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the US will cut its aid, which will be harder for Pakistan and in this way Benazir government would be weak. But it remained only a thinking of the peoples because due to a popular government in Pakistan after a long spell of 11 years, the US sent more economic aid to Pakistan.

During this period, Pakistan’s atomic energy and Agriculture programs continued without interruption. Not only was this but due to the economic aid, the new major programs also initiated in the field of education, health and housing.

In this way, the US invested in the future generation of Pakistan. When Mr. Solarz visited Pakistan, he was of the opinion that the aid which has been sanctioned for the year 1989-90 by the US administration must be increased from 5% to 10% and that the money should be spent on female education specially. During December 1989, Pakistan and the US
also signed the MoU for restructuring the Textile Accord and lift restriction from 66 out of 80 categories of man made fibre.\textsuperscript{14}

This factor of continuation of aid to Pakistan by the US, gave a revolutionary boost up to Pakistan’s economy. The signing of different agreements gave a new life to Pakistan’s economy. According to a new agreement which was signed in Islamabad, the US government provided $ 80 million to Pakistan under PL-480 food assistance program for 1990. The funds were to be used for financing the of soybean oil.\textsuperscript{15}

Though Private Sector Power Projects along with to improve scientific and technical research and the training in major Pakistani universities under US aid also came with the result that Bush administration did not stop economic aid to Pakistan through out this period.

During Benazir Bhutto’s visit to the US in June 1989, two countries signed an agreement providing $465 million of economic assistance for education and housing programs in Pakistan.\textsuperscript{16}

One can argue that the United States offers several areas of co-operation for economic assistance to Pakistan during this period such as technology, investment, education, health through which closer and mutually beneficial relations were developed between the two countries.

**PAK-US Military Ties 1988-1990**

Since the intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in 1979 Pakistan enjoyed very good military partnership with the US. Pakistan had played an important role in Afghanistan crises. Since that time Pakistan had received massive military equipments from the US and these relations were continued till George. W. Bush (Senior) took reigns of the US administration after Reagan. George Bush had already stated during his elections campaign that he would have to continue the previous administration policies in Afghanistan. So it can be assessed that due to the previous conditions in Afghanistan, Pakistan got massive military aid from the US.
During this time, Pakistan poured its policy of nuclearization. Pakistan’s military aid was stopped under the Symington Amendment. Though these amendments were applied to Pakistan by the US Congress during Afghan crisis, But American Presidents managed to get Symington amendment waived off by issuing certificates that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear bomb.

After quite some times when the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan stars, the US security interests changed, because the US President refuse to certify Pakistan after soviet withdrawal. The US President himself determined the security clearance from Pakistan government about Pakistan’s possession of nuclear weapons. On becoming Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto took serious stand on Pakistan’s nuclear policy which was important element of her foreign policy. Though on the other hand South Asian Specialist Mr. Geoffrey Kemp opposed the US move to cut off aid to Pakistan because of its nuclear programme.  

In 1989, Benazir Bhutto inaugurated a nuclear power plant in Kot Addu where she reiterated her government’s desire to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. She said, ‘we are committed to a peaceful nuclear policy for energy purpose. We do not want doubts to shadow Pakistan’s policy and in the process of isolating the country when there is so much goodwill around”. But on other hand, the US was of the opinion that Pakistan is still busy in making nuclear weapon. President George Bush made clear that until and unless Pakistan stops its nuclear weapon programme the US will not provide military and economic aid to Pakistan.

President George Bush expressed his concerns about Pakistan’s continuing efforts to develop its nuclear weapon programme in spite of his certificate that Pakistan did not poss. a nuclear weapon but Benazir Bhutto assured President George Bush that Pakistan’s nuclear programme was not weapon oriented and that the best solution to meet the danger of proliferation in South Asia was the regional approach advocated by Pakistan President Bush welcomed the assurance given by Pakistan.
During this period, the US had signed an agreement with Pakistan to supply seventy F-16 fighter aircrafts along with some other weapons. Pakistan paid about 370 million dollars when the deal was signed. Before Pressler Amendment became effective the US refused to give F-16 to Pakistan. On the other hand, US put much pressure on Pakistan through its amendments, that Pakistan must sign non-proliferation treaty. But Pakistan refused to sign and was of the opinion that India must sign this treaty first.

India continued its testing of nuclear weapons despite provides assurance to US administration. Pakistan was also compelled to test its missile system. So on February 11, 1989, Pakistan tested its first surface to surface missile and on February 14, 1989, surface to air missiles. All these were of non-nuclear category.

In June 1989, President George Bush invited Benazir Bhutto on a state visit to the US. This was her first visit as Prime Minister of Pakistan. During this visit, Pakistan’s nuclear issue war rose before the US administration and the US press proposed that if Pakistan is very much serious in purchasing F-16 fighter aircrafts. The US demanded Pakistan that it must cap and roll back its nuclear programme if it wanted F-16. Benazir Bhutto refused and said that, ‘we will not provoke a nuclear arms race in the sub-continent’.

Pakistan was of the opinion that non-proliferation step is totally linked with India. If India agrees then Pakistan would also agree to roll back or cap its nuclear installations but the delivery of F-16 can not be linked with the nuclear questions because supply of F-16 to Pakistan and signing of non-proliferation treaty was a separate questions. The US should either fulfil the deal for which she has already been paid or refund the money.

It was because of that, Pakistan had great danger from its neighbour India, because many wars had been fought between Pakistan and India. Pakistan refused to stop non-proliferation of nuclear weapons till India did the same? In other words we can say that Pakistan linked its nuclear programme with the utmost solution of the bone of contention between Pakistan and India which is, non other than Kashmir
problem. President George Bush was of the opinion that Kashmir issue should be resolved bilaterally between Pakistan and India according to Simla Agreement.

During Benazir Bhutto’s visit to the US, Pakistan also took keen interest in purchase of the different anti-tank helicopters just to create a balance with India. Pakistan also agreed that its F-16 fighter aircrafts should be sold to a third party and money should be returned to Pakistan.

On the other hand, by signing different pacts with the US Pakistan also got heavy military and economic aid from the US during Benazir Bhutto’s era. When she returned back from the US, the US administration approved the economic and military assistance to Pakistan. The total request stood at $ 621 million for the 1990 as a part of the $ 4.02 billion six-year package ending in 1993.  

Pakistan also intended to acquire more and more weapons to strengthen its military capability. During the spring of 1990, big crises arose between Pakistan and India on Kashmir issue; Pakistan reactivated or accelerated its programme of nuclear weapon. Pakistan also got the capability to modify its F-16 fighter aircrafts for carrying nuclear warheads. The tension mounted very high in the South Asia. During this time, Benazir Bhutto’s democratic government was sacked on August 06, 1990 by President Ghulam Ishaque Khan and on the other hand President George Bush under Pressler Amendment refuses to certify that Pakistan did not posses the nuclear weapon.

Under Pressler Amendment, the US administration suspended all types of economic as well as military aid to Pakistan, which was started in 1984. In this way, Pakistan’s F-16 aircraft problem remained unsolved.

Every state has its own foreign policy objectives which are based on its own interests. Pakistan being an ideological state has its own foreign policy interests. In order to realise these objectives Pakistan became an ally of the US especially in SEATO and CENTO and got massive economic and military aid from the US. Pakistan always helped the US, but on the other hand the US did not help
on the time when Pakistan needed its help. Due to this, so many ups and downs came up in Pak-US relations. The US helped Pakistan during Soviet Union’s intervention in Afghanistan and due to the reasons; Pakistan got massive economic and military help from the US. Due to the disintegration of the USSR, the US interests were shifted from bi-polar to unipolar world. Benazir Bhutto was in hurry to be appointed as Prime Minister of Pakistan; she did not bother to see the future consequences of her future as Prime Minister. After taking oath she was went to the US, it was her first official trip as Prime Minister to the US, where she fought the Pakistani case for economic sanctions F-16 fighter aircrafts and non-proliferation of South Asia, in which to some extent she got successful, because the US administration became agree to lift sanctions partially and further admitted to return back the money which was already paid by Pakistan in special connection with F-16 fighter planes.
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CHAPTER FIVE

PAK-US RELATIONS DURING 1993-1996

This section of the research is divided into three parts. First deals with the diplomatic ties of Pakistan and the US. In this part Benazir Bhutto’s preferences in foreign policy has been discussed through which she tried to solve Kashmir problem, non-proliferation issue and restoration of good relations with the US which were strained due to the nuclear programme of Pakistan during 1991-1992. In the second part US threats have been discussed which she gave to Pakistan at different times to roll back nuclear programme and sign NPT while Pakistan always refused unilaterally. Benazir Bhutto wanted to restore economic stability in Pakistan by signing different agreements with the US administration. Resultantly a huge economic aid was given to Pakistan. In the third part Pakistan’s military ties with the US have been discussed.

General Elections in Pakistan held on October 06, 1993 Pakistan Peoples Party once again won the elections and Benazir Bhutto being the co-chairperson of her party was nominated as Prime Minister of Pakistan. On October 19, 1993, she was sworn. Benazir Bhutto keeping in view her previous experiences tried to cross those hurdles safely which she could not do in her previous tenure. So maintaining Pakistan’s foreign policy immediately she took three major decisions.

- She visited all the major countries that had any say in International Politics such as US, Middle Eastern, and European Countries. Major aim of these visits was to expose good image of Pakistan to different states of the world.

- She also gave a new look to Kashmir issue in International environment because before this Kashmir problem was becoming a non-issue in International media due to the Afghan crisis.
• She tried to put pressure on US to withdraw sanctions imposed on Pakistan under Pressler Amendment in 1990 and through MTCR imposed on August 25, 1993.

