PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY: AN ASSESSMENT OF ITS ROLE IN THE PROMOTION OF A DEMOCRATIC CULTURE IN PAKISTAN (1988 to 1999)

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Abstract
This study examines the role of Pakistan Peoples Party in the politics of Pakistan from 1988 to 1999. The party contributed towards the restoration of democracy after a constant struggle against the dictatorship which ruled over the country for more than a decade (1977 to 1988). PPP, under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto ruled Pakistan twice, though with a simple majority each time in the parliament. Benazir started as a prime minister with great enthusiasm as evident from initiatives that were to bring a change in different aspects of the national life. Social Action Program to improve the living standard of common man, lifting of ban on trade unions, guarantee the freedom of press and conversion of death sentence into life imprisonment were some of the praiseworthy steps of her government. While in government twice she tried to improve relationship with International Community particularly with India. The expectation could, however, only marginally materialized on the account of the confrontation in which her government indulged with the opposition. Several challenges like (hostility with IJI in the Punjab, MQM in Sindh, the Army and the President) obstructed the smooth functioning of PPP rule on both occasions. Despite these challenges, the party should have played the game of politics according to rules and to materialize its pledges made with the masses. Apart from these, the mishandling of government resource, nepotism and favoritism overshadowed issues of vital significance. While choosing to sit on the opposition benches, Benazir Bhutto followed a healthy tradition of accepting the mandate of ruling Pakistan Muslim League. But PPP’s role as the main opposition platform was dominated more by the elements of hatred and revenge rather than cooperation. Benazir wasted her energies in skirmishing with her political rivals and with other state institutions such as the military and judiciary. Ethnic troubles provoking law and order in Sindh on both occasions of the PPP rule posed serious threats to its survival. This virtually rendered those efforts ineffective which the PPP could use for democracy and development. The study concludes that despite the follies made, PPP has the credit of bringing democracy back to the country. Mostly qualitative tools are used to determine various dimensions and depths of this study. Both historical and descriptive methods are used looking to the nature of the study. In order to collect the relevant information, both primary and secondary sources were used.
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### Abbreviations

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIML</td>
<td>All India Muslim League</td>
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<td>AL</td>
<td>Awami League</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>Awami National Party</td>
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<td>APC</td>
<td>All Party Conference</td>
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<td>BB</td>
<td>Benazir Bhutto</td>
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<td>BNP.</td>
<td>Balochistan National Party.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCI</td>
<td>Council of Common Interests</td>
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<td>CDNS</td>
<td>Council of Defense and National Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Chief Minister</td>
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<td>CMLA</td>
<td>Chief Martial Law Administrator</td>
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<td>COAS</td>
<td>Chief of Army Staff</td>
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<td>COP</td>
<td>Combined Opposition Parties</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBDO</td>
<td>Elective Bodies Disqualification Order</td>
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<tr>
<td>HEC</td>
<td>Higher Education Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDA</td>
<td>Islamic Democratic Alliance</td>
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<td>IJI</td>
<td>Islami Jamhoori Ittehad</td>
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<tr>
<td>JI</td>
<td>Jamaat-e-Islami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI</td>
<td>Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KSE</td>
<td>Karachi Stock Exchange</td>
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<tr>
<td>LFO</td>
<td>Legal Framework Order</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Member of National Assembly</td>
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<td>MPA</td>
<td>Member of Provincial Assembly</td>
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<td>MQM</td>
<td>Muttahida Qaumi Movement</td>
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<td>MRD</td>
<td>Movement for the Restoration of Democracy</td>
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<td>NAP</td>
<td>National Awami Party</td>
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<td>NWFP</td>
<td>North West Frontier Province</td>
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<td>PDA</td>
<td>Peoples Democratic Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>PIA</td>
<td>Pakistan International Airline</td>
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<tr>
<td>PML</td>
<td>Pakistan Muslim League</td>
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<td>PML(N)</td>
<td>Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz Group</td>
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<td>PNA</td>
<td>Pakistan National Alliance</td>
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<td>PPP</td>
<td>Pakistan Peoples Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAARC</td>
<td>South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Social Action Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOAS</td>
<td>School of Oriental and African Study</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCL</td>
<td>University College of London</td>
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<td>UF</td>
<td>United Front</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAPDA</td>
<td>Water and Power Development Authority</td>
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<td>ZAB</td>
<td>Zulfikar Ali Bhutto</td>
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Chapter # 01

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the role of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) during the formative phase after the sudden death of General Ziaul Haq in an air crash on August 1988 to the advent of authoritarian military regime of General Parvez Musharraf with special reference to the promotion of democratic culture in Pakistan. The literature on democracy presents valuable viewpoints. Majority of the writers have focused on the established democracies of the world while some theorists have written on the state of democracies in South Asia including Pakistan. They have taken into consideration different aspects of politics in Pakistan with special focus on the initiatives directed towards the consolidation of democracy. These scholarly works motivated the researcher to take up this study with focus on 1988-1999 being an extraordinary period in the tumultuous history of democracy.

The history of Pakistan’s democratic stunt from 1988 to 1999 attracted the attention of scholar towards Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) then jointly headed by Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto, and later on, the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI)¹ led by Nawaz Sharif, considered as being a legacy of General Ziaul Haq. One of the main objectives of this study is to assess the role of PPP towards the stupendous task of promoting democratic values in Pakistan during this period. The period from 1988 to

¹ IJI was the largest right-wing conservative alliance formed in September 1988 to oppose the democratic socialist Pakistan Peoples Party in elections that year. The alliance comprised of nine parties, of which the major components were the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) founded by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and later on succeeded by Pakistan Muslim League (N) with Nawaz Sharif its head created by Pakistan’s military to cope with the growing popular support base of Pakistan Peoples Party in 1988. See for details. Rasul, Bakhsh. Rais. (1988). Pakistan in 1988: From Command to Conciliation Politics. Asian Survey. 29, pp. 199-206.
1999 has distinct characteristics because the November 1988 party based general elections which put the country back on the path of democracy, could not sustain due to the rivalry for political ascendancy ignoring the needs of embryonic democratic structure that the country had got after a long span of military rule (1977-1988). It is significant to understand the politics of Pakistan because of the politician’s overt and covert commitment to democracy and Pakistan’s most popular platform PPP’s role in the time scale of this study. Before discussing the role of the party during this period, it is pertinent to elaborate PPP and its politics since its inception in November 1967.

Democracy and political parties are interconnected. The existence of a democratic culture is essential for the smooth functioning of democracy and political parties. Democracy springs freedom to individuals, freedom of communication, freedom of thought, freedom to establish political parties. It offers alternatives to the masses to choose their representatives by their free will. People have the power to criticize the regime for its plans and programs. They have the power to bring as well as to get rid of the rulers. The government that does not represent the aspirations of the masses cannot be called democratic. A regime can hope to continue its rule as long as it enjoys the backing of the electorates.²

Political parties are a significant component of the system of democracy and without these organizations no democracy can function in the true sense of the term.³ It is evident that the Muslim League (ML) had played a momentous role in the establishment of Pakistan but the party after the demise of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, did not have a leader of matching caliber who could lead it in the same

fashion as the Quaid did. Mutual jealousy, ambition to build personal support base and hold top party positions made it difficult for the party to work in a cooperative environment.

After the takeover of military in 1958, political activities were barred by the authoritarian regime of General Ayub Khan till the enactment of the Political Parties Act in July 1962. The Pakistan Muslim League got divided into two groups i.e., the Convention Muslim League under Muhammad Ayub Khan and the Council Muslim League under Khwaja Nazimuddin. Later on, more factions came to the forefront which caused further setbacks to the credibility of Muslim League, the Pakistan’s founding party. This foul game played by its leaders led to the disarray of the masses.

In November, 1967 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto established Pakistan Peoples Party.\textsuperscript{4} PPP arose as a result of the mounting consciousness amongst the people regarding their social political and financial difficulties in General Ayub Khan martial law government. The emergence of PPP proved a harbinger for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan which had been damaged to an irreparable extent due to military’s entry into power corridors in 1950s that lasted till Pakistan’s disintegration in 1971.\textsuperscript{5}

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto presented himself as the greatest supporter of democracy and fought his political battle against the martial law of Ayub Khan which reinforced the public posture of the party among the aggrieved masses. The industrial workers, labourers, farmers and students supported their leader in his criticism of the military


regime as “unlawful and against masses.” In his struggle to be an enlightened party, the PPP focused on the following goals:

1. Resistance to General Ayub Khan authoritarian and unjust dealings;
2. Strengthening of democracy in the country and
3. Development of economy on Socialist lines.

In the larger perspective of emerging societies, the man in street in the country was also persuaded by the attractive and promising slogans of the party leader. Bearing in mind the fact of the country’s political experience and forerunners, the masses were right in following Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and considering him as their protector. The popular sentiments against the military dictator by 1968, got widespread. The party did well in mobilizing people sentiment against the military regime. The peoples were dragged by the party’s popular slogans to the politics of the country significantly supported the party and its leadership which eventually made General Ayub Khan to resign. It is to the credit of PPP that it not only created awareness among the masses about democracy but raised their consciousness and made them realized their rights in a democratic system. The extent of Peoples Party’s public posture is to be measured by the fact that being the only opposition platform which persuaded the martial law leadership to give a timeframe for holding elections in the country and transfer governmental authority to the elected members. As the election schedule was announced for the general elections of December 1970, the party repeated its former stances which were sufficiently echoed in its manifesto.6

Z. A. Bhutto, the first politician in Pakistan’s history who talked about the rights of different segment of society. Bhutto took various reforms in the party philosophy in

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the light of rising disapproval of religious leadership and rightist organization. In the course of the 1970 election campaign, the party ideology of Socialism was branded as Islamic Socialism. To get substantial and widespread support, he appealed for reorganizing the society in the light of the novel doctrines of the Holy *Quran* and *Sunnah*. The term Musawaat-e-Muhammad (equality according to Islamic principles) was particularly made part of the party manifesto. Therefore, through these developments in keeping with “Islamic value postulates” Bhutto’s party not only attained substantial public backing but also counterbalanced the increasing influence of right-wing and conservative leaders.

The Pakistan Peoples Party’s coming into power (19th Dec. 1971) ushered a fresh wave in the politics of Pakistan. PPP under Bhutto achieved the milestone of consensus based constitution of 1973. Shimla Accord with India was the highest achievement of the party. PPP during this period had not only achieved success on external front by normalizing relations with neighbor particularly with India but also introduced various reforms packages for the weak and aggrieved masses of the country. It was Bhutto who for the purpose to deter India initiated Pakistan nuclear program. However, the party demonstrated a democratic spirit while governing the country but the enthusiasm proved to be short lived. It soon confronted with an uneasy pattern of relationship with the opposition platforms as was evident from the nine parties Pakistan National Alliance. There was also seen a lack of unity, harmony and understanding within the party itself.

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11. Ibid., p. 154.
The founding and dedicated cliques of the party became anxious of the party’s transformation into an elitist party controlled by feudal class and drawing room political figures. To keep himself in government Z. A. Bhutto was comfortable more with the greater role of prime minister. All over his tenure (1972-1977), Bhutto looked unresponsive to the institutionalization of party organization. He was unsuccessful to produce considerable unity among the party which thereby increased the sense of insecurity inside the party members generated overwhelming challenges in developing an integrated and unified party. From his increasing personalizm it seemed that he failed to provide deep rooted ground for strengthening PPP’s power base in the long run.

It was evident that the purpose of establishing an egalitarian society on self-governing and secular principles announced previously by the party leadership was overshadowed as Bhutto focused more on the consolidation of his position in power. Bhutto, as the head of the PPP in January 1975, convened a meeting to restructured PPP on ideological basis. The solution of important problems within the party was agreed upon in the convention. It gave emphasis on the formation of PPP organizations at the grassroots level, implementation of socialist agenda and to discourage the inclination of factionalism inside the party. However, less modification happened thereof. Bhutto dominated the party activities and the party’s uncertainty and disorder continued, since Bhutto’s top preference was to consolidate his own position and for that the intra party election did not conduct during his government. However, he declared that the intra party elections would be conducted
subsequently after the general polls. Throughout his rule on the basis of this argument, Bhutto held the position of the head of the party.\textsuperscript{12}

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto soon embarked upon a unilateral process of amending the 1973 Constitution. Freedom of the press was curtailed, opposition was dealt with ruthlessly and a special force named Federal Security Force (FSF) was created and used against political opponents both within and without. It is said that opposition parties in Pakistan suffered heavily due to Bhutto’s quest for survival and his dictatorial maneuvers. To restore the posture of the party rule, Bhutto continued the policy of coercion and repression towards his adversaries instead of promoting a reasonable approach which was grounded on the doctrines of democracy. Bhutto succeeded in suppressing his political rivals by using various constitutional laws and procedures.\textsuperscript{13}

The government of Balochistan and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP, henceforth Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) had been arbitrarily sacked followed by military operations in the former province.\textsuperscript{14} The National Awami Party (NAP) headed by Abdul Wali Khan was finally banned on February 10, 1975.\textsuperscript{15}

As the pronouncement of March 1977 general elections was made, Bhutto more or less occupied the entire political atmosphere of Pakistan and had intended for rigging the general elections. He wanted the party’s decisive win in the 1977 general elections as compared to that in December 1970 general elections. Bhutto, in 1977 general elections, succeeded in capturing more than anyone’s guess. This, however, proved to be a liability instead of a victory.\textsuperscript{16}


\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, p. 71.


\textsuperscript{16} Ibid, pp. 68-69.
Although the party succeeded in obtaining a comprehensive success in the March 1977 general elections, the opposition Pakistan National Alliance commonly known as PNA\(^{17}\) declined the outcome of general elections blaming Bhutto government of substantial irregularities in National Assembly as well as in Provincial Assemblies polls. The opposition claimed for reelections under the direct control of army.\(^{18}\) The opposition was confident on its claim for the conduction of fresh general elections, asked Bhutto’s resignation and termed his government as illegal. The stiff attitude of both the Bhutto and the PNA leadership further aggravated the crisis.

So in 1977, the political conditions in the country had worsened to the extent that it gave an opportunity to the military led by General Ziaul Haq to impose martial law for the third time.\(^{19}\) The authoritarian attitudes demonstrated by Bhutto and his colleagues, the results of the general elections of 1977 were some of the reasons for the military to step in and dismantle the democratic process.

General Ziaul Haq interrupted the political business with slight variations of expression. It is noteworthy to mention here that most military generals in the beginning termed the takeover, essential to protect democracy and civilian rule in the country and later on they felt pain in surrendering their authority to the civilian leaders. It would also be understood that the army commanders by no means surrender political authority of their own will. The generals relinquished their authority at that moment it became unmanageable for them to stay in powers.


Likewise, they did not fulfill their commitment of permitting and guaranteeing people
decree so long as they could appropriately put off the day of reckoning.\textsuperscript{20}
The survival of the PPP after the Bhutto’s hanging in 1979 was assisted by hereditary
politics. His spouse Nusrat Bhutto and daughter Benazir Bhutto headed PPP as co-
chairperson. In the early eighties, the PPP entered into an alliance with ten other
political parties called “Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD)” \textsuperscript{21} in
order to pressurize the Zia regime for holding free and fair elections under the 1973
Constitution. Interestingly, four among MRD constituent parties were constituent part
of PNA which had been shaped to compete with the PPP in the general elections. The
PPP merged with this electoral alliance with the hope that military would agree to
enter into discussion with the opposition alliance if the PPP were part of a bigger
alliance. The MRD movement started in February 1981, gained impetus with due
course. In March 1981, on the other hand, Pakistan International Airlines (PIA)
aeroplane was hijacked by Al Zulfikar \textsuperscript{22} activists asking for to free the PPP workers
imprisoned by the martial law authorities under different charges.

It is said that an organization with the name of Al-Zulfikar allegedly run by Mir
Murtaza Bhutto, ZA Bhutto's son was behind the hijacking. However, the party
disassociated itself from the event but it caused a crucial political setback to both PPP
and the MRD. After Zia's demise in August 1988, this political alliance was


\textsuperscript{21} The Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (known as MRD), formed on February 6, 1981,
was a historically populist and massive left–wing political alliance formed to oppose and end
Zia regime. Directed and chaired by Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan Peoples Party, its primary
objective and aims were the restoration of democracy as well as gaining the civilian control of
the military. For further details, see. Ifikhar, H. Malik. (2008). \textit{The History of Pakistan.}

\textsuperscript{22} Al Zulfikar was an organization in Pakistan. It was formed in 1979 by Murtaza Bhutto and Shah
Nawaz Bhutto after their father, the then Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was deposed in a
discontinued and the PPP, as the leading platform in the coalition decided for solo flight and contested the 1988 elections on its own.\textsuperscript{23} The eleven year’s authoritarian rule in the country (1977-88) proved disadvantageous for PPP on account of Zia’s repressive policies towards PPP and its leadership. The death of Zia paved the way for the reestablishment of democracy in Pakistan. General Zia incorporated 8\textsuperscript{th} Amendment in the 1973 Constitution, conferred unlimited powers in the office of the president: Among others the president had the powers to dismiss the elected parliament and premier under the Article 58(2)(b) of the modified constitution proved disastrous. These powers incorporated in the 1973 Constitution by General Zia, served as a sword hanging over the head of an elected government.\textsuperscript{24} The end of Ziaul Haq rule coincided with the process of Soviet military taking out from Afghanistan meant not the end of his legacy i.e., in the form of IJI. The mere difference between the Zia-Junejo and the post Zia-Benazir structure lay in the rise of the PPP and the IJI (wherein the Muslim League had a prominent position). There was a severe and unending opposition amongst the Peoples Party and the IJI. In the period after Zia, there was a great political rivalry of the IJI with PPP for the attainment of the highest authority in Islamabad. It could not be called Benazir Bhutto’s Pakistan after the death of Zia, even though she was the elected leader of PPP in government because she did not dominate Pakistani power relations. Benazir shared power with a number of stakeholders i.e., with the president and Military. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was a pro Gen. Zia and a pro-Army former civil

\textsuperscript{23} Peter, Blood. (Eds.). \textit{Pakistan a Country Study: Federal Research Division}. Kissinger Publishing LLC.

servant. General Aslam Baig, the Army Chief was the center of power in the country.\footnote{The research scholar interview with Khan Zada Khan, PPP Senator and Senior Member. Dated: 18-9-2015.}

The CM of the Punjab Province Nawaz Sharif, who was running the most populated and the wealthiest province, was a political rival of Benazir Bhutto. He is known as an ideological heir of Ziaul Haq. The regional politicians in Sindh and Balochistan, who was in favour of provincial autonomy, considered that Benazir Bhutto was physically weak. The perpetrators, who were involved in the drugs and arms trade, enjoyed formal support inside the country and from outside Pakistan’s borders.

Lastly, America continued as a permanent factor in the politic of Pakistan and influenced decision making regarding important internal and foreign issues. When politicians in Pakistan were intensely divided, the US administration was capable to work as a balancer in the management of interior power relations in Pakistan.\footnote{Ashok, Kapur. (1991). \textit{Pakistan in Crisis}. London: Routledge, p. 151.} A slight numerical superiority in the general elections of October 1988 i.e., 92 seats in the House of 217, enabled Pakistan Peoples Party to form a coalition government with likeminded parties at the center and provinces except that of the Punjab where the rival Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (an alliance of heterogeneous political parties with Pakistan Muslim League as the largest component) was able to form government in the province.\footnote{Safdar, Mahmood. (2000). \textit{Op. cit.}, p. 388.}

This control over the largest federating unit by the IJI (an opposition political party) became a test case for Pakistan’s politicians as to what extent they believed in political tolerance, rule of law and respect for majority rule. Seen in this context, everyone in the corridor of power was failing to demonstrate tolerance. The transition
to civilian rule proved a bitter experience. The 20 months civilian rule was the worst of Pakistan’s political history in that the politics of this period was characterized by hatred, confrontation and character assassination by the opposition known as IJI. While confronting the negative politics of opposition, the politicians in power did look to the point that they were manning a hung parliament where no party was enjoying clear majority so as to form government without depending on others. The practices which the Nawaz Sharif resorted against Pakistan Peoples Party were in sharp contrast to the commitment for a new beginning which he had been pronouncing so loudly in public gatherings. The blatant violation of the rule of the game produced an alarming result when Pakistan’s main decision makers removed everyone from the political scene on August 06, 1990 after their remaining in power merely for one third of the mandated period.

The outcome of October 1990 general elections turned the tide when IJI found itself at the highest political position relegating the Pakistan Peoples Party to the opposition benches. As an opposition, the Pakistan Peoples Party was supposed to perform its role in accordance with the established principles, exercise a check and keep the ruling coalition within the laid down parameter. In this capacity too, the government in power did not allow Pakistan Peoples Party to prove itself up to the mark. The politics of retaliation on the part of IJI during this period (1990-93) led to the development of a situation where the powerful president once again resorted to the use of his authority under Article 58(2)(b) for the termination of an elected setup.28

The 1993 general elections were a kind of action replay in the sense that it brought Pakistan Peoples Party to the helm of affairs once again. The standing of PPP was weaker as compared to that of 1988, weaker in the sense that like her previous term of office, Premier Benazir Bhutto was unsuccessful once again to restore the 1973 Constitution in its original form from the damages inflicted upon it by General Zia through the 8th Amendment brought to the constitution in 1985. Instead of seeking lessons from the blunders committed one after another by politicians, the Pakistan Peoples Party seemed determined to follow the path of democratic development but the same old attitudes and pattern of politics by the opposition and other state institution compelled PPP to disregard the spirit of the revised manifesto carrying the title “Agenda for Change.” One wonders why a party leader, who had her brought up in the West, got education from the prestigious Western academic institutions and fully accustomed to the democracy and its pre-requisites, was failing to introduce it in Pakistan, despite an all-out foreign support extended to her for the purpose.

One of the reasons why the researcher is interested in the proposed study is this that Pakistan Peoples Party is regarded to be an established and strong secular political platform in Pakistan. But, instead of strengthening the roots of democracy which the Pakistan Peoples Party has been so strongly advocating, the party has been failing in its commitments to the extent that even its own party setup is not completely structured on democratic principles. Due to adverse political conditions no attempt has so far been made to conduct intra party elections. Even the founding leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto retained two positions, the chairmanship of the party and Prime Minister by not conducting intraparty elections. Although, the dynastic politics

29. Ibid., p. 548.
portrayed PPP image as that the party has been made hostage to the Bhutto family and as if nobody else in Pakistan except Bhutto family can guarantee unity, integrity and success of the party. Though, this Bhutto connection has turned complicated after the shift of party leadership to Zardari family. To save the party from possible mishap, the only son of Asif Ali Zardari from Benazir Bhutto (Bilawal Zardari) was renamed as Bilawal Bhutto Zardari following the murder of Benazir Bhutto on December 27, 2007 a tricky move to keep connection intact with the Bhutto family.

1.2. Statement of the Problem:

Throughout the world, democracy is recognized as the best system of governance and the experiences in the developed world reveal that the system has proved its worth. Pakistan in the developing world could not, as yet, become a fertile ground for democracy to flourish. The founding fathers had declared Pakistan a democratic state. The politicians, thereafter, could not put the country on the track. Among the leading political parties responsible for this phenomenon, the Pakistan Peoples Party is an outstanding example which, despite making tall promises for democracy, could not do as was expected. Therefore, assessing the role of PPP in promoting a democratic culture in Pakistan or otherwise, is of vital importance.

The study focuses on the general mindset of the party leadership in the context of their commitment for a Democratic Pakistan. To bring the facts to the limelight, the researcher has chosen the period from 1988 to 1999 when the party was passing through a crucial period under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto. The party, under her leadership, not only ruled Pakistan twice but also acted as the main opposition platform during the period. This is an adequate timeframe to examine the

1.3. Objectives of the Study:

This study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. To bring to the limelight those factors which have camouflaged democracy in Pakistan ever since 1947;
2. To identify the causes of PPP’s emergence as a leading platform within a short span of time in the 1960s;
3. To make a comparison between democracy related commitments of the PPP and the actual steps taken in that direction;
4. To make a critical analysis of the role of Pakistan Peoples Party for strengthening democracy while in power (1988-90 and 1993-1996);
5. To determine the extent to which the party contributed towards the promotion of democratic values in Pakistan particularly while acting as an opposition party (1990-1993 and 1997-1999).

1.4. Research Questions

This study seeks answers to the following questions:

1. Did PPP accomplish its democratic commitments while coming into power twice in 1990s?
2. What were the factual causes of the termination of Pakistan Peoples Party government in 1990 and 1996?
3. Could Pakistan Peoples Party as a major opposition party (1990-93 and 1997-99) act in line with the constitutional provisions and the established democratic practices?

4. Could Pakistan Peoples Party introduce something novel which, according to the party leadership, were missing in the body politics of Pakistan?

1.5. Hypothesis

Democracy could not flourish in Pakistan during 1988-1999 due to the non-observance of the rules of game by all including Pakistan Peoples Party.

1.6. Significance of the Study:

The study is of great significance in the sense that no study has so far been conducted on the topic. Although different scholars have studied Pakistan Peoples Party from different angles, yet no work has been done on the theme being examined now. It was during the period chosen for this study (1988-99), that the party got the opportunity to rule Pakistan twice i.e. 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996. Likewise, it acted twice as an opposition party in the parliament. Because of the tragic event of 5th July 1977 (General Zia’s imposition of Martial Law) followed by another catastrophic event of 4th April 1979 (execution of Bhutto), the party had to face a tough time due to the military government’s autocratic measures. Despite coercive measures applied by the martial law (1977-85) authorities, the party leadership received enough sympathy from the masses in the shape of electoral support in the general elections of October 1988.
The party thus regained power after 12 years of military rule. It was an opportunity for the party to rectify the mistakes committed in the past and improve its image and, thus, strengthen the vote bank by playing the game according to the rules, for that could have set healthy traditions in the national politics. The opportunity was lost in the sense that the party’s style of politics continued to exhibit immaturity, indecency and intolerance. No positive change could be seen in its style of politics neither as a ruling party nor as a major opposition party. The outcome of this study provides necessary insight to the future researchers to work on related issues of Pakistan politics, in general, and that of the Pakistan Peoples Party, in particular.

1.7. Literature Review

1. Mehmood (2000) has provided a comprehensive account of the political history of Pakistan. The dilemma of constitution making and the working and failure of the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 have been discussed. The author has also evaluated the performance of military rules of Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and Ziaul Haq, and the manner in which they damaged the democratic process in Pakistan. The revival of democracy and the working of elected governments from 1988 to 1999 have been specifically subjected to evaluation from the point of view whether the parties coming into power during this period could bring a change in national politics. A chapter in the book deals with the democratic process in Pakistan with reference to the role which the political parties have been playing for its stability and development. The author has also discussed the performance of the governments of PPP and PML (N) in the context of the confrontation they had each time and ultimately resulting in their downfall much ahead of the completion of their mandated terms.
2. Jones (2003) regards Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as the pioneer of democracy in the sense that he captured powers from a military dictator. Apart from prime minister, Bhutto had also got two positions one as the President of Pakistan and secondly, as a civilian martial law administrator. It was a transitory stage in the history of the country. There were two important developments that took place in this period; one, the Pakistan Peoples Party won the 1970 general elections in the West Pakistan and especially in the Punjab and Sindh. The Pakistan Peoples Party had a revolutionary program that attracted vast majority of people towards the party due to its slogan of Roti, Kapra and Makan (Bread, Cloth and Shelter). The second tragic incident was the debacle of East Pakistan. These two incidents i.e., separation of East Pakistan and the losing of 1971 War with India defamed the military rule. The author has also written about the role of Pakistan Peoples Party, which mobilized public opinion very effectively. That caused victory for the Pakistan Peoples Party in the 1970 general elections.

3. Ziring (1997) has covered Pakistan’s political history from Yahya Khan to Nawaz Sharif (1969 to 1999). He has discussed all the events that took place during this period. He shed light on the military regime’s transition to democracy, especially the power struggle between Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif and the later events. It was hoped that from now onward democracy would flourish in Pakistan with a new zeal and enthusiasm. The book contains valuable information about the politics of Pakistan between 1988 and 1997.

4. Shafqat (1996) has, in his research article, focused on the dynamism in Benazir Bhutto leadership. The author argues that being a popular leader, Benazir Bhutto played a significant role in national politics, both in government as well as in opposition. She had a democratic bent of mind and wanted to transform Pakistan
into a modern, welfare and democratic state. The Pakistan Peoples Party, under her leadership, held intra party elections, which was a clear indication of her commitment to organize the party on democratic lines.

5. Hussain (1990) has discussed the Gen. Zia era and the political developments that took place during the period. The author has highlighted the role of Pakistan Peoples Party at that time particularly the movement which it launched against Zia’s military rule, and the struggle for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. The author has also referred to the alliances formed for the purpose during the period.

6. Akhund (2000) holds the view that Benazir had a bold personality like her father and that her coming to Pakistani politics was the dawn of a new era for democracy. She got much admiration and popularity but at the same time her performance as a prime minister and then as opposition leader was much less than expected.

7. Kennedy (1995) has, in his research article, commented upon the legacy of military rule due to which many hurdles were created in the way of transforming Pakistan into a democratic polity. The writer says that no representative regime has followed a true democratic standard and has frequently resorted to dishonest maneuvers for retaining power.

8. Kapur (1991) has comprehensively examined Pakistan’s political history till 1990. He has discussed those factors which led to the independence of Pakistan. He has also pinpointed the lacuna and political will of the politicians after the partition to transform the state into a democratic polity. The author has discussed elite’s role in Pakistan for individual exaggeration and dictatorial rule and its consequences for Pakistan. It is revealed from the continuous infighting among politicians for
lucrative positions. This sowed the seeds of selfishness and corruption in Pakistan. The author has also described that the ruling political party i.e., Pakistan Muslim League remained non-functional due to its organizational weakness and lack of interest on the part of its leaders. The gap was filled by PPP which dominated the political scene throughout 1970s and 1980s.

9. Kalia (2011) has focused on Pakistan’s political history. The author argues that from its beginning, the country has struggled, at least, in the political rhetoric provided by both civil as well as military leadership, for equality, tolerance, free will, inclusiveness of minorities, even secularism. But, in practice, Pakistan has continued to drift in the direction of increasingly brittle absolutism, fundamentalism, and lack of tolerance towards minorities. This chasm between lively political slogans and unattractive political reality has confused the world as much as the Pakistanis themselves.

10. Rizvi (2000) has thoroughly discussed the weakness of political institutions in Pakistan and the gradual influence of military to the extent of undermining the supremacy of these institutions including the constitution. The author holds the view that the constitutions of Pakistan both interim and permanent stick to democracy and participation of people but when it came to the practice, the democratic leadership struggled and frequently involved in a free for all power struggles. The only purpose of the party in power was to stick to authority at any cost, whereas the opposing parties tried to remove them by applying every tactics. These situations were bound to decrease the capacity of civil authorities to proclaim their influence over the army, and the military therefore had sufficient freedom to interfere with its internal matters to strengthen its position. The
civilian leadership tried to foster good relations with this institution for the purpose to make stronger its own stature compare to its rivals.

11. Wynbrandt (2009) has produced an outstanding work on Pakistan. The author has comprehensively debated Pakistan from the partition 1947 to 2008 from all aspects. The period of civilian rule has remained the focus of the author in this work. The free and fair general elections of 1988 have been carefully examined along with the role of PPP in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. The PPP’s coming into power through the elections of 1988 and the subsequent events till 1999 military adventurism is the focus of this scholarly narration. The author is of the view that the civilian leaders could not honor the commitment they made prior to the restoration of democratic rule and this caused an irreparable damage to the health of nascent democratic culture of the country.

12. Burki (2006) has discussed Pakistan’s political development. He has termed these developments as unwise accomplishments on the part of politicians in the state institutions. He calls it a period of skirmishes among different rival forces in the country. He has pointed out that while coming into high echelon, the politicians indulged in grabbing and accumulating all the powers in themselves. In doing so, they were unaware of the repercussions. Interrupting other's ambit of power time and again virtually provided ample opportunity to the rival covert and overt forces. As a result of this non democratic approach of Pakistani political elites, an irreparable damaged has been caused to the democratic culture of the country which would take a long time to recover from.

13. Sheikh (2009) has written that the ‘democratic interregnum’ of the 1990s changed little. She noted that apart from lacking foresight in other fields, the PPP led by Benazir Bhutto, failed to roll back discriminatory legislation against the non-
Muslims, while Nawaz Sharif moved further to extend Zia’s Islamization programme by formalizing the application of sharia law. If implemented, it could have served as the last refusal of Quaid-e-Azam’s foundational statement endorsing the lawful equality of all Pakistani citizens.

14. Ziring (2003) has written on the decade of democracy (1988-1999) in the context of mutual mistrust among the politicians and their struggle for power. All including Judiciary could not value democracy to take roots. According to the author, the role of president got reduced mere to the changing faces in the governmental machinery. All pretenses of democratic practice were ignored or forgotten. Better at democratic rhetoric, the two major contenders (PPP and PML) during the period from 1988 to 1999 betrayed in their actions with their commitments. None of the two expected that the country was ready for a full-blown experiment in democracy. Their actions and counteractions proved arbitrary and vindictive. Pakistan’s political scene was not only infantile, it had been stunted by years of military dominance. Both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif refused to consider compromise as a preferred course of action.

15. Naden (2011) has written an autobiography of Benazir Bhutto wherein he has described Pakistan Peoples Party’s politics a steering one towards restoring democracy in Pakistan. He has assessed the personality of Benazir Bhutto. He has also noted the impact of her father’s legacy on her personality and politics. The author has attributed her coming into power, in the first place, to the sympathies of the masses upon the death of her father. During her term as a prime minister, she could not find conducive environment to carry forward her promises that she made with the people. The author is of the opinion that Benazir Bhutto had to fight on many fronts and running a government in Pakistan was not an easy task.
16. Ali (1989), in his article, has described that Benazir Bhutto government had been passing the buck ever since it came to power. Benazir and her party were elected on a package of hope and expectations. No one expected that Benazir Bhutto, in a period of 150 days, will transform Pakistan into a free, democratic and prosperous country. But what has come is a severe disappointment in view of the government's indifference to important issues and its tendency to bask in a self-perceived glory.

17. Yasmeen (1994), in her article, has examined the progress towards democratization in Pakistan from 1988 to 1999. She has described Pakistan’s political conditions in the context of the role played by each player during this period. The author has attributed the dismal scenario to mutual distrust and to subdue political rival ignoring the acute and vulnerable democratic transition that took place in 1988. All including civil and military bureaucracy and the presidency had a stake in the deteriorating political situations of Pakistan.

18. Kamran (2008) has analyzed Pakistan’s political situation in his well-written work. According to the author, democracy is both a challenge and an opportunity for Pakistan. He ascribed the turbulent history of Pakistan with the lack of political will and commitment of the politicians to the nascent democracy. From the beginning, democracy was not treated well because of the self-glorification of governing junta.

19. Shafqat (1998) argues the decade following the death of Ziaul Haq (1988–1999) was an era when Pakistan made a shift to representative form of governance. This had been the lengthiest phase of civilian in power, though, not a single government completed its five years of mandated period in office. But it is worthy to mention that the norms of democracy had strengthened. The democratic
process had attained strength. Although the president had intervened on 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1996 through the removal of the elected assemblies, democratic principle has persisted. The general desire for democratic system has not collected the same response from the political authorities. As a result, a strong inclination towards illiberal usages of democracy lingers to intimidate the prospects of representative government and democracy.

20. Hassan (2007) attributes the worsening prospects of democracy to the overall ill will of each actor of the game of politics. The influence of the non-political institutions i.e., military and bureaucracy has further weakened democratic political culture.

21. Monshipouri and Samuel (1995) argued that a apart from lacking political maturity of the politicians to establish parliamentary democracy in Pakistan, they have narrated other causes for the breakdown of democracy. They argue that inter-ethnic conflict, social tensions, fragmented leadership, praetorian rule and the pressure of foreign power both regional and worldwide added to the weakening of democracy in Pakistan. They hold the view that the military has stake in the politics of the country. Democracy needs sustainability but the frequent military interventions have hollowed the stem of democracy.

22. Ahmad (2005) examined the game of power struggle among the rival groups in which one tried to keep the other out during the so called decade of democracy in Pakistan. It was equally true about Pakistan politics where the politicians notwithstanding the fact were aware of the resultant disaster camouflaging the institutions by showing their greed for power. All that went wrong during this period was due to the lack of tolerance and maturity.
23. Jalal (1995) has highlighted the authoritarian tendencies that caused decay to the democratic institutions and the strengthening of non-political institutions in Pakistan. The author comprehensively drew the picture of politics of Pakistan and pointed out the way democracy was sidelined by other institutions. The authoritarian tendencies that developed at the beginning, remained part of the politics of Pakistan.

24. Aziz (2009), in his work on Pakistan politics, has pointed out the dearth of political foresightedness on the part of political elites in Pakistan. Heading for short term motives and personal gains have remained the fashion of politicians. According to the author, during this time, the politicians should have demonstrated maturity to avoid adverse conditions. But they invariably did the opposite and signaled the non-democratic institution to cash the opportunity of the incompetence of politicians.

25. Chadda (2000) noted that during 1988-99 the politicians mostly indulged in intermingling with other institutions like military, judiciary and the presidency. The politics became a battle ground for survival at the cost of rival political opponents. Politicians forgot the promises made at the time of elections with the people and preferred the consolidation of their powers. The author has focused on the above mentioned period but still there are aspects that need critical analysis.

26. Kazimi (2009) has presented a detailed account of Pakistan’s political history. He has pointed out the most important events that took place before and after the creation of Pakistan. The author has given a brief account of such developments in his study. According to the author, Pakistan’s history is full of many ups and downs. He has narrated the role of PPP and PML during 1988-1999, full of mutual distrust, lack of cooperation and accommodation.
Enough literature is available on the subject, but no specific study has been conducted on Pakistan Peoples Party and its role for the promotion of democracy in Pakistan during the period under consideration. The proposed study warrants consideration in that it seeks to examine the role of PPP for the development of democracy (people’s rule) and the extent to which it availed the opportunities to make good her past mistakes in government.

1.8. Methodology

In this research, mostly qualitative tools are used to determine various dimensions and depths of this study. Both historical and descriptive methods are used looking to the nature of the study. In order to collect the relevant information, both primary and secondary sources were used. Among secondary sources books written by different scholars (Pakistani as well as foreigner) directly related to this study were analyzed. Apart from it, books having chapters on PPP were also utilized. Furthermore, online journals and magazines were consulted for the purpose of data collection. In addition to these, internet and other electronic sources were utilized to get the most reliable data out of it. For example, different electronic sources like HEC digital library, Jstor, Willeys, Book Finder and Francis and Taylor etc., were also utilized. As this research is about the role of PPP the most prominent political organization for the promotion of democracy in Pakistan during the period from 1988-1999. Looking to the nature and time period of this study the researcher tried to utilize most part of the available literature to dig out answers to the questions, raised. Apart from it the researcher attempted to add valuable information to the already available literature by conducting interviews with the stakeholders influencing this time period. The findings of this study are based on the analysis of qualitative data gathered in personal
interviews and from various primary sources. So in the passage of field research twenty formal interviews were conducted. Care has been taken to select most relevant respondents to collect authentic data out of these. The contemporaries of ZAB were chosen to provide insight to this study in the form of their actual comments on the pre Benazir Bhutto era. And the stalwarts of Benazir Bhutto were selected and interviewed to give weight to this study. The members of the political opposition of that time were added to the list to enhance the authenticity of this study along with PPP activists and workers at street level and other political parties from different areas were interviewed.

The researcher visited various libraries during the course of this study for the purpose of data collection. It was difficult tasks for the researcher to visit different libraries without having one’s own conveyance. The seminar libraries of various departments including the Central Library, Library of History department of the University of Peshawar were utilized for information gathering. The Central Library of the Quaid-e-Azam University (Islamabad) and the National Library of Pakistan were utilized to obtain most of the secondary sources in frequent visits. The researcher also got the help of Achieves and libraries of Peshawar and collected information in the form of newspapers article written by various analysts at that time, the gazettes and periodicals increased the amount of valuable data further. in the process of data collection the researcher tried to consult and collect authentic sources having deep relevance to the study.

The researcher visited reputed universities and their libraries for collecting data during his six months academic visit to UK sponsored by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. Among these included: the social sciences library,
University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Central Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), Central Library, University of Birmingham, Birmingham City Library, Library of the Department of History, Royal Holloway College University of London, Central Library, University of London and the British Library, UK. During this visit, the researcher attended different seminars and conferences at Queens Merry University and University College of London on related topics. The researcher indulged in fruitful discussions with speakers of the seminars to get their input on the theme of study.

However, during data collection, the researcher came across various types of hurdles. One problem for the researcher was the use of public transport for travelling to different parts which was time consuming and most costly. The researcher tried to interview the most appropriate respondents having sound knowledge and observations of the period from 1988 to 1999. During conducting interviews, the researcher found it difficult to contact the respondents due to various reasons. Sometimes, they were out of reach because of location factor. The busy schedule of the politicians was also a hurdle for the researcher to interview them. In spite of all these difficulties some respondents give the researcher little time because of their political engagements. Some of my respondents were at weak health position and could not give me enough time for example Begum Naseen Wali Khan, Abdul Akbar Khan and Chaudhry Amin Fahim.

1.9. Organization of the Study

The study has been organized in the subsequent order:

Chapter 1: Introduction:
This chapter encompasses introduction of the topic, statement of the problem, significance of the study, objectives as well as literature review of the renowned writers on the subject. The methodology used for the collection of data also constitutes part of this chapter.

**Chapter 2: Theoretical Perspective of the Study**

In the second chapter, theoretical approaches to the study have been used. Literature on two theories has been outlined to provide a sound basis to the study. Literature on democracy in the third world countries and Democracy Theory has been used as a test case for Pakistan’s democratic culture. Literature on Hybrid Regimes Theory has been examined. Literature on political parties has also constitutes part of the discussion in this chapter.

**Chapter 3: Pakistan Peoples Party in its Historical Perspective:**

Third chapter focuses on the historical background of Pakistan Peoples Party, particularly the causes of its emergence as a platform at the national level. The weaknesses of Pakistan Muslim League in the 1950s which led to the establishment of PPP has been briefly outlined in this chapter. The attitudes demonstrated by the politicians towards democracy in the post-independence era have been analyzed. It was the attractive program of the PPP on economic, political and social issues which attracted masses (as evident from their overwhelming support in the general elections of December 1970) that turned the party as the second largest platform in the country next to Sheikh Mujeebur Rahman’s Awami League. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s role as the savior of democracy as well as an autocrat has also been discussed in this chapter.

The pre-elections struggle of the Pakistan Peoples Party for making Pakistan a democratic polity has been discussed in this chapter. The role played by PPP as a coalition partner on the platform of MRD against the military dictator, General Ziaul Haq, has been examined. The sudden death of Gen. Zia in August 1988 paved the way for PPP’s coming into power. PPP’s role under Benazir Bhutto has been examined in the context of her endeavours to abide by the promises made with people in her election campaign and her struggle for promoting a democratic environment in the country. While doing so, the style of governance introduced by Benazir Bhutto and her relations with the opposition parties has been specifically taken into account. The role of PPP in government and its relationship with smaller provinces, the causes of the early demise of the PPP government on both occasions as a result of confrontation with the powerful president of Pakistan and the army have been covered in the chapter.

Chapter 5: Pakistan Peoples Party in Opposition: (1990-93)

This chapter deals with the PPP’s role as a party in opposition in the lower house Parliament in the light of general principles outlined for the party in power and in opposition. In the light of these principles, the PPP’s role as an opposition platform has been analyzed. The practices that the party resorted to during 1990-1993 as an opposition, highlight the extent to which the party adjusted itself to democratic norms. An attempt has been made to focus on the relationship of PPP with the government and other institutions such as the presidency.
Chapter 6: PPP Voted to Power again: (1993-1996)

The confidence of the masses that brought PPP into victory through the general elections of 1993 with special reference to its previous mistakes has been analyzed in this chapter. This chapter focuses on Benazir Bhutto’s second term in office with particular reference to her idea of a “New Social Contract” and the extent to which constitutional provisions and democratic norms were observed in the conduction of state businesses. While keeping people’s mandate, this chapter focuses on PPP’s role in government and its working relationship with the opposition. The strategies adopted soon after coming into power, its relationship with the military, judiciary and especially with the president are highlighted. The PPP slogan of promoting democracy has been analyzed in the context of its strategies adopted in the country for creating harmonious environment especially its dealing with ethnic and sectarian issues. PPP’s relation with the provinces and the respect given to the mandate of parties in the smaller provinces has been thoroughly examined.

Chapter 7: Pakistan Back to Zero Point (1996-1999)

This chapter focuses on the achievements and failures of PPP during its two terms in office. Social, economic and political situation analyzed for the period. The causes of the dismissal of PPP government by its own president are of immense importance in this chapter. Attention has also been given to the humiliating defeat of the party and the reasons thereof. Apart from narrating the causes of the dissolution of Pakistan Peoples Party government long before the completion of mandated term, this chapter focuses on the performance of Benazir Bhutto as an opposition leader in the lower
house of the parliament for the second term. The change in attitude whatsoever by PPP as an opposition party is the concern of this chapter.

1.10. Conclusion

This section gives detailed conclusion of the study. Pakistan Peoples Party founded by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has the credit of restoring democracy back in the country. It not only raised its voice against the dictatorship of General Ayub Khan but also enlightened the downtrodden about their legal and political rights. It is PPP which fought against the long standing issue of feudalism and reduced their influence. However, PPP under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto once again struggled against Zia military regime and restored peoples Rule in Pakistan in 1988.
Chapter # 02

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE STUDY

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter an attempt has been made to examine relevant literature on two theories i.e., Democracy Theory, and Hybrid Regimes Theory and the application of these theories to examine the state of democracy in Pakistan from 1988 to 1999. As the world is fast moving towards democratization where democracy is regarded a system of governance that reflects the aspirations of masses. Pakistan has also, time and again, attempted to grasp this phenomenon. Attempts have been made in Pakistan to put the country on the road to democracy but more efforts are required to materialize the objective. The principles of democracy are providing road map to this work. This chapter seeks to assess Pakistan Peoples Party’s contributions towards democracy in the context of the novel principles of democracy.

The literature on Hybrid States provides useful foundation to this study, as Pakistan is one of those South Asian countries that experienced different forms of government including authoritarian military regimes. The Hybrid Regimes Theory provides a basis for judging the behavior of political actors during the period under study. This theory has been helpful in understanding the involvement and interference of all nonpolitical institutions from time to time in the political affairs during the short history of Pakistan. The relationship of nonpolitical institutions with the elected institutions and the former’s influence on the latter is the concern of this chapter in relevance to the Hybrid Regimes Theory.
2.2 Literature on Democracy Theory

To conceptualize the theoretical aspect of Pakistan’s democracy, this chapter consists of a review of literature. Literature on Democracy Theory and Hybrid Regimes Theory are discussed for an analysis of democratic culture in Pakistan. Enormous literature is available on democracy and its theories. The Western democracy especially American democracy has remained the focus of most theorists and scholars such as, Robert A. Dhal, Myron Weiner, Anthony Dawns, Samuel Huntington, Dankwart A. Rustow and Gabriel Almond. The word democracy has been variously defined, understood and elaborated by different democratic theorists. In democratic form of governance where the powers are bestowed in the masses is said to be a popular system. Democracy has various values and essential conditions. The most essential principle among these is the strong aspiration and full commitment of the people towards democracy.\(^\text{30}\)

Scholars across the world have defined democracy variously. There are substantial variations in literature over different aspects of democracy, like political contestations as more recently, Przeworski and collaborators have presented a similar definition which they termed as minimalist. In democracies the highest government positions are filled through contested elections. Only if the opposition is permitted to contest, win, and assume office is a government democratic. The extent to which it focuses on elections, is obviously a minimalist definition.\(^\text{31}\) Election is one of the basic features of democracy. Dahl, in his introduction to Democratic Theory, suggests two basic


requisites for any democracy that are political parties and elections. Similarly, Dahl’s polyarchy proposes that democracy require not only competitive but free, fair and elections as well and moreover the environment consisting of these important elements (such as freedom of association and freedom of expression), to make sure that government programmes depend on the votes and preferences of the masses, requires alternative means of information and organizations.

Linz and Stepan contend that a representative government is strengthened when a mainstream of public opinion, even in the middle of massive financial difficulties and profound disappointment with occupants, have firm faith that democratic processes is the most suitable way to rule collective life. According to Przeworski, when no one can think performing outside the democratic system, when all losers want to do this again with the same institutions under which they have just lost then democracy becomes the only game in town.

Weiner has pointed out four features of democratic system i.e., elections based on competition, skill of political platforms and competitors to campaign in a free atmosphere; admit the outcome of these elections in order to form government as well as opposition, and placing of the highest position in the hands of the elected government responsible to the voters.

