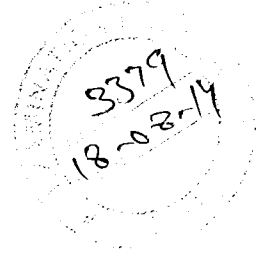


**ROLE OF BENAZIR BHUTTO IN PAKISTAN'S POLITICS AS A
PARLIAMENTARIAN: 1988 TO 1999**

**Thesis for the Award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Politics and
International Relations — A Partial Fulfillment**



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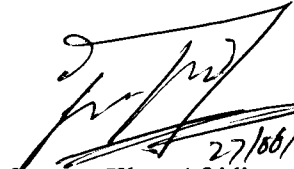
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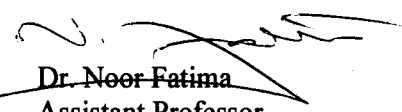
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**"IN THE NAME OF ALLAH WHO IS THE MOST
BENEFICENT AND MERCIFUL"**

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DEDICATION

To

“My Daughter Marjaan Fatima & My Nephew Faiz Mustafa Khan”

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Innumerable thanks to ALMIGHTY ALLAH, for giving me courage to accomplish the assigned task completely. Also thanks to our Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW) for enabling us to recognize our Lord and Creator. It is very crucial to pass all the stages one after another but I lead to a success end by the grace of Allah Almighty.

I am really grateful to my supervisor Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi for his valuable comments and inputs on my thesis and time spared for my research. Throughout my research, he has been so generous and kind enough to be benefited from his insight and research skill.

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Abstract

Benazir Bhutto was a Pakistani politician and stateswoman who served as the 11th Prime Minister of Pakistan in two non-consecutive terms from November 1988 until October 1990, and 1993 until her final dismissal on November 1996. Benazir Bhutto leadership was a charismatic leadership. She had her own charisma when she emerged in the 1980s as a young, articulate, well educated and well spoken woman.

In 1982, Benazir Bhutto became the chairperson of PPP a centre left, democratic socialist political party, making her the first woman in Pakistan to head a major political party. In 1988, she became the first woman elected to lead a Muslim state and was also Pakistan's first female prime minister. Noted for her charismatic authority and political wisdom, Benazir Bhutto drove initiatives for Pakistan's economy and national security, and she implemented social capitalist policies for industrial development and growth. In addition, her political philosophy and economic policies emphasised deregulation (particularly of the financial sector), flexible labour markets, the denationalisation of state-owned corporations, and the withdrawal of subsidies to others. Her chief assets were her intelligence, her confidence, and the fact that she could talk to people of various backgrounds with understanding. Benazir Bhutto's popularity decreased in the course of recession, corruption, and high unemployment which later led to the dismissal of her government by conservative President Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

In 1993, Benazir Bhutto was re-elected for a second term after the 1993 parliamentary elections. She survived an attempted coup d'état in 1995, and her hard line against the trade unions and tough symbolic opposition to her domestic political rivals and to neighboring India earned her the nick name "Iron Lady"; she was also respectfully referred to as "B.B." Her faults as a political leader were many. Too many stories of corruption stuck to her. She was not a good administrator. She was too inclined to listen to her small kitchen cabinet, which very often consisted of people who would say what they thought she wanted to hear. She became prime minister at a particularly young age and had no prior political or other cabinet experience. Her first administration unraveled quickly, as did her second one. Both were unlamented. In 1996, the charges of corruption leveled against her led to the final dismissal of her government by President Farooq Leghari. Benazir Bhutto conceded her defeat in the 1997 Parliamentary elections and went into self imposed exile in Dubai, United Arab Emirates in 1999.