In this way Benazir Bhutto tried hard to achieve the objectives of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy.

**Pak-US Diplomatic Ties 1993-1996**

Pakistan always tried to maintain good relation with the US but especially during the tenure of Benazir Bhutto Pakistan took some extra-ordinary steps to strengthen the ties between Pakistan and the US. The US interests had always been changed at different times in different areas of the world. During this period US’s main concern was non-proliferation of nuclear weapons of mass destruction in South Asian region. On the other hand Pakistan had set its own objectives. Pakistan was in search of:

• Setting Pakistan’s new image in the world community.
• Building the Pakistan’s relations with the US which have been strained over the issued of nuclear program.
• Nuclear non-proliferation if, India agreed.

During this period Pakistan got an opportunity to show its positive image to the world community when the US requested Pakistan to send Pakistan Army’s contingent under UN Peace keeper flag to Somalia

When Benazir Bhutto took oath of Prime Minister in her 2nd tenure, US Assistant Secretary of State Mrs. Robin Raphel visited Pakistan in the first week of November 1993. Some had argued that this visit showed that how extra-ordinary attention was being given to Pakistan by the US administration.
This was the first official contact between Pakistan and the US administrations after Benazir took charge as Prime Minister during her second tenure, though the delegation had come to Pakistan on goodwill tour to congratulate Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister, but during the meeting mutual interests were also discussed in which Kashmir Problem, Pressler Amendment and Nuclear Non Proliferation in the region were also discussed. Robin Raphel was also informed about the Siege of Hazrat Bal Shrine in held Kashmir. She said the Kashmir’s issue as ‘needs to be settled’. She was of the opinion that obstacles between India and Pakistan will soon be removed.

Benazir Bhutto herself was very much impressed by the statement of Robin Raphel. She described her meeting with Robin Raphel as, ‘opening of window of opportunity to improve the US-Pakistan relations’.

On the US request Pakistan sent her troops in Middle East as UN Peace keepers. Pakistan agreed and sends her troops in Middle East during Iraq’s invasion on Kuwait. When US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbot visited Pakistan in first week of April 1994, Pakistan showed its concern over the situation in Kashmir; Strobe Talbot was of the opinion that Pakistan must stop its nuclear programme. Pakistan had great opportunity to further develop its close and friendly co-operation with the US. Pakistan desired to cooperate in different fields on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual benefits but the US demand was that it must go back to its nuclear position as it stood in 1989. However, Pakistan refused to roll back its nuclear programme till India did the same.

Regarding the news of the ending of the Pressler Amendment by the US on Pakistan Benazir Bhutto welcomed this move but when US refused to do so, Pakistan sustained a major diplomatic setback. She, however, still had hope that “Her Government would soon succeed in removing the misgivings of the US and the western world about the Pakistan’s peaceful nuclear program.”

US had agreed on the point that Pakistan had played its vital role in promoting moderation, peace and stability in central as well as in South Asia and
even in Middle East region. During the post cold war era Pakistan welcome US, if US required Pakistan Army as the part of UN peace keeper not only in Somalia but now in Haiti and Bosnia as well for the purpose of International Peace and stability.

Benazir Bhutto again and again asked US to take its initiative on multilateral talks on South Asia with the participation of five permanent members of UN Security Council and other major powers like Germany and Japan in order to avoid a missile and nuclear arms race in the region, but US always replied in a diplomatic way.

Benazir Bhutto’s visit to the US put significant impression on Pakistan US relation since the relations were strained. Through this visit the Pakistan’s stand came out and Pakistan’s new image of trade not aid also came out due to Benazir’s visit. US was impressed to make Pressler Law into a tooth less law and by the passing of Brown Amendment it became a huge political victory of Pakistan which was achieved by Benazir Bhutto and it was considered as her personal success. Pakistan also joined hands with the US on Terrorism issue because Pakistan had itself been the target of terrorism. Ramzi Yousuf, a US wanted terrorist, who was said to be involved in World Trade Centre bomb blast was arrested and handed over to US on its request. In this way Pakistan tried to be a partner of US foreign policy in its next phase which was US next upcoming interest in South Asia and that might be the war on terror in south and Central Asia including Middle East.

**Pak-US Economic Ties 1993-1996**

US had supported Pakistan’s economy in an effective way but since the military sanctions had been imposed on Pakistan to exert pressure on it for roll back its nuclear programme; Pakistan failed to maintain its relations with US. It was due to the reason that the US linked its nuclear programme with economic aid, due to their perception that if the US gives economic aid to Pakistan it will strengthen its nuclear programme. They required that Pakistan must surrender its nuclear programme first, if it really wants to boost up its economy. When Benazir Bhutto
came to power in her second tenure she was also asked whether wanted to get economic aid for which she must surrender the nuclear program. On the other hand Pakistan was of the opinion that it should develop a partnership to boost its economy but not dependency through US aid. The US had announced that till Pakistan closed its military installations, US would close its aid officers to Pakistan by the end of fiscal year 1995. Though it was a threat from the US just to stop its nuclear plants, Pakistan refused and at that time Pakistan was loosing balance of payments in 1990. Only with the end of cold war India stood at $ 9.6 billions but on other hand Pakistan stood only at 2.9 billion $ reserves.\(^6\) This can be argued that in response US President agreed to wave off the condition of Pressler Amendment partially to give economic help to Pakistan which was welcomed by Pakistan. US agreed on the terms of their new bilateral textile agreement after substantial concessions allowed by the US”,\(^7\) just to give help in Pakistan’s economy.

The main objective of Benazir Bhutto’s economic policy was to restore macro-economics stability in Pakistan because of that she argued, “In our first nine months in office we have moved quickly to address our economic situation to restore macro-economic stability and fiscal discipline we have reined in run way budget deficit opened up the economy for foreign investment, depended the process of privatisation and dramatically increased our commitments to the human sector.”\(^8\) In this connection Benazir Bhutto mobilised her entire Government including President of Pakistan Mr. Farooq Ahmed Khan Laghari who visited the US in connection to convince the US government for investment in Pakistan.

Pakistan Government got its first major breakthrough in its economic ties with the US when the US Secretary of Energy Ms: Hazel O’ Leery visited Pakistan along with a huge delegation of top investors, businessmen and experts of US in September 1994, with the aim to explore new avenues for the different major joint ventures and opportunities especially in the energy sector with Pakistan.

Benazir’s aim was to bridge the gulf between Pakistan and US Governments during her visit. So many MoU’s were signed in a joint venture of three billion. In
this way a new door of ‘trade not aid’ was opened and was not stopped up to the three billion dollars but Pakistan and US signed 16 other agreements in the energy sector too, which amounting four billion dollars. Twelve power plants (three hydel and nine thermals) would be set up under these agreements. The agreement also included two petroleum concessions of 160 million dollars investment fund and provision of solar turbines to Sui Northern Gas Pipelines Limited (SNGPL)\(^9\). This was a very huge investment in Pakistan. So Pakistan thanked US for taking a timely decision to broaden relations between Pakistan and US. Benazir Bhutto described these contracts as a landmark in the history of private investment in Pakistan\(^{10}\)

This also shows the confidence the US had in Benazir Bhutto’s Government’s policies. During her visit to US in April 1995, she took Pressler Amendment very seriously through which Pakistan’s economic aid was directly related. She put pressure on US authorities to ease the amendment through which money could be returned back which Pakistan had paid earlier.

Benazir Bhutto welcomed the ties in trade and investment resulted in Pakistan’s broad economic reform program. During her visit to US both countries signed many MoU’s in Washington regarding the scientific and cultural exchange programs providing Pakistan, six billion dollars, speaking to 100 top Business Executives and Chief Executives officers of several American corporations. Benazir Bhutto invited them all to invest in Pakistan, which was entering a new millennium as a regional power and an emerging economic tiger. She said the new Pakistan was a committed to the MoU (Memorandum of Understandings) and not IOUs. The new Pakistan was committed to economic partnership not economic dependency\(^{11}\) due to this visit the US increased its investment in Pakistan to over ten billion dollars within next 17 months.

Her visit melted the ice regarding to the Pakistan and the US economic relations with special reference to Pressler Amendment through which, economic sanctions on Pakistan were put and F-16’s money which Pakistan paid earlier was stopped. Due to this Pakistan’s economy underwent a stress during May 1995. Due
to the policies of Benazir Bhutto, the Brown Amendment was introduced in the US congress to ease the Pressler Amendment in the support of Pakistan’s economy and the money paid by Pakistan for F-16 was also returned back to Pakistan. Brown Amendment is also significant on economic co-operation between Pakistan and US. Economic sanctions imposed through Pressler Law were also lifted and doors became open to direct investment by the US in Pakistan and other co-operation in trade and economic flow in social development sector started.\textsuperscript{12}

After so many discussions the US Senate voted to lift economic sanctions against Pakistan under Brown Amendment. In this way we can say that Benazir Bhutto tried to sustain and increase aid level with the US during her government.

\textbf{Pak-US Military Ties 1993-1996}

When Benazir Bhutto took reins of the Government as Prime Minister on October 19th, 1993, Pakistan’s Foreign Policy was in odd time. Before her, Pakistan was facing two most important sanctions; one, the Pressler Amendment, two, Missile Technology Control Regime, popularly known as MTCR.