Scholars like Michael Johnston, Gilat Levy, Peter Mair, Karre Strom, Andras Bozoki, S. C. Stokes etc., regard elections and political parties as essential conditions of

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modern democracies. Political parties are the backbone of democracy as they play the educating role in terms of making the electorate active participants of the system. Political parties create awareness while canvassing for the coming elections. One important reason regarding political education of the electorate in the perspective of democratic culture is that the electorates mostly remain unaware of the party agenda they are voting for, instead they give vote on consideration other than program. Also regular, timely elections are the pinnacle of democracy in as much as this regular exercise can better educate the masses in the right direction. Johnston holds the view that well organized political parties are important for an open, competitive politics, especially in the developing democracies.37

Political parties and elections have a deep connection with democracy. During elections, political parties are most importantly on trial. Elections make available an unmatched chance to examine the political party and the agendas of organizations. Political parties are the leading agencies for shaping and for providing alternatives to the voters. The voting method affects the democratic life of a state mostly through the political platforms.38

Bouandel noted that political organizations are vital elements in the course of democratization and the strengthening of emerging parliamentary democracies. During the course of transition and after that their actions and performance give a strong basis for measuring both the nature of, and the prospects for, the emerging democracy and that parties play a central part in the transition to and strengthening of democracy.39 As democratic institutions turn out to be more profoundly entrenched in

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a state so do important political rights, liberties and opportunities. When democracies develop in a state, the chance that they will give way to a dictatorial rule comes to an end. Though democracy may change into absolute rule, such collapses are extremely occasional in developed democracies. Instead, collapses are expected to happen in states that come across with times of abundant crisis and tension when these institutions are somewhat new and flimsy. Occasional crisis seems to be an inevitable happening in the life of every country. Even established democracies encounter grave crises i.e., wars, financial depressions, large scale unemployment, extremism, and other challenges. But they have never, collapsed into dictatorial rules.\textsuperscript{40}

As O'Donnell has maintained that an actually answerable political setup needs three components. One is democracy that enables the masses to elect their leaders in competitive elections and to take part in other democratic practices. Second is liberalism that limits the authority of a country and violating of the basic rights of the individual, and thus upholding freedoms and minority rights. Another is republican system, which provides a rule of law and good governance through the system of check and balance while holding all elements, equal before the law. When the above stated goals are combined, the second, developed form of democratic system is achieved, what he calls liberal democracy.\textsuperscript{41}

Dahl maintains that constant political competition between people and political organizations is the critical methods of social control differentiating polyarchal democracy from absolute rule. It nonetheless upholds sovereignty of the people and

\textsuperscript{40} Robert, A. Dhal. Democratic Polities in Advanced Countries: Success and Challenge, p. 56.

political party by increasing the size and number of minorities whose preferences must be taken into account by rulers.  

A potentially educated and active citizenry is important component for the strength of a democratic system. By supporting and voting candidates who represent the views of electorates and by making their views recognized to rulers, people could jointly translate their different policy preferences into government action. 

For, democratic culture indicates that the individuals who constitute a social association take part in making the controls under which they live. If there is participation by the individuals who constitute a society in making the controls under which they live, that society is a democratic society. 

Democracy has been advocated on the grounds that it comes closest among the choices to attain many of the central values, rule of law, free will, people moral development, mutual interest, a fair moral compromise and all compulsory decisions which give equal considerations to everyone’s interest, social services, gratification of desires, effective decisions. 

Schumpeter has established that under certain quite challenging circumstances, representation in the advance democracies could be effective. On the other hand, experience shows that polarization prevails because political organizations act as

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large entity, working to enhance the wellbeing mainly of their active supporters, sponsors and their members in the elections.\textsuperscript{46}

Naturally, two main political platforms replace one another in government and hardly form coalition governments with a smaller party. This arrangement which is reinforced by multilayered legal and other limitations reduces the coming of new political organization unusually tough and permits the political system to become autonomous and hence apathetic to the preferences and interests of people. As the political system becomes developed, the relationship of representation worsens and electorates become indifferent from politics, not concerned about the general interest and even try to promote their own self-interests by attaching to the clientelist system of political parties. Third, electorate’s indifference and weak solidarity leads to paucity in national integration. During the period of such paucity, parties frequently present expensive programmes, mainly in the context of the welfare state in which the recipients feel more loyalty towards the originators of these policies rather than to the citizens who pay the cost through their taxes.

Fourth, by offering loyalties to these parties, the masses become tolerant to the expansion of the state at the expense of voluntary exchanges and get habituated to the restrictions of their rights and liberties.\textsuperscript{47}

Democracy, likewise, is by definition a process of competition and this competitive process provides advantages to the people to streamline their promise democracy, and an even bigger advantage to those who genuinely have faith in it. The conversion of the Swedish Conservative Party from 1918 to 1936 clearly explains the argument of

\textsuperscript{46} The word oligopoly means the strong hold of few influential persons or groups on the politics of a country. For further details, see. Joseph, Schumpeter. (1942). Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. New York: Routledge, pp. 152-159.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
democratic rule. After the twenty years, the political rulers who had reluctantly adopted this system or unwillingly recognized democracy mostly left politics or died and were substituted by those who honestly have faith in the democratic governance. Likewise, in Turkey, there is a significant alteration from the headship of Ismet Inonu who supported democratic process out of a sense of duty and new leadership in their parties who understood democracy completely and encompassed it more enthusiastically.\textsuperscript{48}

Democracy involves a process of a joint learning experience. The first striking compromise that founds democracy, if it shows at all feasible, is in itself an indication of the effectiveness of the principle of conciliation and accommodation. The first achievement, for that reason, may encourage competing political parties and their leaders to submit other major questions be resolved by democratic processes.\textsuperscript{49}

A small number of problems are more important to get world focus for the remaining part of this century than the question of whether dictatorial states in the developing countries will make a shift to democracy. The Philippine experience and the promising improvements in South Korea have heartened democrats in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia. In these states, politicians are thinking over what is the appropriate plan for pressing dictatorship and their supporters to introduce competitive politics in the concerning countries.\textsuperscript{50}


Almond, Verba, and Dahl, have maintained that attitudes and beliefs are pivotal in whether political institutions can be made to work.\textsuperscript{51} The changeover to civilian rule, it was proposed previously, may need certain common and distinctive attitudes on the part of politicians and of the common citizens. The difference is already obvious during the decision stage when the political leadership search for compromise while their supporters unenthusiastically advocate the old struggle. It becomes even more readily obvious when both politicians and their supporters acquire from the successful resolution of these problems to support the new rules and use them to solve new issues. Their faith will grow more if, in the early phase of the new government, a widespread political tendency can contribute in the conduct of affairs, by forming alliances or by taking turns as government and opposition.\textsuperscript{52}

Secondly, experience with democratic techniques and recruitment on the basis of competition will confirm political leaders in their political activities and beliefs. Third, the masses at large will adjust themselves to the new setup by the forging of effective connections of party organization that link the leaders in the capital with the mass voters in the country.\textsuperscript{53} Well-developed democratic institutions would be helpful to give strong democratic practices within the large sphere of relative autonomy that democratic states still possess.\textsuperscript{54}

The transition to civilian rule is a difficult process extending over several decades and it require for the politicians to adopt thoughtful decisions by recognizing the universal phenomenon of the existence of unity in diversity and, to that end, to institutionalize


\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p. 356.

some important aspect of democratic process.\textsuperscript{55} Likewise, a country is expected to become democratic not by following the rule and regulations or representative system of few earlier democracy, but by fairly resolving specific disputes and by planning or adapting useful process for their adjustment.\textsuperscript{56}

Though, theories of democracy share a vision of rule by free and equal people who participate in their own governance. Even under such circumstances of inadequate democratization of the polity, a competitive dynamic that completes the procedure may have been set off. The majority parties will seek out backing from constituency to confirm a steady supply of supporters for their party in future parliaments. Now that political party may see a chance to steal a march on its political rivals by increasing the voters or by removing other obstacles to popular control. Widespread democratization, of course, is the only logical option for such a dynamic.\textsuperscript{57}

A large number of democratization literature focus on socioeconomic settings, political structures, recognized institutions, and levels of education as the necessary features for a country to have a worthwhile chance of getting complete democratization. Poverty, illiteracy and an embedded hierarchical societal construction are considered to be hostile for the working of democracy. Secondly, the Neoliberal group of democracy advocates that financial liberalization and democratization are two sides of the same coin.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 361.
More significantly, democracy has many roads that may not always contain the same social classes, the same kinds of political problems, or the same approaches of solution.\textsuperscript{59}

Dahl and Closky, have maintained that democratic stability needs obligation and commitment to its norms or rules, not only among the electorates but among the political leaders each of these seemingly connected to the other through effective connections of political organization.\textsuperscript{60}

The researcher, looking into the democratic traditions which have taken roots in Pakistan particularly after the formation of MRD in the early 1980s despite the fact that political scene, at that time, had been under the effective control of military and civil bureaucracy. Political activities, after almost four years, had been partially restored providing an opportunity for all political parties to function.

Literature on democracy has mostly discussed the developed democracies especially the United States, United Kingdom etc. Literature on democracy, as pointed out above, mostly covers the western liberal democracies but this theory is applicable, in a limited extent, to the Pakistan’s political conditions. Being a country of mixed ethnic communities and, to a large extent, each political party represents its own ethnicity. This turned the politics of Pakistan ethnic based such as the Muttahida Qaumi Movement, Awami National Party, Balochistan National Party and others representing their nationalities and ethnicities.

Pakistan Peoples Party emerged as the only national political party against General Ayub Khan and raised the slogan of poverty and democracy. It won the hearts of all segments of Pakistani population. History revealed its struggle against the military

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., p. 338.
rule of Ayub Khan and Zia ul Haq for democracy. No matter PPPs struggled has got much appreciation but like most of the third world politics, here in Pakistan institutions are dominated by personalities. Bhasin noted that the developed democracies permit a structured procedure of exchange between the recognized political institutions and people occupying these institutions in a given period. Personalities form the organizations and, as a result get influenced by the institutional rules permitting the democratic process to mature. One of the vital challenges facing the developing democracies particularly Pakistan is the personalization rather than institutionalization of the system. The political occupants restructure the democratic organizations in their term thus not allowing democracy to flourish. The subsequent leaders in an endeavor to reverse the decisions by their predecessor, advances a different but equally self-centered explanation to the role of a political organization. Pakistan is among those unfortunate states that faced similar fragile political institutions especially political parties. This institutional decay is the root cause of democratic instability in Pakistan.

2.3. Literature on Hybrid Regimes Theory

Many social scientists and theorists have divided the states into different typology, for example, some states are placed into full democracies, others are semi democracies, few are authoritarian states and some are named as hybrid regimes. Ekman defined hybrid regimes as those states having the features of democratic and non-democratic states. Gilbert and Mohseni have defined hybrid regimes as non-democratic and

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non-authoritarian. In growing academic literature, these pseudo elected governments are sometimes branded hybrid states or democratic dictatorial governments. Linz, Seymour Lipset, and Diamond named it semi democratic, those governments in which the actual power of political leaders is so restricted, or electoral competition so controlled, where elections being conducted without any interference for the state institutions are considered doubtful and election results, while competitive, however, differ considerably as of general preferences; and in which civil and political freedoms are so restricted that certain political orientations are not able to take its roots and express themselves.

Typically, in authoritarian governments, electoral competitions are absent or are simply disguises where competitive elections are in reality not present. The authoritarian governments do not have inconvenience with the change of one or other democratic government, meanwhile in hybrid regimes ideology has given an alternative, and by contrast, elections serve as a source of legitimacy and, therefore, may be bitterly contested. Even if contaminated by sum level of mishandling and the ill use of governmental authority, e.g., to use media unfairly for the harassment and pressuring political opponents, elections are conducted on regular basis and not subjected to too much dishonesty. Therefore, they ought to take elections serious.

A country is democratic in the minimal sense of the term by having implementation of a Constitution and representative form of government, periodic elections, and promise of reforms. The system of accountability, free media, multi party elections, and independent judiciary are the features of democratic governance. Most of the

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64. Ibid.

developing countries are present in that sphere of democracy without arousing much global apprehension. Leaving the minimal stage of democracy to a flourishing democratic system and society is the largest danger confronted by the developing states.\textsuperscript{66}

Dictatorship has time and again interrupt democracies in third world countries. South Asian countries during the present decade brought political reforms which indicate encouraging signs of better democratization. The experiences of the past and the present challenges indicate sum remarkable features of the regional democratic adventure. The introduction of democratic governance in South Asia is not only an analytical challenge but also a consistent desire for democracy despite recurring failure.\textsuperscript{67}

The system of governance with established laws for articulating the voice of opposition holds the established democracies organized. Elections rules, voting, canvassing, political opponents, court involvement are expounded in the constitution and are inviolably followed in practice. Transition of political authority is normally an agitated process in the emerging democracies of the third world.

The developed democracies seek to flourish on the continuity to their political institutions and hardly appreciate a disruption in political traditions.\textsuperscript{68} Pinckney, however, has based his analysis in attaining transitions from dictatorship to people rule on the relative significance of the preconditions for democracy as compared with the expertise of political actors.

This approach is concerned mostly with explaining why states in the Western part of the world enjoyed the right preconditions such as economic position, urbanization,

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., P. 2.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., p. 4.
values that encouraged tolerance and participation, and political organizations that strengthened the agreed patterns of solving conflicts. The developing countries of the world more or less likely to be able to strengthen or retain democratic political system, are therefore, they fall short of these necessary preconditions. The transition approach, in contrast, acknowledge that several states are developing democratic systems and seek to explain such developments in terms of the ability of different politician, whether in government or in opposition, to create consensus on certain rules of the political game.

One could contend that an advanced state like Singapore enjoys many of the preconditions that would favor democracy but that democracy has failed to materialize. Democratic setbacks in Gambia and Pakistan suggest that the foundations of democracy remain unstable if many preconditions are absent, whereas the survival of democracy in much of the Latin America in the face of financial failure might propose a victory of people will over hostile conditions.69

Gilbert and Mohseni, in their reclassification, identify three regime types using configurative approach i.e., illiberal hybrid regime, tutelary illiberal hybrid regime and tutelary liberal regime. Figure 1 shows their classification of regime type.

According to them, “the configurative approach is suitable for constructing complex concepts based on the multiple combinations in which different attributes, or the defining characteristics of an object, combine. The resulting object concepts are viewed in a dichotomous fashion as their features are uniquely configured to form a variety of meaningfully distinct entities.”70


As we analyzed the three different forms of government and their relationship to each other i.e., hybrid state to democracy and dictatorial regimes our conclusion set forth these basic conditions for the classification of government which are contested elections, competitiveness and interference on the part of other state institutions. In drawing them, the focus here is on two main characteristics that is political competition and tutelary interference in Pakistan. On the basis of their contentions, the researcher investigates the true nature of Pakistan’s political culture and makes an

\[ \text{X-Axis: Competitiveness} \]
\[ \text{Y-Axis: Civil Liberties} \]
\[ \text{Z-Axis: Tutelary Interference} \]
analysis of the role of PPP between the period from 1988 to 1999. The findings of this study indicate as to what position Pakistan occupies in the classification. The tutelary interference in the politics of Pakistan is highlighted in respect of the role they had played in weakening the democratic environment in Pakistan. Apart from all their covert and overt interferences, this study seeks to examine the extent to which military and other institutions have devastated the political culture of Pakistan. The PPP’s contributions in restoring democracy in the country between 1988 and 1999, which scholars of democracy consider a landmark development in the political history of Pakistan.72

2.4. Hybrid Regimes and Military Influence in the Politics of Pakistan

The armed forces are one of the most important illustrations of tutelary interference in the politics of the world especially in Asia. Military affects the smooth running of political system and democratic environment of a country. Military’s involvement in political arena mostly occurs in those societies where the political elites are comparatively inexperienced and have less care for democratic norm and values of the country. The military of Pakistan manipulated the weakness of the political parties of the country. The presence of the military in the politics of Pakistan is firstly, to gain legitimacy after overthrowing the elected government and secondly, to stay longer in the corridors of powers. Its involvement in politics cannot be overlooked throughout the world even in the most developed countries.

“Tutelary bodies or reserved domains of power refer to nonelected institutions for instance armed forces, religious leaders that involve in political affairs. Various scholars have emphasized on the role of tutelary bodies that avoid the political

mechanisms of democratic decision making, thus such regimes cannot be categorized as democracies. Schedler argues that such institutions that restrict the program of popular leaders disrupt important contacts in the chain of democratic choice.

While obviously alleviating their role in politics, the military governments on the grounds of providing stability have, in fact, sometimes become the most important source of uncertainty in the states which they were talking about defend. Under the military governments, their personnel whether soldiers or officers, have often violated the law of the state and the courts as well as the legislature are not to make them answerable for their action.

Similarly in Pakistan’s politics, from the outset, military has very strong footing. The factious nature of the Pakistan’s political forces permitted the military and the civil administration to gain a dominant role which, in turn, thwarted the growth of worthwhile civilian political structure. In 1958, when the country was preparing for its first general elections which could have marked the beginning of democracy in Pakistan, the civil and military bureaucracy was powerful enough to block these elections. There were many reasons that encouraged military to control the affairs of the state in October, 1958. The dictator destroyed the nascent political culture and democratic institutions. The military involvement of 1958 not only misshaped the most sacred Constitution but also encouraged all the non elected institutions to indulge and undermine the supremacy of political forces i.e., political parties and politicians.

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75. Ibid.
The political rule of military damaged and suppressed other institutions to the extent that even Judiciary was made, time and again, to give verdict to legitimatize military’s action. Military have lifted great imprints on Pakistan’s politics as even it remained busy from behind the curtain in its days out of power. Siddiqa argues that Pakistan’s military acquired an independent institutionalized presence in politics after 1977.

As a consequence the PPP government in the country was overthrown by imposing military rule by the military General Ziaul Haq in the year 1977. General Zia, removed the military government and presented a system of controlled democracy to obtained vote in the scheduled referendum which will be conducted in December 1984, in which political powers were, at least nominally, shared between the armed forces and elected leaders. After his death elections were conducted under the strict observance of an Emergency Council headed by military. The military’s direct role in the politics of Pakistan was ended with victory of PPP in the election, but its role in the politics continued and it indirectly worked to influence Benazir’s tenure in office and in her removal in 1990. Pakistan was ruled, after 1990, till 1993 by a civilian government headed by a pro military Nawaz Sharif. After then PPP form its government again but the armed forces still sees its role as the protector of the system.

Yasmeen holds the view that in February 1993, General Aslam Baig (rtd.) claimed that he had personally stopped the Apex Court from reinstating Mohammed Khan Junejo's regime in 1988. While these claims may have been made to assert Baig's

commitment to democracy, they openly acknowledged the military's direct role in Pakistan's democratic process. They also implicated the judiciary in disturbing the country’s march towards democratization.  

2.5. Hybrid Regimes and the Role of Bureaucracy in the Politics of Pakistan

Like military (and also Judiciary), bureaucracy has acquired a substantial influence in the politics of Pakistan. Bureaucracy has assumed a central position in political affairs of the country since independence. As a non-elected or tutelary institution, its role in Pakistan politics has been highly damaging. These institutions have great influence over the politics of Pakistan in respect of policy implementation as well as struggling for the highest political positions. The civil bureaucracy, in collaboration with military, has made havoc to the political institutions of Pakistan. The history of Pakistan is full of such instances for example, the Governor General Ghulam Muhammad and other clique of influential bureaucrats undermined politicians and political parties in the first decade of independence. From 1988-1999, the institution of bureaucracy interrupted the course of politics more than once. For example, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari having bureaucratic mindset dissolved the government of Benazir Bhutto (1990 and 1996) and Nawaz Sharif 1993 respectively.

Jalal argues that in keeping with the principles of democracy, the importance in the post-independence period was on the establishment of the relations between the

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elected representatives and the voters, in contrast to that among public servant and the general citizens in the time of the British rule.\footnote{Ayesha, Jalal. (1995). Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective. UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 16.}

Literature on Hybrid Regimes Theory points to the interference of non-political institutions in marginalizing the growth of political institutions particularly political parties. They manipulate political process to safeguard their interests even at the cost of overarching damage to the democratic process. The presence of other non-political institutions in the governance of the country restrict political freedom and humiliate political culture to the extent to which politicians and political parties find little time to flourish. Throughout the history of Pakistan, political activities remained hampered by the overt and covert interference of civil and military bureaucracy. Twice the government of PPP during 1988-99 was dismissed because of the civil military interference in the political affairs.

During this period, each successive government tried to subdue its rival by resorting to all foul tactics they could. Even though elections were conducted regularly, the fairness of these elections remained obfuscate. The turnover was observed somewhat peaceful but the post elections developments presented a weak scenario. During this period, the prime minister remained weak in the troika and the basin of power concentrated in the hands of president. Opposition tried to dislodge the incumbent and the government tried to diminish the image of opposition to mere a party. For an analysis of the state of affairs in Pakistan, help from the table drawn by Gilbert and Mohseni will be in order. Under this framework, Pakistan is placed among those
illiberal tutelary hybrid states where there were elections resulting in change of government but ultimate power lay outside the Prime Minister’s office.  

2.6. Conclusion

Literature on democracy and the related theories provide a dependable framework to study Pakistan’s politics during 1988-1999. The principles of democracy are taken as guiding principles to analyze the state of democracy in Pakistan and the politics of PPP as a major political platform and custodian of democracy. Scholars on democracy all over the world have presented variety of criterion for full democratization. In a larger context, democracy theory applies to Pakistan politics in a limited extent. Literature on Hybrid Regimes Theory is consulted to understand the nature of Pakistan’s political environment during 1988-99. During this period, the performance of all elected and professional institutions had demonstrated clearly that the Hybrid Regimes Theory applies to narrate the state of politics in Pakistan during the period under review.

Chapter # 03

PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY IN ITS HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1. Introduction of the Chapter:

The second chapter gives a detailed historical background of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), particularly the background of its emergence as a platform with socialist orientation. This chapter describes the fluctuating political parties including Pakistan Muslim League, the founder political party of Pakistan. It was the attractive party program and the interest which people took that turned PPP as the second largest platform in the country next to Sheikh Mujeebur Rahman’s Awami League in the general elections of December 1970. PPP’s rising to power under the charismatic leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and its downfall following the military takeover in 1977 is the focus of this chapter. The role played by military from behind the scene and role of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) is discussed in this chapter. PNA the major contender to PPP during 1970s adopted a confrontational posture in Pakistan politics. This undesirable tactic on the part of both (PNA and PPP) halted democratic process for more than a decade when military took control of power in July 1977. The struggle on the part of PPP to restore democracy in Pakistan is examined in this chapter in detail.

3.2. Political Scene of Pakistan after 1967:

Democracy, according to Disraeli, is inconceivable without political parties and both these are inseparably connected to one another and one cannot think about successful democracy without strong political organization. It is these organizations which bring
the masses closer and guiding the citizens by providing them opportunities of participation. The inability of not only political parties but also its leaders to face and meet the hurdles produces a political gap that converts democracy to authoritarianism by the indulgence of nondemocratic/ nonelected forces like bureaucracy and Army. During the first decade of independence, Pakistan witnessed exactly the same.85

Independent countries attain strength, stability and influence not only because of influential personalities but because of stable institutions, dynamic leadership and well entrenched traditions. This is an evolutionary process. To analyze this, it can be said that political process and democratic norms in Pakistan did not strengthen due to both weak institutions and immature leadership. Both these factors contributed to the weakening of democracy in Pakistan because strong institutions, sincere and dynamic leadership which could guarantee strength to Pakistan were not forthcoming. Though, the remedy is not in ignoring the democratic values, but in observing it more strictly and sincerely. Political institutions and practices establish only through a process of growth. The sapling of democracy may be quick if supported by favorable surrounding environment but it needs time to nurture, even if it seems to be too long. From the very beginning, the state of affairs in Pakistan has not been favorable for the growth of democracy.86

In democracies, the elected representative is required to coordinate not only among the demands and anticipations of the peoples supportive to it but the peoples who are not supporting their leaders and organization. The political leaders have the duty to

create a credible political structure upon which uniform and sound values of political competition can grow. A twofold dilemma is revealed by the Pakistani experience. First, the rising disagreement among the leader’s declared democratic principle and dictatorial policies and practices. The sustainability of democracy in Pakistan has considerably damaged by this disharmony. Secondly, coordination dilemma is apparently damaging political leadership in Pakistan. Despite the fact, it aspired and has fight back to reestablish democracy, greater involvement in state affairs by the electorates, strengthening of constitutional dominance, support and promote democratic rules, abide to the rule of law and, but the behaviors and conduct shows a similarly resilient allowance to non-democratic propensities.87

Strong and well rooted political organizations are important for any strong constitutional and democratic system to work efficiently and smoothly. Johnston has stated that well entrenched political parties are vital for a free, competitive democratic politics, especially in the developing democracies. A democratic system requires strong and sustainable political organization with the capacity to represent people and provide policy choices that determine their capability to govern for the public good.88

Unfortunately, political parties in Pakistan have not been that successful to grow into a strong vehicle of national political will. The main responsibility of protecting democracy in a state falls on political organizations. Well-organized political parties in Pakistan, from the beginning was lacking that could carry the representative system of governance forward.

There are many reasons for this but some among these are of vital importance. One, political parties in Pakistan run behind its founders so it becomes the sole property of a particular person or family, nevertheless, the non-participatory approach on the part of leaders makes them more dependent on that particular person or family. So other members have but a nominal role in running the affairs of a political party smoothly. Whenever the leader disappears, party also goes into oblivion. Secondly, many political parties in Pakistan have a regional orientation and look hesitant or do not have the capacity to broaden their image and programs to the whole nation. Few have a national standing. Third, politicians often distort the image of political parties by making factions in the party for protecting and promoting their selfish motives thus causing weakness to the political platform. Lastly, the lack of commitment on the part of Pakistani politicians has created avenues for the military interventions in the politics of Pakistan, which has not only perturbed the democratic process but has also shook the roots of political parties on account of putting ban on their activities.89

Noor ul Haq noted that most of the leaders of All India Muslim League (AIML), at the time of partition, hailed from those parts which were form part of the subcontinent and most of these leaders did not migrate to Pakistan. Those leaders who belonged to Pakistan, except a few, had their roots in feudal and landowning classes who, were naturally not compatible to democratic form of governance in the country. In fact, few among those leaders of the Pakistan Movement had their roots in the land that became Pakistan.90 They were in favor of maintaining the status quo because their interests lie in it. They neither had any particular affinity for democracy nor did they

care about improving the condition of general masses. This feudal class not only
effect Pakistani politics but has increased in strength. Many of those who hold vital
positions in political organization (ruling and opposition alike) have feudal
background, and their interests lie in the perpetuation of this system. Politics has
become a game for the wealthy people and this is the result of the power and
influence that the feudal class enjoys in Pakistan. It is virtually impossible for the
working middle class individual to take part in the elections. Thus the system of
feudalism in Pakistan has obstructed the growth of democracy.\(^91\)

The incompetence of politicians and their continuous squabbling for political
authority in the early 09 years (1947 to 1956) was the main reason for the delay in
constitution making. There was a ceaseless infighting among them for governmental
positions, in spite of cooperation and accommodation.\(^92\)

The long span of military rule in Pakistan that spread over 33 out of 69 years of
independence has hindered the growth of political parties in Pakistan. This low
indulgence of civil society in the country’s political process has prevented a
democratic environment from deepening its roots in Pakistan. Thus, the civil society
turned a deaf ear to and remained unresponsive to ask or fight for their rights. The
political parties have also adjusted themselves to play a role in Pakistan’s
depoliticized environment. They have confined themselves to electioneering or
holding birth and death anniversaries of their leaders. One hardly finds them
addressing the common concern of the people for their rights and getting them
translated into action program. The dismal picture of the nearly seven decades as well
as the lack of participatory role on the part of political parties has not only damaged

the prospects of democracy in Pakistan but also strengthened the non-democratic or
tutelary forces.

Weak and fragile political party system is one of the most significant factors for
Pakistan’s weak democratic culture and unstable parliamentary form government.
The main political party that had led the struggle for the independence of Pakistan
during 1940-47, has failed in providing a solid democratic foundation to the country.
The All India Muslim League which acquired that position as the founding party
of the country, has never made a move for being a nationalist movement to a party of
national standing that could guide the country to democratic development, deliberate
financial development and strictly adherence to constitution.
The platform which established the country, indeed should work hard to fulfill the
expectations of the newly born state. Only little could, however, be done due the lack
of a dynamic program with public spirited leaders. It should have clearly demarcated
goals to fulfill all those pledges made with the peoples in 1944 election’s manifesto.
By doing so, the energies of the people should be utilized by the party in the
direction to the attainment of their supreme destiny thus they could effectively
founded a strong state on the remains of Colonial powers. Unluckily, the party had
left without a clear cut program because of its institutional weakness, corruption and
the dominance of the landed aristocracy. Gradually, Muslim League detached itself
from the masses and got involved in power politics. After the death of Quaid-e-Azam,
there was no leader of national posture to keep the party united, soon the party
entered into a state of anarchy and had met with the fate of different factions. The

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League leaders discouraged political activities and placed restrictions on political freedom.\textsuperscript{94}

In addition, the role of the opposition, essential for the successful working of any democracy was deliberately curtailed. Although many political parties sprang up both in the West Pakistan and East Pakistan in the mid 1950's, the ruling Pakistan Muslim League regarded any opposition to herself as opposition to Pakistan and Islam.\textsuperscript{95} It was stated that Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan one of the leader of Muslim League in United India, a veteran political leader of Pakistan after the independence, accused Liaqat Ali Khan for using delaying tactics of holding the elections and termed him as autocrat the reason stated was he did not have his own electoral constituency. It is further said that Liaqat Ali Khan sought to make a political base for himself in facilitating the coming of refugees from India.\textsuperscript{96} In October 1950, Liaqat Ali Khan declared that the formation of more parties in opposition to the Muslim League was contrary to the interests of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{97}

Significantly, as Jalal recounts, after the partition of India, the Pakistan Muslim League focused more on the building of a centralized state strong enough to control those provinces which had objected to Pakistan’s establishment. In February 1948, the League Council adopted a new constitution that separated the party from the government. Jinnah and other former party officials, freed from the official duties in the party now had less reason to attend to the organization of the Muslim League.\textsuperscript{98}

All over the period of the fight for freedom, the party continued mostly an elitist
platform with its roots in the Muslim minority parts of India especially in the United Province. It did not become an organized and established political organization because most of the politicians gathered under its umbrella were professional in nature and did not have public support and they were not devoted in true spirit to the cause. Their politics was governed by convenience, rather than conviction.\footnote{Zaidi, Z. H. (1970). \textit{Aspects of the Development of Muslim League Policy, 1937–47}, London: George Allen and Unwin, p. 246.}

Both the top leaders i.e., Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and Liaqat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, soon died after the establishment of Pakistan on September 11, 1948 and on October 16, 1951 respectively. Jinnah at the very outset about the capability of other leaders of Pakistan Muslim League (PML) had regretfully remarked that he had false coins in his pocket. Consequently, more than a few ministers in the federal cabinet were not politicians nor they have a seat in the Constituent Assembly.\footnote{Noor, Ul. Haq. (2010). \textit{Op. cit.}, pp. 1-21.}

There were many opportunist politicians who could leave the Muslim League as quickly as they had come to it. After the death of Jinnah the party came across with the problem of factionalism especially in Punjab and the revival of traditional adversaries in the NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Sindh. The party’s public image was continuously in a state of decline. The party organizational weaknesses had not prevented the birth of Pakistan but the task of nation building was vigorously jeopardized.\footnote{Ian, Talbot. (1988). \textit{Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement: The Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India 1937–47}. Karachi: Oxford University Press, p. 113.}

Jinnah’s maneuvering at the all India and provincial levels required him to strike an array of political bargains with Muslim political stakeholders in the Muslim areas.
Given the varied interests he had to constantly juggle, he did not focus on developing democratic practices within the party far from it. As Farzana Sheikh has noted, any leader who challenged Jinnah’s role as the only representative of the Muslims was treated badly. Those who did so were cruelly suppressed.\textsuperscript{102}

The leaders who succeeded Jinnah are also to be blamed for not doing enough for democracy to take roots in Pakistan. For instance, the political elites, who came to power in Pakistan like Ghulam Muhammad, Chaudury Muhammed Ali and Iskander Mirza, had but little faith in democracy or in democratic institutions. In fact, in November 1954, before his becoming Governor General, Iskandar Mirza stated that Pakistan was "not ripe for democracy." Besides, the loyalties of the leaders to a particular party were not based on principles but on material gains. They were willing to sacrifice previous commitments and the interests of their party to obtain personal advantages.\textsuperscript{103} Likewise, in 1954, there were a number of members of the federal cabinet and other high appointments that revealed a dearth of talent among the politicians.\textsuperscript{104}

This undemocratic attitude mentioned above hindered positive activities such as freedom of press, freedom of speech, healthy opposition and vigilant public opinion could not develop. The gap increased between the ruling elites of the PML and the electorates as was evident from its failure in 1954 elections for the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly in which PML got 10 out of 309 seats. League was badly defeated by the United Front (UF) which secured 223 seats in the elections and the Muslims League also lost majority in the Assembly and control of the national

government. After attaining electoral victory, Fazlul Haq was nominated as its parliamentary leader on 2nd of April 1954 by UF. The four members cabinet under Fazlul Haq took oath on 3rd of April, 1954. This shows as to how the founding Muslim League lost its credibility among electorate. The triumph of the UF over PML was a clear indication that how it turned a deaf ear to the principles of democracy. However, the provincial government of East Pakistan lasted for a short period and on 29th of May 1954, the cabinet of Fazlul Haq was dismissed and governor rule was imposed in East Pakistan. The UF leadership resented the dismissal and the dismissed cabinet declared it an undemocratic action and promised to continue the struggle to uphold their democratic rights.105

Indeed, such an action on the part of federal government to dislodge the provincial government was a clear violation showing extent to which the ruling Junta was sincere to promote people’s mandate. The kind of attitude demonstrated by the federal government undermined democracy in the newly established polity. Democratic culture to flourish in a suitable environment was, in the very beginning, negated by the ruling elites.

Democratic traditions being so vital for the development of a healthy parliamentary system were rarely practiced. No respect for democratic principles has been observed in the attitude of the politicians which caused delay in shaping the most important task which the country was in need of at that time. Being a ruling party on the eve of independence, it was expected that the PML will try to speed up the drafting of a new

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constitution. The poor organization of the party and the over centralization of authority within it, stalled the promotion of a participatory politics.\(^\text{106}\)

The political leadership had abused the country along with the help of army and resultantly, their desire to accumulate more powers and influence has devastated the country. Developers of the newly established country, the civil servants had demonstrated no heed in conducting elections and the question of Pakistan’s political development after the death of Jinnah can be termed as unsatisfactory.\(^\text{107}\)

The second most prominent platform at the time of independence was the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) which was established by Maulana Maududi in 1941. The party strongly opposed un-Islamic practices and Western system of governance. The leaders and other members of this party were active in Pakistan politics since independence. JI took active part in political movements but there cannot be seen any significant contribution on the part of this political platform in the development of democratic culture because most of the time the party leaders were engaged in unnecessary debates and discussions like representation of East and West Pakistan, while vital and long lasting issues such as constitution making was put at the bottom of the priority list. They could not demonstrate their enthusiasm to strengthen the foundations of the newly born entity by providing a solid foundation to it as the Congress did in India. Apart from the major political parties, there were a number of other smaller platforms of regional level such as the Communist Party of Pakistan established soon after the birth of Pakistan. Besides, the party could not contribute to, what the country really needed from all the political platforms to strengthen the very foundation of


democracy upon which the edifice of the newly emergent state could be erected by 
the founding fathers.\textsuperscript{108}

This hallmark of the existing political parties in the country might have indicated the need for a new platform of national standing in the shape of PPP. Notwithstanding, the problem of drafting the constitution was still a tedious task as the country containing mixed communities with separate demands. The unresponsiveness shown on the part of politicians towards these problems was a matter of great concern. Besides, they wasted their energies in issues like language and parity and little attention were given to constitution making. The continuous mishandling of political powers by corrupt self-seeking leaders flung Pakistan into chaos. The first ever constitution for the country took almost nine years of the nation which demonstrate the immature state of the political platforms and their leaders of that period.

The country was running under an interim constitution which was undoubtedly in line with the promises that were made with the people during the Pakistan Movement. The vital issues such as language, electorates, representation and the place of Islam in the future constitutional set up proved sensitive and caused unending controversy and deadlocks in drafting the future constitution for the country. The country was located in two separate positions of the globe. The serious issues raised, were the problem of official language, central provincial disagreement on representation which deeply hurt the process of constitution making in Pakistan. The misuse and abuse of powers on the part of Governor General, Ghulam Muhammad is clear from his action to dismiss Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin and his cabinet on April 17, 1953 who enjoyed majority in the Constituent Assembly and, later on, he dissolved the Constituent

Assembly on 24th of October 1954, when it was in the state of the approval of the final draft of a constitution for the country, was an irreparable loss to the nation.\textsuperscript{109} The Governor General sensed that, if the assembly passed the bill minimizing his powers, he would prefer his personal interests over the national interests and hence he took an undemocratic step of dissolving the Constituent Assembly. This step of the Governor General undermined the status of the legislature because he was not ready to give up his authoritative position.\textsuperscript{110} Resultantly, the Constitution of 1956, supposedly democratic, put the foundation for, mostly, a strong center with less power given to the units. The 1956 constitution lasted for only two years with the dismissal of the new regime by the military under the command of General Ayub Khan in 1958. The death knell for the country’s emerging representative institutions had been planned as early as 1954, when Governor General dissolved the Constituent Assembly and imposed a state of emergency in the country.\textsuperscript{111} Here too, the Muslim League remained static and the civil military bureaucracy found free hand in molding the political course into their net. A pliant Supreme Court gave its imprimatur, invoking ‘the Doctrine of State Necessity. These initial selections, culminating in martial law, helped forge a political culture that failed to discourage the feudalistic structure of the Pakistani state, instead has bolstered the institutions of civil as well as military bureaucracies. By putting the foundation of such a culture in which the participation of the people was viewed with

dislike and hatred, made the participatory institutions and democratic culture to take roots and flourish.\textsuperscript{112}

In the framing of 1956 Constitution, the role of political platform was negligible because a strong tradition of violation of parliamentary norms was established and the President was given enormous power to decide the fate of the government if he was contented that the prime minister has lost his command on the majority of the National Assembly. It shows that the country needed a mature political party to play its part as a watchdog of the prevailing situations which Pakistan was facing at that time. The president had got real powers in his own hands. The problems in administration, weakening of the state of political parties combined with the incapability of the politicians to get enormous popular backing made available to the president the opportunity to accumulate power. It was the president who can decide about the making or unmaking of government by manipulated the divided political forces of Pakistan. This virtually contributed to the rise of non elected forces in Pakistani politics which greatly weakened the prospects of democracy. Till 1954-55, military (mainly Army) along with bureaucracy appeared as the key policy maker. They got an upper hand and influenced the making of foreign policy, security matters and internal affairs. The issue of Qadiani/Ahmadis in 1953 in Punjab, however, boosted the morale of the Army and created in them a sense of power and position in the country. The mini Lahore martial law encouraged the military into the politico-administrative life of Pakistan while curtailing the prospects of democracy in the country.\textsuperscript{113}

It was the last setback to the feeble parliamentary democracy of Pakistan when in October 1958, Iskander Mirza the then President of Pakistan imposed military rule in the country. Ayub Khan was appointed as the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) and thus he abrogated the constitution. The inability of political leadership, their undemocratic attitudes to political opponents brought harmful results for the state of affairs of Pakistan. This action proved to be a milestone in the future as Pakistan has witnessed repeated military interventions and disruption of civilian rule. Hence, Ayub Khan ushered in the history of Pakistan a totally new era and introduced a version of controlled democracy.  

### 3.3. Politics of 1958 onward

The democratic forces especially political parties had crumbled before they were able to lay the foundation of democracy. Army Chief, General Ayub Khan, ousted the already weak and scattered political force in collaboration and assistance of Iskandar Mirza in October 1958. There are many other explanations for Pakistan’s democratic failure during this period but the simplest was the one that was put forward by the Ayub regime to justify the 1958 coup and which depicted the political leaders by bringing the democratic process to its end through their factional intrigue and misuse of power.  

The above mentioned political situation of Pakistan clearly indicate the inability of the politicians as Germani and Silvert have mentioned that the induction of military into the corridors of political power structure clearly indicate the inability of state

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institutions to rationalize their authority efficiently and at the most, is an advanced state of institutional decomposition.\textsuperscript{116}

According to Gen. Ayub Khan, the parliamentary democracy had failed to solve the two basic needs i.e., political stability, and the national unity. The absence of democratic traditions was the main weakness of this system. The martial law regime took its first step by keeping the politicians away from public life. He dismissed the political leaders under the Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Order (EBDO) and banned the political parties. The politicians were prevented from making political statements through an amendment in the Political Parties Act 1962. Press and media were also restricted and their activities were ordered to be monitored closely.\textsuperscript{117}

Ayub Khan soon after taking the control of government promised the nation that power would be handover to the people’s representatives. The pledge to restore democracy in the country, took years to materialize as he did it by introducing his own system of democracy termed as the Basic Democracies.\textsuperscript{118}

General Ayub Khan became the president of the country assumed his office on October 27, 1958 by forcing President, Iskandar Mirza to resign. On the same day he announced for a constitution commission to draft a new constitution for the country. Ayub Khan wanted and was in search of the way for devising a plan to give his dictatorial rule a legal shape. In the words of Tocqueville, “the most dangerous moments” usually come “when an authoritarian regime begins to reform itself.”\textsuperscript{119}


Justice Shahabuddin’s recommendations for competitive elections, strong judiciary, free political organization, and a limited presidential authority were against Ayub Khan's philosophy of government. The constitution was promulgated in March 1962 but the constitution was never put to referendum by undermining and overlooking all the democratic principles. Thus, it left no space for democratic traditions to strengthen even political parties were not recognized and bestowed in the President unfettered authority wherein the president was not accountable to and was above the legislature. An author/political commentator has termed the president and his powers in the 1962 constitution as the Ghanta Ghar of Faisalabad where all streets/roads converge.

The entire political atmosphere was electrified. Leaders from Bengal including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for the first time in Pakistan raised objection against the undemocratic steps taken and he issued a statement on 24 June 1962 rejected the constitution on the ground that it lacked a popular support. Ayub felt that the goals of unity, political stability and modernization were enchanting enough to sell his new constitution and his regime. Over the years, this argument has been reinforced by the telling fact that Pakistan's economic growth under the Ayub regime had not only been stupendous, but was even considered one of the most impressive in Asia.\footnote{Ibid., p. 281.} With the passage of time, to perpetuate his regime and conditions that were emerging compelled him to allow the functioning of political parties.\footnote{Haq, Nawaz. Akhtar. (2007). If Truth Be Told: An Alternate History of Pakistan. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, p. 106.} The National Assembly, in July 1962, through the Political Parties Act allowed the establishing of political platforms and their participation in the elections. He became part of the
Convention Muslim League, in May 1963, which was called (Ayub's faction) and the Council Muslim League (the old guards).\(^{122}\)

Other members who claimed to be the true leaguers formed Council Muslim League under Khwaja Nazimuddin on October 27, 1962. The party opposed Ayub Khan’s Convention League on the grounds that it was not genuine and was unrepresentative in nature and regarded the Constitution of 1962 as undemocratic in character. The party failed in getting popularity among the masses because Ayub Khan wanted authoritarian position at all level and never allowed anyone to get important position. The Convention Muslim League did not mobilize mass opinion nor did it establish communication links with the masses at all quarters which, in a truly democratic spirit, a political party must keep.\(^{123}\)

The opposition parties had decided to remove the President joined other forces using the banner of Combined Opposition Parties (COP).\(^{124}\) The alliance had also decided the name of Fatima Jinnah, the sister of Quaid-i-Azam, as their candidate in the presidential election, she accepted the invitation.\(^{125}\) The nine-point program put forward by the Combined Opposition Parties give emphasis to the restoration of representative democracy, democratic constitution and direct elections to the National

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\(^{124}\) On July 21, 1964, five opposition parties merged into Combined Opposition Party (COP), adopted a nine point program as elections manifesto for the 1965 Presidential Election in Pakistan. This group included the Council Muslim League led by Khwaja Nazimuddin and Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana, strongest in Punjab and Karachi, the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, strongest in East Pakistan, the National Awami Party led by Maulana Bhashani; the North West Frontier group of the National Awami Party led by Wali Khan, son of the famous Abdul Ghafar Khan alias Bacha Khan, strongest in the North West Frontier Province, the Nizam-i-Islam Party, led by Chaudhry Mohammad Ali and Farid Ahmad; and the Jamaat-i-Islami led by Maulana Maudoodi and Nizami Islami Party. For further details, see. Sharif, Al. Mujahid. (1965). *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

\(^{125}\) Ibid., pp. 280-294.
and Provincial Assemblies. The COP was stick to the withdrawal of the ban on the activities of political parties and provincial autonomy. Contrary to it, Ayub Khan was in favor of strong center which, according to him, can only guarantee the sovereignty and unity of Pakistan. Both sides accused one another’s manifesto as false and hollow slogans. The party in power leveled allegations that the politicians were responsible for the deteriorating conditions of the country. They stressed that these were the power seekers who brought the nation at the verge of collapse. Contrary to this, the opposition left no stone unturned in discrediting the government’s image in the public eyes. The opposition exploited all possible measures to divert public opinion in its favor.

The Electoral College after its election on November 21, 1964, had to elect the President and this election according to Article 165 of the Constitution had to be done before March 7, 1965.126

The COP from the very outset was apprehensive regarding the conduct of the general elections that it they considered might not be conducted in free environment. They cited the conduction of previous by election and accused a wide variety of governmental interferences and they expect the same from the government in the coming elections. The opposition demanded from state authorities to remove the ban on the Press and Publication Ordinance, the Loudspeaker Ordinance, and the Public Safety Acts should be withdrawn. They also demanded the release of political detainees, steps should be taken to ensure that section 144 of the Penal Code would not be enforced to disturb opposition and their campaign in the elections. The use of official machinery for purpose to damage their political activities should be avoided.

They accused the government act for the limitation of constituencies to the Electoral College election which had been done on the basis of the provisions laid down in the Electoral College Act 1964. They added with the allegations that mollified intensions were involved on the part of government in voter registration. It accused that some key party member’s name have been omitted and replaced with those fictitious names who have low profile for the purpose to ascertain a win in the elections.127

It was assumed that the technique laid down for the local elections was not guaranteed. The process underwent from certain in-built loopholes authorizing large scale bogus voting and all sorts of corrupt practices. During these elections the voting trend indicated that the voters were influenced more by personalities rather than the manifestos parties.

3.4. The Conditions at the time of the Emergence of PPP

The downfall of Ayub Khan’s authoritarian regime actually started on the occasion when he had won the presidential elections against Fatima Jinnah. The active opposition that Ayub Khan faced in the presidential elections of 1965 was the first manifestation of this growing sentiment. The 1965 war with India and finally signing of the Tashkent Agreement on January 10, 1966 had a role in undermining the stature of Ayub Khan. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Ayub Khan’s foreign minister, left the government, accusing the president of surrendering at Tashkent what he believed had been achieved in the battlefield.128

127. Interview of the research scholar with Begum Naseem Wali Khan Leader of ANP (Wali Group). Dated. 09-10-2015.
This step had been taken more serious by the people of Pakistan in the shape of rioting in Lahore. The opposition party declared it as betrayal and as an unpardonable sin committed on the part of Ayub Khan by purchasing peace at the cost of national honors and betraying the just cause of Kashmir. Differences arose between Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Ayub Khan and became more worsened with the passage of time. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto sensed the resentment of the people in the aftermath of 1965 war with India and the Tashkent Agreement. He started countrywide movement against president Ayub Khan and his government. In East Pakistan, the situation was worse than any other part of the country, because during war time they were left at the mercy of India by West Pakistan. After the death of Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Sheikh Mujib ur Rehman had been leading the most popular party in East Pakistan. He raised the slogan of Sonar Bangla (Golden Bengal) the East Pakistan and nurtured the impression among the Bengalis that West Pakistan was plundering all its resources. This flourished the sentiment of hatred and jealousy among the citizens of East Pakistan which virtually lay down a wide gap between the citizens of both the wings and Sheikh Mujib ur Rehman appeared to be the sole leader of East Pakistan. On the other hand, in West Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stance against Tashkent Agreement increased his public reputation manifold and he became a hero in West Pakistan. Nationwide demonstration started, students all over the country took active part, the range further widened to the urban areas of the county.\textsuperscript{129}

3.5. PPP from Emergence to Power:

By 1966, serious differences developed between Ayub with Bhutto, over the issues after the war thus decided his resignation from his post. As the most popular leader of West Pakistan, this proved to be the beginning of Bhutto’s career. He noticed some strange phenomenon was taking place simultaneously in his political life. His rupture with the government on the one hand, aroused the latter’s hatred and enmity for the former to such extant that the government never hesitated to intimidate, suppress, threaten, attempt of murder and execution of false cases to subdue his position. While, on the other hand, for the first time he observed the great love among the people for him for the stand he took. Immediately, after resigning from the cabinet of the government he rushed to Lahore on the night of 20th of June 1966, where he saw thousands of people filled the platform. He was warmly received and greeted, his hands were kissed in love by the supporters.

Soon the country went deep into the clutches of political uncertainties and now Pakistan was in the complete grip of political turmoil. Rebellion movements started and secessionist activities unleashed in East Pakistan. Ayub Khan lost his popularity and firm grip over political power. In contrast Bhutto’s popularity developed enormously with in less time. To most Pakistanis, Bhutto had emerged as the only hope. In November 1967, he founded Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and justified doing so for several reasons and Pakistan, according to him, by the time was in grave need of a political platform that could keep the divergent elements of the country united but unfortunately nothing could be seen like this. According to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan was in a state of degeneracy and despairs because the total atmosphere of the country had been polluted by the earlier immature politicians and
disorganized political platforms. He appealed to the parties and their leaders to work together for the cause i.e., for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. Pakistan Peoples Party was the most popular party in Pakistan since its inception. To the delegates in a meeting in Lahore, he presented his vision of the party and thus, in the same meeting the founding stone was laid. The party by nature would be centralist. The participants welcomed the idea for establishing a Party with Bhutto as its Chairman. Being the head of the party, Bhutto made his first speech at Mochi Gate in Lahore. During the course of his speech, Bhutto attacked on Ayub Khan and leveled the allegations of corruption against him and his family.\textsuperscript{130}

An unprecedented disturbance and disorder took whole of the country into its grip. Z. A. Bhutto addressed numerous of these rallies, fearlessly attacked the policies of the Ayub Khan. When this weakened the position and popular image of the government a brutal attempt was made on his life.\textsuperscript{131}

Z. A. Bhutto openly attacked Ayub Khan’s Basic system of Democracy. He said. “\textit{We demand democracy and they give us basic democracy. If basic democracy is democracy why does every country have not it? If this is such a good system then the whole world should have had this system.”} For Ayub Khan, Bhutto argued, the legality of an autocrat was tailored through basic democracy.\textsuperscript{132}

General Ayub resorted to harass Bhutto by every means. When this could not coerce to stubborn Bhutto, he was detained and referred to one of the worst jail in the country i.e. Mianwali Jail, where he was kept in lonely imprisonment which resulted


\textsuperscript{131} Ibid, p. 73.

in fierce demonstrations throughout West Pakistan. All over the West Pakistan people demonstrated in opposition to his rule and were shouting for the release of their popular leader. In the presence of fierce agitations the government decided in February 1969 to shift him from jail to his residence where he was kept under house arrest. Looking to the seriousness of the situations day by day he decided to step down in March 1969. Under the 1962 Constitution, it was obligatory for Ayub Khan to transfer powers to civilian leadership i.e. Speaker of the National Assembly but unfortunately Speaker of National Assembly was a Bengali at that time, so Ayub Khan violated his own Constitution of 1962 by inviting Army Chief, General Yahya Khan to take over the powers in 1969.