List of Abbreviations

- CIA Central Intelligence Agency
- COAS Chief of Army Staff
- COP Combined Opposition Parties
- ICFM Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers
- IJI Islami Jamoori Ittehad or Islamic Democratic Alliance
- IMF International Monetary Fund
- JCSC Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee
- MNA Member Of National Assembly
- MQM Mohajir Quami Movement
- MRD Movement for Restoration of Democracy
- NA National Assembly
- NAB National Accountability Bureau
- OIC Organization of Islamic Conference
- PML/N Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz Group
- PPP Pakistan People's Party
- SAARC South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
- UAE United Arab Emirates,
- UNO United Nation Organization
- USA United State of America
- WHO World Health Organization

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Benazir Bhutto was one of several political leaders who took rise in politics and reached to the pedestal of power on the backs of their dead husbands or fathers for the sole reason that they possessed famous names. During the military rule of Zia ul Haq, she was the co-chairperson of the Pakistan People's Party, which was founded by her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. In national elections of November 1988, she swept to power as Prime Minister of a coalition government. Benazir Bhutto's tenacity to hold on to her belief in a better Pakistan is tested to the limit during the Zia years from 1977 to 1988 when he died in a plane crash . It is Benazir Bhutto's frank depiction of those years and the fight to restore democracy back in Pakistan through the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) against the despotic ruler General Ziaul Haq, who took over the power in a coup d'état in 1977 finally paved the way for Benazir's final return from exile in April 1986. She was received by one million people in Lahore, who turned up to meet the leader of the Pakistan People's Party. In their perception she could lead the democracy. The hopes became true when she was elected as a Prime Minister nearly after ten years of martial rule.¹

Benazir's manifesto during her first term of government was the reforms in the system, equal rights for women, social justice and end of all sorts of discriminations in Pakistan.² But she could not complete her term as a prime minister because of the implementation of the constitutional sword of 58(2B) under which her government was dismissed by the President. After the same demise of Prime Minister Nawaz

¹ Moreau and Fahad Ahmad. "Benazir Bhutto, 1953- 2007," www.benazir.bhutto.org (Accessed on 20th Feb, 2011).

² Benazir Bhutto: *the way out: interviews, impression, statements and messages* (Karachi. Mehmood publications, 1988)

Sharif's first term. Benazir got reelected in 1993 again and was once again dismissed by her own handpicked party lieutenant Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari, the then President of Pakistan.

The role of Benazir Bhutto as a prime minister has been widely discussed by the historians but her role in politics of Pakistan was much more than a prime minister. From 1988 onwards she remained prime minister of Pakistan for two terms 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996. But she served as the leader of opposition during the two terms when Nawaz Sharif was the prime minister of Pakistan. During that period she remained an active opposition leader. During the whole period of 1988 to 1999 she was an elected parliamentarian and never remained out of this office. Her role as a parliamentarian is worth to be studied to understand the nature and dimensions of Pakistanis politics in the post-military withdrawal state.

Benazir Bhutto as a prime minister is widely discussed by political scientists and historians but the review of literature reveals that no serious efforts has been undertaken by any author to deal with her role as a parliamentarian. Her contributions as a legislator, her participation in parliamentary debates, her role as a member of parliamentary committees has never been discussed by any of the scholar or academician covering that era. This study intends to examine her role as a legislator and parliamentarian during the period of 1988 to 1999.

Problem Statement

Benazir has been an eminent politician in the politics of Pakistan after her return from exile in 1986. She served two times as the prime minister of Pakistan from 1988-1990 and 1993-1996. But her contributions to the politics of Pakistan are much more than a prime minister. She was also an active opposition leader and

parliamentarian. This study is an effort to study the role of Benazir as a parliamentarian. Her role in law making, keeping a check on government and policy making both on treasury and opposition benches would be unfolded in this study.

Objectives of Research

1. To analyse the Pakistan's politics and circumstances when Benazir Bhutto entered into political struggle and became a Prime Minister
2. To evaluate her role within Parliament as a Prime Minister and Opposition Leader
3. To explore the kinds of reforms what she had brought and role in women empowerment in Pakistan
4. To analyse her political leadership role by organizing the masses and delivering the services.

Research Questions

1. What were the causes for Benazir Bhutto's coming into politics and then power?
2. How much Benazir Bhutto has been influential in Pakistan's politics?
3. What kind of reforms she has brought while having power in Parliament?