The Pressler Amendment was imposed in October 1990 and MTCR was imposed on August 25, 1993, those sanctions were nothing more than the pressure tactics by the US Administration against Pakistan to sign non-proliferation Treaty. Pakistan had already refused to sign. Pakistan’s stand was very clear that it will not sign the treaty until India signs it because it was India that disturbed the balance of power in South Asia. Pakistan linked the NPT issue with Kashmir which is the main dispute between India and Pakistan.

Pressler Amendment existed since August 1985 when the US Congress passed an amendment in the name of Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, through which US president required the certification for any further assistance to Pakistan, the “Front Line State” against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. During Soviet intervention US did not bother about the presidential certificate but when Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan under Geneva Accord signed on
April 14th, 1988, US strategic concern changed. Under this amendment Reagan as well as Bush Administrations had provided the required certificates to the US Congress from 1985 to 1989, but since the chapter of Afghan War had been closed, the major US Foreign policy concern after dismemberment of the Soviet Union in the region became the Nuclear South Asia and the Pressler amendment came out once again from the box.

With this background of the US foreign policy, George Bush refused to certify in September 1990 that Pakistan did not possess any nuclear bomb or such type of device. With the result, all the economic as well as military deal to Pakistan which was already done in the year 1987, under which in next four years US had to pay an amount worth 4.02 billion dollars was cut off from the financial year October 1990 and Pakistan was pressurised to roll back its nuclear program to the pre-April 1990 status in order to obtain economic assistance and military equipments. The suspension of aid evoked sharp criticism in Pakistan against the Pressler Amendment and the US tilt.

Second main obstacle before Benazir Bhutto was to face another threat from US in the shape of Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). This was also sanction imposed by the US just three weeks before swearing in of Benazir as Prime Minister on August 25th 1993. According to this sanction China had transferred to Pakistan M-11 missile in late 1992 under which Pakistan and China were held guilty for transferring those illegal weapons from China.\textsuperscript{13} US imposed sanction on Pakistan and China though such type of missiles did not violate the MTCR Treaty.

In this way US kept pressure building on Pakistan but Pakistan refused to sign on NPT alone without India.\textsuperscript{14} Further, the US announced that it will close its offices in Pakistan by the end of fiscal year 1995 as a punishment for Pakistan’s nuclear program. In response Benazir Bhutto like her father was of the opinion that Pakistan must go nuclear because she knew that nuclear Pakistan is the safety of South Asia. She refused to roll back Pakistan’s nuclear program.\textsuperscript{15} However, Pakistan expressed its willingness to accept International Inspection of its nuclear
facilities within the regional frame work.\textsuperscript{16} It was because of this Benazir Bhutto had already expressed her views that Pakistan’s nuclear program is for peaceful purpose and it is for energy purpose. Benazir Bhutto tried to ease sanctions imposed by US through Pressler Amendment, but she was shocked to hear the news from the US that Pressler Amendment will remain part of new Foreign Policy Assistance Act to Pakistan.

The US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbot paid an official visit to Pakistan in September 1994. To discuss about the military sanctions and nuclear non-proliferation talks with Pakistan the Clinton Administration tried to get Pakistan agree upon inspections if not to roll-back the programme. Pakistan stuck to its position that nothing could be done unless India accepts the measures.\textsuperscript{17} In this way the US failed to make Pakistan agree to verifiable capping of its nuclear program. The US offered it a one-time waiver from the Pressler Amendment, so that the F-16 fighter aircrafts for which the payments had already been made could be delivered to Pakistan. The deal regarding the purchase of F-16 fighter aircraft’s for Pakistan Air Force was made in 1989 with the US, however it failed to materialise it because US economic as well as military aid to Pakistan was cut off in the year 1990 under the Pressler Amendment. On the other hand Benazir Bhutto argued that “during that period Pakistan had given counter proposals in response to US suggestions that Pakistan should allow non-intrusive inspection of its nuclear installation”. These suggestions included “Pak-US relations and promotion of regional and global non-proliferation, destabilising consequences of Ballistic Missile development in South Asian.”\textsuperscript{18} In this connection US Assistant Secretary of State Robin Rafael also visited Pakistan. With the issue of Non Proliferation she put stress on Pakistan to sign NPT but Pakistan once again refuse to sign it unilaterally. Benazir Bhutto refused to roll back Pakistan’s nuclear program terming the demand as “unfair” in view of the regional situation.\textsuperscript{19} Since Pakistan had already linked its nuclear program with Kashmir issue, Pakistan continued spending money on its nuclear weapons program.
Benazir Bhutto suggested to US that without permanent solution of the Kashmir issue Pakistan neither will roll back nor cap its nuclear programme. In this way the pressure tactics by US which were mounted remained ineffective and the US government suggested that it agrees to scrape the Pressler Amendment to some extent. A pressure was built by the Government of Pakistan to ease Pressler Amendment, so Pakistan welcomed the decision and foreign office spokesman of Pakistan said that, “The Pressler Amendment had created a serious strategic imbalance in the region and by removing it the Clinton administration would uphold Pakistan’s principled stand”. But the US government clarified its stand on the Pressler issue in a way that it will remain there but it will ease to some extent to give military as well as economic aid to Pakistan. The sanctions regarding the MTCR remain there.

Pakistan received a major setback on its diplomatic as well as military front when the US announced that Pressler Amendment will remain effective in Pakistan’s case and will be exempted only once. There was a dead lock between the two countries. Pakistan gave a deadline to US that by the March 31, 1995, US must resolve the remaining F-16 aircraft’s issue for which Pakistan had paid 650 million dollars earlier. It was only due to that problem that Pakistan was compelled to increase its defence budget by 14.3%. In this way Pressler Amendment had became great concern of Pakistan’s security issue and Pakistan US relations.

Now Pakistan looks towards China to end its thrust of weapons to maintain its balance of Power in the region. Pakistan needed the aircraft’s to match the Indian Hegemonic designs. Pakistan manufactured the K-8 Karakorum Jet Trainer jointly with China. Pakistan believed that it should buy another aircrafts like Mig-29, SU-27 from Russia, Mirage 2000 from France instead of F-16 from US which carried almost the same technology as of F-16 did.

On the other hand China helped Pakistan to assemble “Type 85” main battle tanks. When US administration saw that Pakistan is getting weapons from other countries, and Pressler Amendment was unable to prevent this, another option came
out that the F-16s for which Pakistan had paid money should be sold to a third party
and that money should be given to Pakistan.

In this regard now Benazir Bhutto herself visited US to handle the unsolved
issues including nuclear non-proliferation, delivery of F-16, alleged MTCR issue,
supply of 11 missiles by China) and Pressler amendment. This visit gave a fresh
look to all the issues, specially the Pressler Amendment. It was an attempt to find
out the different ways to cooperate with Pakistan relating to US interests, though US
administration had already mentioned that Pressler Amendment will remain the part
of US foreign policy but, Clinton promised Bhutto that Washington would try to
find out the way to deal with US unfairness in keeping both the F-16s as well as the
money Pakistan has already paid. In addition to that, US had also embargoed P-3
C Orion anti- submarine warfare equipment, helicopter targeting kits and spare parts
to Pakistan, which also came under discussion during Benazir Bhutto’s US to visit.

While talking to a press conference during her visit to US President Clinton was
of the opinion that his (Clinton) government would ask the US Congress to show
flexibility on the Pressler Amendment.

In May 1995 the Congress adopted the new provision to allow the economic
as well as humanitarian assistance with special reference to International Military
Education and training etc without touching or lifting Pressler Amendment; this was
also decided to sale F-16 to another party and refund money to Pakistan.

In this way it can be argued that Benazir Bhutto’s tour to US gave a new direction
to Pakistan’s foreign policy with special reference to the military ties between the two
countries. She was able to convince the US administration in good manner that Pakistan
cannot unilaterally roll back the nuclear program till India did the same and the Pressler
Amendment was a major hurdle between the relations of the both countries.

By this visit of Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan crossed the barrier posed by the Pressler
sanctions, when Pak-US military consultative groups reconvened for the first time after
the Pressler ban had become effective. ‘It was more of a symbolic affair as it would mark
the resumption of formal military ties between the two countries, after the Pressler Amendment broke them off in 1990'.

On other hand, Mr Hank Brown was of the opinion that Pressler Amendment against Pakistan was not justified. So in May 1995, he submitted a draft proposal in US Senate’s Foreign Relations Committee against it to amend the section 620E (e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. Through which Pakistan would get economic as well as military aid from the US, especially the F-16 air crafts, for which Pakistan had already paid 658 million dollars. Finally the bill was put in the US House of Representatives in June 1995 and was passed. It was also passed by US Senate’s House of Foreign Operation’s Sub-Committee on October 24, 1995 and finally cleared by Congress in late January 1996 and was signed to become a law by the US President on January 26, 1996. In this way Pakistan’s blocked military equipment including some more F-16 were supplied to Pakistan.

On other hand ‘Pakistan also purchased Mirage 2000-5, despite its price tag. The Russians also offer Pakistan their fighter planes Su-27’.

Passing of the Brown Amendment against the Pressler Amendment can be called the water shade on Pakistan US relations; certainly it was the moral victory of Pakistan due to Benazir Bhutto’s Foreign Policy that Pakistan achieved a major break through in the shape of Brown Amendment.