Gen. Yahya Khan proclaimed martial law and brought the country into yet another crisis. This move of Ayub Khan was another havoc done to the democratic traditions. These developments were primarily attributed to the inability and uncompromising politicians of the county who were not ready to negotiate with Ayub Khan because he was ready to hand over power to the elected representatives of the people after the direct elections if decided by the Round Table Conference. The Round Table Conference was held without the participation of both Z. A. Bhutto and Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani a politician from East Pakistan. The fate of the conference was a total failure because the politicians were not serious in their attitude to develop consensus by negotiating with Ayub Khan, who promised to restore and set up parliamentary form of government with direct adult franchise in Pakistan.133

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3.6. Pakistan Peoples Party and the General Elections of 1970:

After assuming powers on 25th March 1969, General Yahya Khan repealed the 1962 Constitution and barred all political activities. He removed all governors and members of the Ayub’s cabinet. He promised to restore law and order and would bring normalcy to public life. General Yahya Khan’s first impressions were not to stay in power for long times, will soon quit after transferring of powers to the elected representatives of the peoples. In his first radio speech to the people of Pakistan on March 26, 1969, he promised free and fair elections to the nation that would be held very soon on the basis of adult franchise and democracy will be restored in the country. He also promised that power would be handed over to the elected leaders of the people and these elected representatives would in turn give the country a workable constitution. His promises of restoring democracy back in the country were highly appreciated.134

The date for the coming elections was announced and it would be held in October 1970, and fresh electoral rolls had been prepared for the general elections. The Martial Law Regulation 60 had set out that no party would be permitted to carry out activities repugnant to the ideology of Pakistan. The significance of the 1970s elections was that the major political platform of Awami League resorted to use violent means to harass political opponents so that Awami League could secure maximum number of votes in the elections which made their own election campaign significantly weak.

Criticism is the beauty of democracy, each party can criticize others, but to turn it violent is contrary to the established norms of democracy. Awami League’s workers deliberately violated the rules and started disrupting the rallies of opposition political parties in pursuance of their designs to root out opposition’s campaign for elections. The undemocratic attitudes adopted on the part of major political platforms clearly conveyed the massage that politicians were in no sense willing to the prevalence of democracy in Pakistan. Campaign for and getting the favor of the electorates is the charm of elections in the democratic process but to make it violent and keep harassing political opponents by force is the negation of democratic norms in toto. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman did exactly opposite to the rule fixed for polls, he went on to persuade and provoke the followers to create hurdles for the politicians in their campaign.\footnote{Haq, Nawaz. Akhtar. (2007). \textit{Op. cit.}, pp. 175-180.}

In January 1970, elections campaign started, these were the first ever general elections in twenty three years based on the principles of adult franchise in the history of Pakistan since independence. Political parties and candidates from all over the country started preparations for the forthcoming elections. The Legal Framework Order (LFO) established a National Assembly of 300 general seats and 13 additional seats reserved for women. It was mentioned in the LFO that East Pakistan would have 162 general and 7 reserved seats for women, while the West Pakistan comprising the four provinces would have 138 general and 6 reserved seats for women. Pakistan went to polls in December 1970. General Yahya Khan failed to make it clear in the clause of LFO that two third majority will be required for framing or amending the
constitution. Such a situation could place West Pakistan entirely on the mercy of Awami League if the latter had an overall majority in the Assembly.\textsuperscript{136}

The Pakistan Peoples Party led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was triumphant in West Pakistan by securing most of the seats for the National Assembly.\textsuperscript{137} Mujib’s six point agenda presented to the East Pakistani population swept the polls and emerged a strong candidate to form Government at the center. The politics of Pakistan entered into crucial phase of development at one time the politicians strived for the ousting of military from the corridors of power and bringing back the parliamentary form of government in Pakistan. Now the election results produced a situation that was alarming particularly for the military.\textsuperscript{138}

3.7. Pakistan after Disintegration

The political impasse reached to its peak in the aftermath of 1970s elections. Sheikh Mujib, despite his earlier stance that six points were negotiable, asserted each point to be embodied in the new constitution.\textsuperscript{139} This aggravated the already worsened political situation that culminated in the separation of East Wing on December 16, 1971. Four days after the tragic event of the dismemberment of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was sworn in as the Civil Chief Martial Law Administrator and new President of Pakistan on December 20, 1971.\textsuperscript{140}


\textsuperscript{140} Interview of the research scholar with Chaudhry Amin Fahim, Dated: 28-6-2014.
In spite of the grave unrest facing the country, the president showed his acumen, sagacity and political foresight by not only undermining the growing internal disturbance but also create an atmosphere of consensus among the divergent political platforms. Bhutto tried to control the pulse of the masses which he considered the source of strength contrary to those who ruled Pakistan in uniform believe in the use of force for the subjugation of people. Bhutto, in his initial years, believed in democratic rule and had the belief that regimes could be neither secure nor prosperous unless it had the support of great number of citizens. The people of the country were fed up from the long dictatorial rule of the Army, so they were more than willing to welcome the democratic transition in the country. They were in no way ready anymore to be ruled by the military. Elections and electoral process had shaped and changed the attitudes of political parties and their leadership.\textsuperscript{141}

However, after the assumptions of powers, Bhutto began to create the supremacy of the elected over the non elected public officials. Bhutto government (1971–77) could be analyzed in term of his enthusiasm in establishing political dominance over the non elected state institutions. Yet, his endeavor to create civilian dominance and restore supremacy of the constitution provide in political parties, courage and confidence. These leaders in the following years began to wish for civilian control over the non elected institutions of the state. With this a change in the political values started.\textsuperscript{142}

The position of Bhutto as president is characterized by a number of factors. Such as the tedious rule of military, the weak, immature and sufferings of internal disturbance

\textsuperscript{141} Interview of the research scholar with PPP Media Coordinator Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Farooq Khan. Dated: 22- 11-2015.

among the political parties. Also the role played by the Pakistan Peoples Party at such a time when the country was facing intrigues from internal and external fronts and finally the support that Bhutto enjoyed among the masses especially in the youth. Bhutto was in favor of the presidential form of government but looking to the reservations of the opposition political platforms, he agreed to adopt parliamentary form of government.

After assuming office of the president, Bhutto focused on the most important issues that can affect Pakistan in future, firstly to provide safeguard to the country from external threat. He felt the need of good relations with neighbor especially with India. His first and foremost step was the negotiations and settlement of disputes with India and signing of the Simla Agreement. The second important dilemma confronting the new state was the issue of language and the question of more powers to the province of N.W.F.P and Balochistan. These were the actual steps which formed part of the commitments of the Pakistan Peoples Party towards the promotion of democratic culture which it clearly stated in its foundation documents.143

Another landmark achievement on the part of Pakistan Peoples Party was the Constitution of 1973, which provided for a parliamentary form of government. The 1973 Constitution provided outlines of a federal democratic structure. The Constitution was drafted as per aspirations of all societies and that is why all the political platforms agreed upon the documents that became a consensus based

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Constitution. The second greatest achievement of Bhutto regime was the hosting of second Islamic Summit of Muslim states in Lahore in February 1974.\textsuperscript{144}

The credit for initiating nuclear program for Pakistan goes to Bhutto regime as well despite the overwhelming opposition from the West especially USA. During this period, he attempted several economic and social reforms. Banks, insurance companies, large industrial units, and the shipping industry were nationalized. Labor was given many new amenities which they had never enjoyed in the past. Large industrialists were hurt and many business and industrial tycoons were infuriated as a result of these reforms. Pakistan Peoples Party ended military rule in Pakistan and, restored democracy in Pakistan under the dynamic and charismatic leadership of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.\textsuperscript{145}

The general appraisal of this period can better be understood from the successes that were achieved by Bhutto and provided Pakistan on a solid footing in the community of nations. Unfortunately, however, the impact of these reforms which were initiated in the name of the people, did not reach the common man because of widespread corruption and mismanagement. Most of these reforms did not produce the desired results because of the faulty and ineffectual implementation of the PPP policies by an uncooperative, corrupt, and inefficient bureaucracy. As a result, production became stagnant and the nationalized industrial units began to incur losses of millions annually. As a consequence, the economy suffered irreparably and was further aggravated by the manifold rise in oil prices, recurring annual floods and the successive failures of the cotton crop. In response to these


\textsuperscript{145} Interview of the research scholar with Chaudhry Amin Fahim, Dated: 28-6-2014.
setbacks which were fully exploited by the opposition political parties, Bhutto changed his tactics and decided to rely on the strength and power bases of the traditional leaders the "feudals," the Pirs (religious leaders), and the industrialists. He started hobnobbing with them while ignoring his loyal supporters in the party.

3.8. Downfall of the PPP and the Martial Law of 1977:

The framing of constitution for Pakistan was Bhutto’s masterstroke via achieving consensus of the politicians of all shades. The precedents came into being because nowhere in the total history of Pakistan one can hardly see that politicians of all shades were taken on board while framing a constitution. That, of course, was the statesmanship of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Undoubtedly, the Constitution of 1973 was a consensus based document recognized by all the political leaders. Yet, the legal provisions could not discourage Z. A. Bhutto from crushing down the rights of provinces in the name of national interest. Bhutto’s attitudes towards legitimate opposition, democratic decision making, rule of law, due democratic process, accountability and corruption were rooted in his feudal background and his self-perception of unmatched genius destined for greatness.

Despite all significant achievements, Bhutto government had taken considerable undemocratic steps which ultimately led to unpopularity of his government and with the passage of time lost its credibility in all spheres. As his term advanced Prime

Minister Bhutto started facing substantial denunciation and growing disrespect. According to the results of 1970 general elections, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had the right to form government in the federal level as this was advice Bhutto received from his senior party associates. Bhutto turned increasingly to strong arm tactics to keep even his supporters in line. Dissidence also mounted appreciably within the PPP because he had a tendency to inflate his own capabilities and denigrate those of his colleagues. This behavior of Bhutto endangered the unity of PPP. On September 15, 1972 thirty of PPP members left the party and joined the opposition. Mahmud Ali Kasuri, the Law Minister developed serious differences with Bhutto on constitutional matters. He also resigned in October 1972 and joined the oppositions.\(^\text{149}\)

The murder of Nawab Muhammad Ahmed Khan led to popular hatred and hostility inside the party as Bhutto was blamed for devising the offence. The influential politicians in the party for example, Ghulam Mustafa Khar denounced Bhutto, appealed to the people for widespread agitations against the government. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at first directed his hatred towards the leaders of opposing political parties including Abdul Wali Khan and his National Awami Party (NAP).\(^\text{150}\)

In spite of many ideological similarities between the parties, these tussles crossed all limits both inside and outside the National Assembly and became increasingly fierce. The decision of the Central Government to replace the Government of NAP on the charges, that it help and support secessionist elements. The tussles ended with the ban


\(^\text{150}\) Interview of the research scholar with Begum Naseem Wali Khan. Leader of ANP (Wali Group). Dated: 09-10-2015.
on the activities of the party and arrest of much of its leadership,\textsuperscript{151} which were proven facts of the nipping of the democratic culture in the bud. Bhutto demonstrated his autocratic and authoritarian tendencies in utter disregard of his party manifesto.\textsuperscript{152}

The disturbances in the then NWFP now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan got more serious as the federal government sent ten thousand army personal to control the situations, who were alleged for human rights abuse and murdering of great un armed citizens. The deployment of troops in Balochistan and NWFP showed the inability of civilian government to control the situation there. Bhutto’s dependence on military, once again, encouraged and gradually empowers the latter to interfere. These steps taken by the PPP government discouraged the nation’s only hope for a democratic and progressive Pakistan. It also justified the military actions that political leadership in Pakistan was so immature that they could not run the affairs of the state without military. The opposition political parties grouped together and formed one of the famous political alliances in the history of Pakistan called Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)\textsuperscript{153} against Pakistan Peoples Party in the upcoming elections of 1977. On 7 January 1977, Bhutto called for new elections for the national and provincial assemblies.\textsuperscript{154} The general elections for the national assembly and four provincial assemblies were schedule for 7 and 10 March respectively.\textsuperscript{155}


\textsuperscript{152} Interview of the research scholar with Begum Naseem Wali Khan. Leader of ANP (Wali Group). Dated: 09-10-2015.

\textsuperscript{153} On January 10, 1977, opposition parties formed an alliance called Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) against the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The PNA was a combination of diverse elements, such as NDP, JI, PML, TI, JUI, JUJP and three other were part of the PNA. See for details, Shaukat, Ali. (1997). Op. cit., p. 179.


He even diluted the socialist plank of his program so much that by the March 1977 elections, his party slogans were hardly distinguishable from those of his political adversaries, whom he had once glibly branded as reactionaries. Contrary to his repeatedly professed principles, he even dropped the slogan "Islamic Socialism" from his manifesto. There were rumors that he even expressed willingness at that time to denationalize some of the industrial units to keep his new political allies\textsuperscript{156} happy. Party tickets for the March 1977 elections, therefore, went mostly to the professional "political turncoats, much to the chagrin of loyal PPP stalwarts. Naturally, this generated considerable resentment and discontent among the rank and file of the PPP and among the masses who felt betrayed.\textsuperscript{157}

PNA participated in the scheduled elections for the National Assembly with zeal and zest. They managed to contest the elections jointly even though there were grave differences of opinions and views within that electoral alliance. PPP stood victorious in the elections by securing the highest number of seats in National Assembly. In view of the popularity that the PPP had enjoyed for few years and the firm control that Bhutto had on the governmental machinery its victory had not surprised many people. It was the margin of defeat of the PNA that stunned most people. Out of the 200 National Assembly seats PNA got 36 while PPP won 155 including 19 unopposed.\textsuperscript{158}

\textsuperscript{156} His new political partners included Tamman Daultana, Buchaa, Sadiq Hussain Qureshi and Jaam Sadiq Ali.

\textsuperscript{157} Interview of the research scholar with Begum Naseem Wali Khan. Leader of ANP (Wali Group). Dated: 09-10-2015.

PNA was badly defeated in the elections, declining the results and blaming for large scale rigging in the elections. Initially their clam for the rigging was on fourteen constituencies but in the end the great number of seats taken by the ruling party increased their doubts and they demanded that rigging had taken place in forty National Assembly constituencies. They progressed to refuse the provincial assembly elections. The opposition political parties boycotted and declared the mandate of the Pakistan Peoples Party as illegitimate and leveled charges of rigging against the government. It was alleged that Bhutto had used large sums of money from public funds to help party candidates. Also the Chairman of National Press Trust had spent 8 million on posters alone. The entire fleet of public vehicles was available to PPP supporters.\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, p. 183.}

Despite this, there was high voter turnout in the national elections the provincial elections results observed turnout and an opposition boycott, the PNA termed the newly elected Bhutto administration as unlawful. The PNA demanded fresh elections in the country and the resignation of Bhutto government.\footnote{Mehrunnisa, Ali. (1977). \textit{Op. cit.}, pp. 77-102.}

In view of the increasing political and civil disorder in the country, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto sensed that it was high time to show political maturity. He galloped for holding negotiations and both the parties agreed on the termination of assemblies and with the conduction of fresh elections. The acceptance of the Opposition’s demands culminated in an agreement. It is argued that it was a democratic step as the signing of the agreement could save the country from military takeover. The Islamic party’s leaders were inviting military to step in and overthrow the Bhutto regime. The
opposition parties, whenever they feel dissatisfied with the ruling party, do not hesitate to call openly for military intervention as they did in the case of Bhutto and his daughter, Benazir Bhutto, not realizing that it may boomerang against them some day when they are in power.\textsuperscript{161}

Political and civil disorder led to widespread unrest in the country. It is no wonder that when the PNA started its agitation, Bhutto had already lost the sympathy of a sizeable percentage of people, especially in the urban areas as a consequence of his political compromise.\textsuperscript{162} It was again unfortunate in the history of the country that military disrupted the political environment using the consequent unrest as a pretext. The then Army Chief, General Ziaul Haq seized power and declared martial law on 5\textsuperscript{th} of July 1977 and suspended the 1973 constitution. He dissolved the assemblies, ordering the arrest of PPP and opposition leaders and promising elections to be held in October 1977. Priorities of the military junta then changed as was evident from subsequent pronouncements. He time and again announced the elections but elections were not conducted in his period. In his public announcements he told the reason for the delay his main aim was to keep PPP out from power.\textsuperscript{163} The presence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was not less than headache for General Ziaul Haq. He wanted to get rid of him. Zia tactfully engineered plan to trapped Bhutto in which he succeeded eventually.

\begin{itemize}
\end{itemize}

General Ziaul Haq overthrew the government of Z.A. Bhutto on 5th July, affirmed military rule and became Chief Martial Law Administrator. The military operation was named as Operation Fair play. Soon after the control of power, he announced that the army would in little time of 90 days hold fresh and impartial elections and will hand over power to the elected representatives.

He told that the assumption of civilian rule on the part of military was not encouraging adventure and that army was in true nature favoured the system of governance to be run by the politicians who were there actual custodians. The citizen, exercise this right through their political leaders who are chosen in like all systems of electoral competition. The elections of 1977 were marred by massive rigging and its results were rejected. The oppositions started widespread movement against the ruling party and demanded fresh elections. Their movement gave the impression that the citizens even were of the opinion that system of democracy was not suited to Pakistan.

“Zia told that, he genuinely felt that the survival of this country lies in democracy and democracy alone. But when the political leaders failed to rescue the country out of a crisis, it is an inexcusable sin for the armed forces to sit as silent spectators. It is primarily for this reason that the army had to intervene to save the country”.

“I would like to point out here that I saw no prospects of a compromise between the Peoples Party and the PNA because of their mutual distrust and lack of faith it was feared that the failure of the PNA and PPP to reach a compromise would plunge the country into a more serious crisis. This risk could not be taken in view of the larger
interests of the country.” “He therefore declared, my sole aim is to organize free and fair elections which would be held in October this year (1977). Soon after the polls, power will be transferred to the elected representatives of the people. I give a solemn assurance that I will not deviate from this schedule.”

But promise was not kept and General Zia hung on to power for one reason or the other for eleven long years. Rustow has pointed out that throughout the world most of the military coups immediately announced that they will not stay in power for long period and that power will be transferred to the civilian representatives soon. But few live up to that initial promise.

Soon on the day of independence 1977 in one of his address to the nation he alarmed the leaders of the political organizations that Pakistan would soon start its march towards electoral political system and they could obstruct this process, he further added if anyone was found guilty would be given serious punishment. He told in his address that the military was keen in restoring the democratic system and they were of the view that this was vital for the country. Since, everyone obstruct this plan would not only considered the rival of the county but also that of this system and a severe punishment would be inflicted on that person. He skillfully maneuvered and expanded the base of religious.

Zia’s rule deteriorated the prospects of democracy in the country which were hoped to the increased participation of the peoples. Apart for it Political organizations functioned but their managerial capability remained controlled. As stated above the

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military rule, devastated civil liberty and freedom of opinion but the desire and aspirations for democracy cannot be suppressed. Consequently, under his tyrannical regime, strain between two opposite forces i.e., those who were supporting democracy and those who were not continued.

In 1981, the PPP took the charge of the affairs against the autocratic military dictator by bringing together leaders of different political shades to one platform and launched Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD).\(^{167}\) This alliance necessitated lifting of military rule and demanded for fresh polls. Its struggle against the illegitimate rule bore fruit in 1985 in the form of partial restoration of democracy. Zia recognized that despite the support he gained for his rule he could not suppress the legitimate right of the people and like his predecessor, engineered new version of controlled of democracy. The opposition political leaders particularly that of PPP, at present had been either in jail or was outside the country and in their absence he intended to form pliable legislature. He established a nominated assembly with the name of Majlis-i-Shoora (Advisory Council) in which he included his own favorite people but, as a matter of fact, it was his stopgap arrangement, constantly challenged by the civil society. For the purpose Mohammed Khan Junejo, was chosen as prime minister, his attitudes were in favor of democracy it was he who allowed Benazir Bhutto’s back to Pakistan. Junejo paved the way for the parties to continue their active in the country.\(^{168}\)

At the same time, Junejo revealed a strong inclination to create the dominance of Muslim League. He maneuvered for normalizing the relationship between both the


\(^{168}\) Ibid.
government and opposition. He was trying to restore the role of political parties in the politics of the country and strengthening the institutions, his government was dismissed on 29 May 1988 on a flimsy pretext of the worsening conditions of law and order and for working against the ideology of Pakistan and jeopardizing the unity of the nation, mainly in Karachi.169 As prime minister he did not received the praise for what he deserved. Above all during his brief premiership he showed tolerance to the oppositions, consensus on various issues, media was allowed and the rule of law was given respect. Zia decided to rebuild the country on the basic tenants of Islam and put a ban on the activities of political parties.170

3.10. Zia Initiations

The constitution that Pakistan Peoples Party had produced after a period of long constitutional dilemma, with parliamentary consensus in 1973, was amended and it original shape was tinted with addition of another clause called 58(2)(b) in the form of Eight Constitutional Amendment. With this Amendment Zia changed the Constitution to a sort of executive presidency. Originally, it recognizes parliamentary form of governance with the president as head of the state. But the Amendment empowered the president to such an extent that he can act over and above the law and can dissolve all the elected institutions without taking into account the Prime Minister.

The long military period of Zia devastated political institutions, politicians and the system of representative rule. During his regime he worked to intimidate PPP as

much as possible and tried to eliminate it throughout the country. He also banned media and other source that could in any way provide information. In the absence of representative and elected institutions, the environment of Pakistan was badly nurtured with despotic tendencies which aggravated the civil society with the introduction of arms culture. He had little respect for state institutions including political parties. The most sacred institution of the state was not spared which received a very rough treatment by appointing and dismissing the judges. He was all the time busing to offset the PPP in the province of Sindh, but the mischief that he helped create has opened the wounds of the nation. Muttahia Quami Movement (MQM) was his gift and legacy to the nation.

Many former parliamentarians belonging to the PPP were summarily barred from public life for seven years. In addition to these wholesale convictions of the PPP politicians, serious attempts were also made by some of General Zia's colleagues in the Military Council to create a wedge between the leaders of the PPP. But the main rank and file of the PPP appears to have stood fast and remained loyal to Bhutto and his family. Only the former Minister for Information and Religious Affairs in the Bhutto cabinet, and Information Secretary of the PPP, Maulana Kausar Niazi, along with a few party members, disassociated themselves from the PPP, ostensibly protesting against the control of party affairs by the Bhutto family. These dissidents included almost all those who were accused by the PNA of committing serious irregularities in March 1977 elections. These politicians were assured by Gen. Zia that by disassociating from the PPP they might prevent the termination of their political careers and their cases would not be referred to the Disqualification

Tribunals because the ruling junta had promised not to do so if they would sever their connections with the PPP. None of these dissidents was barred from public life.\footnote{Sameel, Ahmad. Qureshi. (1979). \textit{Op. cit.}, p. 912.}

\subsection*{3.11. Zia Junejo Ties}

Zia’s relations with Junejo deteriorated to the extent of latter’s removal in May 1988 and fresh elections were announced but on non party basis.\footnote{Corinne, Naden. (2011). \textit{Leading women: Benazir Bhutto}. New York: Marshall Cavendish Benchmark, p.56.} As this had become the norm on each such occasion of a military takeover, the promise of an election was held out for November 1988 though it was, by no means, clear that elections would be held on schedule or, indeed, even not held at all. Three months later, on August 17, 1988, the dice rolled again. The death of Ziaul Haq in a plane crash opened up real possibilities of a return to democracy. Most Pakistanis would have agreed with Benazir Bhutto, the most potent symbol of democracy at that point, stated that she would have preferred to defeat General Zia at the polls.\footnote{Ravi, Kalia. (Eds.). (2011). \textit{Op. cit.}, pp. 116-120.}

\subsection*{3.12. Conclusion}

The role of leadership is an undeniable fact for the development of a country. It is a fact that many developed nations of the world like USA, UK and China have attained great positions in the world due to sincere and devoted leadership. In South Asia particularly Pakistan stands among those unfortunate countries which lost its leaders at the very outset due to which the short political history of Pakistan has witnessed many ups and down. The ship of democracy in the country was misguided and drowned in the absence of charismatic political leadership. Secondly, the remaining bunch of political leadership wasted their energies in mutual fighting for unnecessary...
issues. This mutual infighting proved beneficial for the non-elected set up of Pakistan. They took full advantage of the mutual rivalry of weak politicians and get full control of political powers of the country. With such state of affairs, no one was in the position to lead Pakistan Muslim League and ultimately it lead to the downfall of the whole system including democracy. For more or less twenty years Pakistan remained directly and indirectly under the dominant control of military and bureaucracy till the establishment of PPP in 1967.

PPP proved itself the only political party that can lead the disappointed people of Pakistan under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to achieve stability and democracy. The party raised its voice against military and other opportunists in the country. During this process the party went through enormous hardship with the hands of rival forces in the country. The party leadership faced illegal incarcerations and punishments. From Gen. Ayub Khan to Gen. Zia ul Haq, the party suffered countless hardships but it stood firm in its determination to bring democracy back to the country. The general elections of 1988 on party basis was the proof of PPP struggles.
Chapter # 04

PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY’S SECOND TERM IN POWER (1988-1990)

4.1. Introduction

The sudden death of General Ziaul Haq on 17\textsuperscript{th} of August 1988 paved the way for PPP’s coming into power. PPP’s role under Benazir Bhutto is examined in the context of her endeavors for promoting a democratic environment in the country. While doing so, the style of governance introduced by the PPP and her relations with the opposition parties has been taken into account. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to thoroughly examine the contributions of PPP for the promotion of a democratic culture in Pakistan. In this regard, the researcher has mentioned all those efforts made by the Pakistan Peoples Party during its second term of government. The researcher has also examined the party program of PPP introduced on the occasion of 1988 general elections. An effort has been made to examine PPP’s strategies for these elections. The PPP’s manifesto for the 1988 elections has been thoroughly investigated with a focus on PPP success on the basis of its manifesto issued for said elections. The chapter also contains details of the performance of PPP government till its dismissal in 1990.

The researcher examined in detail whether the incumbent government had followed its stated manifesto. In case of deviation, what were the reasons. In this chapter, the researcher has focused on the government-opposition relationship and has also studied the rules of the game they observed during this period. Before entering to the main theme, it is important, to discuss the pre-election scenario and within this, the PPP’s leading role is deeply observed in formulating the public opinion into its favor.
Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, completed only twenty months of her mandated period. It is also the concern of the researcher to highlight those causes and factors which moved President Ghulam Ishaq Khan to dislodge the incumbent government by using his powers under article 58(2) (b) of the 1973 Constitution.

4.2. Transforming the State into Civilian Rule

By mid-1980s the initiatives taken by General Ziaul Haq included: holding of referendum in December 1984, the introduction of nonparty general elections in February 1985 and the Restoration of Constitutional Order in March 1985, though it was a step in legalizing his authoritarian rule, more as the General did in plodding fashion in the direction remained a proven fact of the intentions he had.\(^{176}\)

The General Zia era is marked as the worst in the history of Pakistan in general and PPP in particular. To Ashok Kapoor, he had not only derailed Pakistan’s nascent democratic process but he introduced ethnic riots as well which contaminated the society. Zia, according to Kapoor had gone to the extent of damaging the original shape of the 1973 Constitution. Shifting the momentum of power in the shape of Eight Amendment and Article 58(2) (b), added in President the authority to pull out the prime minister from the parliamentary lodges on his own directives.\(^{177}\)

Apart from this, he left no stone unturned in discrediting political parties, particularly, PPP in common junta. He created suspicion and a wave of antagonism to keep the masses detached of the political activities and spent their energies for their livelihood and not to waste it in listening useless speeches and processions of the political

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parties. He was also aware of the fact that to stay long in the echelon of powers, he must need the support of political platform in the days to come.\textsuperscript{178}

The present weaknesses in the system were connected with the failure of the PPP and the incompetence of other platforms to improve an ideologically mass based appeal. General Ziaul Haq, who captured political control, overthrew the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto regime by imposing martial law, was enthusiastic to abolish the party as opponent. He resorted to each and every tactic to eliminate it from the political scene of the country. The party was barred, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged to death all its top leadership was imprisoned, but most importantly he promoted what one observer called the localization of politics which greatly reduced PPP's general appeal in the years to come. This program of the localization of political activities started with by conducting the local bodies’ polls on a non-party basis in 1979 which were intended to function as a political pressure valve and to deflect attention away from the PPP.\textsuperscript{179}

Meanwhile, General Zia was making moves that looked like transferring the government to civilians. The plan carefully articulated was smoothly put into practice, as General Zia had earlier announced on August 12, 1983 that the general elections to the National Assembly, the Provincial Assemblies and the Senate would be held by March 1985. He also announced the date for referendum on December 19, 1984 in his address to the nation on December 1, 1984. Accordingly, he held a referendum on his Islamization program which virtually provided him five years in the presidency.\textsuperscript{180}

\textsuperscript{180} Election Commission of Pakistan. (1985).
To make his position more secure, Zia instructed his handpicked Junejo who was the product of February 1985 non-party elections, to form a political party. He congregated the members of the sitting parliament in the shape of Muslim League.\textsuperscript{181} Whatsoever Zia’s mentality regarding the parliamentary experience was, it is an established fact that he never admitted wholeheartedly democratic government and denounced political parties in his speech on 30\textsuperscript{th} of December 1985. In this speech, he put an end to his long authoritarian rule under the cover of military. But, on the other hand, Prime Minister Junejo’s approach was different to political conditions in the sense that he provided a positive gesture while stating that the political parties would very soon resume their activities and would have access to the electorates for the next elections.\textsuperscript{182}

\textbf{4.3. The MRD Politics}

Martial Law regime, immediately following the imposition of military rule, initiated a vigorous movement against the leadership of PPP. Bhutto was arrested on a murder charge and was hanged, on April 4, 1979. However leading a demonstration in Lahore, the police hit Begum Nusrat Bhutto (Widow of ZA Bhutto) on her head who was elected as the Acting Chairperson of the party following the arrest of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in September 1977. Benazir Bhutto (daughter of ZA Bhutto) who was elected as Co-Chairperson of the party, after Begum Nusrat Bhutto disqualification in February, 1978, suffered impairment in hearing during imprisonment. A lot number of party supporter were put to death, many suffered injuries and imprisonment. Also women face such conditions. Despite temptations by the Martial Law authorities no


single PPP supporter betrayed the party. PPP, despite mysterious suppression survived and expanded in strength. The party’s supporters confirmed their commitment to fight against the forces of dictatorship. Those who had become alienated from the party again reunited which enhanced the party support. The progressive forces cooperated with the party openly.

The leadership of Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto gave it a renewed sense. These political influence, suppression, and control could not eliminate Bhutto's image or the mass backing for his party and Benazir Bhutto kept her father's legacy alive. Though young and enduring incarceration and left in exile, Benazir Bhutto had been active in politics as the most outspoken and noticeable opposition leader for more than eleven years and this period had largely shaped her leadership qualities. On more than one occasion, Benazir Bhutto had demonstrated pragmatism and a non-ideological attitude to national issues. She had also shown the ability, without compromising her principles, to work together with various political groups within a democratic framework.\(^{183}\)

Now to get rid of Gen. Zia, they sorted the solutions in attacking the adversary with a full force by combining under the umbrella of an alliance. This alliance of nine political organizations with those which had assisted in its dismissal as members of the PNA, integrated in Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) on February 6, 1981. That, argues Hamid Khan, would work both for bringing an end to military rule and for holding free and fair elections under the Constitution of 1973.\(^{184}\)

The alliance proved to be a source in the unification of the political parties. The

\(^{183}\) Interview of research scholar with Abdul Akbar Khan former Deputy Speaker of KP Assembly. Dated. 18-11-2015.

party’s importance in the politics of Pakistan aroused when it acquired a leading position in MRD. It demanded for the restoration of constitution to its original status, the road toward parliamentary elections, to end oppressive rule of martial law and transfer of power to the elected representatives on priority basis.\textsuperscript{185}

The Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) opposed Ziaul Haq’s plan for Islamization of the country on the ground that the 1973 Constitution provided adequate Islamic flavor. Instead, it focused on to restore the 1973 Constitution to its original shape and provides provincial autonomy. Ziaul Haq responded to the argument in 1983, when he declared a schedule of local government polls and few martial law regulations.\textsuperscript{186}

After few years, MRD launched a new movement on 14th August 1983 and Benazir participated in the movement from jail. In this movement not only the people participated from urban centers but rural areas as well, because the movement was strong in Sindh as compare to the remaining provinces. It proved as the highest danger to Zia regime when Pakistan Peoples Party took the responsibility for commanding the Movement of democracy in 1983 that was started to remove Zia.\textsuperscript{187}

The MRD, as result of the government failure in 1983, took its supporters out to the streets of Sindh province to challenge the military rule. At the same time, by overwhelming political forces such as the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, Zia’s government spawned atrocities that turned Karachi and Hyderabad into a boiling ethnic cauldron. In 1985, General Ziaul Haq had decided to bring back political activities in Pakistan as a result of the pressure from political forces

\textsuperscript{185} Interview of the research scholar with Begum Naseem Wali Khan Leader of ANP (Wali Group). Dated. 09-10-2015.


especially from PPP in challenging the military regime through the MRD in 1983.\textsuperscript{188} On February 21, 1985, PPP called for a boycott of the non-party general elections and referendum on the grounds that both were in contrast to democratic spirit of the 1973 Constitution.\textsuperscript{189} But the boycott had limited success.\textsuperscript{190}

Benazir’s arrival in 1986, brought, once again, thousands of supporters into the streets and she responded to them by declaring her mission i.e., the removal of Zia ul Haq and the restoration of democracy. The opposition then formed the Awami (People’s) Movement and selected Benazir as their leader. Her appearance in Karachi on April 10, 1986 produced crowds not seen since the days of Quaid-i-Azam. Recognizing a tide of support in her favor, Benazir reserved all her criticism for President Zia and said nothing about Junejo or the Muslim League. Using a strategy that was intended to isolate the President, the daughter of the martyred Bhutto anticipated putting together a political coalition that would guarantee her success in the forthcoming elections.\textsuperscript{191}

On the other hand, for safeguarding his position General Zia pushed Pakistan into a situation of uncertainty. Nobody knew his fate even once anybody left home in the morning whether he will return home or not. The situations had become worsened to the extent that killing and butchering became the order of the day. Even the fire that was lit by General Zia in the shape of Sunni Shia conflicts took whole the country into its lap.

\textsuperscript{189} Maya, Chadda. (2000). \textit{Building Democracy in South Asia: INDIA,NEPAL,PAKISTAN}. London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, p. 70.
In spite of all those diverse political situations, Benazir Bhutto started in organizing the party because during the latter part of Junejo period. The party was greatly surrounded by interior problems, the dismissal of Jahangir Badar as the head of the party in the Punjab reflected such problems. Considerable opposition had grown to him in the party; some criticized him for being conservative, while few did not respect his experience and viewed him as a political upstart, charging his rise to Benazir's favoritism. Members like Rao Rashid, openly criticized Benazir political posture. She had reversed party policy in some key areas, stopped further nationalization of industries, removing land reform from the agenda of the party and shifting external policy in the direction favorable more to America. The PPP supporters openly questioned the sense of this policy shift. Such disputes and disagreement inside PPP was the creation of continuous obstructions. The party was defeated in the local body elections of 1987 and even unsuccessful to gain a by-elections seat to the National Assembly.\textsuperscript{192}

Although it was a tough and tedious task to get the flavor of the voters in such an uncertain political scenario yet Benazir Bhutto made it possible. But the initial stage especially in the elections of local bodies in November 1987, the party had suffered a serious blow.\textsuperscript{193}

The drift in the relationships between General Ziaul Haq and Prime Minister Junejo came to surface from the time when the latter started asserting his position and authority. The prime minister was aware of his position as he was having the backing of parliament. In this regard, he felt himself more secure than before and started


asserting his position and authority as champion of democratic rights and liberties of the people, the freedom of press and removal of restrictions imposed on political parties.  

Two of the events stood instrumental in fissuring these relationships. First, the Prime Minister, Junejo convened an All Parties Conference on Afghan Settlement that was attended by the leaders of all parties especially PPP’s Benazir Bhutto without informing and consulting General Zia which the latter vehemently opposed. Secondly, the stance of Junejo on Geneva Accords exacerbated the situations and this created a sense of uneasiness inside the Presidency.

As Mushtaq Ahmad pointed out, it was not possible to control democracy by dictatorial devices. That was what the late president had attempted to do by literally outlawing the political parties, packing the parliament with members who had no party affiliation and appointing a prime minister who, he thought, would be his yes man.

Ziaul Haq dismissed the increasingly assertive Mohammad Khan Junejo by using his authority under the amended constitution three years later. He tried to impose his will in certain matters especially in the promotions in military and tried to reduce defense expenses.

On May 29, 1988 Ziaul Haq dismissed his handpicked protege Muhammad Khan Junejo and dissolved the National Assembly of Pakistan on the allegations of corruptions, worst law and order situation and slow process of Islamization. “A few
days before his death, while revealing his plans for a presidential system, he told a confidante I will be around you a long time. But fate intervened on 17th August, 1988 when the C-130, carrying him crashed”\(^{198}\).

His death changed the political scene of the country and his supporters were left in total disarray. Thus an aura of expectations from Benazir Bhutto was produced who, after returned to the country in an unprecedented public welcome in 1986 enter national politics. Large chunk of popular support in Benazir Bhutto's leadership was rapidly organized. A number of politicians joined the party were not its member before. Despite all these adverse circumstances, PPP performed well in the general elections of 1988 but it failed to gain the amount of vote as did in 1970s.\(^{199}\)

### 4.4. Death of General Zia and the Restoration of Democracy

The Pakistan Muslim League was re-energized by supporters of the ruling military elite and had been governing the country long before its changeover to political leadership. The party, on the other hand, was considered as the main rival to military rule and military junta could only participate in the election and form government if the system was, at the time, democratic. If the ruling party could side with any one i.e., the army or political leadership, its thoughts concerning democratic system were reasonably uncertain. The above stated measures clearly depict Desch’s observation that, the military can gain larger control by playing them against one another when civilian elites are divided. General Zia’s policy of ‘nonparty elections’ damaged political parties in the country, resulting in the failure of the party in attaining greater number seats in the elections.


\(^{199}\) See for details. [www.ppp.org/html](http://www.ppp.org/html).
Saeed Shafqat observed that the departing rulers conducted the election bearing in mind the fact that the opposition especially the PPP was weak enough and would not get that much votes in the elections.\textsuperscript{200} The Army high command understood that the difference among the political parties would be advantageous to them if they could weaken the new setup by internal cleavage then it would have fewer chances to flourish. These leaders not permitted parties to organize themselves efficiently, by holding elections to take place so quickly that wanted to reduce the chances of effective political compromise. They understood that the former General had done havoc with the political system and the country to greater extant was polarized.\textsuperscript{201} This extreme polarization proved yet another great threat to the survival democratic system.\textsuperscript{202}

After the death of Zia, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Chairman of the Senate became the president of Pakistan, as per the amended constitution, on August 17, 1988. He established an Emergency Council immediately and became the head of the state and decided to hold fresh polls, with full involvement of political parties in November 1988. However, he knew besides his experiences being a bureaucrat by serving under many presidents in the country that public aspiration for the fresh elections could not be stopped. In his address to the nation, Ghulam Ishaq Khan assured that his government firmly believed in democracy and will continue to march on its road with determination.\textsuperscript{203}

\textsuperscript{203} Emergency Imposed, Council Set Up Poll on Schedule. (1988, August 18). \textit{Dawn Islamabad Bureau}. 
Although, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan had shown his determinations to restore democracy in Pakistan, yet the problem for the political parties was the issue of elections on non party basis. Gen. Zia had declared (on July 21, 1988) in a press conference that elections to the national and provincial assemblies would be on non party basis. This puzzled the political leaders of all platforms including Benazir Bhutto of PPP. The stance of Pakistan Peoples Party was loud and clear as its leader sensed overwhelming support for party inside peoples. However, Benazir Bhutto filed a petition in the Supreme Court of Pakistan requesting the latter to direct the Federation of Pakistan and Chief Election Commissioner to hold the elections on party basis.\(^\text{204}\)

The turbulent political situation of South Korea in 1987 was much similar to Pakistan. On the eve of first presidential elections, the political situation was unstable because the military was dominating the political scene, demonstrations and riots of serious nature took place against the military’s authoritarian rule. The demonstrations proved successful at the end and a schedule of fresh elections was announced.\(^\text{205}\)

In Pakistan, the situation was not much different than South Korea. In Pakistan the opposition was demanding the participation of political parties in the elections prior to that, demonstrations and street riots were observed against Zia’s military regime for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. To compel the authoritarian tendency of General Zia and to restore democracy, the will of the people was the agenda of the opposition for which they used each and every tactic. But this time the MRD had demanded elections on party basis to end the stalemate and to put the country back on democratic track. Frontline leaders of the MRD while addressing a big public meeting

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\(^{204}\) Benazir Files Petition. (1988, August 18). *Dawn Islamabad Bureau.*

appealed to the nation to forge complete unity in its ranks and files to fight against the
dictatorial rule.\textsuperscript{206}

However, on October 2, 1988, the historic decision came from the Supreme Court of
Pakistan in response to the petitions filed on August 1, 1988 by the co-chairperson of
PPP against the decision of late General Zia that the elections would be held on non
party basis.\textsuperscript{207} The Supreme Court gave its judgment in favor of the political
organizations. The Court decisions have released a tremendous amount of popular
energies and enthusiasm all over the country for the exercise of the franchise.\textsuperscript{208}

The post Zia military bureaucracy had been playing a key role in Pakistan’s politics.
The most important development was the establishment of IJI by military in 1988 which
was founded to counter PPP’s substantial campaigns in the elections to reduce the
predictable success of Pakistan Peoples Party. The establishment worked for the
reconsolidation of Pakistan Muslim League’s two offshoots and invited other political
parties to join PML and form an electoral alliance named the Islami Jamhori Ittehad
(IJI).\textsuperscript{209} The establishment was busy from behind to bring together the opposing PPP
elements and worked as much as possible to help the IJI in the elections.\textsuperscript{210} Later on,
such types of activities of establishment were continued for breaking the affiliation of
PPP parliamentarians from National and Provincial Assemblies from the party.

\textsuperscript{206} MRD Urges Party Based Elections. (1988, August 12). \textit{The Dawn News.}
\textsuperscript{207} Non Issues in Polls Campaign. (1988, November 12). \textit{The Dawn News.}
\textsuperscript{208} Philip, Oldenburg. (2010). \textit{India, Pakistan and Democracy. Solving the Puzzle of Divergent Paths.}
London: Routledge, p. 177.
\textsuperscript{209} The IJI comprised nine Political Parties and Group: Pakistan Muslim League, National People's
Party, Jamaat-i-Islami, Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam (Darkhwasti group), Jamiat-e- Mashaikh, Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadith, Independent political group led by Fakhr Imam, Nizam-e-Mustafa group, and
\textsuperscript{210} The Nation Lahore. 9 May, 1995.
Pakistani political parties in the meantime was split broadly into two coalition groups obviously representing the two different viewpoints largely the legacies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Ziaul Haq. Benazir Bhutto fought the elections from the PPP platform. The Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) comprised certain factions of the Muslim League and numerous religious political parties. IJI was the product of post Zia military establishment to unite different political platforms for countering the growing popularity of Pakistan Peoples Party.211

4.5. PPP Manifestos for 1988 General Election

The October 2, 1988 court’s decision that the political parties were allowed to take part in the November 16, 1988 elections had sparked a new wave of hope not only among the masses but also among the political parties.212 The political parties were busy in mobilizing and consolidating their vote bank. Political rallies of high standing were observed throughout Pakistan. Leaders of all the parties actively participated in their campaign for the elections. Political activities throughout Pakistan with full force viz-a-viz the overwhelming participation of the people was a clear indication of the attachments that the nation had with democracy. There were numerous parties that had fielded their candidates for the elections but the main battle was between the Pakistan Peoples Party led by Benazir Bhutto and the Islami Jamhori Ittehad a coalition of Muslim League and eight other political parties. The coalition chose Nawaz Sharif as its head.213

As Mushtaq Ahmad has noted that in comparison to IJI led by Nawaz Sharif, the PPP had deeper roots among the masses, a leadership cadre at all levels and an organization more cohesive than that of the Muslim League. But even Benazir Bhutto and her party had to have the sense of accountability under the new dispensation, faced with a forceful opposition. It is the fundamental assumption of democracy that after the people in power have forfeited the confidence of the masses, they must vacate the sears of authority. The PPP was as much bound by the tradition as was the Muslim League. A healthy and strong opposition which can operate as a check on a powerful government is a salient feature of a vigorous democracy.214

It was to the surprise of many that the PPP under Benazir Bhutto abandoned all references to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s socialism. Benazir claimed the high ground, projecting a secular image centered on the vision of a democratic Pakistan. As Mohammad Waseem argues that the political situation of Pakistan was such that the social agenda remained absent from the political discourse. But the restoration of democracy was the demand of all stakeholders in their struggles. At the moment Benazir Bhutto was looking strong. The ruling coalition chose to make part the Islamic aspect of this legacy, particularly against the backdrop of Afghanistan’s resistance movement. The general elections were in essence about the past record of the two former leaders i.e., Bhutto and Zia. Also, it was about the question of the restoration of representative system in a non-mutilated shape. All the opposing elements to PPP supported Muslim League including big business men, the urban

middle class of Sindh and Punjab, along with its institutional expression in the form of bureaucracy and increasingly the army.\textsuperscript{215}

The form of conflict among the two conglomerations of political groups which had developed in 1970 and which were more crystallized in 1977 reemerged in 1988 with complete strength. The high popular support enjoyed by PPP in the form of its passionate fight for democracy which had now borne fruit. Though, in Karachi the reappearance of the party was opposed by a new improvement which was yet to be understood in terms of its influence on the forthcoming course of events.\textsuperscript{216} The IJI, on the other hand, unabashedly adopted Zia’s policies and called upon the electorate to help the movement complete the work that the late President had begun.\textsuperscript{217}

Each party had presented their respective manifesto for the upcoming November 1988 general elections. To convince the people and to secure their overwhelming support, each political party was trying to discredit the opponents. Benazir Bhutto promised to ensure the freedom of the press if she came to power. This statement was issued on the occasion of a book launching ceremony at the Karachi Press Club.\textsuperscript{218}

PPP and IJI were the two major contenders in the elections apart from numerous smaller parties. PPP had decided not to enter into any electoral alliance on the basis of its being part of MRD in the political battle against Zia military regime but to contest the elections on its own platform. Contrary to PPP, the Muslim League made itself part of a coalition called IJI to weaken the position of Benazir Bhutto and to win the elections. PPP had promised for the development of a strong and prosperous Pakistan.

\textsuperscript{215} Interview of the research scholar with Chaudhry Amin Fahim, Dated: 28-6-2014.
based on the solid democratic principles of equality and justice. The party was to create an environment of peace and develop harmonious relationship among state institutions at all levels. The party also pledged to restore the original constitution and rule of law with necessary safeguards for provincial autonomy, bring an end to all forms of discrimination and strengthen the foundation of the state. To strengthen democratic processes in Pakistan, a broad based political consensus and maximum participation of all groups and individuals to give lasting stability to civilian rule. Apart from it, the PPP also expressed its determination to strengthen the state institutions and to end the culture of vendetta form Pakistan.

On the other hand, the IJI had issued manifesto based on the Islamic principles. It also promised to carry forward the Islamization program which Gen. Zia had launched in Pakistan in the mid-80s.

In one of her public rallies, Benazir Bhutto had pledged that the party would abide by the verdict of the people and that the people will support her party program. On that occasion, she promised that the party would remove frustration among the people and will embark upon a program of mass welfare.

The political parties on both sides could not find enough time to propagate their stand points on national issues. Both the contestants had outlined their manifestos especially the Pakistan Peoples Party stepped down from its initial slogans and moderately shifted its position on radical reforms and avoided the direct use of the slogan of socialism. Pakistan Peoples Party mobilized public opinion by claiming that

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220. Manifestoes of both PPP and IJI are given in the annexure.
222. -------------------- (1988), PPP to Abide by Peoples Verdicts. The Daily Dawn. November. 15
it was the only party that could attend to the sufferings of the oppressed and could bring a meaningful change in the society. The elections evoked great enthusiasm both among the public and the candidates. This was particularly evident from the number of contestants in each constituency.  

4.6. Benazir Bhutto as the First Women Premier

PPP was pitted against the Gen. Zia’s supporters who had joined together against the party and were involved in all kind of hateful mudslinging campaigns against her person never seen in Pakistan before. However, at this challenging time, she remained focused and peaceful. Consequently, her party had got victorious in the elections by obtaining majority seats in the national legislature. The November 1988 elections brought Pakistan Peoples Party as a major platform with 94 National Assembly seats at its credit without the support of any other party. The Islamic Democratic Alliance, the second largest winner, got 56 seats only. The Mohajir Qaumi Movement candidates did not use party label, emerged third in the series with thirteen seats.