Significance of the Research

Pakistan is a parliamentary democracy. But it could not work successfully according to the true spirit of the system during 1988-1999. The weakness of the parliament as a sovereign body remained one of the reasons. Overall there has been a mix record of the working of the parliament. Therefore it is imperative to study the role of the politicians in the parliament to understand the reasons for the weak

position of the parliament in relation to a strong president, an unusual practice in parliamentary form of government. Benazir has been one of the leading politicians of Pakistan. She had not only got recognition from the country but also from all over the world. Benazir's working as the Member of Parliament would help to understand not only her contributions to the political system of Pakistan but also the working of the whole political system in that period with a new angle.

Literature Review

The literature review of number of sources that has been used for the research show that the majority of the material including books, articles and magazines that discuss the political life of Pakistan during Zia or Post Zia governance period cover the aspects of government performances of different prime ministers like Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. However, it is missing the element of formal records of Benazir's role as legislator and her role as woman parliamentarian to the extent it requires. The bureaucratic and administrative manuscripts of government of Pakistan together with speeches, official statements, party narratives issued by the political parties, editorial column of the press and critique expressions on editorial column page, particularly in English press (in print) in the present-day era are an imperative source of information. A lot of authors, critics and members of the press have put forth much to conserve of the chronological authenticity and actualities in conjunction with the appropriateness and embellishments. The observers describe verbal narration accounts and ground investigation and history as an additional and important foundation to repossess and recover the emphasised facts of research work underway while the hypothetical and academic and literature arrangements lend a hand to comprehend and recognise the martial regulation and democratic evolution.

Lawrence Ziring has written in his number of pieces of writing on Pakistan. His writings also include his two books on the history of Pakistan, i.e. *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History* (1997) and *Pakistan at the Cross Current of the History* (2004). These books provide an excellent cause and insight on Benazir political career covering her two terms as the Prime Minister and opposition leader but he has specified no consideration to her responsibility as a woman parliamentarian. Similarly Ian Talbot in his much distinguished and famous work *Pakistan: A Modern History* (2003), conversed in fact the operational history of the democratic system in post-Zia period. In his revised book, *Pakistan: A New History*, he also takes into account the period of Benazir as a Prime Minister. He also discusses her role briefly as a leader of opposition during two terms of Nawaz Sharif and hostility between government and opposition, but there is no discussion on her working as a parliamentarian.

A book written by Dr. Hassan Askari Rizvi in 2000 with the title *Military and Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1997*, elaborates the armed martial interference in Pakistan in quite a detail. Similarly in his later on work on the identical subject matter i.e. *Military, State and Society in Pakistan* (2003) he meticulously and systematically discussed the character of Benazir Bhutto in the Pakistan's political affairs and its dissemination in the social order. He also talks about the boundaries of our political establishments and traditions working in Pakistan through number of years. However, his most important focus is the military and its civilian collaborator, the bureaucracy. It is a high-quality exertion in this perspective. But he also did not particularly centre the topic of discussion on Benazir Bhutto's role as a parliamentarian. In the same series of writings on Benazir Bhutto a well added and fine reference exertion is by Dr. Saeed Shafqat. He in his book titled "the *Civil-Military Relation in Pakistan*" (1997)

calculated and stressed his concerns more with the relations of the military and civil bureaucracy and its shifting equation around them during the period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto. While talking about the functioning of civilian supervision, the book's emphasis stays behind the portrayal of role of undying players of the Pakistani political affairs (military and civil bureaucracy) and control sharing between them and political role played by Bhutto is ignored and put in corner again. Veena Kukreja's book titled *Civil-Military Relations in South Asia* in 1991 holds a detach section on Pakistan but it does not tender a comprehensive, thorough and exhaustive revise as the importance of this topic required. Similarly her second piece of writing (book), titled *Contemporary Pakistan* in 2003 is a research of diverse periods of the Pakistan's history. Again in this writing while including Benazir as a prime minister, her role as a woman parliamentarian is set aside.