It was the wise diplomatic decision and the role of Benazir Bhutto through which it became possible to defeat Indian Lobby in the US Senate. It was a great victory of Pakistan’s foreign policy through which Pressler Amendment was withdrawn with the new amendment and Pakistan got diplomatic success. We can say that through Brown Amendment Pakistan’s sincerity to its US friends came out and Pakistan became capable to get back 370 million dollars military equipments from US and co-operation between Pakistan and United States regarding the military and economic aid. Which was pushed back through Pressler Amendment became a fair deal with Brown Amendment.
When Brown Amendment was passed by the US congress, US Defence Secretary and Foreign Secretary both confessed that the purpose for which Pressler Amendment was made could not met. The founder of Pressler Amendment Mr. Larry Pressler himself acknowledged after the passing of Brown Amendment. Benazir Bhutto became victorious in America. In this way she tried hard to get back all the things which the US had blocked through Pressler Amendment. Some called this phenomenon as “… rendering the Pressler Law almost toothless by Brown Amendment”

On January 27, 1996, President Bill Clinton finally signed the legislation containing the Brown Amendment along with 12 billion dollars foreign aid bill and paving the way for delivery of 368 million dollars worth of military equipment’s to Pakistan. In this connection Pakistan received the first refund cheque of 124 million dollars for the implementation of the Brown Amendment which provided for the shipment of military equipment worth 368 million dollars as well. This amount represented the first tranche of the 658 million dollars to Pakistan, the money it paid for the F-16 air crafts. The first shipment of US arms out of a batch worth 360 million dollars, released earlier, had also been arrived in Karachi on August, 26, 1996.

In the mean time due to internal crises her own Party’s President of Pakistan Mr Farooq Ahmed Laghari dismissed Benazir Bhutto’s government on November 05, 1996.

During Benazir Bhutto’s tenure, she set new goals for Pakistan’s foreign policy through which Pakistan set its new image to the world community, particularly by sending its troops to UN for peacekeeping. She highlighted the Kashmir issue in a new shape which was corner due to the Afghan crises. Pakistan continued to established good relations with the US, which were disturbed earlier. During this period many economic MoU’s were signed through which the US sent massive economic aid to Pakistan which was stopped due to strained relations of previous government during 1991-1992. Benazir Bhutto agreed to sign the NPT if
India did the same and first time this was linked with Kashmir issue. This period has special significance because; during this period Benazir Bhutto got a victory over the Indian lobby in the US Congress, with special reference to the US sanctions and F-16 issue. It was the foreign policy objective of Benazir Bhutto through which the US lifted the Pressler amendment through Brown Amendment and Pakistan got a victory on this issue. In this connection she mobilised the Pakistan embassy in US and at the same time Pakistan Foreign Office based in Islamabad.
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CHAPTER SIX

PERSONALITY AS A FACTOR IN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

In this study the political personality’s role in politics with reference in decision making, especially as a woman is been discussed. In this regard different attitudes along with some assumptions have been discussed. The assumptions have been analysed and tested on the personality of Benazir Bhutto. Through her actions and reactions we see that how she gave new changes in the policies during her both tenures with especial reference to Pak-US relations.

It is believed that the person is known through its company which he keeps. Exactly in the same way person is also known through her personal traits or characteristics which he/she has. It is said for the ordinary person but if the person is a political personality then his/her personal characteristics will directly affect the foreign policy of the country.

Here are some aspects through which a political person affects the politics as well as the foreign policy decision-making, especially when the personality is a woman, her foreign policy will affect more than a man because of the difference of nature, feelings, tendencies and characteristics between man and a woman.

**Personality as a factor in politics**

The meanings of personality to the political scientists are much more restricted as compare to the meaning of personality to the psychologists. In the political science literature about the relevance to the political behaviour is typically undefined. First of all the political scientists usage ordinarily excludes political attitudes and secondly, political scientists often further contract the term to refer to layer of psyche in Clinician’s traditional domain-inner conflict and ego defences and their manifestations.¹
Many political scientists argue that politics is a matter of human behaviour, Walter Lippman says, ‘... to talk about politics without reference to human beings is just the deepest error in our political thinking’. ²

So far the political depth in personality psychologists may have a point when they argue that much political behaviour for example much of the irrationality, which often seems to be luxuriant in politics, may have ego defensive origin and as along as this possibility exists it is described to clarify the standard for accepting and rejecting hypothesis that explains political behaviour in these terms.

While examining political behaviour in a personality, we will look at the effects of the individual’s behaviour. What does he/she do politically? For example how he/she votes? How the meetings he/she attends? How he/she attends the parties? How active he/she is? How his/her speeches are? What type of the peoples he/she chooses for his/her staff? We may examine the political behaviour of a group which he/she is leading. How his/her personal characteristics affect the policy of the group? For examples how active or inactive he/she is? What are his/her commitments to the problems, which he/she tackles or face that his/her political philosophy is? How his/her cognitive map of the political environment is? What are his/her motives? How is his/her decision style? Is his/her political training helping to interpret in coming stimuli? How he/she develops strategies and chooses tactics to face it?

Political psychologists also suggest four types of personal characteristics which are relevant to personality’s decision making in politics, these are:

- Beliefs.
- Motives.
- Decision style.
- Modes of interpersonal interaction.

These above four types of personal characteristics or traits which not only consist across situations and issues but another important personal characteristic of
personality also lays there and that is leader’s training for the position which he/she holds. In other words every personality has some previous experience that counts a lot. So it can be argued that it is a personality which plays major role in politics.

**Personality as a factor in decision-making process**

Personality plays a significant role rather than the systematic and national attribute factors because decision making is the existence of alternative courses of action, which require judgement in terms of one’s values. Personality must make its choices on the basis of limited or bound rationality. It must make the decisions in the light of everything it can learn about the situation which may not be everything it should know; because with the perception images and personal characteristics of decision-maker, policy is made. Such as cautiousness v/s rashness, anger v/s prudence, pragmatism v/s ideological crusades, superiority v/s inferiority, creativeness v/s destructiveness, paranoia v/s confidence and so on.\(^3\) These factors are generally known as “Idiosyncratic variables” and these variables are concerned with the perceptions images and personal characteristics of decision-makers.\(^4\)

Above variables have much effect on the decision making process because, when the right person is to be in the right place at right time then something special has to be happened. Some researchers have examined its impacts in early childhood experiences, marital status and type of quality of education, social origins of parents, financial status, working experience and influential friends put more effects on the behaviour of a personality. It would be fair to assume that the impact of idiosyncratic variable is greater in crises then the programmatic decision. During the crises the time and threat constraints place most of the burden on the shoulders of the state’s leader.\(^5\)

Undeniably the psychological characteristics and implementers of policy also have certain bearing on policy outcomes. Some decision analysts such as Keeney, Raiffa, Weinstein and Fineberg and Zarin and Panker narrate a set of techniques for
making decisions under uncertainty. The techniques are appropriate for situation in which choices must be made, in which the outcomes of action are predictable. It is well said that differences in leadership personality, temperament and other personal characteristics have much important impacts on the decision making process as in the case of individual.

**Gender as a factor in decision-making**

We are aware that, women have generally been excluded from the institutions, which make and implement the foreign policy of a country. So many people believe that women are not so much capable for certain types of occupation. Those peoples also aggrieved that values, norms and mores of our society are restricted. They are of the view that foreign policy is preserved which men had made and it is very difficult for women to break into the institution which determine a nation’s relations with other nation states.

Some peoples are of the opinion that the foreign policy decision making cannot be achieved without the participation of women who are the majority of human species. This view also has been supported by women, because they think that they also could be as effective leaders as men in this arena, because women are innately or by socialisation more peaceful then men.

This claim of women decision-makers and peace activists rises out of their natural peacefulness. Women have contributed to the historic debate between the two groups of feminists; they call themselves Maximizers and Minimizers. Maximizes are of the view that maternal urges of women differentiate them from men but on other hand minimizers believe in the biological basis for women’s separation from men.

During 1980’s and 1990’s the position of maximizers has been articulated by fitting loosely under the label of moral feminists or women’s values feminists. They are more agreed with the peace activists. They are of the view that peace is a
feminist issue so women must be the part of the foreign policy decision-making or
at least their voices must be heard by those who are in position of influence.

Now question arises that where should women be included in foreign policy
decision-making? International policies and its politics are radically different so far
as this reason in concerned. Women are emotionally tied to other human beings
while men are distant and united.\(^8\) we can argue that women’s psycho-socialisation
lead them to an ethics of care or an ethics of responsibility. On the other hand men
are raised to adopt an ethics of justice or an ethics of rights. While women’s moral
judgements will take others into account; men’s will rely on universal standards of
equality or fairness without concern for the involved individuals.\(^9\)

While arguing about the individuals Georgia Duerst-Lahti claim that one
must evaluate the effect of three types of variables upon individuals in organisation:

- Societal
- Organisational
- Individuals

In her work she describes these three variables as links with the societal system in
which they operate the structure of the organisations themselves and the social
psychological and individualistic elements.\(^10\)

In support of the claim of the Georgia Duerst-Lahti she suggests Gary
Powell’s idea, in which he argued that the societal, organizational and individual
factors are particularly much silent in studying of the women managerial attitudes.
Since women face barriers above and beyond that are encountered by men. Thus she
had created model of career developments, in which Garry Powell identifies the
factors, which he considered to be the most effective upon women, especially, ‘...the
career patterns, societal factors, organisational factors, decisions by the
organisations, family factors, personal factors and action by the Individuals’.\(^11\) For
the support of this statement figure number one is very much essential on very next
page.
Norms about men and women's role

Sex segregation of occupation Abilities

Organizational Factors
- History
- Ecology
- Topology
- Social Demography

Individual Factors
- Family & Appearance
- Marital Status
- Children
- Looks
- PERSONAL
  - Family Background
  - Socialization
  - Work Experience
  - Demographic Charge and Ability
  - Career Attributes.