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THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF NOVEMBER 16, 1988

Party Position in National Assembly of Pakistan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of Party</th>
<th>Percentage of Votes</th>
<th>Number of Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pakistan Peoples Party</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI)</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pakistan Awami Ittehad</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Awami National Party</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F)</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>National People Party (Khar)</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Pakistan Democratic Party</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Balochistan National Alliance</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Darkhasti)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>207</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The above statistics in the table have been taken from www.PILDAT.org

An additional twenty seats in the National Assembly are reserved for women and were to be filled later. An additional twenty seats in the National Assembly are reserved for women and were to be filled later An additional twenty seats in the National Assembly are reserved for women and were to be filled later.225 With the support of MQM and 8 MNAs from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), the PPP managed a clear majority. Keeping the required majority in House, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan called upon Benazir Bhutto for the formation of government. She was sworn in as prime minister, the first woman to govern a Muslim State.226 The new political administration led by Benazir Bhutto, was extremely divided before assuming office. In view of the elections results

226 ------------------(2003), Benazir Bhutto Becomes Prime Minister.
PPP was hardly able to form coalition in parliament. It had to face severe opposition from the IJI, an alliance gathered by military establishment. The formation of this alliance aimed to guarantee that a strong, opposition to the PPP existed, even if the military itself would not directly interfere.²²⁷

Benazir Bhutto enjoyed the support and backing of her family among the large section of the Pakistani electorate because they were emotionally attached with her family which provided her the opportunity to lead a Muslim country. Yet, this legacy as the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had confirmed to be a mixed political blessing. Even though Benazir was leading the party of her father and had headed it to success, the party secured less than the expected number of seats in the 1988 elections and was thus compelled to form coalition government with the help of ethnic MQM (representing the post-1947 migrants to Pakistan) and other parties in order to form a stable government. Both the parties promised the protection of all the citizens of Sindh, important to the Muhajirs as they often felt discriminated against by the native Sindhis.²²⁸ Sartaj Aziz argues that the year 1988 was, in many ways, a watershed year in the turbulent history of Pakistan. This particular year put an end to the long era of military rule in the country. The victory of PPP in the 1988 general election was the beginning of a new democratic era in Pakistan.

The situations in which Benazir took the rein of government with a split mandate in the Parliament²²⁹ made her bound to compromise various political goals. As a strong advocate of democracy, Benazir Bhutto had initiated conciliation with all political platforms in Pakistan including IJI's especially Nawaz Sharif in the Punjab, and she

²²⁷ Benazir Bhutto Becomes Prime Minister by admin on Jun 1, 2003.
²²⁹ In order to form government, the PPP needed 104 more seats in the House of 207.
had magnificently arbitrated various points of differences between Muhahir and Sindh leadership. The Awami National Party (ANP) which was an arch rival of Z. A. Bhutto in the mid-1970s, now shared government with the ruling party in NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Benazir skillfully persuaded chief minister of IJI in Balochistan, Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali and his group.

It was Benazir's vision of conciliatory politics that she helped Ghulam Ishaq Khan in the presidential elections held on December 12, 1988. There was a growing realization within the PPP and outside it that confrontation among the democratic forces has only benefited the military bureaucratic oligarchy in the past. Emergence of more than one center of power would provide a unique opportunity to Pakistani leadership to set new traditions of political partnership, while maintaining separate political identities. Benazir Bhutto and her party had the capability to take a leadership role in promoting the politics of reconciliation in Pakistan.\(^{230}\)

4.7. PPP’s Domestic Policy

Benazir Bhutto in her speech to the masses as prime minister, presented her vision of Pakistan i.e., looking ahead and the promotion democracy directed by Islamic values.\(^{231}\) Immediately after taking charge of the office, Benazir Bhutto announced an amnesty program under which thousands of prisoners were released including political prisoners. According to the Amnesty International Report (May 1990), a total of 2,029 death sentences were commuted. Ban was lifted from the student’s unions and trade unions. The elections for the office of president on December 12, 1988, supported PPP commitment to democracy in Pakistan as the party has pledged

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\(^{230}\) Interview of the research scholar with Chaudhry Amin Fahim, Dated: 28-6-2014.

to strengthen democratic institutions in the country. In Pakistan, the presidential election was of immense importance because the country had remained for a long time under the iron clutches of military dictator and political and democratic activities had been banned.²³²

In April 1989, BB government announced compensation for those people who had suffered under military government or imprisoned for over three months under martial law for political reasons or who had been victims of Zia's torture would be compensated. She restored civil liberties and the people became very euphoric and proud of the restored democracy.²³³

Although BB did not have enough majority in the lower chamber of legislature to reverse the constitutional amendments incorporated by Zia, other laws enacted by Zia regime but had thoroughly examined to determine its validity in the light of the constitution and its respect for human rights. The special courts established by Gen. Zia were also disbanded. Private media were allowed to express their views, even if they were critical of the government. But the official information source, however, persistently supported the BB government.²³⁴

The Benazir Bhutto government also addressed poverty, built small, low cost houses in big cities and opened health clinics. Improved budget for increasing literacy rate, constructed building for schools and hired teaching staff in Pakistan. Sending of children to schools was declared mandatory. BB also fought drug abuse and the violence it produces. Her government launched electrification program for villages. Although the party was still calling for social programs for the poor, Benazir Bhutto’s

²³⁴ Interview of research scholar with Abdul Akbar Khan former Deputy Speaker of KP Assembly. Dated. 18-11-2015.
economic policies were very different from those of her father, she tried to encourage small business start-ups and private investment. Benazir Bhutto considered the work she did to improve the lives of Pakistani women as she put it thus: “Above all I want to be remembered for what I did for women.”

She initiated family planning program, opened women police stations and recruiting women to serve as police officers also set up a women’s bank run by women to provide loans to women. She also fixed a 5% quota for women in public services. She was awarded prize for freedom in 1989, by a foreign organization. Benazir Bhutto’s achievements throughout her tenure were in accordance with her initiatives for nationalist reform and transformation which some traditionalists termed characterized as westernization.

4.8. PPP Relations with the Military

Due to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto execution and incarcerations of Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto during Zia military regime, PPP relations remained strained with the military leadership. Sartaj Azia argues that Benazir Bhutto had sacked ISI chief General Hamid Gul, to diminish military’s role in politics. She made an unsuccessful attempt of changing Admiral Sirohey but he had the backing of the president. The military did not like her action as Hameed Gul was appointed by Zia. Besides, Benazir Bhutto’s government asked the new Chief of ISI, Lt. General Shams ur Rahman Kallu to provide information about the use of ISI money that was allegedly used by General Hameed Gul to support the IJI in the 1988 elections against Benazir Bhutto. But, according to the author, army was not comfortable with the victory of PPP and put

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enormous resistance in the form of IJI to keep the party out of the corridors of powers but in vain because the PPP had the support of masses. Not only had this but Ghulam Ishaq Khan also took long time in calling upon Benazir Bhutto to form the government. This was one of the phases of above mentioned army resistance.

Sartaj Aziz mentioned that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan extracted assurances from her that she would not interfere in senior appointments in the armed forces or try to change the course of foreign policy in Afghanistan. As mentioned on several occasions in her interviews, she formed government in 1988 with her hands tied and that she was overthrown in 1990 because she chose to dictate her own security agenda. Despite the assurances which Benazir Bhutto had given to the armed forces through Ghulam Ishaq Khan, she could have asserted herself like her predecessor in strengthening the role of parliament and other democratic institutions but she concentrated on consolidating and expanding the political space of the party. To start with, the 1988 elections had produced a split mandate; PPP did not get an absolute majority in the legislature and in the three provinces. Only in Sindh, it secured a sweeping mandate of 67 out of 100 seats.238

Benazir tried to restore the constitution to its original shape which virtually would enhanced the powers of elected head of government i.e., the prime minister. She failed to do so as she was caring with her the burden of split mandate which was not enough for the stated objective and soon abandoned the efforts. Apart from other grave problems that Benazir inherited from the previous government, the problems of a growing budget deficit and ethnic violence were sever ones. The establishment

played a motivating role in switching the MQM support from the PPP to the opposition.\textsuperscript{239}

Even, she was kept out in making vital decisions; for instance, the military including the president took the decision of nuclear program without taking her in confidence. Bhutto’s influence over the military was negligible: as she expressed “If I came to know of something, I could restrain them and pull them in, but I was unable to promote or demote or punish any officer that was destabilizing my government, let alone violating government policy.\textsuperscript{240}

4.9. Relationship with the Opposition

Some of Benazir Bhutto’s decisions enabled her to deal with the problems she was facing i.e., strained relations with IJI opposition and establishment. Benazir Bhutto kept the portfolios of finance and defense ministries with herself, selected an experienced bureaucrat (Wasim Jafari) as her top adviser on finance and economic affairs. However, she retained Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, as foreign minister signaled continuity in pursuit of the country’s policy on Afghanistan. The MQM extended it support and cooperation to the government of PPP in the Center as well as in the province of Sindh. The agreement, signed between the MQM and PPP, promised to safeguard and protect the interests Sindhis regardless of language, religion or origin as well as to stamp out violence and to support the rule of law.

The agreement short-lived as it did not accomplish the desired objectives i.e., to bring peace and assistance in between the Sindhis and the Muhajirs in Sindh. Hardly a


\textsuperscript{240} Tony, Jones. “Benazir Bhutto Speaks to Late line about Attack on Iraq.” \textit{Late line} Australian Broadcasting Corporation, \url{http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/ s609909.htm}. 
month had passed since the PPP rule began that the strains between the government and opposition had become pronounced and tended to increase. In such a situation when the country had just started a democratic journey, the opposition was required to display great patience and prudence towards the newly installed government. The opposition was not mentally ready to spend five years on the opposition benches and allow the government to complete its term.\(^{241}\)

Unfortunately in Pakistan, many of the opposition leaders had collaborated with General Zia all the way through and some of them became his ministers too readily. Different issues, for example, the Balochistan and the center Punjab relations had remained critical between the government and opposition throughout these twenty two months. And that did not allow the government to work smoothly and portray its intentions about the programme it offered in the pre elections campaign. Both opposition and government did not allow each other to work freely. The opposition worked to dislodge the government by not allowing the smooth functioning of the latter while the government used to interrupt and to weaken the opposition by every means. Lack of maturity and political patience completely covered the scene.\(^{242}\)

As Benazir Bhutto completed her first year in office, the political situations in Pakistan remained unsettled. Benazir Bhutto style of governance became the target of opposition’s criticism. As Sartaj Aziz wrote that the erosion of the government’s strength in the parliament, after the withdrawal of MQM support, provided an opportunity to the Combined Opposition Parties (COP) to table a no Confidence Motion against the PPP government.\(^{243}\) Simultaneously, in the fall of 1989, Benazir

\(^{241}\) Interview of the research scholar with Chaudhry Amin Fahim, Dated: 28-6-2014
Bhutto and her coalition government faced a no confidence motion in the parliament from an ambitious opposition alliance to overthrow her government before completing the mandated period. The combined Opposition parties move was defeated in the National Assembly. The opposition, however, managed to receive 107 votes in the House of 234 members. After the attempted parliamentary coup against her government, Benazir Bhutto alleged that if her government was defeated by the no confidence motion, the opposition leaders had a plan to arrest her and the top 1000 leaders of her party. Had Benazir Bhutto's government been defeated in the no confidence vote, the president would be free to call the opposition to form government. Rumors circulated a week preceding the vote, claiming that members of the National Assembly were offered money to switch sides. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on November 4, 1989, defeated the no confidence motion by a slim majority of eleven votes in the 234 members Assembly.

4.10. Failures of PPP Government

Expectations aroused with Benazir's assumption of office from inside and outside Pakistan. She demanded for the support and cooperation in state affairs from all the stakeholders. She reiterated her commitment and offered her program to make Pakistan a modern state. But as her term progressed and met with hard challenges of the governance, many of her programs did not translate into action. Though she was successful in the democratic process back into the country and worked to promote friendly relations with the America and India as well. Benazir's first term in office is

usually looked by observers, as incompetent a period of governmental instability and within months, she had lost much of her political support.\textsuperscript{246}

While coming to office she promised to raise the existing literacy rate to 90.5\% within 5 years and expand the infrastructure of secondary education throughout the country.\textsuperscript{247} In the election campaign, Benazir Bhutto expressed her concern for women’s rights including discrimination against women. But she failed to propose any legislation to improve welfare services of the women. She had also promised to repeal controversial laws such as Hudood and Zina Ordinances that curtailed women rights in Pakistan but her party did not fulfill these promises due to pressure from the religious opposition.\textsuperscript{248}

Benazir Bhutto government in first few months of 1989 did nothing but did everything which did not cost money for example freeing prisoners, lifting the ban on unions, permitting freedom of the press. Benazir Bhutto’s administration was unable bring forth any new meaning program.\textsuperscript{249} Indeed Pakistan’s experience in the decade from 1988-90 lends weight to those considerations which continued that transitions imposed by armed forces were at best bringing fragile democracies. Which have nothing to do with the development of economic justice though continuing guarantees of political freedom, but which are expected to result a hybrid mix of electoral forms and government.\textsuperscript{250}

The PPP public posture minimized because of its unsatisfactory performance in 1990. It was feared that the government might collapse because the government wasted its time in securing its partner’s backing by means of giving them high offices and

money. However, Political freedom increased in this period but PPP government was incapable to formulate policies of long term socio economic development.\textsuperscript{251}

The chief minister of the Punjab, Mohammed Nawaz Sharif who refused to support and cooperates with the federal government was not taken on board by Benazir Bhutto.\textsuperscript{252}

Not all of the country’s problems were political, but weak economic position of the country had remained a matter of concern for her government. Growing Political uncertainty contributed to economic decline further during Benazir Bhutto’s era. Apart from political and economic factors, the oil boom in the Persian Gulf countries further jeopardized the smooth sailing of BB government. Pakistanis could no longer go there for employment that permitted them to send money back home. Business was weak and fewer jobs were available. Her government was blamed for which it accepted as part of the system as ministers designed rules to help friends and allies.\textsuperscript{253}

The Voice of America was describing Benazir Bhutto as a breath of fresh air and a “symbol of the new democratic Pakistan,” Benazir Bhutto was struggling to ward off a variety of attacks on her government. Amidst high inflation, deepening law and order situations and demands came from the private sector that she could not address.\textsuperscript{254} Benazir Bhutto assumed office with the conviction that democracy would flourish under her rule. But it took little long before that belief was replaced by another alarming situation when Pakistan faced the threat of being declared as a failed state. Benazir Bhutto continued to speak in the name of democratic institutions but

\textsuperscript{252} Interview of the research scholar with Chaudhry Amin Fahim, Dated: 28-6-2014.
she clearly had opted for the more arbitrary powers associated with her predecessors. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had used his political powers against opposition leaders.\(^{255}\)

The scion of the feudal elite, Benazir was frequently described as dictatorial during her first tenure in office. As she was claiming to heal the wounds and bury the past, she was inevitably tied to her father's political legacy which included severe suppression of political rivals. The selection of Nusrat Bhutto to the position of a senior minister without portfolio and Hakim Ali Zardari as Chairman of the Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee was regarded in some quarters as ill-advised nepotism. Her regime established a bureau which was given the task to made political placement in the civil services which was stopped to function. Benazir Bhutto dismissed those public servant which she considered were in disagreement to the rule of her father rather than on their job performance. Furthermore, it was the inability of her rule to provide conducive situations in which the ruling PPP share power with its coalition partners but it did the opposite which increased the worries of coalition partner and the latter’s decision to quit the government in October 1989.\(^{256}\)

The public sense of disillusionment deepened as the government had not come up with to deliver its promised employment and economic development programs completely. Increasing political hostilities with the opposition redirected the attentions of government from high Inflation and unemployment. The rapid growth in the population pressurized the already ignored sectors i.e., education and health. The government had not been completely overcome with the state's rising drug abuse problem. The growing opposition from conservative’s circles distrusted Benazir's commitment to the Islamic principles of the country. Mostly, analysts and observers

\(^{255}\) Ibid., pp. 212-215.

\(^{256}\) Interview of the research scholar with Begum Naseem Wali Khan. Dated: 09-10-2015.
have noted that the first PPP government turned out to be a disappointment. It was unable to implement most of its promises. Her critics noted that she had abandoned the people in the interest of her own and her party’s political survival. As William Richter commented, Benazir Bhutto found herself opposed by the president whose greater influences under the amended constitution extremely restricted her authority and by the military which insisted on retaining authority over Afghan policy and other sensitive subjects. The IJI opposition in the National Assembly which tried to remove her by initiating no confidence motion and by Nawaz Sharif who endeavored to build up Punjab and other provinces at the expense of central government.  

Clearly, the PPP government could not have made much headway in its promises to the electorate. People expected quicker results as Kuldip Nayar points out, "She has made too many promises" on which she had not been able to deliver. There were accusations of corruption against her family members. According to Henry Carey, her father-in-law, Hakim Ali Zardari was corrupt. And her husband Asif Ali Zardari, who became an organizer of an array of bagmen, collected fees on loans, contracts or licenses that he had arranged. She promised to stop Zardari family; interference in her administration but it was too little. Besides, there was an allegation that she bribed opposition members of the National Assembly to vote for her when a no confidence motion was tabled by the IJI on November 1, 1989. These groups frequently called for military intervention to remove Benazir Bhutto.  

Efforts were also made to deteriorate the role of Senate because PPP did not have a majority there.  

Like her father, Benazir was accused of corrupting the state by entrenching its feudal character.

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and transforming public institutions into instruments for the arbitrary exercise of power.\textsuperscript{260}

### 4.11. Center and the Provinces during Benazir Era

Benazir Bhutto started her prime ministership with great public expectations after being elected in the 1988 elections but soon disappointed the people by her inexperience, arrogance and vindictive policies. Her administration was plagued by strong and persistent allegations of corruption, political patronage at public expense, autocratic tendencies and personal animus against political opponents. She destroyed her credibility by becoming a partisan prime minister.\textsuperscript{261} Punjab, the largest province in Pakistan, had an IJI government with Nawaz Sharif as chief minister. It had an uneasy relationship with the PPP government at the center due to old political rivalries. In December 1988 in a meeting between Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif temporarily minimized the level of hostile relations but clash existed as both of them had high stakes in dominating the politics of Punjab. A strong political base for PPP in this largest province would have strengthened its position at the center. At the same time, however, a strong opposition government there would have helped draw the boundaries that have been ambiguous between the central and the provincial governments\textsuperscript{262}

Despite the expectation of completing its mandated period the opposition especially the IJI chief minister of Punjab, Nawaz Sharif, created hurdles and did not comply with the center in the province of Punjab. His own personal ambitions and with the support and assistance of a number of PPP opponents inside the legislature and with


\textsuperscript{261} Gen. (Rtd.) Khalid Mahmud Arif. A Faulty Political Order. (1994, October 10). \textit{The Dawn News}.

the country secret agencies, he also spearheaded opposition in the lower chamber of legislature. General Aslam Baig, the Army Chief, who tried to avoid an open hostility with her because she at first enjoyed the goodwill of her supporters. Pakistan witnessed an era of weak democracy where more energy on the part of leaders was wasted on mutual tussles than on solving the country’s problems of governance.263

The 1988 election’s manifesto of PPP was full of promises to improve the life of the common man by accelerating the pace of investment and growth. But law and order situation everywhere in the country and especially ethnic violence in Sindh seriously affected the industrial sector in the province.264

Other than severe political polarity and structural imbalances, her visits to foreign countries were appreciated though, for many Islamist groups, her gender often produced some anger. Yet, normal Pakistanis were concerned more with their basic problems than her being a woman. She did not made considerable struggles to enter into negotiations with the rivals just like Nawaz Sharif and his supporters.265

The MQM had generated enduring objections about the government because of the quota system and PPP was rooted among the rural population in Sindh. But the leader, of Muhajirs, Altaf Hussain along with his followers was not in good terms with the Pashtun community, Punjabi and Baloch in Karachi because local political power base seemed to be slipping away from the Muhajireen. Founding its case on Muhajir persecution, MQM formed its own mercenaries and fought battles in the increasingly separated areas in Karachi which adversely affected the economic conditions of the country. To get support from the MQM, which had 13 National

Assembly seats Benazir, tried to soften MQM’s reservations about her government. The MQM was unwilling to form a coalition government with PPP.\(^{266}\)

As a result of the growing public demand in Sindh, however, both gradually came closer. In December 1988 a 58 points agreement was signed in Karachi between the leaders of the two parties. This agreement produces widespread angered among several Sindhi nationalists, even though, considering the trust deficit among these parties, the chances of its effective implementation of the agreement was in true sense marginal. The leader of IJI, Nawaz Sharif also began to appease Altaf Hussain, intended mainly to destabilize Benazir Bhutto’s government. The cases of various natures came to the front in Karachi and the city witnessed sporadic cases of mysterious assassinations, and ethnic tussles, which provided opportunities to Nawaz to criticize the government for its inabilities to handle the situations.\(^{267}\)

Just as important, Benazir Bhutto could not utilize her party’s elections success, her coalition and her own popularity into shaping an internal policy for Pakistan. This arrangement of alliance with MQM, in which PPP had an upper hand, remained a great hurdle in successful working of the parliament.

Moreover, her alliance with the MQM damaged her credibility within the party particularly among the Sindhi nationalists who were among her strongest supporters. The MQM, even sought the support of army chief to interfere in Karachi which meant that the PPP in Sindh was incapable of stopping the violence. The PPP government, therefore, tried to punished the perpetrators, launched an armed action against them in which casualties were reported and at least 30 people were killed. Altaf Hussain accused Benazir Bhutto of backstabbing and blamed her for working against the

\(^{266}\) The *Dawn*, October 2, 1988.

agreement. Such conditions hastened secret negotiations between the MQM and Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto was termed as common target. With this a new development took place as on September 18, 1989, MQM formally joined the IJI which had grown into a larger alliance called the Combined Opposition Parties (COP) determined to bring down the PPP government. Benazir Bhutto survived but failed to produce and did efforts for directing her energies to build consensus based environment for all the political forces to work in, thus, political environment of the country remained weak and shaking. For PPP the troubles was not reduced as reported in the media the army particularly the intelligence agencies remained active to decrease and further eroded confidence in the prime minister. Benazir Bhutto was on a foreign tour where she usually tried to get the support of global community regarding the issue of Kashmir and sought more political and material assistance for Pakistan.²⁶⁸

The task taken up by the new PPP government was to try to capture the Punjab government by winning over at least twenty five members of the IJI government led by Nawaz Sharif. This failed attempt was the first serious blunder which had a lasting effect on Pakistani politics and the democratic system in the years to come. Khalid Mehmud has noted that the conditions of mutual suspicion had tarnished the relationship between the PPP government and the IJI which made the party in power to use every single step to remove the IJI dominated rule in Punjab and the latter with harsh intentions to disfigure, defaming, attacking and discrediting the ruling parting of the center.²⁶⁹ Had Benazir Bhutto accepted the voters mandate in Punjab and told Nawaz Sharif that he should rule peacefully in Punjab as required under the

²⁶⁸ Ibid.
constitution, while cooperating with her at the center, she would have relegated him to the position of provincial chief and also strengthened democracy. But by confronting him, she elevated him to national politics and also gave him the opportunity to use the Punjab card and stir up Punjabi nationalism. As Mahmud has pointed out that repeated calls for presidential interventions were made by the IJI leaders.

Reference may be made to a letter of Punjab chief minister urging the president to stop Benazir Bhutto from indulging in anti-state activities. The Peoples Work Program which the PPP government had started to uplift and to a greater extent minimize the miseries of underprivileged sector of the society did not come up with the expectations. Involvement in corrupt activities and mishandling of public money in (PWP) was another issue on which president’s intervention was sought by the non PPP provincial governments. Baluchistan was the last to join in the chorus urging the president to help safeguard provincial autonomy against center’s encroachments.

Duels to put each other down revealed their selfish and amateurish mindsets while publicly claiming to bring democracy to Pakistan. When Muslim League (Nawaz) presented its supplementary budget, PPP members staged a walkout in the Punjab Assembly with the intention of causing financial problems for the provincial government. Benazir Bhutto also rejected the Punjab government’s call for a meeting of the Council of Common Interests (CCI) to solve financial matters among the provinces and the federal government. He, too, rejected all federal government

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270. At the height of political rivalry between Benazir Bhutto in the Center and Nawaz Sharif the Chief Minister, the latter had defied the Center on the pretext of malicious interference. Nawaz Sharif accused Prime Minister for being involved in Anti State activates. He asked for Presidential intervention to dismiss the government of Benazir Bhutto. For details see. Khalid, Mahmud. (1992). *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

271. Ibid., pp. 206-207.
initiatives, right or wrong; he created a parallel government of his own, often hostile to the center. Exploiting provincial feelings, he presented himself as the savior of the Punjab which, in fact, had been the province dominating the smaller federating units since independence. He created his own Bank of Punjab and a provincial television channel to portray Punjabis as a deprived nationality. He vehemently opposed developmental projects pursued under Benazir’s Peoples Work Program.272

The second major mistake according to Ravi Kalia on the part of Benazir Bhutto was by keeping the chief ministers of Punjab and Balochistan out of the decision making at the center. Only chief ministers of Sind and NWFP were invited to attend cabinet meetings. Similarly the provincial governments of Punjab and Balochistan and the districts council in these provinces were bypassed in implementing the Peoples Works Program through parallel machinery, mostly under the district heads of the PPP.273

4.12. President’s Action Against Benazir Bhutto Government under Article 58(2) (b).

Bhutto’s term as prime minister ended as it had begun in the midst of political battles and intrigue. The coalition government formed with the Mohajir Qaumi Movement could not sustain with the failure of the ruling party to keep up with the promises they have made with its partner. As a result, she lost majority in the National Assembly. Due to the unvarying meetings of National Assembly, she tried to run the affairs of the state by draft ordinances to the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan but he refused to

273. Ibid., p. 148.
sign them. The prime minister and the president clashed over various other issues as well.\(^{274}\)

Samina Yasmeen argues that Pakistan's politics were controlled by three centers of power i.e., the President, the Chief of Army Staff and the prime. Of these, the President and the COAS enjoyed extra influence than the Prime Minister the Army because of its dominant role in Pakistan's politics and the President by virtue of influence acquired under the Eighth Amendment. In this changed scenario, Ghulam Ishaq Khan revised his views on the use of presidential powers. Rising to the top position in the country after having served as a bureaucrat, finance minister, and chairman of the Senate, Ghulam Ishaq Khan considered himself sole authority to sail the ship of the country. His stance on a number of issues including Afghanistan and Pakistan's nuclear program was strong. Equally important, he insisted that the prime minister must inform him of all decisions that necessarily fall under presidential jurisdiction. But an encroachment of prime ministerial powers that was resented to by Benazir Bhutto's government, which received 323 memos during twenty months on wide-ranging issues. So tense was the relationship between the president and the Benazir Bhutto government that some PPP leaders anticipated presidential dissolution of the National Assembly long before it actually happened in August 1990.\(^{275}\)

President Gulam Ishaq Khan began a confrontational relationship with Benazir Bhutto. For example, he extended the tenure of Iftikhar Ahmad Sirohey as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee when Benazir Bhutto called for his retirement. Secondly, he refused to appoint her nominees for the Supreme Court, notwithstanding the fact that in a parliamentary democracy, the President is required to issue

appointment orders on the advice of the Prime Minister. The president asserted on a number of occasions his supreme position over the elected prime minister. Besides, he was committed to supporting Nawaz Sharif, the head of IJI, for whose success he had worked secretly in 1988 elections. The president-prime minister showdown over the Sirohey affairs is the logical outgrowth of an enduring war of nerve which, sooner or later, had to come into the open. The uneasy relationship had been sustained without an open rupture because neither of the two was in a position to secure an outright victory against the other.

Jalal further noted that facing various problems including huge financial burdens; the government was failed to initiate new development plans which might have strengthened its support base among the citizens. In a country where politics had become monetized and politicians rely greatly on the administrative apparatus to carry out development tasks in their constituencies, a state exchequer in arrears created troubles for government.

Besides this the PPP government was further weakened by the undemocratic behavior of its parliamentarians displayed in legislature. With the divided support of president between Benazir's government at the federal level and that of Nawaz Sharif's IJI government in the Punjab, the uncommitted supporters of her party, including cabinet ministers, sought to threaten government monies for defection. These alarming political situations devalued the regime which was further accused for corruptions with more sever charges. The opposition further damaged the stature of prime

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276 In August 1989, Benazir Bhutto sought to appoint a new Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff Committee in place of Admiral Iftikhar Sirohey, who had succeeded to the position in 1988. For further details, see. Ravi, Shekhar. (2008). The Military Factor in Pakistan. New Delhi: Lancer Publisher, p.77.

minister by the use of money to buy up opportunists in the PPP’s ranks left Benazir with weak position in the parliament.278

Benazir Bhutto’s behavior put her at odds with the president, the army, and with the civil servants with whom she had to work. She underestimated the powers of the army secret agencies and it was needless to disturb their power structure. She selected inexperienced advisors whom she thought to be loyal. In her first address prime minister, Bhutto promised to remove the controversial clause from the constitution, which gave the president his extensive powers. She was well aware of the fact, that she has limited power and when she questioned the president’s right to appoint new judges and senior army officers without her advice, her government was removed on August 6, 1990, by then President. Additionally, her government was blamed for corruption, incompetence, inappropriate conduct and a failure to maintain law and order.279 The president also dissolved the National Assembly, appointed a caretaker prime minister and called for elections in October 1990.280

Benazir blamed the military behind the plot and called her dismissal "illegal, unconstitutional, and arbitrary" but the military proclaimed that its only interest lied in maintaining order.281

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, justified his decision of dissolution of the Assemblies and dismissing the first woman leader of a Muslim State, declared that she was incapable to govern and that she had lost control over the law and order situation. The Bhutto government, he said, was burdened by nepotism and torn by corrupt practices. According to the president, the country needed new leadership to set things right and

he called on the leader of the opposition, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, to form a caretaker government until new elections could be conducted in the fall. Pakistan's Constitution, especially Zia's Eighth Amendment, remained intact, however, and it was the president's extraordinary powers under Article 58(2)(b) that provided Ghulam Ishaq Khan with the authority to terminate Benazir's rule. Although Benazir spoke of the threat to "democracy" in Ghulam Ishaq's actions, it was clear that she could not reverse the decision. Moreover, it seemed obvious that the president would not have acted without the consent and approval of the army chief, General Mirza Aslam Baig. The Pakistan Army had tried to keep a low profile in the first six months of 1990. General Aslam Baig had insisted on maintaining the army's neutrality in domestic politics but he could not avoid committing his forces when local authorities proved incapable of managing law and order in Sindh. Nor could he remain passive when heated exchanges between India and Pakistan caused war clouds to hover over the subcontinent.

Nevertheless, the decision to remove Benazir Bhutto was carefully timed. Knowing that Benazir Bhutto was a Washington favorite and that the matter of removing her was bound to be as controversial as it was delicate, there had been considerable hesitation in forcing her from power. Regarding the termination of PPP elected government, Qayyum Nizami commented that this is the dilemma of Pakistan and the country could not get progressed because time and again political leaders were restricted to work. They are disgraced and are not allowed to carry on the duty handed over to them by the electorate. According to him, five of the prime ministers were
sacked unilaterally for one and same reason of mal practicing. These blames were leveled to undermine their political image in the general public.\textsuperscript{282}

As if to confirm this analysis, the authorities moved quickly to shore up the political situation at home. Benazir's confidants and many of her supporters were targeted by the police and detained on charges of corruption and illegal activities. Ill-gotten gains were the central theme and the Pakistan Peoples Party became the object of an elaborate investigation. On September 1, 1990 the caretaker government announced that Benazir might also be charged with illegal practices. When questioned on the implementation of the amended Parliament and Provincial Assemblies rules and the possibility that many of the country's key luminaries could be eliminated from electoral competition. President Gulam Ishaq Khan promulgated Special Courts for Speedy Trial Ordinance 1990 and activated other laws including the Holders of Representative Offices (Prevention of Misconduct) Act and the Parliament and Provincial Assemblies Act, both framed during the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto era.

These ordinances and laws offered a backdrop for the assault on Benazir and her colleagues. The prime minister was blamed of allocating costly residential plots numbering 545 in Islamabad to the party supporter and members of the National Assembly at a cheap and also of using such flavor to obtain the favor of provincial assembly member in the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP). The government also filed two references against her, involving favors granted on a government contract and the appointment of a consultant, under Article 4 of the Parliament and Provincial

Assemblies Disqualification of Membership Ordinance, 1977.\textsuperscript{283} Benazir Bhutto’s unwillingness to the Shariat Bill displayed her stance as supposed her anti-Islam and was proved to be one of the factors in the dismissal of her government.\textsuperscript{284}

4.13. PPP Government and Foreign Policy

The government of PPP was widely hailed by the West and Benazir Bhutto augmented the trust of foreign investors which led to the enormous inflow of foreign aid to Pakistan. Entire commitment roused by 28 per cent from 2.6 billion dollars in 1985-86 to 3.4 billion dollars in 1988-90 but before these commitments could be translated into actual disbursement; the government of Benazir Bhutto was dismissed on August 6, 1990.\textsuperscript{285}

In the realm of foreign affairs, BB was not completely free to further her own policies because she was compelled to ask the willingness of the army and the president on significant subjects. Bhutto was also compelled to maintain a strong coalition with the United States. The hosting of a summit meeting in 1988, of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) just a few weeks after she was sworn in was her first important task in foreign relations. Benazir was elected as chairperson of the Association. The SAARC summit provided Bhutto and the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi an unusual opportunity to speak face to face. The two young leaders got along well and were both eager to normalize relations between their countries.

Unfortunately, in 1989, border disputes flared up again as did violence in Kashmir. India and the United States were convinced that Pakistan was providing aid to the Kashmiri rebels. This was entirely possible even though Benazir Bhutto had not ordered army to do so. Her position on the issue regarding Kashmir was that being Muslims they should be allowed to vote in an internationally monitored plebiscite to choose whether to join Pakistan, or India. In the end, the disagreements could not resolve and the mutual mistrust could not overcome.\textsuperscript{286}

All that Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi were able to do was signing agreements that no one would launch an attack on the nuclear assets of other state. The second was to protect PIA from paying income tax, wealth tax and surcharges in India. The opposition opposed the three year cultural agreement with the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Ghandi and claimed that such accords would bring Pakistan under the hegemony of India.\textsuperscript{287}

For Pakistan and especially Benazir Bhutto government, Afghanistan presented another serious problem in 1989. Pakistan wished a durable, friendly and government in the neighboring Afghanistan particularly after post-Soviet withdrawal. It also wanted to stop the inflow of criminal and terrorist element form both sides, resolve the issue of immigrants and solve problems on its border with Afghanistan. Bhutto was in favor of establishing a government of various political parties upon which all groups would be agrees. The parties in Afghanistan had a different objective, however, for a long time she tried to bring divergent Afghan groups to negotiate a settlement but they could not do the same.

\textsuperscript{287} Sultan Ahmad. This Uproar over a non Issue. The Dawn Karachi. Dated: 09-02-1989.
Regarding her foreign relations she was considered more successful. She continued the policy of cordial relations with all the neighbors as well as with the emerging super power of the world. For the purpose she continued to keep good relations with China and reached an agreement under which China would help in building nuclear power plant in Pakistan. The country also agreed to transfer the technology to Pakistan. During her tenure, relations with the England enormously improved, as a result Pakistan rejoined the British Commonwealth.\(^{288}\)

Pakistan’s return to democracy was appreciated by the premier of England during a state visit of the Benazir. To struggle for friendly relationship with America was proved to be a difficult task. Bhutto visited Washington in June 1989, where she was invited for a speech to the joint session of the Congress i.e., the House of Representatives and the Senate. She was successful not only in improving relationship of both the counties but also was assured of increased assistance to Pakistan. Pakistan’s nuclear program became a more vital issue. Bhutto felt great difficulty to assure the United States that Pakistan was planning to fulfill its need of energy and this program was intended to do that. As long as her government was dismissed by president in August 1990, America stopped its aid to Pakistan. As BB considered state interest prior to that of her person and family she continued to take secondary importance to it.

The Pakistan Peoples Party, over the years, has undergone a major change in its composition and ideological orientation. The party pursued a radical agenda in its early years and, although, it primarily remained a coalition of left wing workers,

feudal, members of the urban propertied class and the intelligentsia, its program today represents a Third World variety of social democracy.

The opposition blamed Benazir to have developed a secret deal with American authorities for inspecting the county’s nuclear installations. But in her election campaign, she had reiterated that Pakistan would not accept any unilateral restrictions on its nuclear program. The nuclear issue is sensitive and highly politicized in Pakistan and neither Benazir nor any leader in her place was to retreat from what Pakistan had regarded as an independent nuclear program. This issue had the potential to affect Pakistan's relations with the United States and the prime minister, therefore, kept reassuring the U.S, about Pakistan's commitment not to explode a nuclear device, while her government at the same time resisted any pressure to wind up the program or unilaterally sign the nonproliferation treaty.289

4.14. Conclusion

The government of Benazir Bhutto lasted for twenty months only when it was brought to end by president Ghulam Ishaq Khan by using undemocratic provision of the Eight Amendment. The inexperiences of Benazir Bhutto with such a high echelon of powers in the presence of strong and hostile opposition in the shape of IJI played its role in the overthrow of the government. Neither of the group was sincere in the real sense to let the PPP government complete its mandated term. Even a well-organized attempt was made to stop PPP from coming into power prior to the 1988 general elections. Hurdles were created from the very outset to reduce the life of the elected set up. Almost all the leaders have not attained their full political maturity and

even they were not fully prepared in the running of a democratic set up. Pakistani politicians and state institutions i.e., the Military and the civil Bureaucracy were not sincere in letter and spirit to the functioning of democracy. If they had adopted the spirit of bearing each other at that time and allowed the PPP government for its full term, certainly it would have promoted democratic culture with the passage of time.

Another important factor revealed by the study is the interference of the non political elements in the politics of Pakistan. But the politicians, instead of making strong resistance, sided with them on many occasions and thus weakened the vehicle of democracy. The government-opposition relationship is another point this study has highlighted. The restlessness of the opposition groups was based more on the desire to unseat their political rivals from power than to provide constructive opposition for the building of a sound political system with provision for opposition on legitimate grounds. Democracy needs harmony, understanding and broad mindedness which could not gain ground due to the frequent interruption by the vested interests. A responsible behavior of the political leaders, their integrity and commitment is crucial for strengthening democratic institutions. The nourishment of democratic values and behavioral patterns may, in the long run, empower the common people.

Benazir Bhutto, lacking sufficient authority to do otherwise, created a more tolerant environment, one which might have been conducive for the propagation of democratic norms had it been allowed to exist longer. Her liberal democratic views if had been implemented along with her intentions to create a strong private sector economy might have been able to promote democracy in Pakistan. Her stress on substantial growth in distributions money for health and education sectors in the 1989-90 budget was a clear indication of her orientation. Benazir tried to encourage
the private sector investors to the forefront to boost economic activity in Pakistan but the economy continued stagnant.\(^{290}\) However, the president still seemed to be an important player in the enhancement of democratic values in the body politics of Pakistan. It is interesting to note that the opposition leaders tried hard to challenge the legitimacy of a civilian government on the basis of 8\(^{th}\) Amendment to the 1973 Constitution by Gen. Ziaul Haq who came to power through illegal means.\(^{291}\)


Chapter # 05

PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY IN OPPOSITION (1990-1993)

5.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with Pakistan Peoples Party’s role as an opposition party in the National Assembly. The practices which the party resorted to during this period as an opposition platform highlights the extent to which the Pakistan Peoples Party strengthened the democratic norms or otherwise. This chapter also focuses on the claim of PPP leadership to be the champion and custodian of democracy in Pakistan. The causes of the defeat in the 1990 elections and the subsequent political style of PPP are thoroughly analyzed. This chapter also examines the role of PPP as one of the major platforms in Pakistan, and the role it played in setting traditions while acting as an opposition party with reference to the tactics it employed in relation to the ruling coalition i.e., IJI.

The government-opposition relations especially the relationship between the president and prime minister in the perspective of Pakistan’s democracy are evaluated. For the 1990 general elections PPP introduced a manifesto that was different from the one introduced in 1988. The reasons of contesting the 1990 general elections from the platform of Pakistan Democratic Alliance are also taken into account. The reasons for the defeat in the elections and the strategies adopted are also analyzed. Government relationship with the military, the presidency and PPP’s role is the focus of this chapter. The unfriendly response of IJI government to the parliamentary opposition and the latter’s approach to create hurdles for the former is also examined. The reason
of dismissal of the IJI’s government by Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1993 and the role played by PPP is analyzed in this chapter.

5.2. PPP and the 1990 General Elections

The unexpected dissolution of the National Assembly by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in August 1990 and a similar step against the four Provincial Assemblies followed by a one sided accountability had lurched the country into a serious crisis. Writ large, it had become apparent that Benazir Bhutto was on the loser’s end in this scuffle. PPP nevertheless, started preparations for the next elections scheduled to be held in October 24, 1990. It was a great moment for the people of the country. To get a charismatic leadership saturated with the spirit of Islam, the country can develop internally and will be respected globally. Bearing in mind these imperatives, this joined together the Pakistan Peoples Party, Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah-e-Jafaria, Tehrik-e-Istiqlal and Pakistan Muslim League (Qasim Group) at the platform of the Peoples Democratic Alliance. The alliance was dedicated to preserve the country from internal and external threats and to create a society where there is no hunger, no exploitation and where the state power will be exercised by the elected representatives of the people. The PDA had chosen participative democracy reflecting people’s will by proposing devolution of state authority to locally elected institutions.

The PDA had vision for the country where everybody would be provided justice and permits them to live in peace and prosperity. The alliance looked forward to the

292. The PPP participated in the general elections of 1990, made an alliance with three smaller parties as the People’s Democratic Alliance (PDA). This alliance includes Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah-e-Jafaria, Tehrik-e-Istiqlal and Pakistan Muslim League (Malik Qasim Group), on August 30, 1990.
challenges of future by introducing a program that was both revolutionary and pragmatic.

The agenda of PDA contained these five principles:

- Preserving the security and integrity of Pakistan
- Service to Islam
- Power to the people
- Welfare of the people
- Devolution of authority

The most vital issue raised by the PDA was the annulment of 8th Constitutional Amendment. It was thought to be one of the most important steps and great achievement by this alliance which will stop future adventurism and sabotaging the sanctity of constitution. This alliance also stood firm towards safeguarding the institution of democracy in Pakistan and, for the purpose, incorporated certain provisions in their joint agenda.

The manifesto clearly outlined that the imposition of emergency in future will be challengeable in the judiciary. The Eight Amendment to the constitution was to be annulled and the original character of the 1973 Constitution was to be restored. Voting age shall be reduced from 21 to 18. Adult franchise was to be extended to the tribal areas. It also contained reform provisions for the Northern Areas. 293

The PPP faced severe challenges in 1990 election campaign including charges against its leaders especially Benazir Bhutto because leaders of the coup did not want Benazir

293. The election manifesto of 1990 of the PDA is attached in the annexure of this thesis.
return to the office. Forced to fight the charges levelled against its leaders, the PPP had little in reserve to run an effective electoral campaign. With the PPP out of the race, the field was wide open for the IJI. The IJI manifesto declared the party’s central objective as the “supremacy of the Qur’an and Sunnah.” The IJI wanted it known that not only did it serve Islam but it was the only legitimate party of the masses. Exploiting latent anti Americanism, it condemned Benazir Bhutto’s great dependency on the United States and declared it would reconsider the country’s foreign policy and identify more closely with the Muslim States. For instance, regarding dependence on US, Nasr argues that Benazir Bhutto directly appealed President Bush involvement at the eve when the opposition brought a no confidence motion against her government. Opposition i.e., eagerly exploited Benazir’s great reliance on a foreign power at the occasion of election and these anti US sentiments strongly determined the results of the elections of 1990.

Pakistan’s intelligence agency which had played an important role in the removal of Pakistan Peoples party from power in August 1990 had been more active in supporting the IJI and other anti-PPP platforms. It is said that a sum of Rs.140 million from a banker has been distributed among the IJI and other PPP opponents in the 1990 elections. The military backed the Islami Jamhuri Ittethad, the IJI obtained 106 out of 207 National Assembly seats with the full support of establishment.

The General Elections 1990

Party Position in the National Assembly of Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of Party</th>
<th>Percentage of votes</th>
<th>No of seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Islami Jamhoori Ittehad</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>People’s Democratic Alliance</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Haq Parast</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Awami National Party</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (Noorani)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Pakistan Awami Tehrik</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jamhoori Wattan Party</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Pakistan National Party</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sindh National Front</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pakistan Democratic Party</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Balochistan National Movement</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sindh National Alliance (Hamid Jatoi)</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>13 other parties</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>207</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The above statistics in the table have been taken from PILDAT.
Nawaz Sharif, a disciple of General Zia, was the leader of the IJI and became head of the government. He unleashed various cases against the PPP leadership. Benazir Bhutto decided to face these adverse conditions for the sack and strengthening the traditions of democracy. In a meeting of PPP Central Executive Council, it was decided that the party would discharge its duties as an opposition party in the legislature. However, its MNAs elect were to take oath under protest. It was resolved that the party would agitate for its grievances regarding the rigging of the polls through political and legal means and will not go for confrontation. As a leader of the opposition, Benazir Bhutto was on the outside from government benches. Muhammad Waseem states that the 1990 elections were marred by controversy about rigging.

An example of undemocratic ethics was observed in the conduct of general elections held in 1990. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, representing the establishment, colluded with politicians to influence the outcome of the 1990 elections i.e., he was part of the plan to tilt the results in favor of IJI. He appointed those opposition members in caretaker governments at the center and Punjab and Sindh that were deeply antagonistic to PPP. Efforts were made to keep Benazir Bhutto and her husband away from campaigning because of the pending corruption cases against them. Asif Ali Zardari was arrested while Nawaz Sharif was provided government resources to run his campaign and even the caretaker chief minister of Punjab Ghulam Haider Wyne aided him. He openly canvassed with Nawaz Sharif all over the Punjab and made available to him all the resources of the provincial government. According to Hamid

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Khan, the caretakers under the direction and support of the president were to ensure that PPP does not return to power. The president even went a step further and in one of his speech he appealed to the nation at the occasion of elections to vote in favor of IJI, clearly indicates his expressions that he was against the Pakistan Peoples Party. He used the expression that he had already put them (PPP) in the coffin and it was for the nation to bury them. He added that under the instructions of the president an election cell was setup in the president secretariat in order to keep him inform about the positions of National and Provincial Assemblies under the supervision of General (Rtd.) Rafaqat.301

Elections were organized and the desired outcomes were achieved. The losing political parties blamed large scale rigging in the elections. Another setback to democracy, as mentioned by Waseem, was the generous use of public treasury of an economically fragile nation funded this drama to buy votes in the name of development.302 The federal ministers created some new districts and the prime minister created a district in an area in Punjab from where he was contesting elections. The creation of this district cost the public exchequer a big amount. A large amount of money was used for electrification of villages. The caretaker government, responsible for the conduct of fair elections and to strengthen democratic process in Pakistan, became a partisan.303

Neither the president nor the Election Commission of Pakistan was held accountable for the sham elections. The PDA published a White Paper on the way the caretaker

government and the president, allegedly, perpetrated an electoral fraud on the nation. It mentioned different tactics adopted for rigging in the elections such as the appointment of likeminded judges to the Election Commission, disputing PPP by propagating through media, the use and availability of state resources to the rival party leadership and harassment of the PDA candidates.\textsuperscript{304} Syed regarded the 1990 elections as a referendum on the legitimacy of the presidential action of removing Benazir Bhutto from office.\textsuperscript{305}

\textbf{5.3. PPP on Opposition Benches (1990-1993).}

Participation and legitimate opposition are the essential characteristics of what Robert Dahl identified as Polyarchies. In his important work on political oppositions, he placed ‘the virtue of dissent, of opposing’, at the center stage of democratic political system.\textsuperscript{306} In multi-party democracies, the majority party in the legislature seeks to enact into law all issues of national importance (consistent with the election manifesto).

To criticize the policies and programs of ruling party and offer alternatives opposition parties are free in this regard. Political organizations while staying out of power recognize and respect the authority of the party in government. Democratic countries are keen to the ideals of patience, support and settlement. Democracies recognize that consensus building among the various political actors requires cooperation and acceptance. The idea of legitimate opposition reflects, amongst other things, a commitment to listen and resolve political dissent and to design parameters within a

general consensual framework as to how and within what limits, that dissent can be
legitimately expressed.

It does not usually mean opposition to the regime itself, although particular
opposition groups may argue against all or any of the regime's features and propose
alternatives. But as long as an opposition remains constitutional, it does not seek to
change or overthrow a regime by force. If it seeks to bring about change at the regime
level, it does so only by means of the regime's own rules for change, which is
normally expressed in the constitution.

In the Western democracies, one of the essential purposes of a constitutional political
opposition is to seek control of government and to do so within the rules and
procedures embodied in the Constitution. And it is opposition in this context that is
the focus here. The government, for its part, is required to tolerate opposition and the
people have the right to determine, periodically, which group is capable to rule. As
Mahatma Gandhi excellently discussed, intolerance on the part of rulers is itself a
kind of violence and a hurdle to the development of a true democratic essence. The
idea of a vigilant opposition is important to any kind of democratic system. It means
that all stakeholders in the political discussion, no matter how serious their
differences may be, share the basic democratic values of freedom of expression, rule
of law and equal protection all citizens under the law.