Shuja Nawaz's writing *Crossed Sword* (2008) is another work that revolves around political aspects of army. It is a very voluminous exertion on the role of Pakistan Army covering up the politics of Pakistan from the very commencement to the Musharraf's period of ruling. But it without a doubt portrays the military's point of view to the concerns where there was a conflict involving the civilian and military adaptations. It covers up the period of Benazir Bhutto as a prime minister and also that when she was leader of opposition but Benazir as a parliamentarian is again ignored in this book also. Iftikhar H. Malik in his book *State and Society in Pakistan: Authority, Ideology and Ethnicity* in 1997 presented another piece of writing. While focusing on the function of the significant ruling class of Pakistan and groups in the state formation of Pakistan i.e. incorporating the military, the bureaucracy, and the feudal, he scrutinized the "triangle of authority, ideology, and ethnicity" and endeavors to offer a hypothetical and chronological structure for the case study of

Pakistan's political narration. The book thrashes out the matters of state amalgamation, civilization, gender, and the function of the intellect bureau. This manuscript is a precious foundation on the communal groups and authority coalition in the state and culture of Pakistan but it requires a great deal to be done on Benazir's role on account of her law legislating course of action, parliamentary preeminence and as a person in charge of her party as a popular and marginal principal together.

Dr. Safder Mahmood in his book *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development* (2000) devoted a 32 page chapter to the 'Dilemma of Democracy' regarding the events between 1985 to 1999 with a huge vacuum for more desired information regarding the events of that era. Similarly Munir Ahmed *Bohranon ka Daur in his writing "A Period of Crises"* written in 2000 wrote only a gist of what positive and dominate role Benazir Bhutto played during the rise and fall of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. This review of the existing literature indicates the need of a serious and comprehensive academic work on the topic. The role of Benazir Bhutto has been touched with the view of particular idea either in her favour or against her. that any writer personally had regarding her, in collectively all the writings including books and magazines. Her role has not been comprehensively discussed with academic point of view.

Methodology

Partly descriptive, analytical and comparative methods of research have been utilised for the study. The traditional method of research has been adopted to deal with the topic utilising the primary and secondary sources in the research. The print and electronic media produce mostly subjective approach due to their own liking and disliking. Therefore, the impartial foreign writings and original documents were used

to deduce objective outcomes/findings. The emphasis has been laid on the statements of Benazir, her speeches in the parliament, and proceedings of the parliament etc.

In conducting a research on the recent history, a big advantage of the researcher is the availability of the oral histories. Extensive efforts have been made to collect data from the interviews and statements in the print media and other sources, given by some eminent politicians, parliamentarians and those who were either involved in the process or the witness to the working of Benazir Bhutto as a politician, prime minister and opposition leader.

Source Material

Bibliography or the list of sources plays a key role in an academic research. An attempt was made to explore maximum sources available in Pakistan. The primary and secondary sources in the National Archives, Reports on General Elections, Newspapers, Government documents in National Archives of Pakistan, National Documentation Centre, National Assembly of Pakistan and other libraries would be consulted to have a deep insight into the subject. As far as secondary source is concerned books, periodicals, research journals news papers, auto biography would be included. Moreover individual level of analysis has been used to understand the role of Benazir Bhutto in Pakistani politics. Last but not least, this research gives description regarding women status in the field of politics and also generates explanations. It would be an explanatory research as it would find a causal explanation of muhtarma's success in Pakistani politics.

Chapters Details

Chapter # 1: Introduction

The chapter looks into the introduction of the study. It focuses on the problem statement, the research objectives and research questions including the significance of the study as well. It discusses in details the review of the available literature and the source material used in this research.

Chapter # 2: Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the phenomenon of Leadership, its qualities and role in the politics have been discovered. The nature, different kinds and characteristics have been discussed in detail. The leadership qualities of Benazir Bhutto have also been discussed in special context to her charismatic qualities of leadership and also as parliamentarian.