ACTION BY INDIVIDUALS
- Foreign Policy beliefs
- Attitudes towards the Foreign Policy Process
- Management Style.

Figure No 1  Adopted from Gary N. Powell, Women and Men in Management, Beverly Hills, Sage Publishers, 1988, page 139
While translating the diagram into foreign policy arena we will see that societal norms about women’s and men’s role in general and public views, especially concerning women’s ability in government and foreign affairs will condition our women policy makers directly and indirectly via the organisation in which they are functioning and through their own attitudes and individual life situations which they bring to the work place.

There have been many instances in which Individual women or women organised as groups have attempted to challenge nations dealing with other nations.

So Societal Organisational and Individual factors suggests some limited optimism of foreign policy process to women. Moreover the policy view points and management strategies of our women who are insider in international politics gives us a basis for projecting the potential impact of having women construct foreign policies on an equal footing with men.

**Development of Attitudes**

Now we will focus our mind towards the work with conceptual linking of the personal characteristics of political leaders to their country’s foreign policy.

Assume that we have high level policy maker such as a head of the state/government and situations that he/she requires resolving the problem at the moment with her/his wide decision latitude. Given such individuals and situation, how we will have to expect that foreign policy maker’s personal characteristics and their general interest will affect foreign policy of his/her country? The more general interest the head of the state/government has in foreign policy, more likely his/her personality characteristics are to affect foreign policy behaviour. The importance of interest in foreign policy will be of numerous attentions to the foreign policy making process. The head of state/government wants to be kept informed about what is going on in foreign affairs. The major purpose behind him/her is to get interest in foreign affairs of his/her country. How difficult the course of action he/she will take may be. These reasons can include placing value
on good foreign relations fearing of an enemy take over and seeing foreign affairs as a way of gaining re-elections.

If he/she has an interest in foreign affairs, training or studied the subjects of foreign affairs, then the second personal characteristic will affect on foreign policy of his/her country. Because of that one can argue that if the head of state/government has little training and have some knowledge about the success and failure in international relations, and then he/she will try to match the strategy to specific issues. But on the other hand if the head of state/government who has not trained or have not previous experience and has no special skills to face the problems; and then he/she can not even suggest the possible plans of actions, though his/her natural problems will be solved but can not effect on foreign policy of a country. The third personal characteristic, general-sensitivity to one’s environment also affects the contradiction of his/her relationship between other characteristics and foreign relations. Sensitivity to environment shows the reach of an individual’s reaction to incoming stimuli from objects in the social surroundings in which he/she works. How important are the incoming stimuli from environment to the political leader, to solve what he/she will try to influence on his/her government to do? The low sensitivity of the political leader to his environment will leave more impact of his/her trait on foreign policy of the country. If the leader has less sensitive qualities to change his/her goals and attitudes or foreign policy strategy then he/she will suffer.

If the leader is more sensitive to her/his environment the more likely he/she is to accommodate him/herself to new information and to necessity for change suggested by that environment. In this way we can argue that the less sensitive policy-maker will face incoming stimuli to fit for certain set or viewpoint. While on other hand the more sensitive policy maker will try to attempt with his/her environment changes what he/she views? If incoming stimuli warrant he/she will adjust in own way.
Interest, Training and Sensitivity to environment plays important role in the leadership, between the leader’s personal characteristics and on his/her nation’s foreign policy.

These three variables show how much care a policy maker will require to deal with foreign policy problems of the country; and how large the performance of possible foreign policy behaviours is for all this relationship. In this connection figure number two on very next page can be seen, which shows the effect of the filter variables in relationship between the personal characteristics of political leaders; and their government’s foreign policy behaviour.
Figure 2:
The effect of the filter variables in relationship between the personal characteristics of political leaders and their government’s foreign policy behavior.
Once we know the degree of interest, a head of state/government has in foreign policy we will predict whether or not he/she will take advantage of the situation in which he/she found himself or herself to have an impact on foreign policy. Once we know the previous experience in foreign policy we know the extent of his/her repertoire of reasonable foreign policy behaviours. Once we know his/her sensitivity to his environment we will predict about his/her impact on foreign policy.

All these factors influence the relationship between four other types of personal characteristics and foreign policy; these personal characteristics which are more relevant to foreign policy making are the political leaders:

- Beliefs.
- Motives.
- Decision style.
- Inter-personal style.

Summarising the discussion of a personality’s beliefs and motives that will affect his/her choice of strategy, if the political leader is the head of state/government and the situation is one in which he/she is in a position to influence other foreign policy actors in his/her government, his/her government’s foreign policy strategies, similarly the personality’s decision-style and interpersonal style form the basis for his/her personal political style which influence the way he/she behaves in his/her attempt to make foreign policy, even under the stress time or under pressure of the personality.

Thus we have the high level political leader’s views of the world affecting his/her government’s foreign policy strategies, his/her personal political style affecting the style of foreign policy making. In the support of above, figure number 3 on very next page shows the summary of proposed relationship between personal characteristics of political leader and their environment’s foreign policy behaviour.
Foreign policy behavior: characteristics of political leaders and their governments

The summary of proposed relationships between personal and interpersonal

**Figure 3:**

- **Siyle**
  - **Interpersonal**
  - **Personal**
    - **Decision**
      - **Situation**
        - **Is likely to**
          - **Policy maker**
            - **Level**
              - **High**

**Filters**

- **Change in openness to interventions**
  - **Degree of sensitivity to interventions**
    - **Emergence of influence**
      - **View of the World**
        - **Beliefs**
          - **Has wide influence**
          - **Situation of personal characteristics**
Assumptions

In above discussions relating to “personal characteristics and foreign policy”, some assumptions will helps to provide necessary conditions for two given hypotheses as discussed in the second chapter.

Before assumptions a more specific definition of personal characteristics is pertinent. Because “Personal characteristics refer to an individual’s biographical statistics, training, work experiences, personality traits, beliefs and attitude and values, in other words personal characteristics are all aspects of an individual qua individual. Moreover when we talk about a political leader’s personal characteristics, we are interested in his characteristics at both general (across situations and roles) and specific (for political situations and roles) levels”.

Following are some key assumptions for the above perspective.

- Every individual has some established personal characteristics which can be measured.
- Some personal characteristics of personality directly hit the views of the world and the personal style of the personality.
- Political personality’s views about the world and political style of personality can influence to his/her government’s foreign policy behaviour at large.
- The impact of personality’s personal characteristics will affect, under certain situational conditions, especially when the personality has wide decision latitude and when the personality directly participate in foreign policy of the state.
- Three personal characteristics of political personality are:
  - interest in foreign affairs,
  - training in foreign affairs and
- Sensitivity to the environment serve that as filter variable that increases or decreases the influence of all personal characteristics on foreign policy of a country.

- Personality’s interest in the foreign affairs will influence the attention towards the foreign policy of a country.
- Personality’s training; experience or subjects studied about foreign affairs will count the extent of their wide range of possible foreign policy behaviour.
- Personality’s “sensitivity to their environment” will affect their openness to change.
- Of all other possible characteristics excluding the 3 filter variables) four other traits are also relevant to foreign policy making,
  - Belief.
  - Motives.
  - Decision style
  - Personal style.

- Beliefs and motives and personality’s views of the world, and as established in assumption 2 and 3 views of the world influence on foreign policy behaviour even during stress time for personality.
- Decision style and inter-personal style and personality’s personal political style and as given in assumption 2 and 3, political style of the personality will influence foreign policy behaviour even in stress time for personality.
- Those personalities who are in government whose “personal characteristics” are most influenced in foreign policy behaviour of the country, are heads of states or governments.
Assumptions applied to the personality of Benazir Bhutto

After providing the key assumptions in above sub topic some of these assumptions including both hypotheses are being tested through the interviews taken from different peoples at different times in the ‘case study of Benazir Bhutto’s personality’.

Assessment of the political personality of Benazir Bhutto as a political leader is very difficult task because she remains as enthusiastic as ever. If her father was a strong hand politician then “…she is a lady who is elegant, open minded, sharp, and loyal to her cause. At the same time she is tactful and skillful like any other politician. She knows when to advance and when to hold back. She is very intelligent, very good speaker and of course hard worker.”

Benazir Bhutto always believes loudly in the dictum of the great leaders of the democracy she always believes in it and always says, “Even looly langry (crippled) democracy is better then Martial Law”.  

Like Winston Churchill she considers courage as an important human quality. She believed that, “it is not possible to practice any other human virtue without courage” 

One should require the courage of different kinds. There’s intellectual courage which enables one to sort different values and make up ones mind. There’s also moral courage, the courage of ones convictions. The Physical courage is equally important because as she puts it very often going along the path of her choice, full of physical hardship.

She is a reformer and has great “will power”. Her courage is amply manifest, intellect, political skills, ‘she do not go in search of dangers but if it is there, she just meets it and subdues it and of course she is master of crises management’

Apart from those personality-traits of Benazir Bhutto her determination to raise to the challenge and her shrewd instinct for survival the determination not to flinch from challenges, not to get unnerved when under attack, explains her immense courage in the
face of hazardous situation which would have daunted most people. The steel like quality
under the calm exterior is seen in her management of political affairs through which she
mobilises the world attention towards Pakistan when she fights for restoration of
democracy in Pakistan during General Zia’s Martial Law in 1880’s.