For a democratic culture to establish, the opposition parties must have the confidence
that the political system will guarantee their right to organize speeches, dissent and/or
criticize the party in government. The opposition parties also need to be assured that

307 Stephanie, Lawson. (1993). Conceptual Issues in the Comparative Study of Regime Change and
in due course, they will get the chance to ask for people’s mandate through in the next elections.\textsuperscript{308}

Democracy is an all-encompassing which allow and encourage all people to take part in it especially the opposition to play their part in the democratic process. Likewise, to permit them to carry out their parliamentary duties, respect for freedom of expression and information is essential for legislature and particularly to the opposition. Members of the opposition must be able to criticize openly in legislature and before public the abuses which they have noticed and to act with a view to their remedy.

State media should be used not only by the government to convey their program and achievement to the public but the opposition on equal basis to that they could propagate their views, criticize the government’s action and propose alternatives to the government. Thus in this way the opposition would be able to take part in the debate and would contribute in the process of decision-making. The opposition in legislature has the duty to offer to the government in office credible alternative to make the majority accountable.

Also, the opposition in legislature must demonstrate its responsibility and be able to act in a statesman like manner. It must involve in positive and should as responsible opposition by giving counter suggestions. The opposition must not seek to obstruct uselessly the working of the government but rather endeavor to encourage and develop such action for the general interest.\textsuperscript{309}


\textsuperscript{309} Universal Declaration on Democracy, Articles 1 and 11, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1997
As throughout PPP’s first term, the IJI had deliberately resorted to activities that not only hindered the democratic process but also the government could not do something for the benefit of masses. The role of the political opposition throughout the short history of democracy in Pakistan remained disappointing particularly during PPP’s tenure from 1988 till August 1990.

Military Generals (Ayub and Ziaul Haq) in Pakistan have damaged the institution of opposition for accomplishing their own interests. Imprisoning and punishing of political rival was ordinary actions even in democratic regimes. The military takeover of Zia in Pakistan was the illustration of this. After capturing power, most politicians were jailed and party activists including Benazir Bhutto and her mother were tortured many times. Even the post Zia military establishment deliberately created IJI to weaken the popularity of PPP. The legitimacy of the party in power to govern was barely recognized by the opposition and electoral successes were hardly accepted. The opposition went such extremes to dishonor the ruling party and was too intolerant even to allow government to complete its five years of mandated period. The overthrow of elected government of PPP by the president enjoying the support of opposition was the manifestations of this. The opposition resolved their issues instead of discussion in parliament, they brought it to the courts or to the streets and the ruling parties as usual dealt harshly with the street agitation.310

Since 1990s, there has been no real ideological opposition in Pakistan. Mainly, the opposition is made up of the same elites who are temporarily out of power; therefore, there was no genuine opposition that could nurture democratic tradition and culture. The opposition, made up of the same feudal and business families, cared less about accountability or the rule of law; instead it concentrated on conspiracies and scandals

to bring down the party in power. In this context, this chapter examines the role of PPP as the major opposition party in the parliament during the IJI government from 1990 to 1993.

In the general elections of 1990s the voters decided in favor of Nawaz Sharif (head of the IJI) and granted Pakistan Peoples Party’s leader Benazir Bhutto the role to act as opposition leader. In November 1990, while addressing the first session of National Assembly as an opposition leader, BB reiterated her commitments to stand behind the principles of democracy; she stated: “I rise in this august house to welcome a new day in the checkered history of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. I propose only to welcome the new administration, to extend support of the opposition so that its policies are designed to further national interests to remind it of its express electoral commitment to the people and only to caution it in some respect to avoid the policies of its immediate caretaker predecessor and its visible and non visible patrons. I welcome, first of all, the new administration in the hope that it will try to increase the democratic pace available to civil representative institutions and not to be deterred by the fact other before its time may have fallen in perusing this goal. It is still the only goal to be pursued. In it alone lies the key to the integrity and solidarity of the country”.

In the post 1990s elections scenario, it was expected that the politicians and particularly Benazir Bhutto would have learnt enough out of her previous mistakes and will show maturity but all in vain. Again the politics of power struggle and dominance over each other started. No respect for democratic principles and tolerance for democratic consolidation expressed on the part of any political platform in

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Pakistan including PPP. While sitting in the opposition, Benazir Bhutto had devoted her struggle to correct and keep watch over the government policies and programme but the government had indulged her in intrigues against the government. Benazir Bhutto sidelined her election manifesto and the promises that her party had made with the electorate for getting their favor in the elections. She did opposite to her commitment and wasted energies in destructive and undemocratic manner rather to correct the government. Despite her overwhelming opposition to the Eight Amendment during her tenure as prime minister, she had openly supported and cooperated with president Ghulam Ishaq Khan in his decision to dislodge the government of her rival by using that notorious clause. It was obvious that the Pakistani political environment showing no sign of tolerance and respect for the democratic norms. Benazir Bhutto hailed the dismissal of IJI government as did Nawaz Sharif in 1988.

Instead of engaging in a discussion and developing a broad national consensus the opposition parties and the government, indulged in politics of aggression and hostility. The party in power tried to establish supremacy and invariably wanted to eliminate opposition parties. As a result the parties in opposition endeavor to put an extra-parliamentary alliance simultaneously, attempted to opt to street demonstration and mass mobilization against the ruling party. Their basic aim of the opposition was not to engage the government in dialogues on national as well as general issues of larger public welfare but to rather dislodge it as soon as possible.


In a session of the National Assembly on May 31, 1993, Nawaz Sharif requested her to extend her cooperation in removing the most infamous clause dangerous to the health of democracy in Pakistan. He also set up a three members committee to discuss various issues causing conflict between his government and the PPP. Soon, the offer of mediation was extended to other parties to consider how consensus among the politicians might be established. Benazir Bhutto's response to these overtures was mixed. Since the Supreme Court verdict, she had been openly questioning the judiciary's impartiality and had complained that the court had not been willing to reverse the dissolution of her government in 1990.

In her view, therefore, the real decision was to be made in the people's court through new elections and she did not change her stance even when Nawaz Sharif openly requested her help in repealing the Eighth Amendment. While accepting the offer of negotiations made in the National Assembly, Benazir Bhutto reiterated her claim for a government of national unity and holding of free and fair elections. Nawaz Sharif responded by emphasizing that the people of Pakistan were exhausted of elections and that the reinstated government was intent upon completing its five-year term. He also encouraged dissenting voices within the PPP that pressed Benazir Bhutto to cooperate with the government in repealing the Eighth Amendment. Benazir Bhutto's response was still to demand elections and snub all party dissenters that stressed the need to remove the Amendment. She also joined the All Parties Conference (APC) which comprised of parties opposite to Nawaz Sharif and which echoed her demands for fresh elections. This move of Benazir Bhutto gave the whole affair a bizarre tinge
because the same parties, groups, and personalities had cooperated against her only a few years before.\textsuperscript{315}

As most scholars hold the view that Benazir Bhutto should have kept in view the larger interest of the state and should have extended her cooperation to the government in matters of vital importance. The principles of democratic oppositions that most of the literature on democracy has laid down, are but marginally put into effect in Pakistani politics.

\textbf{5.4. Nawaz Sharif Annulment of Eight Amendment}

Nawaz Sharif, on the other hand, had a non-friendly relation both with the opposition and with the president of Pakistan. The power struggle between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan started over the issue of the selection of the new Chief of Army Staff (COAS) after the sudden death, of General Asif Nawaz Janjua on January 8, 1993. Both had their interest in the selection because of the extraordinary influence conventionally exercised by the COAS in Pakistani politics. The president wanted to make himself more secure and preserve his dominant in his relations with other state organs particularly the parliament. The president wanted a dependable ally, not only to maintain his presidential powers under the 8\textsuperscript{th} Constitutional Amendment, a legacy of the Zia era, but also to ensure his reelection to a second term in the presidential election due in ten months. The prime minister, wary of undue presidential interventions, was interested in promoting his own man, who would lend support to a popularly elected prime minister or at least should stay impartial. The president selected Lieutenant General Abdul Waheed

Kakar, superseding six lieutenant generals in line of seniority without consulting the prime minister.\textsuperscript{316}

Although both the leaders maintained a semblance of consensus over the appointment, a clash of interests became public when Nawaz Sharif pronounced that he desired to repeal the Eighth Amendment so that power could return to the elected prime minister and the Parliament. He declared: "If we are to live with a parliamentary system, we will have to give requisite powers to the prime minister and the parliament. I want the same power as the British Prime Minister John Major".\textsuperscript{317}

But President Gulam Ishaq Khan was not ready to surrender his powerful position so easily. Instead, he was adamant to depend and safeguard those powers. He acknowledged that he was responsible to safeguard the Constitution as well as the Eighth Constitutional Amendment which he had inherited and which acted as a "safety valve" against martial law.\textsuperscript{318}

To cut the wings of the president, to relegate him as mere head of the state and restore the Constitution of 1973 to its original shape, the government in power needed substantial majority in the parliament. Apparently convinced that dominance in the lower house of the parliament and the understanding with the PPP was to be used to reinforce his position against the president, Nawaz Sharif started an assessment of the Eighth Amendment.\textsuperscript{319} When relations with Benazir Bhutto became friendly and she supported the government to initiate the process of repealing Eight Amendment of the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{317} Maleeha, Lodhi., & Zahid, Hussain. "Is Nawaz Sharif's Time Up?" News line, March 1993, pp. 27-33.
\item \textsuperscript{318} Zaffar, Abbas. "The Final Showdown," Herald, March 1993, pp. 32-30.
\end{itemize}
1973 Constitution. As a benevolence gesture, Nawaz Sharif set free Asif Ali Zardari. Looking to this friendly support from the major opposition party leader, the prime minister announced his determination to repeal the 8th Amendment. But all this homework could not bear fruits and the controversial clause remained intact due to several reasons. In Pakistani politics, it happens always that the opposition never supported the party in power. The opposition continuously called the army’s backing to get the power back. Benazir Bhutto as opposition leader responded in the same manner as they did. Benazir Bhutto waited for the right time to subdue her arch rival who, with help of both the president and military tried to dismiss her government. She made use all the chance by convincing the head of the state regarding her full backing and cooperation in the coming presidential elections only if he assured mid-term polls.

5.5. Government Relations with other Institutions amidst Politics of Blame Game

In spite of having complete majority in legislature and strong control over the three provinces, Mian Nawaz Sharif found himself confronting many of the same dangers which had led to the overthrow of PPP’s regime in 1990. Nawaz Sharif, with the president and the army chief calling the shots from the control rooms, focused on pushing through his economic program and strengthening his support base. Yet tasks which suited his short-lived prime ministerial position soon proved to be challenging in a power sharing arrangement with an interventionary presidency and a formidable army high command.

In May 1989, Jam Sadiq Ali, came back after spending 12 years in exile in London was a former PPP member from Sindh, was cordially received by the PPP followers. But Jam Sadiq Ali, a ruthless statesman belonging to feudal background, joined hands with the forces against Bhutto also came close to the president. Soon, Jam Sadiq Ali became the chief minister of Sindh under then Nawaz Sharif led government and further subjected PPP to discrimination. The prime minister wanted to put his party loyalist as the chief minister of Sindh but President overruled the game of democracy and placed Jam Sadiq Ali as the CM of Sindh province. Although, he was able and experienced man but was not sincere and created many problems in the early days for the government. This selection of Jam Sadiq Ali as Sindh CM remained the reason of tension for Nawaz Sharif.321

One of the most grave and disappointing moments for Nawaz was the unpleasant relations with Speaker of the National Assembly as one of the members of PPP put a resolution in the National Assembly against Sindh CM which was approved by the Speaker. The problem with Pakistan is obvious that, the feudal class considers Pakistan as their playing field and this group has always hampered the smooth running of democracy in the country. As the statement of interim prime minister in which he stated that during his tenure Abdul Wali Khan leader of ANP, Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan and Pir of Pagaro were defeated through bogus voting. This statement created tension between Nawaz Sharif and the IJI leadership. The leader of PPP also jumped to stir the already disturbed situations and to mould the political conditions for early polls.322 Since mid-1980s, Pakistani politics had become so highly monetized that the success and existence of an elected prime minister rests on

321. Ibid., p. 463.
322. Ibid., p. 464.
the capability to get control over the domains of official support. As Nawaz Sharif was trying to increase his portion of state patronage and to get the control of economy, he found himself walking on the territory which the president and the army chief firmly viewed as their own.\textsuperscript{323}

The relations of the prime minister with the president grew so tense that by late 1992, the latter started serious thinking to replace the former. The only option available was the opposition leader Benazir Bhutto. Her decision to start her long march against the ruling administration in December 1992 got president's unspoken consent but the way Sharif obstructed Bhutto's scheme altered the scenario. Bhutto began a process of rapprochement with Sharif, after realizing that it might not be possible for her to topple the regime. She accepted the position of the head of Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs.\textsuperscript{324}

As leader of the opposition in the National Assembly, Benazir fought against the changes instituted by the new government. Censorship returned, as did a ban on the media and on students unions. More religious parties had appeared in the new government. This meant that many more laws were challenged as being anti-Islamic. Nawaz Sharif did introduce laws to alleviate poverty and social inequality. Opponents declared they were just gimmicks, however, Sharif ran into trouble with the so called Yellow Taxi Scheme\textsuperscript{325}. This plan was supposed to assist Pakistan’s unemployed population by giving loans, but there was confusion over the amount of money that would be available to each beneficiary. Eventually, it was straightened out, and about 40,000 households were financed with loans for taxis, buses, and trucks. Before long,


\textsuperscript{325} The Government of Nawaz Sharif started Yellow Taxi/ Cabs Scheme to provide maximum jobs to the citizens of Pakistan.
however, Nawaz Sharif government was under attack for the way it managed the country’s finances.326

Nawaz Sharif’s policies encouraged Benazir to launch a series of verbal attacks condemning his money handling, among other things. In 1992, she was leading a protest for Islamabad in an endeavor to oust the prime minister. She extended her support and sided with Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who had brought down her first government, in an effort to remove the current government. For that, Benazir Bhutto was labeled as traitor. But Benazir Bhutto told it was merely a way of getting rid of an undesirable government and, of course, restoring herself as leader. This win by any-tactic is not unknown in countries around the world. It did not help Benazir win this time, but the resulting heated malice between Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto factions brought on riots and kidnappings around the country. The city of Karachi, in particular, was wracked with violence.

When the unrest spread to the Punjab province, Sharif decided to postpone a scheduled visit to Japan. During this period, Benazir Bhutto herself survived an assassination attempt. As she was returning to her home in Larkana in 1992, as unknown person fired a rocket at her car. Instead, it hit the police van of her security, and six officers were killed. Benazir Bhutto also took her cause outside Pakistan. She made many speeches around the world including the United States. Always, she stressed the need for a return of democracy to her country.327

Though, the government, as a matter of policy in its first year was preoccupied by remaining in office and interpreted this their busy schedule which did allowed them to solve social miseries, or even coming to a compromise with the PPP opposition.

Nawaz Sharif adopted his political tactic by trying to remove opposition through the use of power. For example, IJI Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali (formerly a colleague of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) in Sindh province, started a campaign throughout the year of 1991 to eradicate the remains of opposition from the political landscape, and provided a free hand to his supporters to threaten those who condemned his policies. The statistics regarding the number of rights abuses during Nawaz Sharif’s one year in government were equal to those of prior military.\(^{328}\)

Benazir Bhutto, as leader of the opposition, was again active in leading the assault on the administration. Benazir Bhutto sustained her argument that the IJI had stolen the 1990 elections through massive rigging. About rigging in the 1990 elections on June 11, 1996, Lt. General (Rtd.) Nasrullah Babar, openly declared in the lower house of the legislature that Army Chief, General Mirza Aslam Baig had withdrawn an amount of Rs. 140 million from Mehran Bank in 1990, at the time of elections held that year and handed it over to the ISI chief Asad Durrani for the purpose to suitably disburse the amount to a section of anti PPP politicians and thus rift the elections in favor of IJI.\(^{329}\)

Benazir Bhutto also accused the administration with gross inefficiencies as well as major acts of impropriety. Mentioning the efforts to silence her and her party, she blamed the government of police state tactics and seeking to convert Pakistan into a fascist state.\(^{330}\) The politics of blame game continued as the prime minister while talking to the newspapers had said that Benazir Bhutto had open the Kahota Plant for inspection but it was Muslim League government to stop it and is our firm resolution


to complete our nuclear programme at any cost. On the other side, the leader of PPP left no stone unturned to dislodge the government of Nawaz Sharif. Once, from 1988 to 1990 she was the supporter of strengthening institutions, for the reason she was writing letter to Nawaz, while now, she went out on the opposite way as she was removed by her opponents.\textsuperscript{331}

5.6. Downfall of IJI Government and the Role of Opposition.

The political atmosphere of Pakistan was not yet suitable to be ruled peacefully. Although the 1990s elections were the manifestations of peaceful transfer of powers form civilian to civilian but the politicians of Pakistan, civil and military bureaucracy had to demonstrate maturity. Notwithstanding, Ghulam Ishaq Khan's worry for legality, the 1990 polls were marred by the accusations of malpractices in Sindh province and in the Punjab, thus Benazir Bhutto by no means recognized their legality. The Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA) also called Islami Jamhuri ittehad (IJI) got majority in the National Assembly, nominated Nawaz Sharif as prime minister, having the previous experience by working as chief minister of the Punjab for five years. Nawaz Sharif enjoyed in his administration all the advantages that Benazir Bhutto had lacked. He and his alliance with other parties had majority in both the houses of the parliament as well as were able to control all four provincial administrations. Significantly, Nawaz Sharif at the outset enjoyed the support of both the president and the military. His government stayed for longer period than Benazir's, but nevertheless ended in hostilities with the Ghulam Ishaq Khan.\textsuperscript{332}

Apart from these, Pakistan was in the tight control of different mafias like feudal class, landowners, industrialist class and everyone was pushing and fulfilling their own interests. The scenario after the elections was more the same as it was after the 1988 elections. On 6th of November 1990, Nawaz Sharif was elected as prime minister. The feudal class and especially the politicians were unhappy with Nawaz Sharif as a prime minister of Pakistan because he belonged to the industrialist family of Punjab. The president and Chief of Army Staff were receiving phone calls from people belonging to Muslim League that Nawaz Sharif was incompetent for the slot of premiership but they were satisfied with him. After becoming PM, Nawaz Sharif proposed the name of Ghulam Haider Wayn for the Chief Minister of Punjab. But few days later, the members of the Punjab Assembly together with the Speaker Mian Manzoor Ahmad Watto started a rebellion movement against the CM which ultimately led to the burial of Nawaz government.\textsuperscript{333}

When Nawaz Sharif became the prime minister in October 1990, it was hoped that the relationship between President and Prime Minister would improve. These expectations stemmed from the fact that they have shared legacy in not only were both Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif products of the Zia era but also that the president had consistently supported Nawaz during Benazir Bhutto regime. Initially, these expectations proved true; during the Gulf War, the president supported Sharif against General Baig's criticism of the Gulf policy. However, the situation soon changed. Being confident that a clear majority in the National Assembly had placed him in a stronger position than his predecessor, Nawaz Sharif began to take independent initiatives.

The Prime Minister's Secretariat explored new initiatives on the Kashmir and Afghan issues as well as new avenues to resume American assistance to Pakistan. Most importantly, Nawaz Sharif struggled to balance the presidential powers. Aware that the military would continue to play a significant role in Pakistani politics, Nawaz wanted a pro-Prime Minister COAS to replace General Aslam Baig in August 1991. He was unsuccessful in this effort when President Ishaq Khan selected General Asif Nawaz Janjua to the position of COAS. Though he was not happy with the selection, Sharif apparently tried to induce the General Janjua by different tactics. The president disliked this show of freedom and self-confidence and often ignored the policy initiatives taken by Nawaz Sharif. Significantly, he ignored Sharif's recommendations for the COAS appointment, not only of Asif Nawaz Janjua but of his successor, General Abdul Waheed Kakar, whom Ghulam Ishaq Khan named after superseding two senior generals.334

The relationship between the prime minister and the president grew so tense that by late 1992, Ghulam Ishaq Khan was looking for alternative to Nawaz Sharif.335 His position was also undermined by continuous confrontations with the PPP led PDA coalition and charges of financial mismanagement arising from the collapse of the cooperative societies in the Punjab.336

Even without Benazir’s challenges, Sharif’s government deteriorated. As prime minister, Nawaz Sharif seemed more interested in securing power for himself than in governing the country. His differences with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan came to a boil over the choice of a new Chief of Army Staff. The two men hurled charges at

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The prime minister, wary of undue presidential interventions, was interested in promoting his own man, who preferably would support a popularly elected prime minister or, at least, stay neutral. The president appointed Lieutenant General Abdul Waheed Kakar, superseding six lieutenant generals in line of seniority without consulting the prime minister. Although both leaders maintained a semblance of consensus over the appointment, a clash of interests became public.\footnote{Zaffar, Abbas. \textit{“The Final Showdown,”} Herald, March 1993, pp. 32-30.}

It is unclear what prompted Nawaz Sharif to choose this moment to pick a fight with the president because he did not have the required two-third majority in the National Assembly to quash the amendment, nor did he have an amicable relationship with the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), which had refused to recognize the 1990 elections that brought Nawaz Sharif to power. Whatever the reasons for his decision, it immediately heightened the simmering power struggle. A political bombshell, apparently engineered by the presidential camp, was dropped in April when the widow of General Asif Nawaz alleged that he did not die a natural death but was poisoned. She claimed that it was a "political murder," hinting that some of the politicians close to the prime minister could be involved in the conspiracy. The prime minister immediately constituted a three member judicial commission to probe the causes of the general’s death.\footnote{Tahir, Amin. (1994). \textit{Op. cit.}, p. 3.}

Benazir Bhutto found herself in the enviable position of being wooed by both the prime minister and the president, rather ironic because as prime minister in 1988-90,
she had strongly opposed Nawaz Sharif and then was ousted herself by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, using power under 58(2)(b) of the Constitution. She now opted for a twin track policy of appearing to have good relations with the government by accepting the chair of National Assembly's Foreign Relations Committee and seeking the release from prison of her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, and simultaneously opening secret negotiations through her representatives with the president promised him her cooperation against Nawaz Sharif government and for his selection in the forthcoming presidential elections in exchange of a promise for fresh midterm elections. Benazir's ambivalent stance aggravated the power struggle between the prime minister and the president.\(^{340}\)

On May 30, 1992 the military started Operation Clean Up in Sindh due to the worsening of situations. Mostly the workers of MQM were allegedly involved in the rioting, law and order situations in Sindh. Nawaz Sharif was not happy with the operation because the operation was directed towards MQM which was a coalition partner of the government of Nawaz Sharif.\(^{341}\) The relationship between MQM and Nawaz Sharif could be disturbed due to the said operation. During this operation, criminals in MQM were arrested and all the hidden places were searched out which were used in various terrorist activities. The leader of the MQM Altaf Hussain, in retaliation to the operation against his party, presented resignations of his parliamentarians to the government. Political situation took a dramatic shape, when Benazir Bhutto as the opposition leader started discussions with army chief to get his

\(^{340}\) Ibid., p. 4.

favor and presented the resignations of her MNAs to the speaker of National Assembly.\textsuperscript{342}

On November 18, 1992 Benazir Bhutto repeated what Nawaz Sharif had done earlier against her government, started Long March against the government. Nawaz Sharif used each and every tactics and succeeded in failing the Long March. On the other hand, the leader of PPP Benazir Bhutto started two ways policy i.e., she assured Nawaz Sharif of friendly opposition and, on the other hand, she collaborated with Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Nawaz Sharif, on January 12, 1992, nominated Benazir Bhutto as the chairperson of Committee on Foreign Affairs to create friendly environment with the opposition. This cooperation was not digestible for other opposition parties including the president. This situation created difficulties for the government. Now the president and other opposition parties seriously thought of toppling the government.\textsuperscript{343}

The unexpected demise of army chief became a turning point as the president blamed the government for his death. But the Commission consisting of Justice Shafi ur Rehman, Justice Abdul Qadeer and Justice Rafeeq Tarar declared the death as natural. In spite of all this, the president continuously and tirelessly worked to disgrace the incumbent government. According to Zafar, Benazir Bhutto was part of the plan as she arrived from London on April 17, 1993. On the next day on April 18, 1993 she presented her party member’s resignation to the president and on the same night Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the Assemblies.\textsuperscript{344} However, the Supreme Court of Pakistan reinstated the Assemblies, declared the president’s act unconstitutional and ordered the restoration of government. But the situation reached to such an impasse

\textsuperscript{343} Ibid., p. 475.
\textsuperscript{344} Ibid., pp. 475-76.
due to the political power struggle between the two offices that none was tolerable for
other and the whole machinery of the state got disturbed. In July the same year, the
military settled the matter and asked both to resign. This resignation of the president
as an important figure of bureaucracy along with the prime minister was a significant
indication that, the influence of the civil bureaucracy was increasingly controlled by

5.7. Loopholes in IJI Administration / Governance

The foundation after the dismissal of PPP government in August 1990 was not put on
sincere basis, the caretaker government under whose auspices the general elections
were conducted in November, 1990 belonged to the very same clique of pro Zia
elements who were openly accused of snatching the reins of power from PPP. For
Nawaz Sharif, democracy was synonymous with majority rule. With that majority he
Bhutto folly of nationalization and started the process of privatizing the public sector,
building a network of roads and unchaining the national economy from rigid state

He had all the latitude he wanted in the formation of policies of privatization,
marketing every project of the government for obliging the bidder even if his was not
the highest. The swift sale of the projects ranging from banks to roti plants gave the
impression of the country being converted into an auction mart for the disposal of
public sector enterprises to an already bloated private sector. The receipt from these
gigantic sales of the state property had not replenished the depleted public exchequer.
On the contrary, these had given businessmen a fresh pretext to further drain the already diminishing resources of the banks. The banks as the depositories of the people’s savings were systematically robbed by defaulting borrowers.\(^{348}\)

Even the motorway project was not free from personal stakes since it was to pass through or near the prime minister’s own industrial complex and farming estate, was justified on the ground that it would facilitate the establishment of similar estates along the route.\(^{349}\) The much publicized yellow cab scheme ostensibly meant to ease the unemployment and the transport problems and provide fresh job opportunities for the unemployed, was soon transformed into a business proposition by the transport companies and the well to do classes to increase their fleet of luxury car and by middle class to own and use them as private vehicles which were intended for public conveniences all at the expense of the nationalized banks which were asked to finance the scheme without any fool proof guarantee of recovery of the loans.

The uncontrolled increase in corruption continued to tax the government’s ability to formulate constructive policies, and more importantly eroded government authority. In August 1991, the IJI was accused of sanctioning illegal borrowing of Rs. 120 billion from government owned cooperatives in Punjab by the Ittefaq Industrial Group which belongs to the Sharif family.\(^{350}\)

The relationship of Nawaz Sharif with his political opposition was not pleasant, and his policies generated a growing opposition among the people as well.\(^{351}\) The Sharia Bill introduced in the parliament in 1991, produced tension among the several Islamic sects in Pakistan and the process of Islamization, accompanied by political

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\(^{349}\) Ibid., p. 238.
suppression, instigated social discontent and generated severe opposition to the
government. In this regard the demonstrations in Islamabad led by Benazir Bhutto
were a response to these policies.\textsuperscript{352}

Benazir Bhutto was termed ‘kafir’ by the Minister of Religious Affairs and CM
Sindh, Jam Sadiq Ali called her as traitor. The regime provided little space for
accommodation as her party loyalists and supporter were unnecessarily victimized
and harassed. The politics of blame game reached to its highest point when on 27
November 1991, five men harassed Veena Hayat, daughter of the veteran Muslim
League leader Sardar Shaukat Hayat and a close friend of Benazir Bhutto. The
aggrieved afterward imposing the charge of gang rape and accused Irfan Ullah
Marwat, the son-in- law of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Advisor on Home
Affairs to the Sindh Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali. That case brought different
political parties and groups to come together, however, the representatives of
bureaucracy including the president were un judged.

The Sindh Chief Minister on the other hand had unleashed a wave of terror on the
Benazir’s followers with the tacit support of Ghulam Ishaq Khan. That strategy of
incriminating PPP workers and activists spurred unrest in the PPP circle and Sindh
had witnessed the unremitting spell of lawlessness with dacoits operating there with
impunity. Along with Pakistani citizens also foreigners were targeted.\textsuperscript{353}

Nawaz Sharif had created a certain degree of mutual understanding between the
center and the provinces but like his predecessor, he too failed to manage the ethnic
tensions of the country. He used his power to subdue political opposition as well as

\textsuperscript{353} Tahir, Kamran. (2008). \textit{Democracy and Governance in Pakistan}. Lahore: South Asia Partnership,
Pakistan, p. 150.
his policies were against the wishes and aspirations of the people. Demonstrations in Islamabad led by Benazir Bhutto were a response to these repressive policies. Saeed Shafqat wrote that despite making struggle for the restoration of democracy, all stakeholders including politicians, had failed to construct a legal paradigm, create a democratic atmosphere and, most significantly to develop a policy outline in which conflicts could be resolved inside the legislature. Ironically, the political leaders initiated measures that strengthened authoritarianism rather than uphold representative rules, respect for law or tolerance towards political opposition. The Nawaz Sharif administration of 1990-93 and his predecessor Benazir Bhutto asserted themselves over institutions of the state, instead to flourish a harmonious environment suitable for democracy. They tried to dominate all important departments of the government in the shape of placing men of their own choice. The formation of Khidmat Committees, Etisab Cell and Open Kutcheries were the measures that showed dictatorial inclinations weakening the stature of legislature. Regarding relationship with opposition, during the two years of Islami Jamoori Ittehad (IJI) rule, the president and the prime minister did not meet the opposition even once.

Nawaz Sharif combined with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan hatched the plot of dismissing Benazir Bhutto in 1990 for the sake of IJI, after she had defeated a no-confidence move in the National Assembly was a deliberate disregard of the norms of parliamentary democracy. This use of the undemocratic act by which the PPP was deprived of its legitimate right to rule in Sindh after the 1990 elections, undermined the whole structure of governance. The government's use of state machinery,

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particularly the police, for partisan ends had destroyed the rule of law. Public disregard of law was in general and a sort of social anarchy prevailed. Government's much announced operations to confiscate unlawful weapons and to check adulteration of food, drugs, and other elements were stillborn.\textsuperscript{357}

5.8. Conclusion

The period from 1988-1993 was full of miseries for the people of Pakistan because both the major political organization were involved in serious mudslinging on each other which virtually deteriorated the country’s economy and national resources were spoiled. Both the parties alleged each other for Horse trading, money laundering, corruption, nepotism and favoritism and even military was called for removal one another from the government. According to the political analysts, it was a chance for the politicians to focus on the development and progress of the nation but they failed in to so.\textsuperscript{358}

It is stated that the highest obstacle facing the growth of democracy had been the inconsistent attitude as well as conduct of politicians. Although these politicians have strived to restore people rule, they could not build a framework, which could strengthen and promote such environment for representative system and most importantly, develop a mechanism in which differences could be resolved through discussions.

Democracy cannot function in the absence of consensus of opinion. Those political elites who, struggled for democracy and expressed democratic sentiments on

\textsuperscript{357} Ibid., pp. 129-140.
assuming power changed into authoritarian style. They followed such measures that supported dictatorial tendencies rather than supportive to democracy by any mean. As a result of these undemocratic measures there was a mounting uncertainty about the sustainability of democratic system. The disappointment was not with democracy as a form of government but with the conduct and behavior of politicians and political organization that were hoped to make the system work.\(^{359}\)

Chapter # 06

PPP VOTED TO POWER AGAIN: (1993-1996)

6.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on Benazir Bhutto’s second term in office with particular reference to her idea of a “New Social Contract” and the extent to which constitutional provisions and democratic norms were observed in the conduct of state business. The New Social Contract envisaged the commitment that PPP would work together with all stakeholders in harmony and understanding. In this chapter, the performance of Benazir Bhutto’s second term in office from 1993 to 1996 is examined with a view to determine whether the party could learn from the past. The strategies of PPP leadership for the new term are evaluated keeping in view the mistakes committed in the previous tenure. It focuses mainly on the promises the party made to the people in its election manifesto. Some of the promises are reproduced below:

- We will not mislead the people in order to gain their votes.
- The PPP will give the country the leadership that it needs.
- We will put the economy on track, fight inflation, unemployment and the fiscal deficit.
- We will bring together people from all classes, ethnic and linguistic groups and all Provinces to work together to put the country once again on the path of progress.
We will defeat the legacies of dictatorship, ethnicity, sectarianism, drug mafia and political violence and vendetta.\textsuperscript{360}

The attitude of the PPP’s leadership towards the country’s major problems is investigated during the period from 1993 to 1996. This chapter focuses also on the role of ruling party with respect to the opposition political platforms and also with civil and military bureaucracy. The study is also keen in pinning down the moves that have been taken for the promotion of democracy in Pakistan or the politicians used their energies in drawing each other legs. The opportunity bestowed to PPP by the masses after spending time out of the assembly needed respect from the party leadership.


Moeen Qureshi’s interim administration was widely praised both for its economic initiatives and for its impartiality. Among other things, he introduced tax on agricultural income for the first time, and the elections which took place in October 1993 were widely agreed to have been among the fairest ever to take place in the history of elections that have conducted so far in Pakistan. In this case, therefore, Pakistani democracy appeared to have strengthened by the eventual resolution to a political crisis. The midterm general elections held on October 6, 1993 for the National Assembly and October 9, 1993 for the Provincial Assemblies, were remarkably free and fair. The PPP campaigned on the promise of “Agenda for Change,” focusing on the improvement of social services.\textsuperscript{361} During the campaign of

\textsuperscript{360}. PPP come up with new strategies for the victory of the party in the 1993 elections. See for further details, the manifesto of 1993 election of the Pakistan Peoples Party attached in annexure.

the 1993 elections, the party manifesto pledged to present a “list system”\textsuperscript{362} by adding extra seats on the basis of votes obtained by political parties apart from the directly elected members, restore the joint electorates system, pass such laws which will not only discourage floor crossing and reestablish the dignity of the institutions of democracy.\textsuperscript{363} However, Nawaz Sharif blamed the caretaker government for discrepancies with the election results. it is noteworthy to mention that rigging had not taken place, rather it is a commonly held allegation by every loser in Pakistani elections.

Forty per cent of a visibly exhausted and lethargic electorate turned out to exercise their right to vote only in the general elections of 1993. The Pakistan Peoples Party headed by Benazir Bhutto appeared a nose ahead from a group of the Pakistan Muslim League controlled by Nawaz Sharif. PPP was able to form a government at the center with the support of smaller parties. But a coalition government at the center and a drawn and divided provincial government can barely be seen as a positive political growth in a state where both bureaucracy and the army have, for the maximum part, continued prevailing within the state structure.\textsuperscript{364}

The PPP and the PML appeared as the two leading political parties obtaining 86 and 72 seats respectively in the National Assembly of 207 seats. In the popular vote, the PML (Nawaz) had an advantage by obtaining 39.7\% of the votes over the PPP which secured 38.1\%. The four Islamic parties and other religious parties suffered a defeat

\textsuperscript{362} An additional number of seats will be added to the directly elected members. They will be chosen on the basis of percentages obtained by political parties in direct elections. A minimum percentage of votes obtained will be fixed on the Federal and Provincial levels for political parties to qualify for additional seats in the list system. For details see the general election of 1993 manifesto of PPP.


capturing only 9 seats collectively in the National Assembly. Regional parties like the Awami National Party (ANP) in the NWFP, the Confederated Party in Sindh, and ethno nationalistic elements in Balochistan also suffered stunning defeat in the national elections. However, the PML (N) and the PPP made significant inroads into the provinces. The MQM, which had been the strongest party in urban Sindh in previous elections, stay away from the National Assembly polls on the plea to keep most of its vote bank away from the casting their ballot and make a mockery of process. But the turnout was only slightly affected, making the PML (N) and the PPP the main beneficiaries of the MQM stay away from the elections.
General Elections 1993

Party position in National Assembly of Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Party</th>
<th>% of Votes</th>
<th>No of Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Peoples Party</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Muslim League (J)</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Islamic Front</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Jamhoori Mahaz</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awami National Party</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttahida Deeni Mahaz</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Democratic Alliance</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamhoori Wattan Party</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakhtunkhwa Qaumi Party</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Peoples Party (Khar)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan National Movement (H)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan National Movement (M)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parties</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>207</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Election Commission of Pakistan, 1993 General elections Results.
The provincial Assemblies results revealed the PML (N) as the single leading party in Punjab with 106 seats, while the PPP obtained 94 seats and its ally, the splinter faction PML (J), secured 18 seats. In Sindh, the PPP got 56 seats, the MQM (which ended its boycott for the provincial elections) obtained 27, the PML (N) won 8, and one seat went to Murtaza Bhutto (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's son) who contested from the platform of the Shaheed Bhutto Committee (SBC) rather than from the PPP. In the NWFP, the PPP secured 24 seats, the ANP 21, the PML (N) 15, and PML (J) and PIF obtained 4 each. In Balochistan, the PML (N) got 6 seats, the PPP won 3, and the rest went to an assorted group of smaller parties and independents.

**Results of 1993 Provincial Assemblies Elections and Party Position**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Balochistan</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(N)</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML (J)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>460</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan.

The PPP, along with the support of PML (J), independents, and minorities, was able to form a weak coalition at the center, and Benazir Bhutto was elected prime minister.
on October 19, 1993. The PPP formed provincial governments in Punjab and Sindh with help and support of its partners. The PML (N) headed by Nawaz Sharif opted to be an opposition leader at the center as well as in Punjab and Sindh, but formed provincial governments with the help of its allies in the NWFP and Balochistan. The PPP also comfortably won the presidential elections on November 13, 1993, when its nominee, Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, defeated the PML (N) candidate Wasim Sajjad by 274 to 168 votes.

The PPP felt more secure after this victory because the relationship with the president had been a constant source of tension during the previous three regimes. President Leghari affirmed that he desired the Eighth Amendment abolished by legislature as it has been the source of persistent political crises in the country. The development of two genuinely national political parties led by two leaders with firm roots in the provinces was the result of the 1993 elections. However, it was premature to predict whether a two party democratic system would evolve. Although both the ruling party and the opposition were displaying mature behavior towards each other, yet the chances for stability remained precarious because of the absence of a democratic culture, fragile balance of civil military relations, lack of cohesive political parties, and the interests of external powers in manipulating Pakistan's internal politics for their own objectives.\(^{365}\)

The elections of 1993 once again brought PPP under Benazir Bhutto to the highest position in the country. As Leader of the Opposition, Nawaz Sharif accepted defeat and offered his full cooperation with the government and assured that the opposition would respect the mandate of the people. This sent a wave of relief through political

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circle who felt reassured that despite split mandate given by the electorate, the country might see a period of stability.\textsuperscript{366} Benazir Bhutto began her second government with a much stronger hand than in 1988. Together with its allies, the PPP now had a majority in the National Assembly and she had been able to reestablish pleasant working relationship with the army leadership. In November 1993, she felt more secure with presidency occupied by one of her closest party nominee. Observers of the Pakistan politics argued that she had learnt from her past mistakes. Pakistan's transition from military rule had been turbulent, but now there was cautious optimism that the country's democratic institutions would be consolidated.\textsuperscript{367}

Benazir Bhutto's first statement after taking oath of the office, declaring this a moment of understanding and pledging to work to build up democracy and encourage patience, hinted at a less bombastic approach to governance than she had exhibited in her initial term as prime minister. Nawaz Sharif's statement paralleled Bhutto's and focused on the importance of statesmanship. He stated we will discourage indulging in destructive activities. We will collaborate with the regime for the cause of democracy. Pakistan can't afford crisis after crisis. We will work to end this.\textsuperscript{368} This sent a wave of relief through the political circle who felt reassured that despite the split mandate given by the electorate, the country might see a period of stability. In our informal contracts with the treasury benches, some areas were identified for joint legislative initiatives. These included the restoration of reserved seats for women and


\textsuperscript{367} Newline, Oct. 1993.

both parties were also keen to find way out to prevent floor crossing in the assemblies.\textsuperscript{369}

Benazir Bhutto was in a decent political position as she began her second term of office. Her party was in control of the Centre including the most important province of the Punjab. Benazir Bhutto had a close and cordial political relationship with the new president. Indeed, Farooq Ahmad Leghari assured that he would be a neutral president and let the prime minister do her job. Looking to this favorable political scenario, it began to sound as though Benazir Bhutto might be the first prime minister in more than ten years to stay in office through a full term. Even with those advantages, however, Benazir faced a more daunting challenge in the second time around. The military relationship with PPP was in no way sound. The sword of terrorism was hanging over the PPP government and widespread cases were observed.

Benazir took initiatives to improve the living standard of common man in Pakistan and for the purpose she did institute the Social Action Program (SAP) to improve housing, education, and health services. Her government was also able to attract billions in foreign investment, most of it going to the generation of electric power in Pakistan. Many observers cited the improvement in relations between Pakistan and the United States as Benazir’s main achievement in office. Relations between the two countries had deteriorated in 1994 when Nawaz Sharif had announced Pakistan’s possession of nuclear weapons. In spring 1995, Benazir Bhutto visited Washington, D.C. She presented a picture of an energized leader in control of a modern Muslim state. That September, as a result of her visit, the U.S Senate passed the Brown Amendment. It released military equipment worth of millions of dollars the price of

which Pakistan had already paid for and opened opportunities for further financial assistance.

Under her second government relationship with the U.S improved to a greater extent. Pakistan relationship with neighboring India remained as tense as it was before. Each side accused the other of illegally fishing in the water of Jammu and Kashmir and there were frequent clashes between armies of the two countries. For instance, in early 1996, nineteen Pakistanis were killed by Indian rockets, which also destroyed a mosque in a small village. Although there were meetings between the two prime ministers but relationship did not improve and the shelling continued on both sides. The Constitution of Pakistan had been badly distorted by General Zia to appropriate all the state powers into his hands for blunt authoritarianism. According to Hamid Khan, the powers that Zia had assumed were exercised recklessly, maliciously and capriciously at all times to the detriment of the PPP. Thus, it was necessary for Benazir’s government to correct the constitution so that democracy could follow its due course.

6.3. Benazir Bhutto's Handling of the Eighth Amendment

The October 1993 elections give rise to in a hung legislature. The PPP succeeded to gain less than in the 1988 elections and the PML (Nawaz Group) secured more than the previous elections. The PML (Chatha Group), the Pakistan Islamic Front also won some seats in these elections and interestingly, independent candidates emerged in large number of 15 seats. A similar state of affairs prevailed in the provinces; the PPP obtained good amount of seats in Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, and in Balochistan. The

PML (N) remained good in Punjab, NWFP and in Balochistan. Significantly, PML (N) managed to win 8 seats in Sindh thus establishing itself as a truly representative political platform. Thus the elections results were mixed and no party got clear majority to form government of its own. This distribution of power created apprehension that no single party would be able to form government and that such a situation might finally prompt the armed forces to disrupt the already tottering system.

PPP took the seat of Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the lower house of the Parliament. Benazir Bhutto was sworn as Prime Minister on October 19, 1993 and the party form provincial government in Punjab (coalition) and Sindh. The PML (N), on the other hand, only succeeded to form a coalition government in the NWFP with the help of ANP.

These changed circumstances were hardly conducive to repealing the Eighth Amendment. With Farooq Leghari as president, Benazir Bhutto had nothing to gain from lessening the scope of presidential powers set forth in the amendment. Indeed, as indicated by the dismissal of the NWFP Assembly in February 1994, she could gain from the utilization of these powers. Nor did the opposition benefit from any such change, as that could strengthen Bhutto's control. Some members were also reluctant to support repeal of the Eight Amendment in the hope that center-province relations might worsen once again, forcing the new president either to ask Bhutto to seek a fresh vote of confidence or resign as prime minister. Such hopes were reinforced by the continuing political saga in Punjab where the PPP was governing in a power sharing formula with the PML (Junejo Group). According to the formula, Manzoor Wattoo was elected chief minister but Faisal Saleh Hayat, one of Bhutto's
close confidants, was appointed the CM's principal advisor. This had created a parallel power center in Punjab with neither Wattoo nor Hayat satisfied with the arrangement and differences had emerged between them carrying the possibility of the PPP-PML (J) alliance breaking down in the province.

At the same time, the differences between Benazir Bhutto and her mother, Nusrat Bhutto, over the latter's forcible removal as co-chairperson of the party and over Murtaza Bhutto's rights in the party adversely affected Benazir Bhutto’s position in Sindh. With the political mayhem in the NWFP and a coalition government in Balochistan, a situation existed for the kind of instability that prevailed during April-July 1993, this time with negative consequences for the PPP. While this scenario was prompting some of the PML (N) members to sit quietly and avoid referring to the Eighth Amendment, still others were hoping that relations between Benazir Bhutto and Farooq Leghari might sour at some stage and open the way for the use of presidential powers to knock down the PPP government. The Eighth Amendment, therefore, was likely to continue as part of Pakistan's Constitution in the foreseeable future.

6.4. The Early Initiatives.

Benazir Bhutto started her second term of government with several challenges which she had faced during her first term. This time she had acquired experience of office, knew about the working of government and apparently understood the dynamics of politics. In the presidency, her own candidate Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari further added to her strength. The president’s announcement of not using his authority conferred by the amendment in the constitution increased her strength in government. Now she was not having the burden of hostile president on her shoulder which had
clouded the earlier two governments. The PPP also held Punjab under a coalition with PML (J). Internationally, she was looked upon as a moderate and a modernist political leader in the world of Islam which was marked by periodical flashes of fundamentalism. Benazir Bhutto thus started her second term in office in highly promising conditions apparently with the blessing of American lobby.\textsuperscript{372} Despite all the above narrated favorable conditions, the government of PPP had to handle with feeble economy. Pakistan had continued to face serious financial difficulties. It had a great budget deficit as the expenditure of the government was greater than it took money in and the IMF was not willing to issue loans unless the administration appropriate encouraging measures to decrease the deficit. To tackle these adverse economic conditions, the government tried to raise the money with imposing a general sales tax to be imposed on most stuff. This step of government faced ample resistance from both manufacturers and customers which could pass by the parliament. The lower chunk of population including employee and business people disliked the exemption of agricultural income of feudal landlords from tax. However, Benazir Bhutto managed to overcome such difficulties and finalized an agreement with the IMF. But the inflation (a continuing rise in prices) combined with deficit generated additional financial difficulties. Relations with the United States, nonetheless, enhanced during President Bill Clinton’s first and Bhutto’s second term significantly and that brought some economic relief. The investment of billions of dollars in the energy sector by the American companies was a proof of good ties with the super power. The two countries also reiterated their commitment for cooperation

in eliminating the menace of illegal drugs and global terrorism. Pakistan hand over most wanted criminals comprising Ramzi Yousef.\textsuperscript{373}

Benazir Bhutto’s second administration her top priority were the modernization of the country and provision of social services to the masses. Private investment was brought into the energy sector and the first privately owned power plant was established. Electricity was provided to detached villages of Pakistan and new gas pipelines were laid in many areas. The World Bank appreciated Benazir Bhutto’s energy initiatives and called it role model for the world. Womenfolk along with children once again were focused in the PPP Government. Education was priority and for this purpose, a large number of primary schools were constructed. Some of her most important packages were in health sector. Through her Polio Vaccination Program, children under the age of five were vaccinated and her administration also reestablished the country’s Tuberculosis Control Program. One of the most innovative plans was to train Lady Health Visitors to teach women for the most part of the countryside about childcare and family planning to minimize infant mortality and improve maternal health.\textsuperscript{374}

In 1994, for the purpose to restore military and technical assistance to her country, she was able to persuade the Clinton Administration to relent in their criticism of the Pakistani nuclear program. This step elevated her image at such a time when the Indian military operations in Kashmir and skirmishes between the two neighbors did not produce in any breakthrough in their relations.\textsuperscript{375}

\textsuperscript{373} Ramzi Yousef was the man responsible for the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York.
The way Benazir started her second term as a prime minister presented maturity and greater enthusiasm in developing the relations with political opponent. In the case of PML (J) in the Punjab she demonstrated more accommodation for her coalition partners. Furthermore, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman was designated as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Nasarullah Khan was given Chairmanship of the Kashmir Committee and likewise, Malik Qasim, was nominated as Chairman of the Anti-Corruption Committee. Malik Qasim became as the Chairman Senate. Similarly, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi’s son was introduces as minister in Sindh government and the son of Balkh Sher Mazari was given a ministerial position in the Punjab government. Similarly, tow ministers in the Punjab cabinet were the sons of Mustafa Khar as well as Nasrullah Khan.376

Benazir Bhutto in her second tenure, found herself donning many of the same political tactics what she had done in her the first administration. Again, she resorted to get the control of the central government and tried to capture all three provincial governments. In early 1994, though, she tried to capture the government of Northwest Frontier Province by bringing to her side a number of independent members of the government having ministerial position, more advantages on joining the party union. To control the Punjab government she started using all sort of maneuvers. All of her tactics adversely devalued PPP plus her public image. A more damaged was done to her public posture by the way her government used the Judiciary to annoy rival politicians by imposing charges of corruption, a strategy she had denounces during

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PML government. She was overwhelmed by protests and walkouts that Nawaz Sharif started against her administration.\(^\text{377}\)

### 6.5. Maneuvering to Capture NWFP Government

The goodwill of the opposition and backing of the presidency could be cashed to secure her position and government. Instead, she planned to oust the government of NWFP province through constitutional maneuvering.\(^\text{378}\) She had less tolerance for the democratically elected government of PML (N) and ANP. She sought to install the government of PPP in the province despite being not in majority. Within four months of the election, the PPP leadership in the province led by Aftab Ahmad khan Sherpao, maneuvered to lure away eleven independent members who had initially supported the PML (N) government in the province.\(^\text{379}\) Later on, asked the president to impose governor’s rule in the province under Article 234 of the constitution to remove the current government.\(^\text{380}\) The president complied and on February 25, 1994, the provincial government of NWFP was removed.\(^\text{381}\) This undemocratic action from the outset opened another round of confrontational politics, damaging democratic discourse. Later, Benazir’s party acquired a majority in the provincial parliament through paying a huge sum of money in bribes.\(^\text{382}\) This example reflects on Benazir’s disregard for legitimate opposition and on how she failed to promote the much needed culture of tolerance based on respect for majority rule.