Chapter # 3: Legacy of Benazir Bhutto

In this chapter, a brief introduction of Benazir's life has been given. Her political struggle in exile, return to Pakistan, Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and its impact on restoration of civilian order in 1985 have also been come under research.

Chapter # 4: Benazir Bhutto as a Prime Minister

This chapter explores the Benazir's role as a Premier after the 1988 and 1993 elections. Her different political, social, economic, religious and military policies; especially her enthusiasm for country's security, industrial, agricultural and women development have also been discussed.

Chapter # 5: Benazir Bhutto as Leader of Opposition and Comparison of Her Two Terms.

This chapter covers her role while sitting on opposition benches. Her check and balance on the government, parliamentary debates, and the traditional opposition politics have been evaluated. It critically evaluates the political personality of Benazir Bhutto during premiership. In other words efforts have been made to understand a new political trend that were introduced in Pakistani politics as well as some short coming of her personality as a political leader. This chapter puts the efforts to find out explanation regarding how and why Benazir Bhutto came into politics and what method and means had she used to gain success in the Pakistani politics.

Conclusion

At last, a conclusion of the conducted research has been drawn, in which the facts and figures and; findings have been concluded. Suggestions and recommendations have also been a part of the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

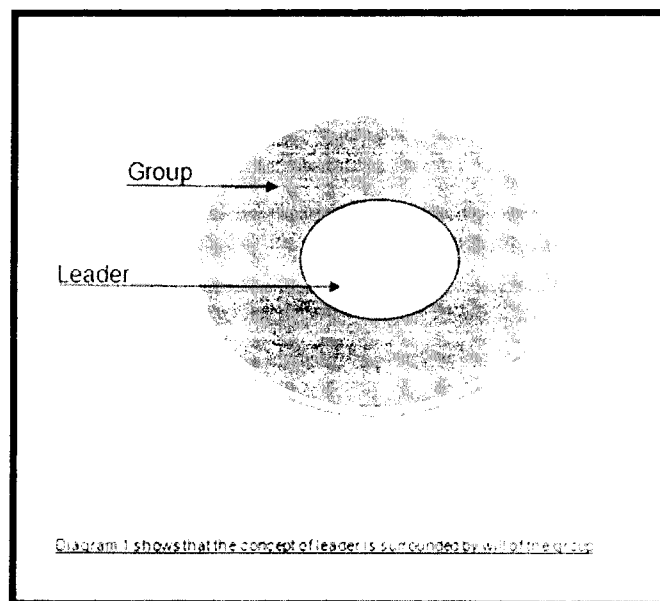
A more rapid look and psycho-analysis of societies would divulge that these are more than unsystematic congregation of communities, albeit with a familiar principles. Societies have a configuration and a shape around which it lives and survives. In actuality, it is in particular because of the aspiration and yearning to accomplish these common principals and purposes proficiently that social constituents presume or are dispensed with diverse tasks, responsibilities, and category levels in the society. Briefly stating social structures entail that they are composition of two: firstly those who are privileged and influential people called leaders and then secondly there are those who are their followers. The leaders are anticipated and projected to endow the society and people with directions, put into effect a general and over all control, and by and large carry out such purposes that are crucial and indispensable to accomplish the society's objectives. In triumphant, thriving and flourishing society real and spot on headship behavior in sagacity of leading others is supplementary than habitual and scheduled preservation actions such as allocating resources for social use in different sects of society, keeping an eye on and directing governmental structures and edifying consistency, unity and solidity in the social group. True leadership engrosses moving followers towards the comprehension and realization of the appreciation and vision that the leader has put together to fulfill the social undertakings. Without a doubt, every society needs a leadership. A society devoid of and without a leader is much like a rudderless ship, aimlessly drifting in a confused, chaotic and turbulent milieu. For this reason, the revise and understanding of leadership, its modal orientations processes are very enlightening, instructive and productive endeavour for society and managements.