Being a courageous and tough-minded politician she is also an exceedingly
skilful tactician. The fact remains that during all her political career she hardly went
through relatively quite periods of time, being more often under one type or other
type of acute pressure of turbulence. She faced them all including the danger of
being killed with great courage, tact, tough-mindedness, self-control; she is cool
headed, takes challenge. For tremendous energy and working capacity, mixed with
her capacity for innovation, she has been describing as second Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto
of the Pakistani politics. ‘She has this remarkable ability of stretching her capacity
in proportion to the demands made upon her’. The unduly long hours and tensions
that the office involves seem to become her and even to breed stamina in her. She
appears to have inherited her father’s ability to cast-off in a few moments, fatigue
accumulated over many hours of hectic travel or demanding work, and she does not
like to be told that she was looking tired.

Benazir Bhutto is no doubt a charismatic personality. Her charisma is
manifested in her ability to draw huge crowds wherever she goes. Her speeches are
simple and direct often achieving the intimacy of private conversation, with
occasional flashes of homespun wit which appeals to the common man. As
Pakistanis have a tendency to defy their leaders, Benazir Bhutto is worshipped and
idolised. Wherever she goes crowds of sycophants shower her with flattery and
adulation. To the million’s of Pakistanis she is “Mai Baap/The Only Leader” of
those poors.

Benazir Bhutto inherits her father’s gift of the intellect and also shares with
him his charisma. She has ability to command and rule, she rules the hearts and
minds of the people of Pakistan, and she knows how to handle the issues. Her
political friends confirm that ‘she is not moody and bad-tempered, she is always natural and spontaneous, and these are the qualities she respects in others’.  

On the other hand Benazir Bhutto’s critics say “apart from her intelligence and appeal for masses, she is ‘cold blooded’ calculating and fickle in her relationships, turning on her charm, when it’s expedient, and shedding her erstwhile favourites without any qualms when they cease to be useful. In her ruthlessness she has been compared to Stalin. She is an unemotional lady, her comparison would with the trust and loyalty that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto placed in his colleague and associates would be out of proportion. Benazir Bhutto said, ‘her father was a saint strayed into politics’ She avoids being exploited or duped, she is kind, generous affectionate and loyal. When she is convinced of a person’s sincerity, she certainly had a shrewder instinct as her father for sizing up people.

Referring to criticism, that she’s unemotional, Benazir Bhutto protested, “… “I am tough, cold and frosty? I am not. And I am a very normal human being… I never put on an act; I am always that I am…. ”

As a young mature woman, when Benazir Bhutto entered politics and become manipulative and secretive in order to establish her control over the party. She astonished people with her flair for sharpness, shrewd timing and above all with her capacity for a fight till the finish. She had made use of real politics, suiting the action to the moment’s need, undeterred by any backlog of sentiments or ethics.

Being a towering personality she is of immense adulation. Her opponents call her ‘…. a self-centred woman, dictator, thrust of remain in power’ Whereas she praise which she has received is equally un-restrained. She has been praised lavishly for her political acumen, in successfully administering in the second most populous Muslim State of the world after Indonesia. Because of that, some are also of the opinion that, ‘…she is the most remarkable ruler in Muslim World as politician, the most competent, impressive and respected world leader, with great charm and tolerance.’
Apart from being gifted with uncommon energy rare quality, she is an intent listener, for example throughout the meetings she talks less just only listens intently and then makes decisions and usually adhered to them. She knew ‘how to listen’ and make herself heard with as much conviction as with tact, without ever relinquishing her natural modesty which made her accessible even to the humblest. As she is cautious and pragmatic by temperament, she thus avoids taking ‘hasty-decisions’. Another significant personality trait is her ‘ability to convince’ When she indulged in political rhetoric, her voice carries conviction. The key to her popularity during MRD and her party’s success in 1988’s elections lies in the fact that she mobilised and had convinced the electorate that she could provide both stability and social change. Apart from these amazing personal characteristics another aspect of Benazir Bhutto’s personality is her ‘political personality’. One of the most important aspects of her ‘political personality’ is her ‘ambition to remain in power’. The drive for power and need for personal gratification seem to offer a better clue to her ‘political partners. She exploited every turn of tide to remain in power. The absence of strong ideological and moral commitment on her part provided support for this proposition. Even her efforts towards the dynastic transference of power point in the direction of her strong need for ego-satisfaction.

In this process she is helped by a milieu of a moral politics to which she made no mean contribution. She showed not only a disregard for certain unwritten rules of the game, rules developed and nurtured since Pakistan’s independence but as well she permitted a flagrant breach of constitutional practices and rules governing the parliamentary system of government. It is because of this that some people argue that she is ‘power hungry. Benazir Bhutto’s ‘drive for power’ and authoritarianism made her to be called, ‘the most powerful woman in Pakistan’.

She’s credited with having sixth sense in playing ‘power politics, be it at the party level or the international level.’

Another important aspect of Benazir Bhutto’s political personality is manifested in her desire to dominate, in both domestic and foreign affairs. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto argues, ‘…she transformed the system to ensure her personal survival and dominance. In
political development terms throughout preferred to rule rather than re-institutionalise, to control rather than re-orient, to subvert rather than balance, she mastered tactics and ignored strategy.”

The education and training in politics of Benazir Bhutto was started since her childhood by her father in world affairs. In this arena few young woman have ever had opportunities of the kind which came her way. Not only the great leaders of nations of the world came to sit in the flower decorated rooms of her house, but as Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s companion she met on their home ground such world figures as Sukarno and Chou-En-Lai at her early age.

According to her mother “…Benazir Bhutto was always around when world leaders discussed wide ranging international issues with her father and when Pakistani politicians brought to him their problems and disputes. Seeing and hearing everything from her anonymous perch near the seat of power. She counts not help but recollects a rich store of political experience training and understanding of men and matters.”

Thus Benazir Bhutto had an extensive training in politics. Educated in the companionship of her father and through her visits abroad; all this gave her extensive training in foreign affairs, which she successfully utilised when she came to power. Thus due to her training in foreign affairs, there was a wider repertoire of her foreign policy behaviours to consider.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto deliberately groomed his daughter Benazir Bhutto as his political heir and provided her with unique opportunities and training in foreign affairs. At the same time Benazir Bhutto’s position as Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s companion made it appear only natural. Even critical observers argue that her assistance and training should extend to his political obligations. Prior to becoming Prime Minister, She holds several important positions in the party as well as in PM office giving her an enormous experience and training. Benazir Bhutto made her debut on the national political scene as a member of people’s party, then she herself becomes the co-chairperson of Pakistan Peoples Party and then she took reigns of
Pakistan Peoples Party as Chairperson of the party and then she became first lady Prime Minister of Pakistan in the year 1988.

Benazir Bhutto’s training in foreign affairs started when she was student in Pakistan USA and UK. She accompanied her father abroad on tours her father himself became something of a globe trotter and his daughter was always often his companion on this odyssey which covered every continent and almost every country of any importance which Pakistan has diplomatic ties.

Her interest in foreign affairs is manifest from the fact that she herself took indirect charge of external affairs portfolio. Benazir Bhutto’s position as head of government her political background and her long diplomatic experience had gave her considerable advantages over other party leaders and had enabled her to set the dominant tone of Pakistan foreign policy. “…Benazir Bhutto talks less, she is as actively interested in foreign affairs as her father, decisions on foreign policy are definitely hers… the initiatives in foreign policy rest with her.”

Thus as a consequence of Benazir Bhutto’s increased attention to foreign policy making, her views of the world, personal political style, had a considerable impact on the foreign policy styles and strategies of her government as is manifested in the foreign policy decisions taken by her. Being the daughter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto received enormous training in politics and degrees in foreign affairs thus preparing her to be a good ruler of Pakistan. It was always difficult to predict her foreign policy behaviour which was manifest by the bold and unexpected foreign policy decisions she took during her years as Prime Minister of Pakistan.

To cite a few notable instances, she was always present when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto addressed the UN General Assembly; she was also present at different conferences chaired by her father in different countries. These tours gave Benazir Bhutto the training and opportunity to observe the finer points of summit diplomacy from the inside. Her intimate contact with world statesmen enabled her to establish
a personal rapport with many of them and to assess them as flesh and blood human beings as prone to irrational emotion and prejudice that as the people they led.

Sensitivity to the environment also affects the consistency of the relationship between a head of government’s personal characteristics and his government’s foreign policy behaviour by influencing a head of state’s openness to change. A less sensitive head of state tends not to differentiate between types of situation and substantive problems, but tends to group stimuli and to react in a basically similar manner to a wide variety of stimuli. On the contrary the more sensitive heads of state differentiate between types of situations and problems and react in a way appropriate to each stimulus. Thus the views of the world and personal political style of less sensitive head of state are probably more consistently related to style and strategies of foreign policy than are those of the more sensitive heads of state.

Benazir Bhutto is a pragmatic political leader she is sensitive to her environment and accommodated herself to the new information and necessity for change as suggested by the environment. Benazir Bhutto asserts that, “…she will not hesitate to change her father’s policies if it seems that changes are warranted”. 27.

Some people say that she is”…the well organised and the supreme and silked autocrat, who had taken almost imperiously, decisions that her own father would not have dared take”. 28

Benazir Bhutto being pragmatic and sensitive to her environment and being open to the new information was ready and willing to make changes as the situation demanded. Being a ‘realistic’ politician Benazir Bhutto is fully aware of the ‘realities’ posed by the present environment. She has discovered from observation and experience that ‘moral influence’ is no substitute for tangible power that a self consistent ideology is not the most potent political force and that resistance to pressure has to be demonstrated.

Benazir Bhutto’s readiness to make changes as required by the circumstances and the environment of the time was manifest by the revisions she made into Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s traditional foreign policy. To the extent, that Pakistan foreign policy is a
reflection of Benazir Bhutto’s personality, the secret of its success lies in the fact that she is pragmatic and is willing to make changes as the situation/environment of the time demanded.