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In order to strengthen democracy in Pakistan, the judiciary must be made an independent institution to control the excesses of executive power and to dispense justice. Benazir Bhutto promised to reform the judiciary but unfortunately, she further weakened it by removing the chief justices in the provinces of Sindh, Punjab and the NWFP. Then, she tried to pack the judiciary with many unqualified judges. Further, she filled the Supreme Court with ad hoc judges. Through a number of such moves, she damaged the institution of judiciary. Ironically, she got in trouble with her own appointed chief justice of Pakistan. Innumerable cases were brought against the business family of Nawaz Sharif. His ageing father was arrested. Nawaz Sharif responded by strikes, shut down of business, wheel jams, protest of meetings and boycott of assemblies. The state of affairs only sent waves of despair among the people, regardless of their party affiliations.

The PPP government went a step further and cancelled the contract of a Turkish Firm Bayinder granted by Nawaz Sharif government for the construction of Peshawar-Islamabad Motorway. Eventually the firm was paid compensation and the project had substantial over turn both in terms of time and money. The government had all privatization deals of Nawaz Sharif period scrutinized while appointing PPP man Naveed Qamar as head of the Privatization Commission.

Simultaneously, the government continued to close many private sector power generation deals, the biggest of them was Hub Power Company’s agreement for 1200 Mega Watts. This agreement was, unusual, in many ways. Firstly, the deficit of power in Karachi was only 300MW. Secondly, the tariff rate given to them was three time higher than any other project. Subsequently, Pakistan Water and Power Development

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Authority (WAPDA) made desperate attempts to seek some relief but the pressure of international financial institutions and so called sanctity of investment agreement prevented them from securing a reduction in tariff.\footnote{Haq, Nawaz. Akhtar. (2007). If Truth be Told: An Alternate History of Pakistan. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, p. 308.}


Benazir’s style of governance was not conducive to good administration. The epicenter of decision making moved from the cabinet itself, to the prime minister’s secretariat dominated by her. There were a large number of advisors and special assistants which virtually put additional burden on the stumbling economy of the country. The pattern of government was personalized and authoritarian. In fact, the weakness of administration which had begun to figure during the first term, now manifested itself on a large scale in ever widening sphere.\footnote{Hamid, yusuf. (1999). Op. cit., p. 245.} A grave political hostility between the Benazir with her political adversaries of Pakistan Muslim League (N) dominated Pakistani politics in 1994. Neither the Benazir nor the opposition displayed any patience towards one another, with the former pursuing vengeful policies while the latter indulged in ceaseless agitation. The political atmosphere of the country suffered enormously from the decay in institution, widespread corruption, ethnic and sectarian violence leading to anarchical situations in most parts of the country.\footnote{Tahir, Amin. (1995). Pakistan in 1994,The Politics of Confrontation. Asian Survey, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 140-146.}

In September 1996, to the bad luck of PPP government, police killed Mir Murtaza Bhutto near his home in Karachi. This was especially heartbreaking news for Benazir since she and her brother recently had reconciled their political differences after many
years of confrontation. Benazir Bhutto later claimed that Murtaza’s murder was part of a plan to destabilize her government and to wipe out the Bhutto family. Her charges appeared to cast some blame for the murder on President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, thus causing a rift between the prime minister and the president. But as noted Sartaj Aziz, the cleavage between prime minister and president came to surface long ago when Mian Sharif was arrested in the pretext to infuriate the opposition. As PPP had a motive behind this and they wanted the opposition to protest as violently as possible to interrupt the formal address of President to the joint session of parliament on 14 November.\textsuperscript{388}

Benazir Bhutto had lost both of her brothers now. Her distress was complicated by the fact that her mother began showing the first indications of Alzheimer’s,\textsuperscript{389} a disease that eventually takes away a person’s memory and awareness. Uneasy about leaving her mother alone, Benazir Bhutto took Nusrat Bhutto along when she went to New York City in October 1996, to address the United Nations. In an impassioned speech, she appealed to the UN to help restore human rights and democracy both in Pakistan and in Jammu and Kashmir. On November 4, 1996, President Bill Clinton of the United States was reelected as the forty-second president. On the same day in Pakistan, President Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari was using his powers of the amended constitution. As a consequence, Benazir Bhutto’s regime was overthrown. The dismissal came as a surprise to Benazir Bhutto. Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari accused Benazir Bhutto with corruption and mismanagement. Shortly afterwards, Asif Ali Zardari, Benazir’s husband was detained for Murtaza’s killing. Although the assassination charge was later dropped, Zardari was jailed in the charges of


\textsuperscript{389} Alzheimer’s is a disease that usually starts in the age 40s or 50s; first symptoms are impaired memory which is followed by impaired thought and speech and finally complete helplessness.
corruption and other crimes. He was not set free until November 2004. Benazir Bhutto was blamed for indulging in corruption, but most of these cases were later cleared. The charges of money laundering were also filed against Benazir Bhutto and her husband. Establishments demanded that they had kept money in foreign banks. Besides the charges of corruption, Benazir faced the allegation of maladministration. Benazir saw the dismissal of her government for the second time. A once prosperous future looked bleak indeed. So, with her children and mother, Benazir packed some belongings and headed into exile again, this time in Dubai.

6.7. Economic Initiatives and Challenges

Nawaz Sharif had left Benazir with an economy that had not only been mismanaged but had also suffered severe debilitation from catastrophic floods and plant disease that had destroyed the cotton, rice and sugarcane crops. Therefore, much of the nation’s agricultural production had been lost. Whatever gains had been made in the development of small business were lost in the failure of major enterprises. The Nawaz government had given a boost to the transport sector by inundating the country with small taxis, but this entailed the heavy expenditure of foreign exchange to pay for the vehicles. In the absence of incentives, gross investment had declined and even the subsequent actions of the caretaker government could not reverse the downturn. Fiscal management had been abominable because of the level of public and private corruption as well as the ineptitude of those charged with budgetary responsibility. National debt payments fell further behind schedule and, of course, the

390 Interview of the research scholar with Chaudhry Amin Fahim, Dated: 28-6-2014.
armed services demanded so much of the national budget that little was left for funding social needs. Moeen Qureshi only had time to dramatize the dilemmas facing the nation. Although he made an effort to correct some of the more obvious abuses, it was left to Benazir’s government to take the necessary measures that might restore a semblance of national equilibrium.³⁹²

After reasonable growth in 1994 and 1995 the economy too began to falter in the next year. Inflation, price hike, weak financial management and corruption increased to the government’s worries. The IMF’s suggested structural changes, deteriorating foreign exchange reserves and the danger of failure to pay loan repayment shook the government. The ruling PPP, like its first period and the leading opposition party, the Pakistan Muslim League (N) involved in confrontational politics. It further damaged the struggling economy when Benazir Bhutto wasted her energy in creating tussles with the top judiciary in an attempt to fill it with political appointees.³⁹³

Benazir Bhutto and her husband (Asif Ali Zardari) had to contend with strong allegations of corruption throughout the 1990s. In 1996, a major scandal appeared in the print media accusing Asif Ali Zardari of having bought $4 million Rockwood Mansion in Surrey and spending an extra $ 1.5 million on its renovation. The scandal contributed her bad management and to the dismissal of Benazir’s government in 1996.³⁹⁴

Nawaz Sharif targeted her administration of corruption in main state owned companies and accused Benazir's government for decelerating the pace of economic growth. Her husband Asif Ali Zardari was arrested, but his business associates

remained loyal. One of them, the Chairman of Pakistan Steel Mill committed suicide rather than give evidence against his former patron. Benazir’s closest supporter insisted that her political posture was wasted by Asif Ali Zardari, her husband that he was a not a fair man and much worse. In March 1999, addressing a friendly gathering in a seminar at Islamabad, Benazir Bhutto defended her husband. He was much misunderstood, she said, but before she could continue, the audience began to shake their heads in disapproval, they shouted. She paused and then said with a sigh, I wonder why I always get the same reaction whenever I mention him. Asif Ali Zardari was not the only reason of her unpopularity. The Peoples Party had done little for the poor, who were its natural constituency. Most of her ministers, at the national and provincial level, were too busy lining their own pockets. Permanently surrounded by sycophants and cronies, she had become isolated from her electorate and oblivious to reality. The country was continuing to rot. A state that has never provided free education or healthcare and could no longer guarantee live from random killings in its largest city had created mass despair. The then Army Chief, General Abdul Waheed Kakar too remained outside politics, though the scale of corruption angered him and on an occasion, he is reported to have confronted Benazir Bhutto and complained about her husband’s greed.395

6.8. The Challenges of Law and Order

Benazir Bhutto's government was overthrown at a time when Pakistan was confronting grave problems particularly law and order. Since regaining authority, she had found herself battling with the above stated issues including the Mohajir Quami

Movement (MQM) in Karachi. MQM along with PML (N) had become a strong opposition in the Sindh Assembly. Violence had increased extremely and citizens expressed profound frustration with the incapability of Bhutto's administration to end it. The government launched a crackdown against MQM. The climate of insecurity reached such a point, after the two American consulate’s officials were killed on March 8, 1995. Karachi Stock Exchange (KSE) fluctuated considerably and had fell 29 points, since then because of political turmoil and uncertainty in the Karachi. In late April 1994, Mohajir tensions with the government in the province of Sindh increased leading to violence in which many died. In October, clashes increased in the city of Karachi. Many of these clashes were MQM-PPP; some were between Sunni and Shi'ia sects. Those involved in the sectarian violence, and yielded to pressures from religious parties by postponing amendment of the country's "blasphemy" laws, were not prosecuted or punish by the Benazir's government, like its predecessors.396 Benazir's second administration had seen continuation of the financial liberalization programs of her predecessor and some development in social areas, but it had witnessed an increase in internal political violence and militancy in the city.397

A cleavage came to surface inside the Bhutto family when Benazir's mother, Nusrat Bhutto, chose to support her son, Mir Murtaza Bhutto, within the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). Murtaza Bhutto, who had returned to Pakistan after 16 years of exile in Damascus, declared himself as the true heir to his father. Apparently to preempt Nusrat's bid to declare Murtaza her successor in the PPP, Benazir expelled her mother from the party's co-chairmanship. The power struggle within the Bhutto family was

further intensified when Nusrat Bhutto said she would not allow certain PPP members of the Benazir Bhutto government to visit the grave of her late husband on his birth anniversary on January 5, while Benazir Bhutto remained firm that the anniversary would be celebrated as usual. A clash between Murtaza Bhutto's followers and the police occurred on January 5 resulting in the death of two persons. Nusrat Bhutto declared that her administration was worse than Zia, while the government demanded the involvement of Indian Intelligence Agency agents among Murtaza Bhutto's followers who provoked the incident. This family feud, despite its vicissitudes, continued to haunt the government throughout the year.398

A member of the Muhajirs, an ethnically mixed group of immigrants, charged that Muhajirs were victims of discrimination and ethnic cleansing. The violators were the elite Sindhis which included the Bhutto family. He charged that the Sindhis had dominated most of the nation which included only about 2 percent of the population. Many Pakistanis felt that her government had done nothing to stop the wave of violence against the Muhajirs Community in Karachi.399

6.9. Opposition with a Tilt-for-Tat Policy towards PPP

Even skeptics were pleasantly surprised by Nawaz Sharif’s debut as leader of the national opposition, his maiden speech in the new legislature verged on an eloquent concession of defeat and he solemnly gave his word that the opposition would eschew the politics of confrontation in favor of a constructive approach. This was almost too good to be true, given that the best of time ruling and opposition parties had viewed

one another belligerently, rarely losing an opportunity to browbeat, humiliate and, if possible, replace their opponents.\(^{400}\)

Soon the PPP and PML-N again started fighting in the new legislature. Benazir's government found it hard to perform in the face of grave opposition from Nawaz Sharif. The situation got further drained when the opposition resorted to such measures which were contrary to the norms of democracy and was disrespecting the parliament. In the parliament, opposition’s policies were losing the norms of decency and decorum. The thing touched the lowest ebb when, on 14 November 1994, on the occasion of president’s address to the joint session of parliament. The opposition as mentioned above, tried to physically assault President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. The opposition had smuggled a number of banners inside the parliament inscribed with indecent Slogans, which they unfurled in the hall to the great embarrassment of the members. As if this was not enough, the opposition hurled verbal insults on her and the president.\(^{401}\)

Despite the PML (N) in the Center, peace in Karachi remained elusive as MQM activists were not ready to allow PPP in administering duties. The followers of Altaf Hussain trusted neither two major political parties nor the army. They propagated the intensity of state led violence against fellow Muhajirs by using pamphlets, audio cassettes, and video cassettes. Altaf Hussain along with his few confidants had been awarded British citizenship, but they continued their involvement in Karachi through a well-organized system of communications.\(^{402}\) The opposition, particularly the MQM, continued to be at loggerheads with PPP though out 1993 to 1996.

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In the fall of 1994 Nawaz Sharif announced train march against the government. He traveled in rail from Karachi to Peshawar to exaggerate their opposition to the Benazir Bhutto administration. Massive crowds along the route gathered in a display of the campaigning and hostile strategies that described both politics and these two political rivals. A general strike was declared in September, and in October, he called for another demonstration of resistance. Several opposition leaders were arrested by the government in drawing widespread condemnation and who took part in the protests.\(^{403}\)

The return of Benazir Bhutto’s brother, Murtaza Bhutto, to Pakistan created another formidable opposition to her government in late 1993. His return virtually, unnerved the former leader and her spouse, Asif Ali Zardari. Murtaza Bhutto, was to be another major concern for the prime minister.\(^{404}\) Some disgruntled PPP supporters gathered around him after his return in 1993, now it was difficult time for his ailing mother who agonized over the schism between her two eldest children. Murtaza and Zardari were not in cordial terms with one another as the latter openly denounced Zardari’s domineering influence in the party.\(^{405}\)

Benazir Bhutto also faced problems with her brother, Murtaza Bhutto, in the province Sindh. Nawaz Sharif supported Murtaza Bhutto and formed a political alliance that functioned vigorously to weaken Benazir Bhutto's regime and spread an anti-corruption movement in the whole of the country. In 1994 to 1995, Sharif with Murtaza Bhutto started a Train March a tradition setup by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, travelled through it from Karachi to Peshawar. The huge crowds who, participated in the march attended the speeches of their leaders. Nawaz Sharif played an important

role in organizing labour and industrial strikes all over Pakistan in September and October 1994.

Benazir had a difficult time establishing her government and addressing the nation’s problems. Attacked from one side by her mother and Murtaza and on the other by Nawaz Sharif, who was still smarting from his loss of power, her defense could hardly be expected to satisfy the public. Believing she had to neutralize Nawaz, Benazir took advantage of the unstable conditions in the NWFP to prorogue the provincial government and impose governor’s rule. Soon thereafter, she installed a PPP government in the province and lifted the restrictions on political activity. Her opposition, however, could not remain silent in the face of this obvious effort to impose her party’s rule throughout the country. Protest meetings were held from Peshawar to Islamabad and all the way to Lahore. Nawaz fought back with accusations about Benazir’s dishonest political practices. He also raised questions about her personal probity, citing a banking transaction that netted the Bhutto family considerable wealth. The scandal was played up in the press and eventually it also trapped the President in an embarrassing situation. By centering attention on the excesses of Benazir and her husband, Nawaz Sharif was able to escape assaults on his own financial activity. Moreover, he managed to drive a wedge between the prime minister and the president.\textsuperscript{406}

Benazir Bhutto government was hurt also by PPP defections that caused splits within the party. Pakistan had witnessed countless attacks on its democratic norms, and Benazir’s government was hardly in position, let alone did it enjoy the conditions, to practice democratic policy. Benazir’s manipulation of the judiciary certainly was not

\textsuperscript{406} Ibid., pp. 235-36.
a reflection of democratic process. Nor was the arrest in October 1995 of forty army officers, who, it was said, intended to take over the government.  

PPP removed the PML (N), ANP coalition government in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) which kept moving on the agitational politics. Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao provincial member of PPP was successful in buying the loyalties of Independent and two PML (N) members of the Provincial Assembly with the help of Mehran Bank money. The installation of a PPP government in the NWFP after a brief governor's rule of two months provoked the opposition. The opposition launched Save NWFP Campaign. The opposition boycotted the sessions of the Parliament and challenged the government on virtually every issue. The government arrested Brigadier (Rtd.) Imtiaz, former Intelligence Bureau chief during the Nawaz Sharif regime, for conspiring in the toppling of the earlier Benazir Bhutto regime, and it began to harass Nawaz Sharif's family over several cases of tax evasion, default on loan payments, and misuse of state authority.

The movement i.e., Tehrik-i-Nijat, that Nawaz Sharif had started against the PPP second term was purely on his own economic motives. He evidently believed that the vast industrial empire could only be saved through his own return to power. Movement of deliverance from a given regime can have some justification either when the power has been acquired through palpably undemocratic means or when a government is clearly seen to be pursuing policies detrimental to the national interests. Although the first year of PPP’s second term can hardly be characterized as

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407. Ibid., pp. 239.
408. Benazir Bhutto wanted to install the government of her party in the province despite being in the minority. She asked the president to impose governor’s rule in the province under Article 234 of the constitution to remove the current government. The president complied, and on February 25, 1994, the provincial government of NWFP was removed. For further details, see. Ravi, Kalia. (Eds.). (2011). Op. cit., p. 151.
a success story, neither of the above conditions can, at present, be considered applicable. Nor was there much value in Nawaz Sharif’s claim that his party had a larger vote bank than that of PPP. The disruptive tactic that Nawaz Sharif opted for the removal of government from power was becoming a destabilizing factor that not only threatens to disrupt once more Pakistan’s democratic experiment, but was also inimical to economic growth.\textsuperscript{410}

6.10. PPP’s Failure to Complete Mandated Period.

Following the death of Murtaza Bhutto in 1996, amid protests and spontaneous demonstrations in Sindh province had led the Benazir Bhutto’s government losing control of the province. She had mostly lost her reputations by the end of 1996, because of the rampant corruption in her government and the alleged involvement of her spouse in her younger brother's death. This led to the ouster of Benazir’s government in October 1996. Throughout 1996, relations between the President and prime minister remained strained because of the cavalier and arrogant behavior of Benazir Bhutto towards her party’s appointee to the president’s office. The military not only had the reservations that Benazir Bhutto was trying to encroach on their preserve of policy but also because of her financial policies which were likely to jeopardize their ties with the international assistance community.\textsuperscript{411}

Confrontational politics in Karachi and Punjab was the starting point of bad relations between President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari and Benazir Bhutto, yet both of them belonged to PPP and had shared common political persuasions. Tariq Ali noted that

\textsuperscript{410}Mahir, Ali. The opponent’s last stand. (1994, October 10). \textit{The Dawn News}.

the scale of the corruption and the corresponding decay of the administration had become a national dilemma. He noted further that President Leghari had pleaded Benazir Bhutto to discipline Zardari and a number of other ministers who were out of control. Zardari stubborn as always in defense of his material interests, taunted the president. Nobody in Pakistan, he said, including Leghari, was entirely clean. The threat was obvious you touch us and we will expose you.412

But president Leghari became annoyed of the interference of Zardari in the administration specifically as the latter did not have positive reputation. A tug of war had continued between the president and prime minister over appointment in judiciary and leveled allegations in diverse parts such as unlawful use of public money, establishing monopoly on politics, and favoritism. The issue became contentious when the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and the chief justices of the four provincial courts, ordered the discharge of twenty four judges, all of whom had been appointed in the Benazir Bhutto government. Benazir Bhutto, however, refused to abide by the judgment. Also Bhutto was unable to retain her populist commitments and rationalize Pakistan’s economy. From the end of 1995, no effort was spared to ensure continuity of her rule even if it meant pushing corruption and patronage to the utmost levels. The result was disastrous. It strengthened the oligarchy’s determination to dismiss her government being a hindrance to the restructuring of the economy to better fit Pakistan into the global economy.413

Manzoor Wattoo was restored as the chief minister of Punjab in the meantime on November 3, 1996, by the Lahore High Court and the PPP candidate, Arif Naikai, had to make way for the former. Zardari would not accept this reinstatement and went to

Lahore, for the purpose to shift the allegiances of provincial assembly members through horse trading.\textsuperscript{414} To assess this, however, it is important to mention what Diamond noted, among the most frequent causes of democratic alienation, de-legitimation and breakdown have been the abuse of democratic procedure and norms by the government officials and political leaders themselves. So that democracy comes to be seen as a sham, the turn toward political violence on the part of significant actors who are either marginalized from the democratic processes or impatient with its procedure and the incapacity of governments to decide and act as a result of political fragmentation and stalemate.\textsuperscript{415}

“Huntington has rightly pointed out that threat to third wave democracies are likely to come not from the generals and revolutionaries who have nothing but contempt for democracy, but from the participants in the democratic process. These are political leaders and groups who win elections, take power, and then manipulate the mechanism of democracy to curtail or destroy democracy.”\textsuperscript{416} It is true in the case of Pakistan that, after having attained the highest authority, political leaders indulged in undemocratic practices as in the case of PPP government, the prime minister violated the basic spirit of democracy and showed immaturity on several occasions while indulging in the affairs of military and judicial appointments. By doing so, she wanted to manipulate the system to strengthen her grip over government and its institutions at the expanse of weakening the nascent democratic setup. She also had disregarded democratic norms by instating her spouse to the position of the minister

\textsuperscript{414} Zahid, Hussain. “Benazir Bhutto: Fall from Grace,” Newsline, November 1996.
of investment as she already knew that he had a bad reputation of corruption and malpractices. This was also one of the reasons of the removal of her government.

Another reason for the early demise of PPP government was that its leader could not take the problem of persistent lingering of national economy seriously. Because of her indulgence on other fronts, for example, the ethnic tension in Sindh, as mentioned above her spouse Zardari notorious role, tensions of the president and at large the opposition, she was unable to spare time to this important problem of Pakistan. Weak economy proved to be the Achille’s heel for the PPP government throughout Benazir’s second term (1993-1996).

The reasons like worsening political conditions in Karachi and the deteriorating position of economy lack of visionary program to resolve the problems of governance proved to be the causes of Benazir’s demise. The level of foreign investment gradually declined. In this regards the Berlin based Transparency International’s report, declared Pakistan among the most corrupt states in the world did irreparable damage to Pakistan’s reputation as an investment friendly country. The accusations of corruption and lack of transparency associated with the deal of United Bank, in April 1996 was another such reasons which disrepute the government. The forthcoming sale of 26 percent of Pakistan Telecommunications was postponed for an unlimited period.\footnote{Far Eastern Economic Review 159, no. 26 (27 June 1996), p. 67.} Things were gone from bad to worse when IMF also showed reluctance to provide funds to Pakistan. Foreign exchange reserves dropped down to its lowest level. To cover expenses Benazir Bhutto regime took money and other sources at an interest which was very high. In the October 1996’s mini budget taxes ratio was increased and the devaluation of rupee was done. Furthermore, the allocation for
defense was increased by 14 percent as compared to previous year which reached up to the staggering figure of Rs.131.4 billion in the budget.

Along with the economic problems facing the Benazir administration the situations at political front were also not friendly. Punjab proved to be the bone of contention for PPP yet again. The presence of Faisal Saleh Hayat as a Principal Advisor at his head Mian Manzoor Ahmed Watto, the Chief Minister of the Punjab had started feeling a bit uneasy. In the struggles for making himself free from the influence of her appointed governor in the Punjab the dissensions aroused to the surface between Wattoo and Hayat. Ian Talbot argues that Watto, eventually faced the no-confidence motion against him in the Punjab Assembly and Sardar Arif Nakai, a veteran politician from District Kasur replaced Watto. The former’s appointment as the CM of the Punjab also sowed the seeds of conflict between the president and the Prime Minister. President Leghari was interested in Makhdom Altaf to cover the position of Chief Minister.

According to Zaffar, Leghari was not happy over these developments taking place in the most important province. At the same time the matter which became defining moment came to the front in the Shafi Mohammadi affair. In the judge’s case he showed his deep interest in the implementation of the Supreme Court judgment. He was annoyed on “launching an attack on the Apex Court Chief Justice” by Shafi Mohammadi, the Shariat Court Judge.418

Being a PPP loyalist, Leghari was of the view that Mohammadi was instigated by the government. That brought significant sharpness in the relationship between the Prime Minister’s and Leghari. Despite these differences the president did not to an open confrontation with the premier. But these situation did not last very long especially

when he came to know about the suggested Pakistan Petroleum Limited contract in which Sadruddin Hashwani a business tycoon was considered as on the receiving end. Thereafter, he sent back a draft ordinance stating about the formation of a multi-billion dollar lottery to collect money for Pakistan’s Golden Jubilee celebrations, objecting that the contract did look vague and asking it to go through legislature. She contrary to the alleged role of Nawaz Khokhar in implicating him in the Mehran Bank scandal a political turn coat as Cabinet minister in retaliation, while knowing well that President hated him.

Resultantly, the economic situations had become worse and new possibilities as rumored, search for alternative had been started by the establishment. Sources said that they had planned a list of top bankers and technocrats. Thus, the subject of speculation was a new interim set up comprising technocrats. Politicians were badly termed as corrupt and a self-serving creatures.

However, the leadership of the main political organizations namely Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto opposed that scheme and therefore, this plan were discouraged from the stage of its conception. For the purpose, to vitiate the already antagonistic relations between the Leghari and Benazir, some of the corrupt officials and ministers were sacked. Murtaza Bhutto’s assassination on 21 September 1996 in such a tense political environment widened the gap between the two. This unhappy occurrence was a gloomy explanation of the worse lawlessness situation especially in Karachi. The President was accused of Murtaza’s murder which, of course, was fateful development, culminated in the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto Government. Prime Minister, once again, proved to possess a weak position in the ruling troika. “Aamer Ahmed Khan mentioned, “From her ill-planned Doves of Democracy Movement to the uncertain majority which she rode to her first stint as the prime minister, Benazir
Bhutto did everything that General Zia had wanted his hand-picked politicians to do. Every step she took disgraced the political process, from bribing elected representatives to secure their support in the National Assembly to letting her husband run amok in the premier’s secretariat.\(^\text{419}\)

Malik Meraj Khalid led the caretaker government\(^\text{420}\) as a premier he would not be much effective because the president had accumulated in himself widespread powers. Dr. Zubair Khan brother-in-law of President Laghari’s was given the portfolio of Commerce in the caretaker Cabinet; Mumtaz Bhutto was made the Chief Minister of Sindh. The portfolio of finance was entrusted in Shahid Javed Burki, who had the experiment of related profession and could play a key role in initiating various financial and economic reforms. He undertook several measures to stabilize the foreign exchange and bring down fiscal deficit to the level of 4 percent of GDP.

Efforts were made to broaden the tax base to agricultural income, changes were brought in the management of state owned banks were the important steps that had been taken by the care-taker government. Two reforms needs to be mention here i.e.,

(a) The extension of the right of adult franchise to FTA.

(b) The formation of a Council of Defense and National Security (CDNS).

The provision of the right to vote the tribal area of the country was a step in the right direction, though, the formation of CDNS was meant to assign a dominant role to


\(^{420}\) Malik Meraj Khalid a veteran politician from Lahore, was born in 1916 in the outskirts of Lahore. He started his political career as a member of Majlis-e-Ahrar. Later on, he was active during Ayub era when he joined the Convention Muslim League. Afterwards, he joined Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and was among the founding members of PPP. After his election to the National Assembly in 1970, he became federal Minister for Agriculture. For a brief period, he also served as Chief Minister of the Punjab. In 1988, when democracy was restored, he was elected Speaker of the National Assembly. Thereafter, he could not secure any niche in the Parliament as he kept loosing elections. His acceptance of a rector ship of the Islamic University Islamabad virtually marked the end of his political career. However he came to the lime-light again after he was made caretaker Prime Minister following the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto government on November 5, 1996.
military in the decision making process. With the establishment of this body, the two members of troika namely President and Chief of Army Staff could have legitimized their role in the affairs of the state.\textsuperscript{421}

6.11. Conclusion

Democracy requires freedom and the possession of knowledge coupled with opportunities of participation to the citizens at every level of decision making.\textsuperscript{422} There are some universal values which a democratic society needs to adopt. Achieving intrinsic, instrumental and constructive values by the leaders of a political system in the first place will be the mark of transition to a level of political development. This development should be termed as democratization and achieving maturity in democratic practices.\textsuperscript{423} It should, however, be noted here that the fall of authoritarian or dictatorial regime does not guarantee or mean that there will be democratic society or political institutions in a state. If with the ouster of autocrats or dictator, the state, the political institutions, the civil society and the people in general do not adopt democratic values then the state may still remain authoritarian. As the lingering legacy of authoritarianism has the deliberate effect of not only protecting key figures of the dictatorial coalition from popular justice, but also including them in vital veto empowered institutions of the new regime. It has inadvertent consequences in so far as it curtails the democratic horizon by forcing citizens into tolerating persistent authoritarian idioms and practices in the name of democracy itself.\textsuperscript{424}

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In Pakistan, this phenomenon of non-tolerance of the democratic values on the part of leaders has been deep rooted. Ever since the country’s birth, democratic practices have been used as cover against politicians’ autocratic attitudes, they were not accommodative and simply advanced their self-interests undermining, thus, the future of democracy in Pakistan. This state of immense disappointment ever continued after the demise of Gen Zia’s autocratic rule. Political leaders whether in government, in opposition, the president and the civil and military elites, all played mockery with the basic spirit of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan. The president displayed the lingering legacy in the shape of Eight Amendment whenever he wanted. The opposition, instead of correcting and making the government accountable, disrespected democratic value. They always remained at loggerhead with the government. The party in power has sought to strengthen and consolidate its rule not democratic culture in the country. Rivalry and mistrust have been one of the permanent tenants of our political system because no one was loyal as the prime minister was not certain about the president and the military leaders. Even the prime minister’s endeavors to politicize certain institutions like judiciary, had blatantly violated the norms of democracy. As stated, the mentality of the politicians towards politics and political system needs to be changed. Instead of building institutions and developing consensus on certain crucial issues, institutions and policies, the politicians often fight with each other in the streets and in the parliament.\footnote{Mahfuzul, H. Chowdhury. (2003). \textit{Op. cit.}, p. 3.}
Chapter # 07

PAKISTAN BACK TO ZERO POINT 1997-1999

7.1. Introduction

The so called democratic period (1988-1999), progressed in the direction towards the intermingling of all the state institutions with one another. The use of presidential powers thrice and the assent of military remained a major obstacle to the consolidation of democracy in Pakistan. Apart from narrating the causes of the termination of Pakistan Peoples Party government long before the completion of its mandated term, this chapter focuses on the performance of Benazir Bhutto as an opposition leader in the National Assembly for the second time (1997-1999). Any change in the mindset and role as an opposition party is the substance of this chapter. The humiliating defeat in the February 6, 1997 elections (Table showing party position in the February 1997 general election is on page. 240 ) proved PPP’s lack of commitment to its stated promises with the masses.

PPP lost its vote bank to a greater extent and was left with the only option to sit in the opposition. The study investigates the argument that whether PPP had gathered in its lines all those self-seeking individuals whose focus was short term gains, instead of wielding to the base of democracy as a watchword adopted in the ideology of the party in 1967. Although PPP had a huge vote bank in the days of its founder and emerged as the second largest national platform in the United Pakistan as evident from its electoral gains in the December 19970 general elections. The masses showed their support to the party during the struggle for the restoration of democracy during
Zia rule. But this support base was disrespected by the party elites and ultimately got reduced to a marginal opposition in 1997’s general elections in Pakistan.

However, literature on democratization suggests an active role of opposition by highlighting the importance of opposition in democracy. Opposition denotes a political party opposing and serving as a check on the party in power as Stephanie Lawson pointed out that constitutional opposition is crucial in the establishment and maintenance of democratic regimes and, therefore, one of the most important indicators of democratization.426 This time, PPP had got the chance to guard the fragile democracy of the country in the shape of opposition. To what extent had the PPP worked for securing democratic system while sitting on opposition benches in the parliament is the focus of this chapter.

7.2. Background of Nawaz Sharif’s Coming Back

It was expected that leader of Pakistan Peoples Party would demonstrate political maturity and will pursue the policy of mutual trust and synchronization while holding the highest governmental position for the second time. The people voted PPP to power for the second term after the party remained out of government for two and a half years. The expectations were running high and it was a general perception that this time the party will complete five years. Nobody was aware of the fact that the rivalry and hatred was the natural phenomenon of Pakistan’s political culture.

There is enormous literature outlining reasons for the dismissal of PPP government in 1996. Observers and political analysts have contended with a number of factors that contributed to the downfall of Benazir Bhutto government for the second time. Apart

from the already mentioned reasons, there were some basic instrumental factors that eventually contributed to the midway removal of PPP government. Among them one was their growing dependence on the top leadership. The party leadership considered politics their property and played the game without following the rules. The voice of senior party members had no importance in the decisions making means democracy within the party had gone undermined. Second, Benazir Bhutto resorted to the same political follies as she had done in her previous term indicated her immature attitudes to the conditions. She went to the extent of putting down her political adversaries by undermining the democratic norms and values she had been speaking so loudly. The state resources were used to take revenge from her opponents who were allegedly involved in the removal of her government in 1990. The game of politics was not played for the welfare and betterment of masses but for seeking revenge. The promises made at the time of election with the people proved to be a tactic for elections victory. It was the lack of democratic vision on the part of PPP leaders to act according to the demanding situation of Pakistan.427

Even the state institutions were not spared. Analysts of Pakistan politics have pointed out that Benazir had tried to politicize state institutions especially the military and judiciary to get the leverage over her opponents. Beside this, during Benazir Bhutto’s government, each state institution was headed by a man of personal liking. Rules of the service were marginally observed and junior officers superseded the senior and competent officer of state for personal ambitions. So, state institutions were used for achieving and subduing political opponents.428

428 Ibid., p. 153.
The party’s first cleavage surfaced in late 1995 with the appointment of Lieutenant General Jahangir Karamat, the most senior general who had full support of the military establishment. He was strong candidate for the position of chief of the army staff to replace General Abdul Waheed Kakar, in January 1996. But Benazir Bhutto wanted to a junior officer for the slot of COAS instead of general Karamat. The president complied with the choice of Army against the Premier. This selection of COAS proved the beginning of bitter relations within the party top leadership and also remained the reason that something bad was going to happen in the days to come.429

Political parties in the developing countries particularly require patronage and this has been true with the elected governments in Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto second government had used patronage in its various forms to secure allegiances and reward from the party faithfuls. To ensure that judicial decisions do not interrupt government, she replaced judges whose views might cause political instability with those whose devotions were not dubious. This was not in contradiction to practices of past governments.430

The apex Court of Pakistan issued a comprehensive verdict on April 2, 1996, truncated the powers of Premier to appoint judges to the courts without consulting the senior judges. In Pakistan not only Benazir Bhutto government had appointed and transferred judges without observing the rules of appointment but Nawaz Sharif had also challenged the integrity of judiciary. The appointment and transfer of likeminded judges in all the important courts became a routine in the country. The remarks of a

430. Ibid., p. 119.
sitting judge about the judicial system in general and particularly about a high court, termed the consequences of these political appointments and transfers thus:

“The judiciary . . . continues to decline. Four of the six newly appointed High Court judges have not appeared [as barristers] before the High Court in 15 years. Some could not find their way in the High Court building. Five of seven High Court Justices are absolutely incompetent. The High Court has become politicized. Benazir Bhutto and the PPP want the High Court to be like the [provincial] Fisheries Department—inept and timid. It would be a positive step if judges could be selected by passing the Public Service Commission since that institution is also politicized”\(^{431}\)

Positions in the civil service had also come under political scrutiny. Those officers in the civil services who were considered faithful with Nawaz Sharif were replaced by the proponent of Benazir Bhutto. There had been some exceptions to this rule, however, when the politically oriented bureaucrats were not able to deal with the tasks assigned to them. The replacement of the Home Secretary in Sindh with an experienced bureaucrat was one example.\(^{432}\)

A senior member of PPP narrated thus: “From the very outset, the establishment (civil and military bureaucracy) opposed the party. They did not want the party to grow and take its root in the country. The creation of IJI and jailing of hundreds of party workers during General Zia period are the instances of such hatred. The party did not perform well because there was uncertainty from all quarters means all the forces in

\(^{431}\) Ibid., pp. 118-125.
\(^{432}\) Ibid.
the country whether opposition political parties, military, bureaucracy and the presidency were all against PPP.  

It is stated that the great blunder of Benazir Bhutto government was intermingling with the president of Pakistan, himself a PPP activist. When President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari dismissed Benazir Bhutto’s government charged with corruption and mismanagement, the people of Pakistan hailed the decision. Many detested Benazir Bhutto’s arrogance and the thievery of officials. To some, she humiliated those closest to her publicly and both the couple had apparently offended Leghari’s honor.

Had the premier hang on for the consolidation of her government, she could have done all these with political wisdom, without losing her government. After assuming powers, Benazir Bhutto should have focused on the country’s most demanding problems which the people expected of her. The rising ethnic problem in the country, lawlessness, poor economy and education were the major issues of the people. By focusing on these demanding issues, Benazir Bhutto could have not only sustained her government but could have also got sympathies of the downtrodden for the time to come. Not the least, corruption was one of the most overarching factors that defamed PPP’s image and ultimately caused its removal. Large scale corruption inside the government and especially of her husband Asif Ali Zardari remained the vital issues provoking anger on the part of electorates.

As prime minister for the second time her failure to improve women’s healthcare and other social issues concerning women was one notable shortcoming. In fact, the PPP government’s performance was lackluster except two annual budgets, with not a

433. Interview with Abdul Akbar Khan, senior member of PPP and former Deputy Speaker of the NWFP Assembly. Dated, 18-11-2015.
single new piece of legislation was introduced.\textsuperscript{435} Rift in the Bhutto’s family in the middle of second term had an insurmountable impact on the popularity of PPP.\textsuperscript{436} Due to all these political unrests, the government of Benazir Bhutto was unable to seriously carry out any legislation.

The spouse of Benazir Bhutto, Asif Ali Zardari, son of Hakim Ali Zardari, an influential Sindhi landlord, proved highly controversial. According to Benazir Bhutto, Asif Ali Zardari had been the victim of a massive propaganda movement intended to disgrace her politically. He had been variously labeled as a wife beater, “Mr. Ten percent” and the “Billion dollar man”. The rivals claimed that Zardari’s corruption not only brought down the Benazir Bhutto administrations but his growing political influence in the party also added to the strained relationship between Benazir Bhutto and her mother.\textsuperscript{437}

About the influence of Asif Ali Zardari, Tahir Kamran argues that he was recognized more as a playboy than a statesman, before his marriage, although he had unsuccessfully fought the 1985 non-party elections. He played a significant part in the distribution of PPP tickets for the 1988 general elections and was consequently alleged to have collected wealth through the sale of licenses and permits. He remained for more than two years in jail on a number of charges of which he was finally cleared. In 1990 he was elected for the Karachi (Lyari) National Assembly constituency. In 1993, when PPP form government for second time, his name was associated with receiving of huge commissions and kickbacks. His appointment as the

\textsuperscript{437} Interview of the research scholar with Begum Naseem Wali Khan Leader of ANP (Wali Group). Dated. 09-10-2015.
Minister of Investment in August 1996 is cited by some analysts as central to the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto Government.\textsuperscript{438}

Despite all these, President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari had put forward a more sober explanation of Benazir Bhutto’s government. To him, he held no rancor against her and that he acted because Pakistan was close to economic default, with a merely $600 million left in foreign reserves. Not only that, Pakistan was at the edge of abyss, but almost falling into it.\textsuperscript{439} President Leghari, in his interview to the Time Magazine, stated that Benazir was moving slowly towards a dictatorship, sliding into amorality and reached a stage where she cared nothing else than the kickbacks that this wife and husband received.\textsuperscript{440}

7.3. Past Performances and the Future Prospects for PPP

In Pakistan, elected politicians instead of working for public goods that would help the majority of people, appear to be more apprehensive with patronage, or doling out targeted favors to a small number of privileged groups,\textsuperscript{441}

Benazir Bhutto lost several of her dedicated supporters. A lot of people who, support her, had been through jail and exile and lost their family life were disappointed with her. Several argued that, by indulging in patronage and fight for control, she had deceived the principles and values they had all struggled for. Others stated that, because economic and ethnic problems of Pakistan made her incapable to deliver. She was alleged for giving up of her democratic principles and had become autocratic. A

\textsuperscript{439} The Time Magazine. February 3, 1997, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{440} Ibid.,
year after her dismissal, one analyst explained, her supporters feel that Benazir Bhutto had turned the party into a one woman show, where allegiance to Benazir Bhutto was more important than the expectations of large and dedicated party workers. The electoral performance was a manifestation of the support base of the PPP among the masses.

After Benazir’s dismissal, President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, a one-time activist of PPP, entered into an agreement with the opposition leader, Nawaz Sharif for support against Benazir Bhutto. Nawaz Sharif acquired the President support in the elections of 1997. The president made an amendment in the election law and provides several concessions most important was to enable the Sharif brothers to contest the elections. Because, both brothers had huge loans from banks and were declared defaulters. They must pay the loan back to the banks failing in they could not participate in the elections. Nawaz Sharif returned to power with a more than two-third majority with the support of the president, while Benazir Bhutto suffered a severe electoral setback. Nawaz Sharif got an unexpected mandate and he used it to strengthen his position.

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General Election 1997

Party Position in the National Assembly of Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Party</th>
<th>% of votes</th>
<th>No of Seat Won</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Peoples Party</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttahida Qaumi Movement/Haq Parast</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awami National Party</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>207</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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General elections to the national and provincial assemblies were held on February 6, 1997. This was the fifth general elections in 12 years period but it did not arouse considerable popular interest. Enormous decrease was observed in all the provinces as less than 41% of the eligible voters cast their votes in the Punjab, 31.21% in Sindh, 29.67% in the NWFP and 22.84% in Balochistan. Despite, the lack of interest demonstrated by electorates the results were more than good. The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) was marginally defeated everywhere except in Sindh. In the National Assembly, PPP won only 18 out of the 207 general seats all, except one, from Sindh. The results of provincial assemblies indicate that it won 36 out of 109 seats in Sindh, 01 out of 40 in Balochistan, 04 out of 83 in NWFP, and 03 out of 248 in the Punjab. The party appeared to had lost its national character and had become a Sindh based regional political entity.\(^{444}\)

The Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) won the elections with greater number of seats. In the National Assembly, It attained nearly two-third of the total seats, in the Punjab Assembly, three fourths of the total seats and performed more than expectation in the NWFP. In Sindh and Balochistan Assemblies it won 15 out of 109 seats and 06 out of 40 respectively. The party formed government at the center and in the Punjab, joined governing alliances in Sindh and NWFP, and a hold in the cabinet of Balochistan because later in November five of its members became cabinet ministers. PPP, with 115 National Assembly seats humiliating defeat in the Punjab which was considered as the citadel of the party's strength merits a word of explanation. Many Punjabis particularly Seraiki belt supported the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto regime in the 1970s and when he was overthrew from power by a Gen. Zia

They extended their full support to PPP and enabled Benazir Bhutto to become the country's prime minister following elections in 1988 and 1993. But after 1993, they felt that the people of Punjab had supported PPP in many occasion and Benazir Bhutto now had to show that PPP needed their continued support.

Charges of corruption and high handedness against her husband Asif Ali Zardari, ministers and senior party officials proliferated not only among her rivals but even within her own party. It is said that the PPP workers in Lahore and Rawalpindi shown great disappointment with party leaders. On the polling day on February 6, 1997, a great many of these party workers and supporters stayed home or transferred their loyalties to Nawaz PML (N) and their allies. This is evident from the less number of votes obtained in the Punjab during this election by PPP candidates, as compared to the number of votes received in two of the previous three elections.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 117-118.}

It was generally agreed that the PML owed its success mainly to the personal standing of its leader, Nawaz Sharif. He emerged victorious with enormous popular mandate, greater than any of his forerunners in office and one that empowered him to do whatever was essential to resolve the country's difficulties. The huge mandate also implied that he could not put the blame for failure or inaction upon others. The PPP's political stature was reduced to insignificance in the elections of 1997. These elections did the same to the Islamic parties in the country. Only the Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) had any success while The Jamaat-e-Islami did not contest the elections.
In the National Assembly it won 02 seats and 07 seats in the Balochistan Assembly. Pakistanis respect the Ulema as prayer leaders and theologians, but not as potential rulers.\textsuperscript{447}

Despite, strongly rejected by the electorates in the elections, these Islamic parties opposed the mandate of PML(N) and their leaders affirmed a mass movement to overthrow the government and would bring Islamic system of governance to Pakistan. Since 1988, the political scene of the country was dominated by two party system i.e., PPP and the PML. But the large scale victory of PML(N) against PPP, the two-party system seemed to had receded, giving way to a one party dominant system analogous to that of the Congress Party in India in the 1950s and 1960s. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, the PML, on numerous junctures got divided and disintegrated, though it has always been able to reassemble. Whether the PPP could rehabilitate itself or another party will arise to counter the PML(N) remains to be seen. The PPP had overcame several attacks since 1977 but it now appeared probably that it will have to set aside the Bhutto if it is to survive as a party.

From November 1996, Asif Ali Zardari, had been in jail on various charges, including involvement in the murder of Benazir’s brother Murtaza Bhutto. Also secret Swiss bank accounts have discovered by an accountability cell in the prime minister's office, on which they did not pay taxes and which they did not declare as assets while filing their nomination papers. In November, the prime minister's office declared that it would soon file charges to expel Benazir Bhutto from the National Assembly with the Chief Election Commissioner.

Though, as stated earlier in the chapter, Nawaz Sharif, his brother and his party associates were not held answerable for bank loans they had not repaid during his

\textsuperscript{447} Ibid., p. 118.
previous term in office. This action of harassing political opponents, putting them through trials seemed to be the familiar exercise of antagonism and to reduce their image to zero. Zafar, however, noted that the Benazir Bhutto, during her second term in office (1993-1996), used the same by using intelligence agencies to subdue and harass her political opponents including Nawaz Sharif, because the latter was equally involved in the plan with president to overthrow her government. But Benazir Bhutto remained unsuccessful, all this adventurism virtually created threats to her own government. The political atmosphere was so tense that Benazir hastily approached for reconciliation to Nawaz Sharif and Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah in October 1996. Even she was ready to accept every condition of the higher judiciary to save her government.448

Besides, taking revenge from PPP leadership with overwhelming two third majority in the National Assembly, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was viewed as a statesman who had learnt from his past mistakes and had been reformed through his term in opposition. He was considered as the one who would lead Pakistan on the road to democracy. Within a month or less as Prime Minister, he moved quickly after assuming office to eliminate two dangers he saw as threats to his position. First, he moved a constitutional amendment to repeal Article 58 (2)(b) of the Constitution and thus removed the president's discretionary authority to dismiss an elected government. This article was a kind of obstacle for the prime minister to work freely under the Constitution. Three presidents of Pakistan had used this authority to dismiss four governments including the first Nawaz Sharif administration and two Bhutto governments since the Article was added as part of the Eighth Amendment in 1985.

Amid applause and virtually without debate, both Houses of the Parliament adopted the new amendment—the Thirteenth on April 1, 1997, the president signed the amendment bill.  

The second step taken by the government which endangered the smooth functioning of the representative system in the country was due the behavior of political leaders to change loyalties. A few weeks later, the prime minister moved and the Parliament again adopted, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This authorized the parliamentary party leaders to dismiss any member from the parliament who violated party discipline, that is, who spoke or voted against his/her party, and the dismissal was not to be challenged in the court. It was aimed to protect the prime minister from unreasonable demands from party associates and to avoid the threats of desertion if the demands were not met, not an unusual exercise among legislators in Pakistan. However, later on the Supreme Court suspended operation of this amendment.  