Definition:

Leadership is defined in number of ways; some of the important aspects are illustrated and discussed as under:

- **Leadership as a Group Focusing Process**

Leadership is fabrication of “focus of the group process”.³ This definition defines leadership as focus or center of a group activity, around which everything features.⁴ These activities and changes are resided beside the leader on the ambit of will of the group. Will of the group is the main focus for the leader and leader in turn becomes focus of the group.⁵



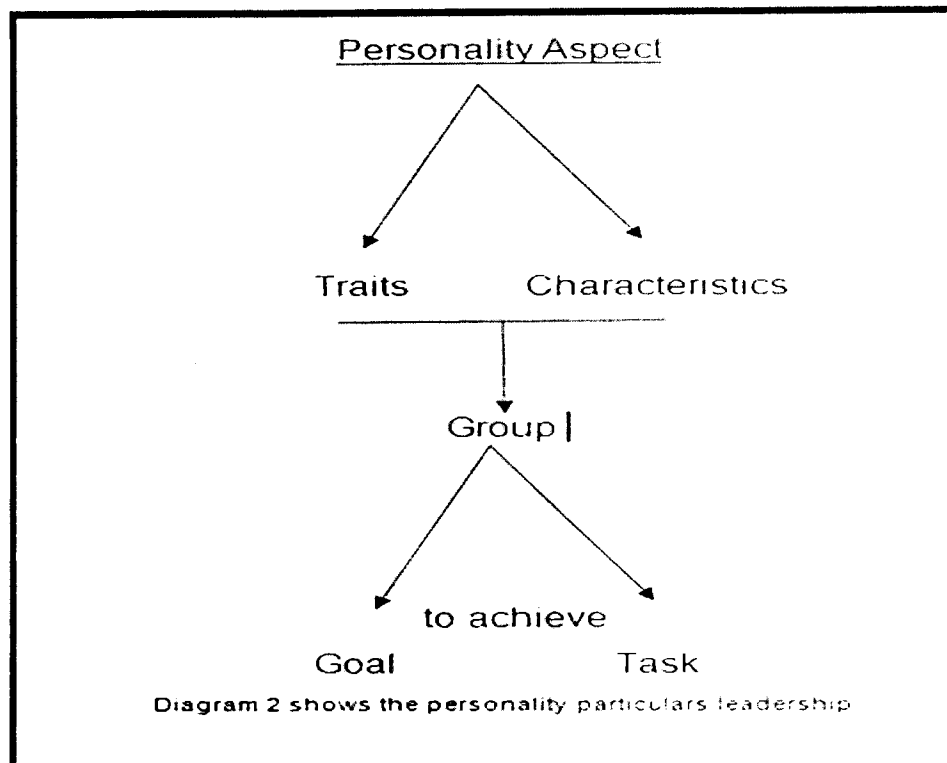
³ B.M. Bass, Bass and Stogdill's *leadership: A survey of theory and research*, (New York: Free Press 1990), p. 15.

⁴ J. C.Rost., *Leadership for the twenty-first century* (New York: Praeger, 1991),p.33.

⁵ J. A.Smith, & R. J. Foti, *A pattern approach to the study of leader emergence*. *Leadership Quarterly*, 9(2), (1998), p. 147-160.

- **Leadership as a Personality Aspect**

Another group of researcher defines leadership in view of *personality aspect* i.e. when *traits* and *characteristics* of the leader take in the driving seat to induce the group to accomplish some common task and goals.⁶