Some people suggest that Benazir Bhutto had handled Larry Pressler Amendments by US more effectively and throughout the crisis she took hard decisions, ensured their implementation, and co-ordinated political, military and diplomatic preparations capably.

This interpretation of Benazir Bhutto foreign policy behaviour is certainly consistent with the political style she demonstrated repeatedly in political conflicts. Time after time she reacted to internal and external political challenges with overwhelming show of force, which had a considerable impact on relations with United States especially.

The most important example of how during crisis, all major foreign policy decisions were taken by Benazir Bhutto was manifest during Pressler Amendment and on Brown amendments. Benazir Bhutto thus provided her dominance in foreign policy decision making during a period of high intensity crisis. The need for achievement refers to an individual’s desire to be successful in competition with some standard of excellence. As such need for achievement is a motive and thus a generator of a view of the world.

It has also been observed that achievement-oriented persons in international relations are co-operative first in the hopes that their opponents will be co-operative, leading to the development of a trusting relationship that can be mutually rewarding. Once a mutually rewarding relationship is established in one area rewarding relationship in other areas becomes more realistic. Here a motive produces a foreign policy strategy.

Benazir Bhutto, being the Prime Minister of Pakistan definitely wanted to gain a lot of achievements for Pakistan from US. She wanted to build Pakistan into a strong prosperous country and to record important achievements in her favour in various fields for future. It was Benazir Bhutto’s need for ‘achievements’ both for
Pakistan and for herself that led to somewhat co-operative behaviour of her government in both tenures. Thus Benazir Bhutto’s need for achievements and progress for Pakistan led to her co-operating behaviour with the US. Leading to the waiver the conditions of Pakistan’s name from Terrorist Watch List that could be mutually rewarding in which she got successful. As a consequence of her increased attention to foreign policy making, her views of the world and personal political style will have more opportunity to make an impact on the foreign policy styles and strategies of his/her government. Benazir Bhutto as the head of government definitely had an interest in foreign affairs, which was manifested in the great attention she paid to foreign policy making. She took all major foreign policy decisions.

Benazir Bhutto’s impact on the making of Pakistan’s foreign policy was the greatest during her both terms (1988 to 1991 and 1993 to 1996) as Prime Minister, as she preferred to exercise sole personal power had wide decision latitude, she herself took the major foreign policy decisions where they were needed in special circumstances such as the Internationalisation of the Kashmir issue and carrying out of the Brown Amendment against Pressler Amendment and when Pakistan’s name was included on Terrorist Watch List by the US.

There is difference of opinion between social psychologists and political psychologists regarding the definitions of term personality. Beliefs, motives, actions, reactions decision style and modes of interpersonal interactions of the political personality affect the politics in general. Furthermore creativeness, confidence, general interest, sensitivity, which are generally known as the idiosyncratic variables affect the personal characteristics of the decision making process. While formulating the foreign policy societal organisational and individual variables also affect the decision makes process. On other hand foreign policy maker’s personal characteristics are much more important, particularly when personality is woman. Personal interest, training and sensitivity of personality much effect on foreign policy behaviour of personality. On other hand political beliefs, motives, decision styles also put affect on re-shaping the foreign policy of the
country. While assessing Benazir Bhutto’s personality through assumptions on one hand she is tactful, sharp minded, will power lady, good mass mobilizer but on other hand she remains dictator, power hungry, thrust to remain in power. She can change her decisions for power.
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CONCLUSION

Personality of a political leader has remained a major issue of discussion among the scholars especially in the third world countries like Pakistan. Personality of a leader has central importance in re-shaping the foreign policy of a country, because it is he/she who outlines the objectives and goals of foreign policy of his/her country.

Leaders are the actors who enter the World stage, play their roles and leave. They make history by their acts and deeds. Debates as to what they did and what they could have done to realise their political ideas and commitments goes on for long time. We can say that it is a leader who construct or disfigure the country. It is observed that personality plays an important role and due to its personal characteristics it succeeds in political sphere.

Benazir Bhutto is a leader who when in the office, never the staff at foreign office, into confidence in certain policies through which she sets the directions of the discourse in the arena of foreign policy of Pakistan with other States especially the US. Benazir Bhutto as a political leader has many traits through which she acts and reacts at different times. Her sharpness, tactfulness, skill, hardworking nature as well as egocentric, which are much related to trait theories through which various traits of Benazir Bhutto can be examined. Being a courageous and tough-minded politician she is also an exceedingly skilful tactician. The fact remains that during both of her tenures she never enjoyed a sigh of relief. She was always under a stress of one type or the other. She faced all this including the danger of being killed with great courage. Tactful, tough-mindedness, self-control, she is cool headed and takes challenge with forbearance.

Benazir Bhutto’s personality played an important role and dominated in national affairs for considerable period of time. She focussed attention to foreign policy making. Her views of the world and personal political style have more opportunity to make an impact on the foreign policy styles and strategies of her government. Benazir Bhutto being the head of the Govt. definitely had an interest in foreign affairs, which is
manifested by attention she paid to foreign policy making. She took all the major foreign policy decisions by her own.

Benazir Bhutto is no doubt a charismatic personality and her charisma is manifested in her ability to draw huge crowds wherever she goes. Her speeches are simple and direct often achieving the intimacy of private conversation with occasional flashes of homespun wit, which appeal the common man. As Pakistanis have a tendency to their leaders but Benazir Bhutto is worshipped and idolised. Wherever she goes crowds of sycophants shower her with flattery and admiration. To the millions of Pakistanis she is “Mai Baap” of the poors.

As a consequence of Benazir Bhutto’s increased attention to foreign policy making, her world view and personal political style had a considerable impact on the foreign policy styles and strategies of her government as is manifested in the foreign policy decisions taken by her. Being the daughter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto she received enormous training in politics and degrees in foreign affairs, thus preparing her to be a good ruler of Pakistan. Due to her training in foreign affairs it was always difficult to predict her foreign policy behaviour, which was manifested by the bold and unexpected foreign policy decisions she took during her years as Prime Minister of Pakistan

Argument for this study is that political personal characteristics are much more important then any other single factor determining the foreign policy. Personal characteristics of political leaders have more impact on national foreign policy if the political leaders are high-level policy makers such as the head of state or government.

As a head of the government, her dominating and powerful personality had significant impact on Pakistan’s foreign policy when she was the first woman Prime Minister of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. She preferred to exercise sole personal power; she herself took major decisions particularly during the Pressler Amendment, F-16 Problem, Kashmir issue and Nuclear-proliferation in the sub-
containment. She took all the major decisions playing an important role in the formulating of Pakistan foreign policy during her both periods of governments. As a young mature woman when Benazir Bhutto entered into politics she became manipulative and secretive in order to establish her control over the party. She astonished people with her flair for sharpness, shrewd timing and above all with her capacity for a fight till the finish. She had made use of real politics suiting the action to the moment’s need, undeterred by any backlog of sentiments or ethics.

Keeping in view of Benazir Bhutto’s powerful and dominating personality the some inescapable conclusion can be reached is that her personality in Pakistan’s foreign policy, particularly with the US, the Pakistan’s old friend. Benazir Bhutto’s skilful ‘will powered attitude’ towards the US made the matters favourable to Pakistan’s interests especially the handling of the matters of F-16 aircraft’s moral stand on non-proliferation in South Asia, Military and economic aid, Pressler Amendment etc. Her visits to US during her visits normalised the ties between Pakistan and the US. She is arrogant and a true inheritor of the idealism of her father although she used her spirits as an instrument of policy to achieve national interests. As highlighted earlier the one dominant element in her character was power. She struggled for power, used it for her own interests in internal affairs of Pakistan and its foreign relations with US. Apart from these personality-traits of Benazir Bhutto her determination to rise to the challenge, and her shrewd instinct for survival, the determination not to flinch from challenges, not to get unnerved when under attack explains her immense courage in the face of hazardous situation which would have daunted most people. The steel like quality under the calm exterior is seen in her management of political affairs, through which she mobilised the world attention towards Pakistan when she fought for restoration of democracy in Pakistan during General Zia’s Martial Law in 1880’s. It has also been observed that achievement oriented persons in international relations are co-operative first in hopes that their opponents will be co-operative, leading to a development of a trusting relationship that can be mutually rewarding. Here a motive produces a foreign policy strategy.
Important factor of Benazir Bhutto’s personality is her political vision. One of the most important factors of her political personality is her drive for power, the drive of power and need for personal gratification seems to offer a better clue to her political personality. She exploited every turn of tide to remain in power. The absence of strong ideological and moral commitment on her part provides support for this proposition. Apart from these amazing personal characteristics another aspect of Benazir Bhutto’s personality is her ‘political personality’. Even her efforts towards the dynastic transference of power point in the direction of her strong need for ego-satisfaction. In this process, she is helped by a milieu of moral politics to which she made no mean contribution. She showed not only a disregard for certain unwritten rules of the game, rules developed and nurtured since Pakistan’s independence, but as well, she permitted a flagrant breach of constitutional practices and rules governing the parliamentary form of Government. When 1988 elections were held and she was preparing to make government in centre according to the Economist report she continued the same policies of General Zia which she hated. She compromised on very basic issues such as command over the nuclear programme of the country. She was ready to continue the existing policies on Afghan policy. She was forced to accept Sahibzada Yaqoob Khan as foreign minister during her first tenure. These compromises were against the basic philosophy of Pakistan Peoples Party.