PPP had to contend with different allegations throughout the decade of 1990s. Various forces (ISI collaboration with president and producing of IJI in 1988) had actively involved in discrediting and reducing the party’s public image. Asif Ali Zardari remained a controversial figure mostly as his name had got associated with corruption which certainly discredited PPP’s public posture significantly. The 1996 scandal of having bought Rockwood Mansion in Surrey (UK) remained the zenith of print media which partly contributed to the dismissal of PPP government but also the opposition cashed the weak point and highlighted the issue in the campaign for the

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449. Ibid., p. 505.
450. Ibid., p. 119.
1997 elections, which saw the PPP vote bank plunged to below 20 per cent of the total polled votes in the history of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{451}

In Pakistani politics corruption has remained a vital tool for accusing and to damage the public image by leveling of allegations and counter allegations instead of focusing on the major national issues. Mohammad Waseem noted that in the 1990s, the issue of corruption had pushed civilian governments to feel obliged to highlight the issue in both electoral campaigns and domestic policies. Short term political expediency, especially in the nonexistence of issue based politics, underscored the usefulness of using corruption as an tool of condemnation of the outgoing governments.\textsuperscript{452}

Corruption and many other factors contributed to the humiliated defeat of the PPP in the 1997 elections. The Pakistani electorates, despite being not fully literate, their political cleverness has never been in doubt disillusioned, uninterested and weary Benazir Bhutto followers refused to vote for her.\textsuperscript{453} PPP once considered as the “savior of democracy” to the country as noted by authors on Pakistani politics, made, a mockery of it. Once, the most populist political party in the country was reduced to a mere conglomeration of decoys operating on the political scene. PPP was wiped out of the political scene almost in all the provinces including its home province of Sindh due to all these unanticipated results. The general elections of 1997 were not merely a setback for the party in terms of seats but it was the demise of a philosophy that had


\textsuperscript{452} Ibid., p. 57.

led an remarkably tortured existence ever since Benazir Bhutto’s arrival in 1986 from exile.\textsuperscript{454}

7.5. Nawaz Sharif- Benazir Bhutto Relations

The history of Pakistan has numerous instances of the unfriendly relationship between the government and the opposition political parties. To clear one’s own mess, it has remained a well-known statement of all parties coming into power that the departing government had damaged everything. Instead of materializing its agenda and to build democracy in Pakistan, allegations and counter allegations have remained like a fashion of Pakistani politics. Nawaz Sharif’s unexpectedly huge margin of success, termed as (heavy mandate), had given him absolute majority in the lower house of the parliament and had entirely changed the rule of the game in the power structure. As pointed out by Haq Nawaz Akhtar, sober consideration and sagacious advice should have told him to rise above impressions of magnificence and should say goodbye to personal exaggeration of dispute against political rivals and to use the majority for streamlining legislation and strengthening the institutions of public service so that democracy could actually take root.\textsuperscript{455}

Unfortunately, Nawaz Sharif could not learnt from his past and did not achieved the height of political wisdom nor did his associates and courtiers let him breakout of the complete power syndrome. He immediately followed the same follies of gaining dominant position over his political adversaries. For the purpose, he selected his younger brother as chief minister of Punjab so that his political base could be guarded against interlopers and soldiers of fortunes. Nawaz Sharif had abridged the powers of


the president as the most influential member of the troika, with the powers of absolute majority in the legislature. The government of Nawaz Sharif was significantly anxious about opposition especially PPP. For him, after restoring the 1973 Constitution to its original shape the only challenge left was Benazir. Now Nawaz Sharif had found the powers of his heavy mandate. He was not to tolerate any adventurism on the part of any of the gentlemen.456

PPP was the first to be targeted because of its giving a tough time to Nawaz Sharif during its government. Now the government of Nawaz Sharif (1997-1999) started upon a comprehensive accountability drive against the previous government of Benazir Bhutto. First of all, he wanted to square the accounts with his opponent Benazir Bhutto. For the accountability of all public office holders, he set up an Ehtisab Bureau and Senator Saifur Rehman a crony, was made the head of the Bureau. It would kill two birds with one arrow. Firstly, it would help in obtaining the public sentiments of accountability of public office holders, specifically politicians and member of bureaucracy. Secondly, it would target Benazir Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari and including their family, cronies, stalwarts and other recipients of the official support while not being Bhutto specific. Nawaz Sharif used all his energies to bring down Benazir Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari. Several charges of corruption and malpractices against both were filed in the apex court of Pakistan.457

Benazir Bhutto and her husband Asif Ali Zardari responded that the charges were part of a vendetta waged against them and their party by Nawaz Sharif and his rival Pakistan Muslim League.\textsuperscript{458}

Fifteen references against Benazir Bhutto including murder, drug trade, kickbacks and political appointments in public corporations, especially in Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) and Pakistan Steel Mill, in January 1998, were filed in the Ehtasab Bureau. Benazir Bhutto was alleged to have received a kickback of $170 million in the grant of a contract to “Societe Generale de Surveillance and its subsidiary Cotecna Inspection to improve revenue collection in accordance with International Monetary Fund requirements. Both Benazir Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari were sentenced to jail term for five years in April 1999 and were disqualified from holding public office.”\textsuperscript{459}

Additionally, the court ordered the confiscation of their property, estimated by the Ehtasab Bureau to be worth 22 billion rupees and imposed a fine of $ 86 million. Benazir Bhutto strongly challenged the judgment and criticized of a biased hearing conducted by the biased judges. She pointed out that one among the judges, Justice Malik Abdul Qayyum, was the son of Justice Akram, a member of the Bench that had sentenced her father to death.\textsuperscript{460} About the judgment, Benazir Bhutto said that this verdict was not on her and on her husband but on those who have given it.\textsuperscript{461}

Political parties in Pakistan were not fully accommodative and not politically mature in the state of the art. To influence the results of national, provincial and local

\textsuperscript{458} The Time Magazine. April 1999, p. 29.


\textsuperscript{461} The Time Magazine. April 1999, p. 29.
elections to subdue the opponents they normally used their control of the government machinery. The Pakistan Muslim League (PML), for example, won the May 1998 local polls in Punjab, controlled the provincial government through the use of various undemocratic tactics. The PML government changed the boundaries of many constituencies and the position of polling places in an effective effort to puzzle opposition and polling agents a day before the elections. Polling stations were intentionally located in PML strongholds in rural areas. Election officers were directed to cancel opposition candidate’s nomination papers for being wrongly filled in. But this method presented a great level of electorate’s ambiguity over whether a winning opposition candidate would be able to take his seat. In the support centered politics of rural Punjab, where one's contacts with the local representatives were essential, such insecurity was the electoral kiss of death. In 1988-1999, the Pakistan Peoples Party had done same to destabilize the opposition. She provoked opposition leader by using the authority of the federal government against him when Nawaz was Chief Minister of the Punjab in 1989-90. As an opposition during Nawaz Sharif government, Benazir Bhutto reacted to the ML’s attack on her party in the Punjab in precisely the same way by working to weaken the provincial government. She for the purpose used the central government’s control over the state-owned banks, various electricity and gas companies, and public works programs in order to reward Punjabis who voted for the PPP candidates, and punish those who had voted (even under duress) for the Pakistan Muslim League.462

The relations of the governments throughout 1988-1999 with opposition had never been cordial. The institution of opposition was regarded as one impinging the powers

of the government. Each successive government adopted hostile attitude towards the
opposition and received the same response when in power. During his second term,
Nawaz Sharif resorted to take revenge from the opposition especially the PPP. His
government utilized every opportunity to humiliate Benazir Bhutto at every cost.

A new battle of the government was started with judiciary which took serious move
over the question of establishing special courts to bring speedy justice to criminals.
This system was first introduced by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to punish political opponents.
Nawaz Sharif also wanted the same tool to castigate his political opponents.463

It would not be inappropriate to mention that Pakistan lacked strong leaders. There
were many but they were too strong to fight with each other. What lacked was a cool
response by political leaders to the system of democracy. Pakistan depicts very much
like Hobbes' state of nature where all political members tussled with one another. It
was a perpetual and brutal fight for supremacy. Many of these politicians regarded
themselves, their relatives, or at best their provincial groups and did not give a second
thought to the country. The country required a desperate cure for this problem.464

7.6. PPP’s Role as an Opposition

After Z. A. Bhutto, Pakistan Peoples Party came to power twice and remained as a
major opposition political party in Pakistan during 1988 to 1999. PPP also remained a
leading opposition political platform of the movement for the restoration of
democracy against Gen. Zia. As an opposition platform in the legislature (from 1990
to 1993 and 1997 to 1999), the PPP had reiterated its commitment on both the
occasions in supporting the government on all legitimate issues. Benazir Bhutto

affirmed that she would redefine her political activities and would play the role of opposition leader.\footnote{Lawrence, Ziring. (2004). \textit{Pakistan: At the Crosscurrent of History}. Lahore: Vanguard, p. 244.} PPP would play the role of healthy opposition in the true sense. Before disappearing into the background, Benazir Bhutto called on Nawaz Sharif the threat of 8th Amendment and mere reducing the powers of the president would not be adequate. Benazir Bhutto also mentioned the threat posed by Council for Defence and National Security and she insisted her former opponent Nawaz Sharif to neutralize this body as well.\footnote{Ibid., p. 244.} To neutralize CDNS meant to reduce the role of military in the decision making of the government.

For the purpose of repealing Eight Amendment, PPP would support the government of Nawaz Sharif to upstage one of the most regrettable clauses of the Constitution of 1973. Even though, PPP itself had remained the target of this brutal clause, first in 1990 and second in 1996. Prior to this, it had sacked the government of Junejo in 1988 and later on, Nawaz Sharif in 1993. However, he performed rapidly to increase his authority. In April 1, 1997 the Thirteenth Amendment, limiting the authority of the president, was approved. Later on, when the government successfully repealed Eight Amendment from the Constitution of 1973, Benazir Bhutto met with Nawaz Sharif and congratulated him.

One of the worst features of political culture in Pakistan was the changing of loyalties on the part of politicians. PPP as an opposition assured its cooperation to the government in eliminating the said dishonest practice within political parties. The Political Parties Act was amended in this regard, to stop members of the parties to change loyalties. The Act provided that a member of the legislature changing his party would lose his seat in the assembly. The 14th Constitutional Amendment was
passed on July 1, 1997, was supported by most of the parties including Pakistan Peoples Party.\textsuperscript{467}

In May 1997, the authority to scrutinize corruption charges against members of government was taken from an independent commission of the parliament and located it in the hands of the National Accountability Bureau, which worked under Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.\textsuperscript{468}

On the other hand, the government as usual resorted to the same confrontational tactics. Nawaz Sharif let loose variety of assaults to dismantle his political opponents during his second term as prime minister. In August, the Anti-Terrorism Act, was passed, which empowered the police or army to make searches and arrests without warrants. This Act was deliberately planned to harass his political opponents. This suppression on the part of incumbent government bound the opposition to the extent to which opposition resorted to agitational politics. The message these situations carried, as most observers had noted down was ill will of the Pakistan’s leadership to consolidate democratic culture. For a little over two years, Benazir Bhutto headed the opposition in the lower house of the parliament. She was critical regarding the government and its policies even though she was disturbed by the members of rival group.\textsuperscript{469}

In one of her speeches Benazir Bhutto blamed the incumbent government that the regime had used the ruthless multitude in the legislature to protect the most corrupt elements. The government was using the slogan of corruption to oppress its political rivals particularly PPP and impose a one party dictatorship in Pakistan.\textsuperscript{470} While

\textsuperscript{468} The Time Magazine, March, 1997, p. 18.
actively playing the role of opposition, she criticized the 1997-98 budget of the government on the ground that the budget was friendly towards businessmen and having nothing to do with the poor. She stated that the 1997-98 budget was a sweet and sour budget. It is business friendly because tax rates have been minimized. It is unfavorable to citizens because revenue system was further damaged. It is not friendly because people’s right of spending out of rising insignificant GNP on their social improvement and their poverty alleviation has been truncated.\footnote{Sani, H. Panhawar. (Eds.). (2009). Ibid.,} 

“In response to one of the questions, the most senior member of PPP Abdul Akbar Khan replied that PPP in opposition played very important role. PPP had shown its commitments to the government on vital issues of national interests. He also added that PPP not only cooperated with the government but also criticized those initiatives which were contrary to national interest. It was the hostile attitude of government which compelled PPP to turn against it. He told that, there were various forces that worked to destabilized and made PPP out of government. He pointed out that non-elected forces of Pakistan were actively involved to reduce the role of PPP to a marginal level and had created numerous obstacles for it.”\footnote{Interview of the research scholar with Abdul Akbar Khan senior member of PPP and former Deputy Speaker of NWFP now Khyber Pakhtun khwa. Dated, 18-11-2015.} 

“On the other hand, on the performance of PPP as an opposition party in parliament Begum Naseem Wali Khan added that, the party had not played its due role. PPP and its leadership did not extend its full cooperation and support to the government on various occasions. She added that Benazir Bhutto always wanted to take revenge from Nawaz Sharif and thus made a mockery of democracy in the country. She told that during 1988-1999 both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif had indulged in confrontational politics. They did not care for the mandate given to them by the
masses in different elections. They spoiled this precious opportunity by wasting their energies in confrontation with each other. She blamed both the parties for de-railing democracy once again.\(^{473}\)
Pakistan military chief Jahangir Karamat had also blamed Pakistani politician for carrying out vendetta and insecurity driven and expedient policies.\(^{474}\)

### 7.7. The Downfall of Nawaz Sharif Government and the PPP

Absolute majority had made Nawaz Sharif’s mind that prime minister was the absolute center of power in Pakistan. Few measures taken by him proved disastrous for his government. After becoming prime minister in February 1997, Nawaz Sharif took imaginative steps. One of his first actions in office was to ask Pakistanis at home and abroad to donate money to reduce nation’s thirty billion external debt, remained a dream for most of the Pakistanis. Moreover, he had shut down VIP lounges at airports, a favoured perk for Pakistan’s high and haughty. He also announced limitations on several dishes served in wedding.\(^{475}\)

To strengthen his grip on power, Nawaz Sharif managed the passage of the 15th Amendment to Constitution proposed to make the Quran and Sunnah the supreme law of the land in the National Assembly in late October. The opposition particularly the religious parties opposed the bill on the ground that this act of Nawaz Sharif would weaken the constitution and give him free hand. On October 9, 1998, the bill was passed by the National Assembly, but not the Senate.\(^{476}\) It would have made Sharia, the supreme law of Pakistan and given the prime minister the unfettered right to rule.

\(^{473}\) Interview of the research scholar with Begum Naseem Wali Khan. Leader of ANP (Wali Group). Dated: 09-10-2015.

\(^{474}\) The Time Magazine, March, 1997, p. 22.


by degree in the name of Islamic law if once passed by the upper house. But uncertain
of the level of backing in the upper house, where a two-third majority was required
for the passage, Nawaz Sharif never presented the legislation for a vote within the 90
days necessary for ratification.477

Nawaz Sharif who apparently looked to be very strong due to his absolute majority in
the lower chamber of the parliament, was made to look very insecure by his inner
circle of advisers. As he indulged in useless fights with the president and judiciary as
well as his political opponents while he should concentrate on his reform and
development agenda. He was busy most of the time in looking for loyal civil servants,
docile political cronies and flattering media people, of which breed plenty are
available at a price at all times. It was these supporters who were responsible for the
infamous outbreak on the Apex Court building.478

Nawaz Sharif’s pursuit for safeguarding a long tenure for himself free of all
challenges from conventional power bases led him to identify the President, the Chief
of Army Staff and the Chief Justice as the potential threat. This was not a new
discovery. Prior to him, his forerunners had also selected faithful and dependable
individuals for these offices of the state. One constant lesson that ought to have been
learnt was that selection on the basis of personal allegiance or a seeming lack of
desire in the individual in the long run turned out to be erroneous. The most serious
experience of his predecessor, Benazir Bhutto with Justice Sajjad Ali Shah and
President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari showed the uselessness of such endeavors.

But having the same kind of advisors and the same mindset, he was also going to replicate history.\footnote{Haq, Nawaz. Akhtar. (2008). \textit{Op. cit.}, p. 313.}

Nawaz Sharif what so ever talked about democracy as system of governance but his government apparently was more similar to a Mughal Court. He deliberately overlooked the conventions of cabinet government. Of those limited cabinet meetings held were given little importance and the decisions taken in it were of less significance. He was surrounded by relatives and a small number of friends. His actions were more in tune with complete monarchy than with parliamentary government. An arrogant and self-righteous individual, he trusted few and mistrusted nearly every one. Without direct access to his thoughts, one can imagine he envisaged himself the source of power in a modern Sultanate rather than an elected and answerable head of the sovereign people.\footnote{Lawrence, Ziring. (2004). \textit{Op. cit.}, p. 251.}

7.8. Conclusion

The consolidation of democracy in a new country needs years. A country cannot establish and consolidate democracy in its true sense unless and until it has the experience of democracy for long time. It is a fact that Pakistan’s democratic culture is passing through its formative phase. It is also an undeniable truth that there were many elements involved in the weakening of Pakistan’s march towards consolidating its democratic culture. The decade of 1988-1999 is considered to be a turning point in this direction. The opportunity was lost as little attention was given to strengthen democracy. Besides the nonelected forces, the politicians also played their part in derailing democracy.
Ravi Kalia noted that, the politicians have not worked Pakistan’s democracy any better. The blame for letting the military to assume trappings of sovereignty and become the arbiter of Pakistan’s politics must, in the first instance, be laid at the doors of the political parties. Their governments were political but barely civil; rule of law was undermined rather than being sustained; institutions were weakened rather than being developed. They have shown willingness to seek the military’s help for their political desires and for their singular incapability to work in cohesion in strengthening the development of democratic norms and institutions of governance. The dilemma of Pakistan has been that military after assuming control kept promising the nation that they would transfer power to the civil representatives while the latter, when in power, did everything possible to enable the return of the military to power. Democracy, not surprisingly, has been the fatality.\(^{481}\)

Especially the last government of Nawaz Sharif (1997-1999) had got two third majority but could not complete its mandated term. Certain immature political decisions taken by Nawaz Sharif caused the demise of his government. His style of governance and his behavior with the opposition was in true sense the manifestation of an autocrat. Intermingling and destabilizing the state institutions in the sense to create all favorable conditions for one person’s rule weakened democracy in the country in letter and spirit. The opposition too behaved in an odd manner. During this period, the opposition demonstrated hostile relationship with the government and was not willing to extend cooperation to the government. The government was also busy in undermining the opposition whenever it found opportunity. This hit and hide tactic between the government and opposition provided opportunity to other institutions of the state to uproot the elected government in 1999.

Chapter # 08

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Conclusion of the Study

Pakistan Peoples Party, since 1967, has the credit of bringing democracy back to Pakistan by launching movements first against the dictatorship of General Ayub Khan and, later against General Ziaul Haq. PPP supported Pakistan’s embryonic democracy on the right time because Pakistan Muslim League could not maintain its exalted position and had reduced to an organization of leaders having low political standing. It could no longer lead the country and a vacuum thus created was filled by other political platforms including the one established by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in November 1967. Pakistan Peoples Party, apart from providing a solid footing to democracy in Pakistan at the time of grave political unrest and instability, raised the hopes of commoners by allowing them a share in the politics of the state.

The party had struggled against the mighty dictatorship of General Ayub Khan who had eroded the roots of democracy by grabbing the powers in October 1958. His long duration of military rule adversely affected the civilian institutions of Pakistan. The mismanagement in government such as corruption, nepotism and favoritism overshadowed the course of democracy during this period (1958-1969).

The hypothesis outlined in the beginning of the study supposed the role of all institutions i.e., political parties (both in government and in opposition), civil and military bureaucracy, judiciary and presidency in destabilizing the democratic process in Pakistan stands proved by this study. The above institutions got actively involved in damaging the democratic system in Pakistan. Instances of such interferences in the
politics of Pakistan are numerous especially during the period under review (1988 to 1999). These evidences suggest that Pakistan falls in the category of illiberal tutelary hybrid regime as the literature on Hybrid Regimes Theory substantiates this study.

Political system is illiberal in the sense that political game remained, for a long time under the control of military whether in power or playing its role in the politics from behind that has been curtailing the political rights of the people. It is to be noted that during the period of military dictatorship, no one was allowed to question the government by availing freedom of expression. Similarly, political parties were banned and political activities were reduced to a marginal level. Media remained under strict censorship of the authoritarian government.

In the same manner, tutelary interference means the vigorous involvement in one or the other way of the military and other non-elected institutions in the national politics. The launching of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) on the occasion of 1988 general elections was aimed to weaken the popular support base of PPP. It was also a deliberate attempt to tighten the military’s grip over the political affairs. For this reason, the military, from the backdrop, tried to create as much troubles for the PPP government as were possible.

Confronting all these adverse conditions, PPP emerged victorious in the general elections of 1988, though with a simple majority. The IJI, backed by the military, remained a major contender throughout the PPP government. This was the reason that throughout the 20 months rule, the party faced considerable challenges from the opposition. The IJI supported the agenda of military and thus caused damage to the substance of democracy in Pakistan.
Apart from this, the political parties of Pakistan including PPP were equally responsible for the flimsy state of democracy as they did not play their part for the promotion and strengthening of democracy in the country. The party remained part of the plan which the civil and military bureaucracies designed from the backdrop. The Judiciary upheld decisions of the president on a number of occasions from 1988 to 1999, which weakened the position of political parties. The weakness of civil institutions has remained a hallmark of democracy in Pakistan. These tutelary interferences have caused considerable damage to democracy in Pakistan during the decade from 1988 to 1999.

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, despite being a powerful head of the state, substantiated the policies of non-elected institutions and did little for the promotion of democracy in Pakistan. His long bureaucratic background remained dominant over his character and the dictates of military also his attitude towards PPP.

Feeble economic conditions of Pakistan during the period (1988-1999), proved to be the major hindrances for democratic failure. During the two terms of PPP in office (each of an incomplete tenure), the government was not in a position to introduce any meaningful program. It had to follow the dictates of monetary institutions i.e., IMF, World Bank etc. This financial dependence also made PPP vulnerable to implement fully its manifesto which virtually enhanced the gap between the party and its supporters.

Literature on PPP for the period under review points to the fact that the party in both capacities i.e., as a ruling party and as an opposition, could only partially demonstrate political sagacity. The party used the voters mandate only to have access to governmental position. It exhausted its energies for strengthening its position in
relation to its political rivals. The party only marginally cared for its commitments with the voters and resorted to the use of all right and wrong manners to get maximum benefit out of its stay in office. During her second term (1993-1996), Benazir Bhutto nominated another bureaucrat turned politician and senior member of the party Farooq Ahmad Khan Legari as a candidate for the office of president. This nomination was intended to strengthen her position and to save her government from the threats posed by article 58(2)(b) of the Constitution which authorized the President of Pakistan to terminate a government on his discretion. All this proved futile during the course of time and in the end she realized that her selection of Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari for the slot of presidency was wrong because the president used the same tactics as were used by his predecessor i.e., Ghulam Ishaq Khan. While Benazir Bhutto could rule for only 20 months of her first term, the time allowed to her for the second term was 3 years and one month only.

The second most undemocratic step was the one when President Farooq Leghari formed the Council for Defense and National Security (CDNS). He made all the three services chiefs as its members. Having the constitutional powers of 58(2)(b), the president fulfilled designs of military. Analysts considered the Council as a step short of a supreme command council. It was a mechanism to keep the sword hanging over an elected government. Powers under the 8th Amendment provided an upper hand to the president in his relationship with the premier. The three successive presidents, (Zia, Ishaq and Leghari) sent four elected governments packing through the exercise of power under 58(2)(b).

The PPP, too, has not served Pakistan’s democracy any better. The blame for letting the military to assume trappings of sovereignty and become the arbiter of Pakistan’s
politics must, firstly, be laid at the doors of the party. Its governments were civilian but barely civil; rule of law was undermined rather than being evolved; institutions were weakened rather than being developed. Benazir Bhutto has shown willingness to seek the military’s support for her political preferences and for her inability to work in cohesion in strengthening the democratic norms and institutions of governance. The dilemma of Pakistan has been that military in power kept promising the nation that they would handover powers to the politicians while the latter, when in power, did everything possible to assist the return of the military to power. Democracy, not surprisingly, has been the casualty.482

Political parties in Pakistan during the period (1988-99) had demonstrated a low level of political maturity. They did not play the kind of role that could guide the government during legislative deliberations rather mostly ran for sabotaging the process. For example, Benazir Bhutto used various tactics to topple the government. She resorted to street politics to solve her grievances instead of debating controversial issues inside the parliament. The party in power was marginally interested in providing ground for deliberations but tried to keep the opposition suppressed. During the PPP government from 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996, Nawaz Sharif openly demonstrated defiance to the writ of federal government and resorted to “Long” and “Train Marches”. Similarly, while in office, PPP had left no stone unturned in humiliating the opposition especially Nawaz Sharif. Various petitions were filed in the courts to damage each other’s credibility. PPP also did not prove its worth as an opposition party during 1990-93 and 1997-99. Although, initially Benazir Bhutto

claimed to offer her party support to the government but, later on, all this proved a myth than reality.

Although, there was seen no cooperation on the part of political parties during 1988-1999, yet there were factors involved in the destabilizing of democracy in Pakistan as well. Apart from all these factors, there was also a solid reason for the weakness of democracy which was not negligible. As evident enough time is required for democracy to grow as well as all the institutions to gain strength. However, during the seventy years of Pakistan’s history, democracy could not flourish, the way it was supposed to, nor could the institutions grow accordingly. Democracy also needs the desired timeframe to establish political platforms. It is evident that the people as well as politicians in Pakistan are in favor of democratic form of governance and dislike dictatorship.

8.2. Findings of the Study

Findings of this study are enumerated below:

1. A great number of politicians in PPP have strong family background which strengthens their political career but they do lack the art of statesmanship. They have not passed through political training from the grassroots level instead they occupied important positions in the party and government due to their wealth and strong family background. Mostly, they are not aware of the sufferings, needs and demands of the common man.

2. Corruption and patronage seeking have remained the daunting issues which the party could not address. For instance, on the occasion of no confidence motion against the PPP government in 1989, most of the MNAs were ready to
sell themselves for money. They were not loyal even to their respective political party. Both the PPP governments from 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996 were overthrown on the charges of corruption, maladministration and abuse of powers.

3. The inabilities of Benazir Bhutto from 1988 to 1999 came to the surface clearly when, she started undue interference in other state institutions, particularly by placing men of her own choice in military, civil bureaucracy and judiciary to strengthen her position. This improper handling of state institutions created resentment for Benazir Bhutto and her party.

4. There are many problems linked with Pakistan’s politics from 1988 to 1999. To a greater extent, all the political parties operating in Pakistan, particularly PPP do not stand on democratic footings. The party has no clearly defined rules for selecting party membership. There is no chalked out timeframe for the intra party elections and for the head of the party as well. Irrespective of its claim to observe democratic principles and functioning in a democratic environment, the party lacks the substance of party democracy.

5. Since its inception, PPP has remained under the strong control of Bhutto family. This dynastic politics of PPP has controlled all the affairs of the party. All the other members remained a mere source of funding for the party. They have to follow the dictates of party leader and they do not have the authority to be the part of decision making in the parties. This lack of party elections has reduced decision making solely to the head of the party. It is the party leader who can appoint and remove anyone whenever he or she likes.

6. Apart from dynastic politics, the controversial relationship of the party with the non-political forces could not allow PPP to use the opportunity to grow
and erect a solid edifice of democracy. For instance, during the decade under reference (1988-1999), military from behind the scene interfered and encouraged different forces to dislodge its government twice.

7. Elections and democracy are two faces of the same coin. Meanwhile, it is a sad phenomenon of Pakistan politics that regular elections were not held. PPP under Benazir Bhutto has the credit to hold general elections on party basis in 1988, but after the elections soon the opposition political parties started to interrupt the democratic process. Similarly, this hit and hide continued during all the decade from 1988-99 and ultimately military under General Parvez Musharraf assumed powers into his own hands and democratic process for the fourth time came to an end.

8. The opposition during this period demonstrated no spirit of accommodation and did not allow the smooth functioning of democratic process to flourish. Nawaz Sharif as opposition leader caused damage to democracy in Pakistan due to his attitude of non-cooperation with his rival Benazir Bhutto to complete the mandated period. For example, the IJI tried to uproot democracy by creating troubles for the PPP governments on both occasions.

9. Apart from all these, the norms of democracy were in no way followed during 1988-1999. For example, Benazir Bhutto created troubles for her government by indulging with the president at the center as well as with other provinces and particularly with Muttahida Qaumi Movement in Sindh. While acting as premier, she exhausted her energies for the purposes other than expected from her. She did not pay heed to the actual role required from her in a democratic system and for the framework in parliamentary system. Thus, as a party in government, Benazir Bhutto assumed the opposite role as she had to work
with coalition as well as with opposition to advance the smooth functioning of democracy.

10. Pakistani society in essence is divergent in nature and PPP did not focus to gain the support of all segments of the population. The party during both terms confined and hobnobbed with power and did not divert attention to the welfare of the masses. For example, the worst defeat in elections of 1997 confined PPP to Sindh only.

11. Pakistan stands among those nations that are economically not sovereign and mostly depend on foreign monetary institutions for assistance. Its policies, to a greater extent, are dictated by these monetary institutions (IMF etc.). So during 1988-1999, it was very difficult to articulate independent policies by the government of Pakistan Peoples Party without dictates from outside. Weak economy had remained a great impediment for both the terms for the PPP. As, most of the scholars of democracy have stressed economic as one of the important factors for the stability of democratic system, Rustow is included among them who associates established democracy with sum financial and social situations such as high per capita income, widespread literacy, and the prevalent urban residence. During the period from 1988 to 1999, Pakistan’s democracy could not sustain because of the above stated factors. Both the governments of PPP were, in one way or the other, a recipient of the foreign assistance. The party was not independent in implementing its manifesto after coming into power. The party was bound to the dictates of IMF which caused a great setback to democratic process in Pakistan during the period. So due to

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its dependence on foreign aid, PPP was not able to deliver according to the expectations of the masses.

12. The growing level of corruption in the party, the dismissals of various regimes by the unrestricted authority of the president, justified in the name of corruption and nepotism, and the absence of any continued and directed planning for economic improvement in both the PPP governments, added to an apparent failure of democracy in Pakistan. The party had fallen short of following its stated programs in strict sense after coming into power, which it pledged to the people in the elections.

13. With the exception of few, almost all political platforms are ethnic and regional in nature and represent a particular community. PPP claimed to be a national political platform from 1988-1999, could not prove its claim with the passage of time due to many reasons and at one stage, its vote bank reduced to Sindhi population only as was evident from its electoral standing in the February 1997 general elections.

14. Pakistan, from the very outset, was in dire need of a party of national standing and shrived leadership. This gulf was, to some extent, filled by Pakistan Peoples Party, but the party in due course, could not satisfy the demands because leadership deviated from its commitments. Gradually, the party lost its public image as corruption and mismanagement were the factors tainted its shape.
8.3. Suggestions / Recommendations

In the light of the conclusion drawn, the research scholar has prepared the following suggestions/ recommendations:

1. Pakistan Peoples Party as reveals from the forgone discussion, could not portray positive image and could not remain instrumental in the development of democratic system. PPP on national as well as local level should show responsibility, commitment and sincerity which can make possible the growth and establishment of a viable democratic system. In this connection, PPP should learn from its past mistakes and should educate its members accordingly. It should also demonstrate commitments in all its deeds towards the fulfillment and strengthening of democratic norms in Pakistan.

2. Pakistan Peoples Party should fully commit itself to the principles of democracy. The party should avoid all forms of undemocratic means which it had been resorting to exert pressure on the party in government.

3. PPP should adopt democratic process for the selection of office bearers. Merit should be followed for filling important positions in party as well as in the government, so that the affairs of the country could be run by able people. The culture of favoritism and nepotism should be discouraged inside the party which has destroyed it. It should select mature and experienced candidates for various positions in the party hierarchy throughout the country.

4. PPP should strictly follow its policy of universalism as guaranteed in its manifests. It should have the image of representing not only a particular ethnic community but it should prove to be a platform for all. As stated earlier, PPP has the credit of bringing democracy back to Pakistan but could
not give it sustenance for longer because of failing was unable to fulfill the aspirations of masses.

5. As is evident from the study, both the political parties that remained at the helm of affaires in Pakistan during 1988-1999 indulged in strengthening their own position and resorted to fouls tactics. PPP should avoid such tricks and must compete its opponent on the basis of performance. Such an environment should be created where selection is on the basis of performance i.e., voters will then vote on the basis of performance and for the party which they consider more unsuitable for their service.

6. PPP should abide by the culture of sincere and positive political opposition. Politics of Pakistan is in need of strong opposition inside the parliament. PPP, while sitting on the opposition benches should play a constructive role. As an opposition party, it should guide and assist the government in the formulation of practicable policies. While working as an opposition, it should help and support in hours of crisis and should not create unnecessary troubles for the government.

7. However, on a more positive note, democratic eras in Pakistan, with one or two exceptions, have not lasted long. The case of 1988–1999 is an example. The intermingling of PPP and all the state institutions with each other to promote and enhance their own motives, ignored the most concerning issue of fragile democracy to become consolidated one. Each institution either elected (Parliament) or nonelected (military, bureaucracy and judiciary) should work in their own sphere. They should work and support the government and should guide in case of deviation from the track.
8. Democracy needs time to strengthen particularly in a country like Pakistan where such practices remained absent for a long time. Democracy got little opportunity to flourish in Pakistan because of the lack of regular elections to national as well as local level. The regular elections and operation of full political activities will gradually strengthen the roots of democracy in Pakistan. The activities of political parties will work as agencies for recruiting leadership. In this way the politicians will get more time in polishing their skills and they will learn how to play the game of politics.

9. The culture of dynastic politics i.e., bestowing party leadership to a particular person or family needs to be discouraged. Leadership to the party should be provided through proper elections. This mindset needs to be changed. Instead of making the party a private property of a particular family, the leadership must rotate in credible figures hailing from different provinces of Pakistan. This will promote the culture of democracy with the passage of time inside the party as well as in Pakistan. Democracy could not establish its roots in Pakistan due to the dynastic nature of system.

10. Rigging and the use of all types of illegal means in the elections are the daunting issues confronting the democratic culture of Pakistan. For example, PPP blamed Islami Jamhoori Ittehad for malpractices in the 1990 elections. It caused irreparable damage to the process of governance and democracy in Pakistan. Modern technologies should be involved to stop rigging during elections. The state must seriously think to eradicate this menace. The state should use methods to educate people about the curse of rigging and the use of corrupt practices.
11. The major stakeholders in Pakistan i.e., military and civil bureaucracy should restrain themselves from adventurism in politics and should work together to strengthen the capacity of political institutions. Especially the judiciary should be made free from political interferences, so that when anyone commits or violates the rule of law or causes any damage to the system, could be dealt with iron hands. In this way, the system of democracy and democratic culture will last long in Pakistan.

12. Democracy as a system is adopted by various countries in various manifestations according to their own conditions. As we belong to a region where there are cultural and ethnic variations, it will take time to implement completely the principles of democracy in Pakistan. All the stakeholders including PPP should be accommodative to each other and democracy should be given a chance to nurture rather they should refrain from undue interference. Our history reveals such instances on the part of politicians in the political affairs of Pakistan.

13. Democracy suffered from the stiff attitudes of politicians in Pakistan, the behaviors of politicians and their parties first required to be changed then all the remaining institutions including civil society will changed gradually.
Annexure # 01

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PPP workers, Prominent Politicians, Academicians and Analysts

For the purpose to collect authentic and valuable data through interviews the researcher tried to design open ended questions. Keeping in mind the social and political base of the respondents the researcher took care to design simple and straight forward questions and avoided ambiguous question. For this purpose such questions were added to the list to obtain their inner feeling and increased the quality of thesis. On the basis of below questionnaire the researcher consulted the respondents looking to their availability. Their contact numbers were obtained from internet or their relatives and then the researcher tried to acquire time for interview. The researcher also tried to consult those first which were easily available so that the remaining could be contacted in due course. While designing questionnaire general to particular method were adopted so that the respondents make feel free to answer all the questions. Following are the questions for conducting interviews for this study.

1. How much the experience of Ziaul Haq’s regime influenced the PPP attitude towards democracy?

2. How important was the PPPs manifesto in shaping voting agenda?

3. What were the main causes behind the PPP coming into power in 1988?

4. What were the root causes of failure of the PPP or what made PPP to turn undemocratic during this period?

5. How much the Army and Bureaucracy form behind did influence the incumbent democratic setup?
6. What in your opinion went wrong that led to the dismissal of PPP government in 1990?

7. Was PPP’s role as an opposition platform during 1990-93 in accordance with the democratic norms?

8. What do you think about the increasing role of civil military from behind the scene could be a sabotaging one for the democracy in Pakistan?

9. How has the previous experience in government shaped PPP policies in between 1993-96?

10. Describe the PPP relationship with the opposition?

11. What do you think were the main achievements and main failures of the PPP in government?

12. How much do you see the politics of the decade of 1990s in Pakistan despite the confrontations was providing a base to democracy?
Annexure # 02


Manifesto – 1988

Introduction

Countrymen. Pakistan is today facing a grave crisis striking at the very roots of our Nationhood. A crisis that began with the illegal overthrow of the elected government of the people, the assassination of the popularity elected Prime Minister and savior of the nation who brought back 90,000 Prisoners of War with honor and saved Pakistan when an earlier military dictatorship had divided it. The sole motto of the authoritarian regime was: destroy the PPP which is the voice of the people, the voice of the weak, the dispossessed, the discriminated.

In pursuit of this vendetta against the masses, those who courageously, defiantly and with determination fought for freedom, for a law for just society, free from hunger, poverty and disease were sent to the gallows, killed in streets, villages and mosques, ladies carrying Quran Sharif were not spared, the back of our youth was ripped apart with the whiplash. The proud land of Pakistan was turned into a graveyard. Torture chambers set up. Judiciary emasculated. Lawyers tear gassed. Press muzzled. Parliament silenced. Political parties banned. Political leaders imprisoned. Human Rights suspended.

And while the people were suppressed with state terror, opportunists and power seekers looted the nation. Corruption reached unheard of level. A new culture was born based on violence. As the state showed no respect for law and rested on might, some began to believe power emanated not from observing the law but making there was no security of life for the ordinary citizens. Universities seats of knowledge or learning, became sites of armed confrontation by a youth influenced by the brutality and barbarism of the regime which ruled. Lawlessness was the order of the day.

The intolerant attitude of the regime created a value system based on intolerance. Each social group became more intolerant of another. Each ethnic and sectarian group refused to come to terms with each other. Political parties bring different social, economic, sectarian, provincial and ethnic groups together on the basis of a common programme common principles, common goals, ideals and vision. However, a "non party" system was adopted which accentuated division of the lines of race, sect, caste. As a result, brother was pitted against brother, province was pitted against province, sect was pitted against sect and ethnic group were pitted against ethnic group.

The proud land of Pakistan, which was created so that the Muslims of the sub-continent could live in honor and dignity was shamed with the sight of Muslims killing Muslims. This is not our destiny. This will not be our destiny under the banner of the Pakistan Peoples Party.

The nation was deliberately fragmented to contain dissent. An unholy alliance was struck between the Zia regime and the secessionists to battle the masses. But the masses are Pakistan. when you fight the people, the country is weakened. When the people die, the Nation bleeds.

No country has succeeded where there has been a military dictatorship. Be it the General’s Argentina, the Colonel’s Greece or our own Yahya and Zia military dictatorships. When the people are strong, the Nation is strong. Pakistan itself was created by a political leadership, a political will which could not be deflected from the pursuit of its goal.
Countrymen. In this hour of peril, the PPP is confident that the brave sons and daughters of this land will come forward to save the Nation, to strengthen it, to build it. We must do it. We cannot sit silently by while the Nation burns and bleeds. We are not like the British who, at the end of the Empire, could return to England. This is our land. We come from it and it comes from us. Each particle of its soil is sacred.

The people of Pakistan today face perhaps the greatest challenge in their history. The body politic is lacerated by the wounds inflicted during the last eleven years. General Zia’s domestic policies designed purely to preserve himself in power have fragmented civil society along ethnic, sectarian, racial and caste lines; A myopic foreign policy has created an unnecessary threat to environment around us. Misconceived economic policies have eroded our natural and human resource base, and placed the financial system on the verge of bankruptcy.

So once again we stand on the precipice. Once again the anguish of a whole generation waits to be articulated into a creative quest. Yet the sacrifice and struggle, the lashings and the lonely defiance in a death cell have not gone in vain. They have steeled our purpose. We shall heal the wounds. We shall overcome.

We shall overcome with humility and peace. We shall overcome with love and forgiveness. We shall overcome the indignity and hunger. We shall overcome the humiliation of being shelter less, of being unemployed, of being illiterate. We shall overcome the outrage of poverty in the midst of plenty.

We believe that Pakistan is a viable state and it possesses requisites to emerge as a strong and prosperous nation. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah voicing the aspirations of the Muslim masses on founding of Pakistan enunciated the principles that the Pakistan is to be a modern nation state. The working classes looked towards the new state with hope for social justice, for freedom from all kinds of exploitation, including the stranglehold of feudalism, and for opportunities in a new socio-economic order, where the people would be the participants in the affairs of their country.

The history of Pakistan is the history of the people’s undaunted struggle against the pernicious exercise of power by the privileged ruling elite. During the last 40 years the people have suffered three ruthless Martial Laws and four wars in addition to the abrogation and suspension of four Constitutions.

The crisis has deep roots. It is a crisis between the State and the people. It has created a deep schism in the autocratic State structure. Only a sensitive and democratic government can mobilize the will of the people to correct the imbalances in our economic and political structure.

Since the founding of the Pakistan Peoples Party is 1967, till today in 1988, the party has played the most vital historical role in the fight for freedom of the masses.

Now when the nation is on the threshold of a new era and has the tryst with the current historical events, we vividly recall the words of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Shaheed.

"We, who believe in the people, must go back to the people. This being so, under no circumstances can we contemplate being a part of any development, which would be against the interest of the people."

We are confident that the courageous people of our land, will come forward and strengthen the hands of the Pakistan Peoples Party in the forthcoming elections scheduled for November 16, 1988. A victory for the PPP is a victory for the people, for the Nation, for freedom, hope, dignity, equality, justice. An end to poverty, bitterness, vengeance, violence. Together we shall
face the challenges. Together we shall climb the highest mountain tops and build the broken bridges. Together we shall herald the dawn of democracy and the promises of a new morrow.

**Our Aims**

1. To uphold the high ideals of Islam bases on the concept of brotherhood, harmony, tolerance and egalitarianism;
2. To unite the Nation and give a sense of national pride based on equity and justice;
3. To restore representative, constitutional and parliamentary rule which safeguard provincial autonomy, ends the sense of discrimination and strengthens the foundations of the State;
4. To ensure equal social status and safeguard human rights in all its dimensions.
5. To strengthen democratic processes by a broad political consensus and involve maximum participation of all groups and individuals to give lasting stability to civilian rule.
6. To maximize utilization of our National potential and human resources, by making the economy self reliant and prevent the erosion of the human and natural resource base of Pakistan.
7. To establish and maintain peace and harmony in civil society and ensure security and protection of life, honor and property of every citizen irrespective of his political affiliation, religion, caste, race and sex;
8. To eliminate poverty by the creation of a middle class created by encouraging investment and transfer of technology;
9. To safeguard our frontiers by high alertness in defence capability while simultaneously seeking regional peace and stability through pursuing a rational foreign policy, while maintaining our commitments.

**Democracy is our Polity**

Thus when we affirm that "Democracy is our Polity" we mean that the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people and that the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice shall be fully observed and where citizens shall be guaranteed fundamental rights, where the independence of the judiciary and freedom of press in fully secured.

**Socialism is our Economy**

Socialism is our Economy is an affirmation of the great Islamic egalitarian message, which is the essence of our historical ethos. The Party believes that there should be an end to exploitation and equal economic opportunities should be created. In the economic sphere we wish to create harmony by bringing different economic groups together on the basis of justice.

**Shahadat for our Cause**

Shahadat for our Cause is born out of the struggle for the rights of the people relentlessly waged by the workers and cadres of the PPP. Martyrdom in the Just Cause in one of the fundamental principles of Action in Islam. Man’s triumph in this world is not only the story of material success but also of continuous struggle for attaining higher levels of consciousness and self realization. Man has achieved dignity by refusing to submit to the forces of oppression, by
upholding the principles of social justice and where necessary by laying down his life for the Cause. Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was one such man. His supreme sacrifice has strengthened us for resolute struggle against the forces of oppression, obscurantism and injustice.

**All Power to the People**

All Power to the People implies that whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone and the authority thus emanating is a sacred trust and that the people are its custodians, this Authority is exercisable only through the people as a whole, through their chosen representatives. Our programme envisages to make this principle a pulsating reality and emphasizes that the people must become the masters of their destiny.

**POLITICAL COOPERATION AND END TO VENDETTA**

**Assassination, Revenge and the Political System**

We believe that political assassination and revenge are base and primitive acts. Both are products of sick and frustrated minds. It has no place in the dignified execution of modern state craft. We denounce all forms of violence in the political system. Political vendetta sows the dragon’s tooth. Violence engenders greater violence. Our sacrifices, our anguish and our vision of the future leads us towards evolving a political culture in which brutality has no place.

Throughout our long struggle of last eleven years, we have cooperated and brought an understanding with other political parties. It is our honest desire to cooperate with them in the larger interest of democracy and nation building. We are determined to guide the political process of the country towards establishing a mature, mutually respectable and participatory system; A system based on the finest traditions of humanism, justice and democracy.

**WE PLEDGE TO SERVE**

The Party is committed to the Manifesto and is determined to serve the people and take them on their onward march of progress and development. The Pakistan Peoples Party is committed to build a New Order to take Pakistan into the 21st century as a developed nation. It is inspired by the vision of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the vision of the Founder of the Pakistan Peoples Party, Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who said:

"I have a vision that one day fields in our country will blossom with abundance, the rolling fields and orchards an village squares will ring with the songs of happy children - children with the color of blood in their cheeks and with books held proudly under their arms. We will build a society in which the old values of greed and advancement will be replaced by a common concern of the welfare of the whole community. We will build our monuments to our contemporary civilization - institutions of learning, factories and dams a, atomic reactors and television centers - these will be our Taj Mahals of the 20th Century".
Manifesto – 1990
Peoples Democratic Alliance (PDA)

Preamble

The sudden and arbitrary dissolution of the National Assembly by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the consequent ouster of the four Provincial Assemblies and the one sided accountability has plunged the nation into a grave crisis. It has again become obvious that the ruling elite has no intention of allowing an elected Government to consolidate itself and or to solve the real problems of the people.

The timing of these actions is particularly unfortunate. Within the country, the federation is faced with divisive pulls from ethnic, linguistic and regional pressure groups. Externally the enemy is concentrating on our borders in a bid to dampen the struggle of the Kashmiri people. The situation in the gulf also poses a serious challenge not only to Pakistan but to the entire Muslim Ummah.

It is a moment of destiny for the people of Pakistan. Given a visionary national leadership imbued with the spirit of Islam, Pakistan can emerge domestically strong and internationally respected. These were the imperatives that brought together the Pakistan Peoples Party, Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah-e-Jafaria, Tehrik-e-Istiqlal and Pakistan Muslim League on the common platform of the Peoples Democratic Alliance. The PDA committed to the preservation of the territorial integrity and solidarity of the country stands for a just and equitable society where there is no want or hunger, where there is no exploitation those who control the levers of power, where the real power is exercised by the representatives of the people. By proposing devolution of state authority to local elected institutions, the PDA has chosen participative democracy as truly reflective of People’s will. We believe this is the Pakistan that was visualized by Allama Mohammed Iqbal and the Pakistan that was fought for and created by Quaid-e-Azam.

We have a vision for the nation that would ensure justice to our people, which shall allow them to live in peace and prosperity. We look ahead to the challenges of the 21st Century with a programme that is both revolutionary and pragmatic. The five guiding principles of our alliance are:

- Preserving the security and integrity of Pakistan
- Service to Islam
- Power to the people
- Welfare of the People
- Devolution of Authority
FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND THE INFORMATION MEDIA

a. Freedom of the press is a pillar of PDA ideology and there shall be no compromise on it.

b. Radio and Television corporations would be made autonomous organizations. Keeping in view Islamic values and Constitutional provisions new educational and entertainment TV channels shall be allowed in the private sector.

c. National Press Trust shall be disbanded taking into consideration security of service of the employees.

d. A special quota shall be reserved for journalists in all new housing schemes.

Women’s Rights

a. Women’s rights shall be protected and they will be given equal status in all walks of life.

b. 5% quota of employment for women shall be reserved in all government and semi-government organizations.

c. Special seats for women in the National and Provincial Assemblies shall be restored.

d. Welfare organizations shall be created for the poor / destitute women; widows & abandoned families will be looked after.

e. A special Federal Women’s police force would be set up for security duties.

f. Pakistan would pioneer an Islamic Women’s Parliamentary Group so that Muslim women gain from each other’s experience.

g. An academy shall be set up of women scholars to research, publish and publicize role of Muslim women.

h. Discriminatory laws against women shall be reviewed and reformed.

i. Distinguished women lawyers shall be appointed to the superior judiciary.

Eradication of Corruption

The cancerous growth of corruption endangers the economy and prosperity of the country. To root out this evil the following measures shall be taken:

a. A law shall be passed to the effect that the President, Grade 21 or 22 officials and equivalent, all members of the Senate, National and Provincial assemblies shall declare
their tax returns and in the event of being non tax payers all assets to the respective Secretariats or as otherwise designated. Another such declaration shall be made annually.

b. A special bench of the High Court shall be constituted to examine a complaint of any citizen against those designated above. Further, any of those designated above will be able to move against a person, an organization, or the press, if allegations made against them are false, before a special bench of the High Court.

c. Anti corruption laws and rules shall be made more stringent and exemplary punishment shall be given to those involved in corruption.

d. The institution of Ombudsman shall be made more effective and shall be extended to the provinces.

e. To examine the assets of all Presidents, Prime Ministers, Parliamentarians and high officials from 1985 to the present and take action under the Public Representatives Act and other laws against those who benefited or whose relatives benefited, including those who has bank loans written off.

**Justice**

Justice is both costly and difficult in the existing judicial framework of the country. Everything else pales into insignificance if a society cannot provide justice to its people. Beside the establishment of rural and local courts the following further measures shall be undertaken:

a. Revolutionary changes shall be brought in the judicial system and the legal framework to provide speedy and inexpensive justice.

b. Judiciary shall be separated from the executive.

c. A scheme shall be initiated to transfer court fees to the courts for the maintenance and other expenditure.

**Constitutional Amendments**

a. Imposition of emergency shall be challenge able in the superior courts.

b. Eighth Amendment to the constitution shall be repealed, and the 1973 Constitution, as pledged by the constituent parties of the MRD, restored.

c. Voting age shall be reduced from 21 to 18.

d. Adult franchise shall be extended to Tribal Areas.
e. Representative council will be set up for the Northern Areas.