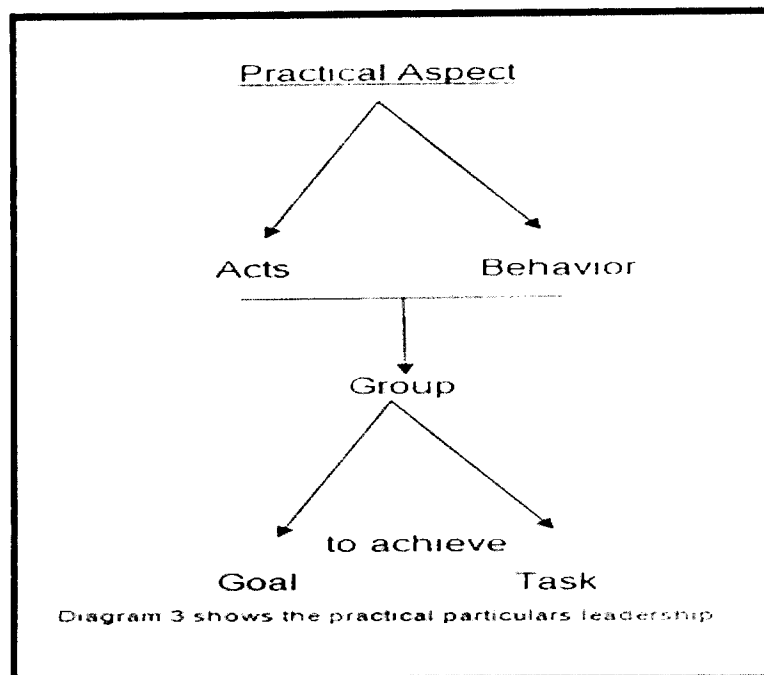


- **Leadership as a Practical Prospective**

Leadership is also defined in *practical prospective* i.e. the combination of acts and behaviors of a *person*, who dominates certain class of people due to his vision and his believe on them in turn makes those people to believe in him and achieve similar objectives in life together is called *leadership*.⁷

⁶Northouse G Peter Leadership: *Theory and Practice*, 3rd edition 2004,(London & New Delhi: Sage Publications. International Educational and Professional Publisher Thousand Oaks. 2004),12.16

⁷ Benis, & B. Nanus. Leaders: *The strategies for taking charge* (New York: Harper & Row 1985). 17



- **Leadership as a Power Relationship**

Leadership is existence of a power relationship between the person leading and his followers to whom he wields and induces to bring the desired change.⁸

- **Leadership as a Targeting Instrument**

Leadership is an instrument of target accomplishment by which goals and their achievement is addressed.⁹

- **Leadership as a Skill Perspective**

Leadership is also defined in skill perspective i.e. vision setting, role modeling and individualized attention are the routines through which goals and needs of the group are met.¹⁰

⁸R. P. Jr French & B. Raven, "The bases of social power," *Studies in social power*. In D. Cartwright, ed. (Ann Arbor, MI: institute for Social Research 1959), 23.

⁹J. W. Gardner. *On leadership* (New York. Free Press,1990). 27.

¹⁰J. P. Kotter. *A force for change: How leadership differs from management*(New York: Free Press. 1990), 58.

Process, influence, group and goal achievement are the core and main sources that revolve around the concept of leadership.¹¹ Stogdill (1989) and Bass (1990)¹² explain few important aspects which constitute a leader.

i. Personality traits

Crisis or important events are key factors that influence the “leader” himself to influence people.¹³

Concept of Leadership:

There are four most important aspects in the concept of leadership:¹⁴

- i. Leader,
- ii. Followers,
- iii. Communique,¹⁵
- iv. Circumstances.

The *circumstances* in general have a larger consequence¹⁶ on a leader's accomplishments as compared to his or her traits.¹⁷ Leadership is a slow and continuous process that makes and gives birth to leaders. Leaders work within their focal groups,¹⁸ which move in a particular direction to attain their aims under the

¹¹ T. Heller & J. Til. Van “Leadership and followership, Some summary propositions” *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 18 (1983), 405-414.

¹² R. M. Stogdill, *Handbook of leadership: A survey of theory and research* (New York: Free Press, 1974), 33.

¹³ L. F. Lamb, K..B.McKee. “Applied Public Relations: Cases in Stakeholder Management” *Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Routledge* (2004), 45.

¹⁴ U.S. Army. *Military Leadership* (FM 22-100). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, October 15, 1983.

¹⁵ G. Northouse, *Leadership theory and practice*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oak, London, New Delhe, Sage Publications, Inc 2007) .69.