Her father started her training and education in international affairs and the politics since her childhood. It was particularly very useful for her. In this arena a few young woman have ever had opportunities. Not only the great leaders of nations of the world came to sit in the flower decorated rooms of her house, but as Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s companion, she has had an opportunity to meet such world fame figures as, Suikarno, Chou-En-Lai etc at her early age.

Thus Benazir Bhutto had extensive political education and training as a companionship of her father. She visited abroad which gave her training in foreign affairs and she successfully utilised this in her premiership.
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto deliberately groomed his daughter Benazir Bhutto as his political heir, and provided her with unique opportunities and training in foreign affairs. At the same time, Benazir Bhutto’s position was Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s official hostess and companion. Prior to becoming Prime Ministers, she holds several important positions in party as well as in PM office, giving her an enormous experience and training. Benazir Bhutto made her debut in the national political scene as a member the Pakistan of People’s Party firstly, then she herself becomes the co-chairperson of the Pakistan Peoples Party, afterwards, she took reigns of Pakistan Peoples Party as a full fledged chairperson of the party and then she became first lady Prime Minister of Pakistan in the year 1988.

Benazir Bhutto’s training in foreign affairs had started when she was student in Pakistan, USA and UK. She accompanied her father abroad on tours, her father himself became something of a globe trotter and his daughter was often his companion on this odyssey which covered every continent and almost every country of any importance with Pakistan had diplomatic ties.

Benazir Bhutto’s interest in foreign affairs is manifest from the fact that she herself took indirect charge of external affairs portfolio. Benazir Bhutto’s position as head of government, her political background, and her long diplomatic experience had given her considerable advantages over other party leaders and had enabled her to set the dominant tone of Pakistan foreign policy.

To cite a few notable instances; she was present when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto addressed the UN General Assembly; she was also present at different conferences chaired by her father in different countries. These tours gave Benazir Bhutto the training and opportunity to observe the delicate points of summit diplomacy from inside. Her intimate contact with world statesmen enabled her to establish a personal rapport with many of them, and to assess them as flesh and blood human beings, as prone to irrational emotion and prejudice as the people they led.
It should also be mentioned here that MS Bhutto’s choice of Yaqoob Khan, who used to hold a key position in the Zia Government as Foreign Minister to continue in the same position suggests tilt towards the U.S. in the conduct of foreign affairs, especially the Afghan issue. During her first tenure of government as Premier (1988-1990) the army excluded her from decisions on Afghan policy and did not allowed her to know the true nature of Pakistan’s nuclear program, which is her big draw back in her personality, but those policies were in the betterment of Pakistan’s foreign relations which she adopted.

Her personality has been subject of incense adulation and fervent appreciation on the one hand and exasperation angers, criticism and down right sensor, on the other hand. She is called a self centred woman and cold blooded and ruthless.

At the same time she was pragmatic and well informed about her environment, open to the new information, ready and willing to make changes as the situation demanded. Being a ‘realistic’ politician, Benazir Bhutto was fully aware of the ‘realities’ posed by the environment. She had discovered from observation and experience that ‘moral influence’ is not substituted for tangible power that a self-consistent ideology is not the most potent political force and that resistance to pressure has to be demonstrated.

Foreign policy has always been the product of individual decision-makers, operating in an organisational purview, national government being its basic unit. Conceptualising foreign policy in terms of individual decision-making is an established approach. We can follow this tradition for different reasons; difference in personal characteristics of a political leader can influence foreign policy behaviour under certain conditions. Apart from it, being gifted with unusual strength is a rare quality. Benazir Bhutto is an ‘intent listener’, in the meetings she talks less just only listened intently, and makes decisions, and usually adhered to them. She
know ‘how to listen’ and make herself heard, with as much conviction as with tact, without ever relinquishing her natural humbleness, which made her accessible even to the humblest of the masses. As she is cautious and pragmatic by temperament, she avoids taking hasty decisions.

Another significant personality trait is her ‘ability to convince’. When she indulges in political rhetoric, her voice carries conviction. The key to her popularity during MRD and her party’s success in 1988 elections lies in the fact that she mobilised and convinced the electorate that she could bring about stability as well as social change. Sensitivity to the environment also affects the consistency of relationship between a head of government, personal characteristics, and his government’s foreign policy behaviour by manifesting a head of state’s openness to change. A less sensitive head of state tends not to differentiate between types of situations and substantive problems; he/she is rather inclined but tends to group stimuli and to react in a basically similar manner to a wide variety of stimuli. On the contrary, a more sensitive head of state differentiates between types of situations and problems and reacts in a way appropriate to each stimulus. Thus the world view and personal political style of less sensitive head of state is probably more consistently related to style and strategies of foreign policy, than are those of the more sensitive head of state. Some peoples suggest that Benazir Bhutto handled Larry Pressler Amendments of US more effectively and throughout the crisis she took hard decisions, ensured their implementation, and co-ordinate political, military and diplomatic preparations capably.

This interpretation of Benazir Bhutto’s foreign policy behaviour is certainly consistent with the political style she demonstrated repeatedly in political conflicts. Time after time she reacted to internal and external political challenges with ‘overwhelming show of force’, which had a considerable impact on relations with the United States especially. The most important example, of how during crisis all major foreign policy decisions were taken by Benazir Bhutto was manifested during Pressler Amendment and Brown amendments. Benazir Bhutto thus proved her command over the foreign policy decision making during a period of high intensity.
crises. The need for achievement refers to an individual’s desire to be successful in competition with some standard of excellence. As such, need for achievement is a motive, and thus a generator of worldview.

So far as foreign policy is concerned Benazir Bhutto put up an aggressive and truculent front; at times giving the impression that she is acting like a person under siege. She demanded the US attention for economic as well as military assistance because of the Indian factor. Pakistan’s relations with the US brought out the best and the worst during Benazir period in South Asia. She had to play a vital role and acted as the boss in this regard. Benazir Bhutto’s readiness to make changes was required by the circumstances and the environment of the time was manifested by the changes she made in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s traditional foreign policy. To the extent, that Pakistan foreign policy is a reflection of Benazir Bhutto’s personality; the secret of its success lies in the fact that she is pragmatic and is willing to make changes as the situation demands.

Benazir Bhutto as a Prime Minister of Pakistan definitely, wanted to gain a lot of benefits for Pakistan from the US. She wanted to build Pakistan into a strong prosperous country and to record important achievements in her favour in various fields for future. It was Benazir Bhutto’s need for ‘achievements’ both for Pakistan and for herself that led to somewhat co-operative behaviour of her government in both tenures. Thus Benazir Bhutto’s need for achievements led her to co-operating behaviour with the U.S.

She brought about a change in sub-continent’s politics by the nuclearization problem. An important side of Benazir Bhutto’s foreign policy role was her personality. In domestic and foreign affairs she transformed the system to ensure her personal survival and hegemony.

Benazir Bhutto’s impact on the making of Pakistan’s foreign policy was greater during her both terms (1988 to1991 and 1993 to 1996) as Prime Minister as she preferred to exercise sole personal power, had wide decision latitude, she herself took the major foreign policy decisions where they were needed in special
circumstances such as the Internationalisation of Kashmir issue, The Brown Amendment against Pressler Amendment, and exclusion of Pakistan’s name in the terrorist watch list by the US. She took the major decisions to wave off the name of Pakistan by herself, thus playing an important role in the formulation of Pakistan foreign policy making. After the dissolution of Benazir Bhutto’s second tenure some major issues continued to plague Pakistan US relations. The main issue was the arms and nuclear weapons, highlighted by Pakistan’s claim that India is engaged in the nuclear race in South Asia and that India is not ready to solve the Kashmir problem according to the wishes of Kashmiri peoples as demanded by the UN resolutions of 1948.

It is important that for the first time in the history of Pak-US relations, a democratic administration was willing to do business with Pakistan on national basis. Previously only Republican administration was ready to adjust Pakistani concerns. No doubt all this happened due to certain amount of political stand on the part of the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

During Benazir’s both tenures Pakistan got advantages in post-bipolar world as a result of her policies:

- Pakistan became the UN partner in peacekeeping force.
- Pakistan became modern, progressive, democratic Islamic State.
- Pakistan became the ally of US in the war against terrorism the US World Trade Centre suspected bomber Ramzi Yousef was extradited to US authorities in March 1993.
- She gave incentives to foreign investors in Pakistan especially the US investors.

We can say that Benazir Bhutto’s personality is a mixture of different kinds of traits. Outwardly she is strong but she is inwardly insecure; while she is the very epitome of charm, she is an extremely suspicious person; if externally her commitment to the achievement of societal goals appeared obvious, this is
accompanied at the same time by an obsession that such achievements are only possible through the retention of ‘personal power.’

Is she emotionally scarred to the point of being always dangerously subject to unpredictable vacillation and overwhelming need for ‘power’ by the insecurity she suffered since she was young?

Who are she then this strong woman, with unexpected period of weakness, and inaction in her exercise of authority? Is she plainly and simply a power broker, but one whose dedication to Pakistani democracy explained her every action? Is she a convinced parliamentary democrat? Or a potential dictator?

The final fascination of “the most powerful woman in the politics of Pakistan, and that she remains despite the falling off in her personal popularity in Pakistan, is that the secrets of her personality and dreams which are locked even now within that very ‘private person’ she had been since she was a student in Karachi.
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- Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, former Senator, Pakistan Peoples Party.
- Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, former Chief Minister Sindh and Chairman Sindh National Front.
- Ms Nussrat Bhutto, Former Chairperson of Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan. Through e-mail.
- Syed. Qaim Ali Shah, Chief Minster Sindh Province.