**Foreign Policy**

a. Foreign Policy of Pakistan shall reflect the national interest and shall be based on nonalignment and on promoting peace and friendship.

b. Relations with other countries shall be determined on the principles of non interference and peaceful coexistence.

c. Relations with the brotherly Islamic countries shall be given special priority.

d. All possible help shall be given to the valiant Kashmiri freedom fighters in their struggle for self determination

e. An expeditious political settlement will be reached on the Afghan issue which reflects the aspirations of the Afghan people and enable the return of the refugees to their homeland.

f. The people of Palestine will be supported in their just struggle for self determination and for a homeland of their own.

g. The Government of the PDA shall spare no effort for the liberation of Al-Quds.

h. A solution of the Gulf crises shall be sought on the recognized principles of sovereignty and independence of all nations.

i. An association of Democratic Nations shall be set up to strengthen the forces of freedom in the world.
The Manifesto of the Pakistan Peoples Party 1993

Introduction

1. Philosophy and objectives

- Islam is our faith
- Democracy is our politics
- Socialism is our economy
- Shahadat for our cause
- All power to the people

Objective

- We the Pakistan Peoples Party recognizing that our country was founded by Quaid-e-Azam on the principles of UNITY, FAITH and DISCIPLINE unite to restore the integrity of our economic and political systems.
- We commit ourselves to organize, to educate, to participate in the economic and political process and to hold ourselves accountable to the people of Pakistan.
- We shall rebuild our country, renew its economic, religious, moral and social strength and return the sovereignty of Pakistan, to where it belongs, the people.
- We will create "Public Private Partnership" to achieve the full potential of market forces for social development and production.
- New Social Contract" will ensure a balance in the powers and functions of Federal, Provincial and Local governments.
- We will strive for justice, education, employment and health for all.
- Our privatization policy will be geared to achieve full participation of the forces of production, social development and an end to monopolies.
- Our policy of rapid industrialization will aim to make our country a net exporter of manufactured goods.
- Our human rights reform program will ensure equal rights for women and minorities, extensive facilities for children and senior citizens.
- Peasant and labour, two major forces of production will be protected against all forms of exploitation.
- Our administrative reforms will secure an honourable role to government servants and aim at ending corruption.
- Our Nuclear Policy will be peaceful and development oriented.
- Our economic objectives will aim at making Pakistan a middle income country by year 2000.
- Our fiscal policies will aim at reducing budgetary deficit and inflation and maintaining growth at a minimum level of 7%.
- We shall give secured ownership to all landless peasants and tenants.
- We shall take measures to increase the per acre yield of our farms to international levels.
- Female literacy and primary education shall be made universal in the shortest possible time.
Health for all by the year 2000" targets shall be achieved.

- A vigorous population planning program will be launched to improve the health of mother and child and reduce the rate of population growth to 2% in 10 year's time.
- Our Peoples Works Program will be fully participatory and community oriented.
- Promotion of science, technology and research is at the core of our modernization strategy.
- By the year 2000, self sufficiency in rural urban electrification and industrial needs shall be achieved.
- We shall continue and enlarge our programs for providing high tech communication net-works all over the country by improving rail and road transports, ports and shipping and telecommunication.
- We shall ensure free movement of information through multiple and privatized channels of TV and radio.
- We will ensure freedom of the press.
- We will defeat the legacies of dictatorship, ethnicity, sectarianism, drug mafia and political violence and vendetta.
- We will work to achieve permanent peace in our region as well as in the world.

The New Social Contract

The long journey of the people of Pakistan for an egalitarian Society based on freedom and law has entered a decisive phase. We are proud that the Pakistan Peoples Party has restored the right of the ballot, and through it, the dignity of the people, by its relentless struggle against the forces of rigging who were determined to destroy democracy, law and social justice once for all.

The Pakistan Peoples Party is determined to defeat the enemies of the people.

The enemies of the people, the reactionary forces, the forces of tyranny and exploitation have been unable to defeat the Pakistan Peoples Party.

We salute the heroism of our martyrs, our workers and supporters. Their blood, spirit and determination has proved the life, vitality and dynamism of the Party. A morally victorious Part is prepared for electoral battle, confident of a political victory against the forces of darkness. The nation must be pulled from the abyss of despair.

As we enter the 21st Century, our guiding philosophy is "NEW SOCIAL CONTRACT" which re-defines the relationship between the Federal Provincial and Local "Public Private Partnership" in which Public and Private Sectors, the state and people, work together in harmony.

Now, as we look forward to the victory of the Pakistan Peoples Party in the general elections of October 1993, we are putting before the nation a program to restore the dignity of people and open up new avenues for national reconstruction. The people of...
Pakistan are our only resource and we have based our program on their total participation in every sphere of national activity.

The principal objective of democracy is unity. It is dictatorship which fragments society. The system of democratic representation confines dissent and conflict to a very narrow political circle and provides a civilized way of resolving these.

People are the real producers of national wealth, The economic role of the state is to make policies to ensure that people can utilize their full potential. The aspiration for a better life is the driving force of development. It is the duty of the state to liberate the creative energies of the people. This is what we mean by Public Private Partnership.

Haunted by the past and apprehensive of the future, the people are asking: Whither Pakistan? Time has come to turn from the precipice. Let us return to the ideals and values that are the hallmarks of a civilized society. We must be prepared to honour integrity, humility, scholarship, vision, thrift and hard work. We must respect achievement and value merit. We must be unwavering in our commitment to meaningful institutional change, to raise the quality of our social economic and political life to a higher plane. When the PPP Government was dismissed in 1990, it was made the subject of an orchestrated campaign of calumny and disinformation. Its leaders and Ministers were brought before specialty constituted courts on false charges. Governments, like men are fallible and may make mistakes. But the fact speaks for itself that not one of the charges brought against the PPP Government could stand.

The People Party does not indulge in the politics of mudslinging. We stand on our record. In the 20 months of the PPP Government, there was unprecedented freedom of expression and political activity; trade unions and student bodies and women groups were reactivated; political prisoners were released. The press can bear witness that under the PPP government there was no attempt to coerce pressmen.

Much is wrong in the country today. Much damage has been done to its institutions and its laws. Corruption, inflation, lawlessness, crime, drug abuse, have made it difficult for the ordinary citizen to earn their daily bread. Economic mismanagement and fiscal irresponsibility, have ruined the national economy and have mortgaged the welfare of our children and their children. The national debt has almost doubled in the last three years.

All this is the bitter harvest of years of neglect and complacency, of contempt for the rule of law and disregard of the people's rights. But it can be put right if the nation sets about it with a will and with united purpose.

Not everything can be put right at once. The PPP will make no tall promises. We will not mislead the people in order to gain their votes. No government can usher in an era of milk and honey overnight. But we will promise you this. The PPP will give the country the leadership that it needs. We will put the economy on track, combat inflation unemployment and the fiscal deficit. We will bring together people from all classes, ethnic and linguistic groups and all Provinces to work together in order to halt the present
decline, restore order and purpose to our society and put the country once again on the path of progress.

Pakistan must move forward fast. The country needs Good Government. A Government that cares for the People. To this end the PPP shall serve the four basic principles, Islam, National Unity, Economic Advancement of Pakistan and the New Social Contract.

**A Choice Between Unity and Ethnicity**

The forces of tyranny unleashed on that fateful day on July 5, 1977 have fragmented our Nation.

This is an election to save the unity of our Nation defeating the forces politically tearing it apart.

We repudiate the forces of Ethnicity.

We Repudiate the Slogans of "Jag Punjabi Jag"

"Sindudesh"

"Greater Pakhtoon Nation"

"Independent Baluchistan"

"Muhajir Nation"

The opportunists of different races, in pursuit of selfish personal ends have exploited ethnic nationalism to maintain their stranglehold on power to prevent the emergence of a strong progressive and prosperous Pakistan. They have been patronized by the forces of tyranny and dictatorship.

We represent the forces of the working classes, the oppressed and the down trodden amongst all the ethnic groups.

We must rise above Ethnicity far our Survival.

Our roots lie amongst the whole people of Pakistan including all Punjabis, Sindhis, Pakhtoons, Baloch, Muhajirs and Saraiki peoples

We stand for justice equity, and participation for all in a federation where each have sense of participation and believe it is their Pakistan.

**Structural Changes**

Today the winds of disintegration are blowing across the world.

Geographical Boundaries are changing.

New maps are being made.
With the collapse of communism, and the end of the Cold War, Ideology, has taken a back seat. The forces of Ethnicity and communal frenzy are tearing Societies and Countries apart.

Today the songsters of ethnicity attempt to seduce our masses with empty illusions of green gardens to come with the break up of the state. They try to addict desperate people burdened with hunger and unemployment to the thought that Independent Sindh / a Greater Punjab / a Muhajir Nation / Pakhtoonistan / a Baloch State will solve all their problems.

They are wrong.

Shaikh Mujib told his people he would pave the streets of Dacca with gold because Karachi was paved with gold. He was wrong. People in Dacca sleep on pavements till today. Yugoslavia disintegrated and instead of clear streams flowing in green gardens rivers of blood flow. Disintegration of Pakistan will accelerate economic hardship and cause bloodshed. Our unity is in the interest of all the races and ethnic groups which make up Pakistan. Our common prosperity lies in one common approach as one Federation. But a Federation where the internal colonial structures, exacerbating and highlighting ethnic tensions and differences, are restructured to suit the pluralistic nature of our federation. Therefore we have called for a New Social Contract, Basic structural changes are needed as highlighted in the Social Contract in the following fields:

New Balance of Power.

New Electoral system.

New relationship between President and Parliament.

New Parliamentary Code.

Defence Committee of the Cabinet.

New method of appointments to higher Judiciary.

**Federalism and Devolution of Authority**

We will adopt a dynamic approach in the Centre-Province and Province-Local Government relations, whereby a harmonious balance is struck within the federal framework so that each complements the other.
We believe that the solution of our problems rest in devolution of authority, commensurate with responsibility to make democracy inclusive and institutions autonomous.

Subject to our power to make constitutional amendments.

Reform the Local Bodies.

**Reforms to Local Bodies include:**

(a) Provincial governments will not be able to dismiss them arbitrarily. This will strengthen the politics of pluralism.

(b) By means of monitored grants in aid, Local Bodies funds, spent on non developmental expenditure, such as salaries and overheads, will be strictly curtailed to 25% of total expenditure. The rest will go for Development and each Councilor will get a due share to develop his area.

This will put an end to political victimization and greed, where Local Council Chairman waste public funds on Pajaeros for personal use and take out advertisements on political matters. It will ensure that bulk money is made available for Water supply, sewerage, sanitation and road paving and is used for the benefit of the masses.

(c) Ushr collection will be stream lined. We expect to get more than Rs. 4 Billion through this method. Half the money will go to Provinces and half to the Local Bodies.

(d) From the resources of the Provinces, the Provincial Government will spend 34olo according to its discretion. Seventy percent will be made mandatory to be spent on an equitable basis of popular representation in all the districts. This will ensure that Chief Ministers cannot whimsically develop favoured areas and ignore others.

It will bring an egalitarian approach to the development of each part of the Province and thereby the Federation.

It will cool the hearts and minds of people and communities who feel deprived in each Province.

It will lessen the tensions in each Province be it the Hazara and Pakhtoon communities in Frontier, the Pakhtoon and Baloch communities in Balochistan, the Muhajir and Sindhi communities in Sindh, the Punjabi speaking and Saraiki speaking communities in Punjab.

(e) Regular audits of Local Bodies and Provincial Government will be carried out to ensure they do not make political payoffs in "written off loans".

An investigation of this kind of chicanery and corruption will be carried out by the new Government of all Local Bodies and Provincial Governments since 1985. Corruption in a Local Body will lead to its dismissal. Corruption will be regarded as theft. The money will have to be refunded.
Fair Electoral System

Fair and free elections and party loyalty lie at the heart of our reform package. The essence of an independent election lies not only in laws which may be strong on paper but on personnel to ensure that those laws are implemented.

Election Commission

An independent Election Commission is the need of the hour.

The Chief Election Commissioner will be nominated by the Prime Minister in consultation with the Leader of Opposition in the National Assembly of Pakistan from a judge of the Supreme Court. The Government and opposition will nominate one member each from the judges of the High Courts for the Election Commission.

The Election Commission will appoint the Secretary and Additional Secretary after consultation and approval of leader of the House and Leader of the Opposition respectively.
A Commission will be set up to strengthen laws pertaining to Elections. The Commission will give its findings within three months.

List System

Our Parliament is dominated by representatives from the Feudal and Business classes.

Legislation is affected by this class as Parties choose "winning" candidates i.e., those who have the money and tribal connections.
The choice is often between opportunist and opportunist.

The People demand a truly representative Assembly.

Therefore, the Pakistan People Party will introduce a List System. An additional number of seats will be added to the directly elected members.
They will be chosen on the basis of percentages obtained by political parties in direct elections.
A minimum percentage of votes obtained will be fixed on the Federal and Provincial levels for political parties to qualify for additional seats in the list system.

Although the list system adversely affects the Pakistan People Party which gets the largest share of seats in the present system, we are making this sacrifice in the higher national interest.

Voting Age

Voting age will be reduced from 21 to 18 years.
Joint Electorate

Joint electorates will be introduced to give minorities a true and effective voice in electing representatives and ending religious apartheid in the country.

Political Parties Act

Political parties act will be made effective to ensure an end to floor crossing and horse trading so that, once elections are over, a letter from the Leader of the Parliamentary Party will automatically disqualify a member.

I. D. Cards

Use of I.D. Cards for Election purposes will be discontinued.

Role of Opposition

The Leader of Opposition will be entitled to the salaries, facilities and protocol of a Cabinet Minister and the Deputy Leader of Opposition will be entitled to those of a Minister of State. Similar provisions will be made for the Leaders and Deputy Leaders of Opposition in the Provinces.

Re distribution of Power between President Prime Minister and Parliament

In five years, three parliaments have been dissolved.
In five years, three Prime Ministers have been sacked.

The sovereignty of Parliament must be restored. Power of the President to dissolve Parliament will be repealed.

The Power of the Parliament as supreme Legislative body must be restored.

All Power belongs to Almighty Allah.

The People are the repositories of Allah's trust.

The Parliament is the agent of Allah's trustees.

Thus the sanctity of Parliament is the sanctity of Allah's will as expressed through the ballot box.

The Federal, Provincial Governments and Local Governments must work within the framework of law.
The Concurrent List will be reviewed.

Any attempt by a Federal government, Provincial government or Local government to destabilize each other will constitute grounds for its dismissal through suitable judicial action.

The term of office at all levels President, Senate, Assemblies, Local Bodies, Governors will be 4 years.

The Governors will be appointed by the Prime Minister in consultation with the Leader of Opposition in the National Assembly.

The President will appoint the Armed Service Chiefs but will not have the power to dismiss assemblies or be consulted on the appointment of Governor or Judges of the Higher Judiciary.

**The Judiciary**

An independent Judiciary is essential to the smooth functioning of a democratic order to the rule of law and in the defence of the rights of the citizen.

At the same time a representative judiciary is essential to give all parts of the federation a sense of identification.

The system of appointments to the higher judiciary will be reviewed.

The Chief Justices of Pakistan will be appointed by the President on the advise of the Prime Minister.

Supreme Court will be mandated to form benches in the Provinces to make justice easily available to the people.

Similarly Provinces will make benches in all Divisions to ensure easy access of justice.

The law of contempt, especially Article 68, will be amended to enable Parliament to discuss judicial conduct of judges. Once a judgement is delivered, it will become public properly and can be dismissed to ensure transparency. Justice must not only be done but be seen to be done.

**Government at the Doorstep A revolutionary Concept of the New Social Contract**

Government has collapsed. With it, law and order has collapsed. Thieves go scot-free.

Corruption is rampant. The ordinary citizens make out a miserable life. Injustice stalks them.
Given the collapse of the social order, the Pakistan Peoples Party has introduced the New Social Contract to bring about a new balance of power and to create a new system in which the rights of the masses are not trampled.

The aim of the new social contract is to redistribute power between the Federation, Province and Local Bodies to make government more effective and responsive to the needs of our citizens. A new system which ends the monopoly of the Thanedar and the Feudal, of the oppressor and the exploiter.

A system which protects the weak and oppressed.

The local bodies are presently cesspools of corruption.

Development money is embezzled.
Goods are adulterated.
The citizen is frustrated.

No more - Not with Government at the Door step

With the New Social Contract, local bodies will be restructured and reformed Divisions will slowly be done away with direct government at the grass root will begin.

We will introduce effective Local Government through District Legislatures. The District Councilors will elect from amongst them a Leader of the House who will be known as Governor (The Provincial Governor will become Governor General).

The Governor will have a cabinet so that citizens make government departments accountable through their elected representatives.

The Deputy Commissioner will be Secretary to the Government of the District, just as the Chief Secretary is Secretary to the Province.

In the Cabinet there will be

1. A Minister of Law who will be responsible to see that all court cases are aggressively pursued and justice expedited.
2. A Minister for Police Affairs who will be responsible for the District Police affairs to ensure that the innocent are not locked up and that thieves are not set free.
3. A Minister of Finance responsible for the Budget, expenditure, accounting.
4. A Minister of Population Planning to oversee Mother and Child Clinics.
5. A Minister for Zakat to see zakat funds are not misused.
6. A Minister for Irrigation Affairs to see that Khetti is done properly and canals cleared.
7. An Anti-Corruption Minister to investigate complaints of adulteration etc.
8. A Minister of Health to ensure district hospitals are working properly.
9. A Minister of Education to ensure schools are functioning according to rules.
10. A Minister of Ushr to supervise the collection of Ushr

A Task Force will be set up to see that while Districts are autonomous there are remedies for any excesses that a Government or minister may commit.

The bureaucracy will be encouraged to be bold and give their views in writing as per civil service rules.
If there is a difference of views between the civil servant and the minister, the matter will go to the Governor.

All Councilors will have to file their assets as will all civil servants.

Those will be disqualified who have misused their power to write off loans or not paid their utility bills.

**Foreign Affairs**

When the PPP Government was dismissed on August 6, 1990, Pakistan's prestige stood high on the global level.

Today we are isolated and facing increasing threats.

Our relations with the United States are at a low ebb.

Pakistan's have been extradited from the Gulf.

We are accused of Terrorism. Europe, Japan and the United States have voiced growing concern over our peaceful nuclear programme.

Indian rhetoric against our country is increasing.

The Nuclear Power Plant of France has not materialised.

A heroic effort is needed to solve complex issues, to regain Pakistan's status in the world community, to defuse tensions with India without compromising our just stand on occupied Kashmir.

**Kashmir**

For Pakistan the self determination of Kashmir is a national issue that over rides political differences. We are sure that all political parties and groups will join us in reaffirming Pakistan's full moral and political support to the Kashmir struggle. It is calumny to accuse the Kashmiri freedom fighters of terrorism. The violence in Kashmir, as in Bosnia,
originates from the denial to the Kashmiri people of their legitimate rights and of the use of the most brutal repression against them by security forces. We call upon India to desist from a policy that is doomed to fail and can only increase bitterness and hatred in Kashmir and in the sub-continent as a whole. The PPP affirms its support for a peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue in accordance with the principles embodied in the U.N resolutions and in negotiations agreed upon at Simla.

The two governments without interfering in each others internal affairs should also reaffirm the responsibility for the safety, honour and welfare of their respective minorities that they undertook a solemn pact.

Relation with the U. S. A.

Today Pakistan is threatened with isolation in the world community. This is a dramatic reversal of the position that prevailed when democracy was regained by the people in 1988. It is vital for the country’s welfare and self respect that the situation should be redressed.

We must forge new post cold war relations with the United States based on our common aims of peace and peaceful settlements, and arms control in South Asia; against drug abuse and terrorism for economic growth.

Human Rights

1. We believe all citizens have equal rights and obligations irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex. Any discriminatory laws infringing the rights of the citizens will be repealed or suitably amended.
2. Basic international human rights instruments, especially the Convenants of 1966 and the protocols, and conventions relating to the rights of women, children, minorities, and the indigenous people, and those covering torture and inhuman punishments, will be ratified and enforced.
3. Any loss of life at the hands of state authorities such as police encounters will be subject to judicial review.
4. Present laws for preventive detention will be limited to extreme case only.
5. Detenus will not be treated as criminals.
6. Right of religious freedom of all individuals will be fully protected.
7. Torture and human degradation in any form by state agencies will be effectively banned.
8. Present thana system where citizens are hauled up without justification will be abolished to safeguards the honour and dignity of citizens. System of the lodging FIRs will be simplified.
9. Journalists, judges, human rights workers will have free access to police lockup and jails to monitor the Jail conditions.
10. Community participation in law enforcement will be introduced
11. Efforts will be made to regional human rights court on the pattern of the European court of justice so that, after exhausting judicial avenues in their respective countries, citizens of any country may approach the regional court.
12. The right to freedom of expression will be effectively secured.
13. No citizen shall be deprived of the right to freedom of expression, movement, association, or assembly, except an judicially sustainable restrictions.
15. Steps shall be taken to ensure that the objects mentioned in the Principles of Policy are attained in the shortest possible time, and the obligation to present an annual report to the National Assembly is honoured.
16. The right to life shall be construed to include right to subsistence. A special National Insurance Scheme will be introduced in partnership with Private Sector to ensure the right of subsistence to the aged and disabled.
17. The freedom of the Press will be ensured by respect and protection for the economic and political needs of working journalists.
18. Libel laws will be made more stringent to protect the reputation of the ordinary citizen.

Rights of Women

Starting from Um ul Momineen Hazrat Bibi Khadija the History of Islam is glittering with examples of the struggles and sacrifices of women. It is the path illuminated by these revered ladies of Islam that inspired the leadership of the PPP and thousands of other women in Pakistan to lead and participate in the most heroic struggle of the people of Pakistan against dictatorship.

The party is committed to create conditions where the new consciousness of our women finds a practical outlet in bettering their own condition and in nation building We shall:

1. Organize a female literacy corps with its roots in every village to impart literacy and education to our children, specially to girls.
2. The Rural support centers will concentrate on professions like garment making and handicrafts in which women can specialize. Marketing support will be provided and export of these items will be taken up directly.
3. While replicating programs like OPP and AKRSP maximum effort will be made to involve women in income generation and community development programs.
4. Taking guidance from the revolutionary spirit of the Quranic teachings all laws and ordinances will be reviewed and new laws framed to eliminate exploitation discrimination and oppression and to ensure the role of women as equal members of our society.
5. Anti Jahez campaigns will be patronized.
6. Women will be given equal status in all walks of life.
7. Quota of employment for women shall be reserved in all Government and semi-government organizations.
8. Special seats for women in the National and Provincial Assemblies shall be restored.
9. A permanent commission will be established on the status of women. The terms of the commission will, among others include following as well:
   - discrimination against women at constitutional, social and legal levels.
   - portrayal of women in the media.
   - violence against women.
10. Pakistan will become a signatory to the UN convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.
11. Family planning will be recognized as a basic human right and information as well as service will be adequately provided to the population.
12. Hudood ordinance and other discriminatory laws against women will be suitably amended.
13. Minimum age for marriage will be raised.
14. Women's fundamental rights to life security freedom of movement, and their full participation in all spheres of national life will be ensured as declared in article 34 of the Constitution of Pakistan.
15. A special Women's police force would be set up.
16. Pakistan will pioneer an Islamic women's parliamentary group so that Muslim women gain experience from each other.
17. Distinguished women lawyers shall be appointed to the superior judiciary.
18. Each deserving widow shall receive a basic allowance through a computerized register to enable her to support herself and her dependent children.
19. Family laws relating to marriage, alimony, child custody, family courts will be made more equitable to ensure fair and equal rights for women. Family laws will be simplified to facilitate quick and easy adjudication.
20. Hostels for working women will be established in all big cities.
21. Laws for adequate minimum wage, acceptable working hours, health and maternity benefits to all working women in the informal sector will be enacted.
22. Female headed households, will be given priority in allotment of land for housing and credit.
23. Credit will be provided on special condition to reach the women farmers and rural women entrepreneurs at their doorstep by opening more branches of the First Women Bank.
PPP Election Manifesto 1997

Introduction

A Return to History

Once again, the popularly elected governments and assemblies have been dissolved without being allowed to fulfill the people's mandate and to complete their constitutional term. This is the fourth dissolution since 1988 and the fifth since 1977 alone. It is the third time that the Peoples Government has been undemocratically removed because it cannot be combated politically. The Eighth Amendment imposed on the Constitution of 1973 by a hated military dictator has negated the will of the people. Tragically it has been done by a President elected on the solemn pledge not to dissolve the assemblies or to allow the Presidency to become a den of conspiracies against the federal parliamentary system and the people of Pakistan. This demonstrates that the power of the 8th Amendment is so seductive that a man can break a twenty year belief in the power of the people to determine their own destiny.

The will of the people has been aborted and the right of franchise has become a joke; the supremacy of Parliament has been undermined by an autocratic system with a penchant to keep civil society as its hapless subject. The principles of government and accountability by the people are negated in one way or another - through Ayub Khan's to General Zia's prolonged martial law, through the office of the Governor General to the President of the Eighth Amendment and through EBDO and PRODA to the discriminatory Ehtesab Ordinance. In the quasi-democratic existence of Pakistan, 54 elected National and Provincial assemblies have been dissolved before they could complete their tenure, and all 13 Prime Ministers have been prematurely and arbitrarily removed from office. In all this half the country was lost.

Since the fifties dictators, military and civilian, have used alleged corruption as a tool to discredit and defame Parliaments and parliamentarians and as the ground to throw out popular elected assemblies. In the case of the Peoples Government the same allegations have been used. But it is a fact, that dictatorship has given birth to the major incidence of corruption in the country, and it is perhaps not coincidental that the Peoples Government was dismissed soon after presenting an across the board accountability bill and list of main loan defaulters before the National Assembly.

Despite a protracted struggle by the valiant people of Pakistan to determine their own fortune, both the state and society, in this our Golden Jubilee year, are marked by the absence of a viable political system. The British have left, but the colonial thought processes left behind by them continue to hamper the nation's march towards a libertarian, egalitarian, moderate, progressive and, above all, a federal, democratic, parliamentary and non-discriminatory polity, as perceived by Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

The November 5 Dissolution Order has caused a grave crisis by subverting the all-enveloping progress made by the Peoples Government in: attracting unprecedented foreign investment, developing energy and physical infrastructure, improving and expanding social services for human resource development and poverty eradication, undertaking courageous macro-economic and structural reforms, reducing fiscal deficit by over three per cent, withdrawing tax exemptions from incomes, restoring peace in Karachi, destroying
terrorist's and drug Mafia's sanctuaries, reviving Pakistan's important position in international forums, restoring crucial Pak-US relations, placing the Kashmir issue at the centre-stage of world diplomacy, pre-empting a unilateral nuclear roll-back, taking on the corrupt by bringing a constitutional amendment bill for across-the-board accountability, revealing and taking to task the defaulters, and, finally, moving towards striking down the 8th Amendment to re-establish the supremacy and the continuity of Parliament.

The world has swiftly and fundamentally changed at all levels, but the people of Pakistan are not being allowed to break the shackles of obscurantist, fundamentalist, authoritarian and archaic feudal/tribal/ethnic/sectarian ideologies. The road to progress continues to be hampered by a four-D trap of debt-demography-dictatorship-dehumanization.

The Task

The Pakistan Peoples Party has never shirked from the tasks or the responsibilities given to it by the people of Pakistan. It has tried its utmost to perform its historic duties on both foreign and domestic fronts. However, it is pertinent to recall that the People's Government inherited seven onerous legacies from General Zia and his surrogates:

First, the supremacy of Parliament was handicapped by the 8th Amendment;

Second, Pakistan was about to be placed on the list of states sponsoring terrorism and drug trafficking since it had become a nursery of extremists and a sanctuary for terrorists of all hues, drug traffickers and kalashnikov culture. The very security of the state was endangered;

Third, fiscal mismanagement with the deficit climbing to over eight percent of GDP officially (nine and a half percent unofficially), plunder of financial sector by defaulters, spending beyond our means on non-productive areas, heavy bank-borrowings and an absolute reliance on foreign aid/loans had brought the country to the verge of insolvency and into a vicious debt-trap situation with the fiscal deficit and bank borrowings climbing to crisis proportions, leaving nothing to invest in human resources and infrastructure; there was a negative growth rate after taking into account the population increase and foreign exchange reserves had spiralled down to $ 300 million.;

Fourth, a neglect of physical infrastructure had resulted in massive load-shedding and a lack of investment in social sectors had led to the deterioration of human resources, increase in poverty and pauperization;

Fifth, a state of ethnic fascism was created within the state jeopardizing law and order in the largest city of the country and putting the integrity of Sindh and the Federation at great risk;

Sixth, due to the negation of all democratic institutions under prolonged martial law, the balance of power had shifted in favour of the proponents of the 8th Amendment and an autocratic establishment at the cost of the directly elected chief executive, negating the sovereignty of the legislature in a supposed trichotomy of power;

Seventh, negation of universally recognized human rights especially with regard to minorities, women, children had become the order of the day.

The Agenda

After obtaining a popular mandate for its 'Agenda for Change', the party adopted a seven-
pronged strategy to rid the country of the devastation caused by General Zia's and his political successor's misrule:

First, after being elected on a commitment to the principle of supremacy of parliament and the federal parliamentary system, it continued to offer the opposition a constitutional package on the common points in the manifestos of the two mainstream parties, including the repeal of the 8th Amendment, restoration of the women's reserved seats, bringing the minorities into the mainstream, creating an independent Election Commission and modern electoral laws. However, the opposition took a thoughtless course of confrontation which did not allow the treasury benches, lacking the requisite two-thirds majority, to implement its constitutional package. The National Assembly were arbitrarily dissolved before it could scrap the 8th Amendment and introduce wide ranging electoral reform and pass the Constitution (Fifteenth Amendment) Bill, 1996, for an across-the-board accountability and the Provincial Assemblies were dissolved before they could, as the popularly elected electoral college, legitimately elect half of the Senate in March, 1997;

Second, by portraying a moderate, democratic and progressive image of Pakistan, on the one hand, and launching a crusade against extremists, terrorists and the drug mafia, on the other, the PPP-led government won the support of democratic forces all over the world and averted the danger of being declared a rogue state. The Pressler Amendment was replaced with the Brown Amendment, held-up defence equipment was released and the Clinton administration pledged to return the money paid for the F-16s. The Kashmir dispute was brought back on the international agenda with the US showing its willingness to mediate, the OIC passed a unanimous resolution and the All Parties Hurriyat Conference representatives attended the various Contact Group meetings. The Peoples Government took a lead in breaking new ground in international diplomacy and human initiatives, such as in the Cairo Conference on Population, Beijing Conference on Women and Social Summit in Copenhagen, to quote a few;

Third, it took a courageous road to implement the Structural Adjustment Programme, it revived fiscal discipline, brought down the fiscal deficit by over three per cent, increased revenues, improved the balance of payments situation, increased investment and growth, expedited privatization in a transparent manner, invested in infrastructure, human resources and retired debt, moved from presumptive taxes to VAT and taxes on consumption (GST). The budget deficit was brought down by over three per cent from over 8%, growth was revived to 6.12% from 2.4%, inflation was kept under control and was expected to further decelerate, for the first time debt was retired, actual on ground record foreign investment of over US$ 3 billion took place, while pledges for another $22 billion were received. The IMF agreed to revive the Standby Arrangement, to provide balance of payments' stabilization, beside ESAF, and the World Bank, ADB and the other donors had agreed to vitalize the financial sector and fund the Social Action Programme (SAP).

In all this the Peoples Government acted as a dam against the tough conditionalities agreed to by Mr. Moin Qureshi as a consequence of PML-N's disastrous financial performance. The PPP Government took steps to protect and shield the people from the rigours of those agreements. The Peoples Government dam is no longer there, and the consequences can be seen and felt by all;

Fourth, the People's Government gave top most priority to neglected physical and social infrastructure and set the right priorities. Given a ten to twelve-hour load-shedding and enormous economic losses, the energy policy for private sector investment succeeded in
actually attracting more than US$ 4 billion to produce over 3200 MW of electricity. With the completion of the Hubco Power Project and other projects, load-shedding was to completely end in 1997. In fact, load shedding has ended at the time this Manifesto is announced. Beside thermal power, work on Ghazi Barotha hydel power project has been initiated. Similarly, highways, transmission lines, pipelines, communication, Gwadar deep sea port, Keti Bander port, gas and oil fields and refineries were promoted, planned and/or developed. A massive human resource development programme, which included the deployment of 50,000 women health workers, in the area of primary health care and mass literacy, population welfare, computer education and vocational training centres, women development and participation, were launched. Campaigns against illiteracy, population explosion, epidemics, polio and drug addiction were implemented. The Social Action Programme focused on the development of basic social services and infrastructures necessary to eradicate poverty and backwardness. An unprecedented outlay of $ 8 billion was committed to SAP;

Fifth, the Nawaz Sharif government launched a clean-up operation by the army in June 1992, but miserably failed to restore law and order and nab the terrorists since the PML-N was (and continues to be) in collaboration with the ethnic fascists. The Peoples Government withdrew the army and appointed an Urdu-speaking governor on MQM-A's demand, but the terrorists were not ready to abandon the dream of Jinnahpur or their bloody confrontation. They, rather, intensified the massacre of innocent people, kidnappings for ransom and unbridled terrorism. Instead of choosing the political and legal path for a just political settlement acceptable to all in Sindh, they took the road of open insurgency through urban guerrilla warfare. The largest city and major port of Pakistan, the integrity of both Sindh and the Federation and the life and security of the people could not be made a hapless hostage to terrorism. Fulfilling its lawful responsibilities, the People's Government came to the rescue of the people of Karachi and restored peace. Consequently, as compared to 2043 persons killed and 2436 injured in 1995, including hundreds of brave law enforcing personnel, the numbers of killed and injured drastically came down to 399 and 559 respectively in 1996. Belying the President's claim of large numbers of extra judicial killings, the Courts remained open to all to challenge any death in suspicious circumstances. Given the economic dimension of the crisis, the Federal Government initiated a Rs.121 billion economic package for Karachi. The backbone of the terrorists having been broken, unless they receive a fresh lease of life under the Caretakers and the Co-Federationists, a situation conducive to a political settlement among different ethnic communities in Sindh has been created, provided of course that the political elements in the MQM-A separated from the terrorists, reciprocate in good faith;

Sixth, though with the return of democracy and the ostensible transfer of power of the Chief Executive's powers from the President to the Prime Minister, institutional overlapping continued under the 8th Amendment at the cost of Parliament and the elected chief executive. It was during the People's Government that the system of defacto troika rule came to an end with the revival of the Cabinet's Defense Committee. Thanks to the interplay of forces in parliamentary democracy, it was the People's Government which separated the judiciary from the executive and the March 20 judgment of the Supreme Court was implemented, despite a Presidential Reference questioning the prerogative of the Prime Minister in the appointment of judges to the superior judiciary. This judgment has vindicated the Prime Minister's position that her/his advice is binding on the President;

Seventh, eradication of marginalization of women, the minorities and the poor and
discrimination against the vulnerable sections of society remained one of the main concerns of the Peoples Government. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto took a courageous position in the Cairo conference on Population and Development and Beijing Conference on Women. New programs of action and agendas were set to empower women, ensure their participation in all walks of life and to improve their lot. The Women Parliamentary Conference was held, the CEDAW was signed by Pakistan, women judges were appointed, a Ministry for Women Development was created, women police stations were established, 50,000 women health workers were trained for mother and child care, population planning programme helped bring down growth rate to 2.8 per cent and all-sided efforts were made against gender bias and to create necessary conditions for a status equal to men. But efforts to restore the women's reserved seats and strike down some discriminatory laws were frustrated by the PML-N and their extremist allies.

Similarly, the religious minorities heaved a sigh of relief during the Peoples Government and steps were taken to safeguard the rights of the most deprived minorities. A full minister was inducted and electoral reforms were initiated to bring voters from the minorities into the mainstream of the electoral process. However, the initiative was again rejected by PML-N. Misuse of blasphemy laws against the members of minorities was discouraged. On the contrary the PML-N joined a broad-based religious front (TTNR) to further strangulate the minorities in stark contradiction of the humanitarian teachings of Islam and the liberal guidelines of the Founder of the Nation.

The Peoples Government presided over a very difficult transition while facing a hostile opposition. Due to the early removal of the Peoples Government and the dissolution of the assemblies in some areas, the "Agenda for Change" remained partially unfulfilled, despite concerted efforts. Yet, despite infinite constraints, a limited mandate and compulsions of coalition, the Peoples Government was able to accomplish much in a short period of 36 months. Had it been allowed to complete its tenure, it would have been in a much better position to fully implement its 'Agenda for Change'. On balance, the Peoples Government was able to deliver on major and vital issues and challenges, such as foreign policy, defense, investment, energy, physical infrastructures, human resource development, growth, macro-economic reforms, human rights, peace in Karachi and flushing out and fighting extremism.

The Peoples Government ministers were barred from taking any loans. The Peoples Government published the list of defaulters of Rs 130 billion and brought an effective bill against corruption and for the accountability of all-from PRESIDENT TO PEON-without exception. But, as in 1990, a smear campaign was launched to destabilize the government and the President stabbed the democratic process in the back and made every effort to re-establish a Presidential form of Government.

**The Danger to Pakistan**

The 8th Amendment is a time bomb ticking in the body politic of Pakistan. It was placed in the Constitution by a dictator who was supported by fanaticism and having failed to impose his pseudo Islamic agenda on the people needed an instrument to repress representative political forces whenever democracy started to flourish. Gen. Zia died having had a chance to use the 8th Amendment only once and although his legacy was defeated in the elections of 1988, the forces that he nurtured and represented went underground, infiltrating all
sections of society and all institutions, including political parties. Their agenda is clear. They want a sectarian state. They believe that only fanatics like them, steeped in their special sense of Islam, have the right to rule the country. They want military confrontation with our neighbors. They reorganized, prepared and in 1990 used the 8th Amendment to remove the Peoples Government. They rigged the 1990 election. Yousuf Ramzi a known terrorist tried to kill Benazir Bhutto during the 1993 elections when it was obvious she would lead the Pakistan Peoples Party to victory. When the Peoples Government was returned to office in 1993, they escalated ethnic and sectarian violence. When this was put down by the Peoples Government they tried to overthrow the Peoples Government in 1994 but renowned social worker Abdus Sattar Edhi revealed the plan. In 1995 there was the failed "Islamic coup" attempt of Gen. Abbassi. In 1996 the brother of the Prime Minister was killed to destabilize the Peoples Government. With the Peoples Government acting decisively to deal with these fanatics and terrorists by extraditions and by closing down the bases used by them to export terrorism and narcotics the extremists had to act to remove Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

The 8th Amendment has also provided fertile ground for political opportunists. Falling prey to the overtures of those forces, who encouraged the President to believe that he and his batch mates could run the country better than the elected representatives and who provided street demonstrations, a media campaign against the Peoples Government and the death of the Prime Minister's brother to lay the ground work for the dismissal, the President, reminiscent of Gen. Zia's imposition of martial law, at 2.00 a.m. on November 5, 1996, removed the Peoples Government, dismissed the National Assembly and placed the elected Prime Minister under prospective custody. There followed, thereafter, an obscene operation for preparing the grounds and finding the agents to dissolve the provincial assemblies. Since the dissolution the President has become the de facto Prime Minister amending election laws at will, openly organizing and encouraging his own "King's Party", causing the only upright man in the cabinet to resign, and laying the groundwork for a "hung" parliament. However, President Leghari is a pawn in the hands of the extremists and he is being encouraged by them and his own ambitions to either cancel the elections or have a hung parliament. He thinks he will be successful in the February 3 polls by ensuring that candidates from the major political parties are disqualified. Mr. Nawaz Sharif, having been protected from disqualification by an adroit and timely amendment of the election laws, also thinks that he can make gains in the elections and is oblivious of what is in store for him, his party and the country. Both are wrong. A delay in elections or a hung parliament will only cause economic disruption and bring the political system to the point of collapse. This is exactly what the extremists want.

In the meanwhile, co-federationist and secessionists are being given a free hand. Sectarian violence is stalking the country. There is talk of shifting the capital of Sindh. The Caretaker Prime Minister sees no future for Pakistan after 20 years. Will we let the same thing that happened to East Pakistan happen to us again?

The Pakistan Peoples Party is following the situation closely and urges other democratic forces to do likewise.
Completing the Agenda

The continuation of the "Agenda for Change" for the sustaining Pakistan, its democratic institutions, for the alleviation of human misery, despair and for the development of infrastructure and human resources on a large scale, along with structural, electoral, institutional and constitutional reforms has become vital not only to radically transform the relationship between the state and society but also to find a sustainable basis for national security. Decades of dependence on foreign resources mobilization strategy has completely arrested the creativity of our people and taken away from them their right to make collective decisions in matters crucial to their future. Our people have been depending on local elite and national bureaucracy for decision making and have been struggling for devolution of authority to the village and mohalla level. Now through structural adjustments periodically entered into by successive caretaker governments, even the elite and national bureaucracy have forfeited their decision making rights and transferred this authority to foreign institutions.

The isolation and remoteness of the people of Pakistan and their elected representatives from the task of shaping their own destiny is evident from the fact that IMF conditionalities imposed upon elected governments by successive caretaker governments have virtually acted as the national budgets for successive years, which leave little if no maneuvering room for elected governments to implement the agenda on which they receive the mandate of the people.

Members of a society suppressed by long years of military rule have lost all perception of their rights. Continuous abuse of power has created a class, which only believes in privileges. Getting away with violations of law has become an indicator of respect and influence. Large scale tax evasion, theft of utilities, default on repayment of bank loans, misuse of state funds and resources, open embezzlements are some of the measures through which the affluent consolidate their wealth and power at the cost of the nation. The bureaucracy, not answerable to anyone, bought away by the affluent and having their own large share in the loot of the plunderers, provides them with the administrative cover to carry on their plunder. All this breeds dissatisfaction.

Social satisfaction is depleting with growing social disparities. Distinction between the needs and wants is disappearing fast. Growing wants of the inessential items is contributing heavily to moral degradation of all sections of our society. All this is providing a fertile ground for extremist elements promising an Islamic revolution. The revolution is the apple of temptation given by Eve to Adam.

The state, therefore, has to provide a policy framework, as well as resources to act through a grand coalition of non-governmental organisation of the people (specially those belonging to the deprived section of society), financial institutions, co-operative and decentralized government agencies working under new norms, so that the weaker strata of our society are meaningful empowered. It is only through massive involvement of the people, working hand and hand with the state apparatus and the remodeling of the latter that the damaging side effects of open-economy industrialisation can be controlled.

A lasting solution has to be found to get out of a debt-demographic-dictatorship-dehumanization trap with a debt retirement plan, bringing population growth to less than two per cent and consolidating democratic governance. A dynamic balance has to be found
between democracy and development, rural and urban areas, the Federation and the Provinces and the Provinces and the Districts, authority and accountability. A sustainable model of development, high rate of savings and investment for a much needed higher growth rate should help eradicate poverty and underdevelopment. In the meanwhile, peace in the region and an equal and collective end to a lethal arms race, accompanied by the just resolution of disputes, can release tremendous resources to bring prosperity for the hundreds of million people living below the poverty line in the sub-continent.

As we enter the new millennium with Asia at its centre-stage with its vast resources, human and material, markets and ingenuity, the people of Pakistan are not fated to live in misery, poverty, backwardness, hatred, conflicts or parochial tensions. There is no basis or reason to stop the people of our part of Asia from joining the ranks of the fast developing South East Asian countries in an emerging interdependent world of co-operating nations.

To reach that goal, the people of South Asia need to take daring initiatives in transcending our material and historical limitation. Instead of wasting our energies and bountiful but precious resources in allowing chauvinist, annexationist and hegemonic agendas to flourish, we should focus on peace, democracy, free enterprise and progress, to avert military conflicts, revert an arms race, and forge just and lasting solutions to disputes, such a Kashmir and the civil war in Afghanistan. We must let open the gates of people to people co-operation, communication, trade and investment.

We, the people of Pakistan, for our part, should be ready to take historical initiatives at every level to settle disputes and difference, such as on Kashmir and nuclear proliferation in South Asia, with our neighbours, on a reciprocal basis, universally recognized principles of justice, even-handedness and non-discriminatory standards, international law and United Nations’ initiated processes and resolutions. A new beginning has to be made if the peoples of South Asia are to live in peace and harmony, divert their resources to poverty eradication, mutually beneficial economic collaboration and development.

Who can accept this enormous challenge and lead the nation to take a great leap forward in a most competitive and fast developing world of today? The Pakistan Peoples Party is the only party which has shown a unique sense of history, dynamism and adaptability to take up ever new challenges in an ever changing environment. At each historical stage, it formulated a new theorem in accordance with the objective conditions of our time, such as socialism in the late '60s and the '70s, liberal democracy in the '80s, privatization-liberalization in the '90s, and humanism, peace, modernization, private-public partnership, economics-in-command while entering the next millennium.

In its three decade existence, the Pakistan Peoples Party led all popular-democratic movements; from the struggle for the right to adult-franchise and federal parliamentary system (1967-70) to the movement for the restoration of democracy (1977-88). Most of the great national achievements go to the PPP's credit: from the 1973 Constitution to the Constitution (Fifteenth Amendment) Bill, from Steel Mills to Heavy Mechanical Complex, from Port Qasim to the nuclear programme, from unprecedented foreign investment to 3200 MW power-contracts, from Ghazi Barotha to a massive primary health and education programme, from neutralizing extremism to restoring peace in Karachi, etc. The Pakistan Peoples Party is the only party to have won all the four fair elections held since 1970.

The 58-2(b) regime of Leghari-led caretakers has backfired on its farcical plank of accountability and has established beyond doubt that fair and free elections are not possible under its anti-PPP stewardship. In fact, the November 5 Dissolution Order has set in motion
a colossal crisis in Pakistan's
history which has put the democratic system, security of the nation, economy and the future
of the Federation in jeopardy. But the democratic forces led by the PPP and the people of
Pakistan will again foil all attempts at subverting the federal parliamentary system,
mortgaging national interests, subjugating civil society to selective injustice in the name of
some other version of the "Law of Necessity' or another hijacking of the people's mandate.
The nation must say "STOP" to this. The nation must reject Leghari's hung parliament blue
print to save the country from political, financial and moral collapse. It is no secret that a
hung parliament leads to horse trading, bribery, corruption and blackmail. If there is a hung
parliament, frustration will deepen and extremist forces will take advantage of it. It is a
prescription for national disaster. National interest calls for the Pakistan Peoples Party to be
elected with a sweeping majority to serve the people in Pakistan's Golden Jubilee year..
Once again, we shall overcome and be vindicated by history with the support of the people
and the grace of God Almighty.
It is with this sense of history and responsibility that the Pakistan Peoples Party places
before the people its Manifesto for the 1997 elections and calls on the people of Pakistan to

**Follow the Arrow Into The Asian Century**

The Dangerous Drugs (Amendment) Act, 1994 which made drug laws more stringent and
introduced the death penalty for serious drug offences;
The Code of Criminal Procedure (Second Amendment) Act, 1994 which gave greater
protection to women accused of crimes from coercive police actions;
The Islamabad Consumers Protection Act, 1995 which for the first time in Pakistan
provided a law to protect consumers;
The Abolition of the Punishment of Whipping Act, 1996 which outlawed all punishments
of whipping except in cases covered under Islamic law;
The West Pakistan Family Courts (Amendment) Act, 1994 and the Family Courts
(Amendment) Act, 1996 which provided speedier justice to women in family matters;
The Special Courts for Speedy Trial (Repeal) Act, 1996 which finally did away with courts
providing "martial law" justice.
The Women in Distress or Detention Fund Act, 1996 which for the first time provided
funds and legal aid to women in distress or under arrest;
Environmental protection Act, 1996 which established the Environment Protection Agency
and provided for setting and monitoring environmental standards.
In all 45 Acts were passed in addition to three Finance Acts during the Peoples Government
tenure.

**Separation of the Executive and the Judiciary**

The Law Reforms Ordinance, 1996 which implemented Article 175 of the Constitution and
finally separated of the judiciary for the executive. The said Ordinance was promulgated on
27th of March 1996 and passed by the National Assembly of Pakistan within two weeks.
The said Ordinance is presently awaiting approval from the Senate.
Constitutional Reforms

The first bill to be moved in the National Assembly of Pakistan by the Peoples Government was the Constitution (13th Amendment) Bill 1994 which sought to restore women seats in the National Assembly and also provided special seats for women in the Senate of Pakistan. The said Bill could not be enacted as the PML-N opposition refused to support the same and the thus the required a 2/3rd majority was not available. The Peoples Government maintained its principled stand on the 8th Amendment. As in the case of the Constitution (13th Amendment) Bill there was no support for the repeal of the 8th Amendment from PML-N.

Major legislative Agenda 1997-2002

The Peoples Government will take steps to:
The Dangerous Drugs (Amendment) Act, 1994 which made drug laws more stringent and introduced the death penalty for serious drug offences;
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VIP Culture

The Peoples Government vows to take steps to ensure that VIP behaviour is suppressed. The conspicuous elements of this culture and behaviour will be curtailed. Government designed innovative policies to attract private sector investment, both local and foreign, for the development of much needed infrastructure projects. The challenge before Pakistan, which the Peoples Government has been responding to, is that we must not flinch from taking essential and sometimes unpopular measures for sustaining the economy. However, these measures have to be implemented within a democratic framework, with sovereign legislatures, a free press and an independent judiciary.

Notwithstanding its successes, the performance of the economy in the last few months of the Peoples Government, came under severe pressure from the organised efforts of politically hostile groups, to sabotage the economy, as a means of ousting the Peoples Government,
before the expiry of its lawful term. Apart from strikes and no tax campaigns, there was a
mischievous effort to destroy the credibility of the Government (and the country) with
foreign investors and international institutions. Despite the dislocation suffered by the
economy, from the activities of these saboteurs, the Peoples Government was able to
maintain adequate reserves, to meet international obligations and had, in fact concluded a
new agreement with the IMF toward the end of October 96. The strategy of economic
disruption having failed, the opponents and the Caretakers are already discovering the high
price that the country has to pay for eroding external confidence in the country’s integrity
and its economy.
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