¹⁶ J. Newstrom & K. Davis “Organization Behavior.” *Human Behavior at Work* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993), 71.

¹⁷ W.Mischel, *Personality and Assessment* (New York: Wiley, 1968) ,31.

¹⁸ G. R.Hickman, *Lleading organizations: Perspectives for a new era* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998), 47.

influence of their leaders.¹⁹ Leaders through a process and time get to believe the followers and followers due to the attitudes of the leaders return the same sentiment.²⁰ Leadership is undoubtedly recognized as a topic of interest and global appeal. There has been a lot of research on the topic throughout the world. The topic is focus of interest not only in popular press but also in academic and literature sphere because of its practical implications in the lives of nations. This is indeed a very highly valued phenomenon with complex implications and practicalities.²¹

Leadership has been seen in two prospect for example as an assigned leadership where certain title is assigned to a person as a leader to lead and take decisions on behalf of a certain group of people or let us say may be a nation. The second prospect is of emergent leadership, where the circumstance bring out a leader in a group, he gets and acquires the support by certain acts and characteristics.²² Similarly to this concept there is the element of power involved. Power is a very essential aspect of a leader it is given to him because of his special abilities and resources of importance as a leader, as he has something more unique as compared to the rest of the group. Sometimes just like leadership it is assigned power, where certain qualities are given to the leader for example as we see in formal organizational system of work. In this system the leader has power to exercise due to his seat or position designated to him.²³ Other kind of power is personal power.²⁴ This power is originated by the followers by following the leader. It is very true that the power in

¹⁹ E. P. Hollander. *Leadership, followership, self, and others. Leadership Quarterly*, 3(1), (1998), 43-54.

²⁰ A. G. Jago. *Leadership: Perspectives in theory and research. Management Science*, 28(3), (1982), 315-336.

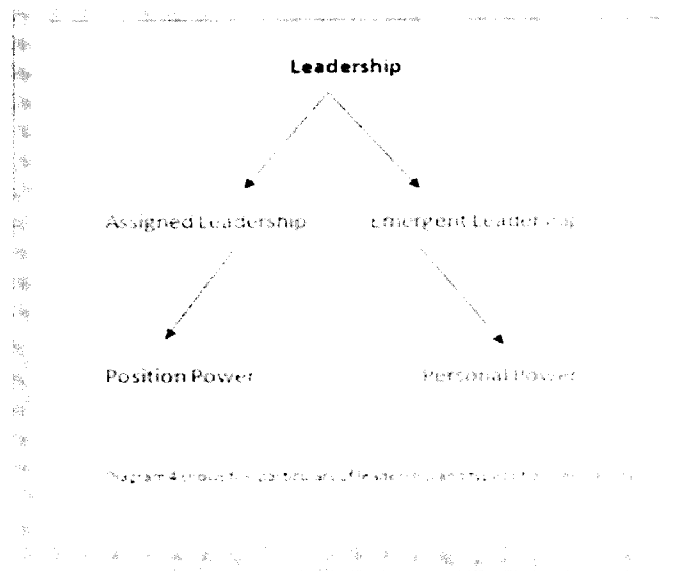
²¹ G. A. Yukl. *Leadership in organizations (2nd Ed)* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 65.

²² A. S. Ashour. *The Contingency Model of Leadership Effectiveness: An Evaluation. Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 9(3), (1973), 339-55.

²³ R.D. Arvey, M. Rotundo, W. Johnson, Z. Zhang, & M. Mc Gue. . The determinants of leadership role occupancy: Genetic and personality :factors. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 17, (2006), 1-20.

²⁴ J.A. Smith, & R.J. Foti. A pattern approach to the study of leader emergence. *Leadership Quarterly*, 9(2), (1998) 147-160.

relation to leadership is ability and potential of the leader to influence a group. Here in both regard to position power and personal power, power in all means and ways is to be treated as a shared resource to be applied. This is how it de-emphasizes the concept that the leaders are power wielders.²⁵



Throughout the years, the concept of leadership is not only valued and conceptualizes in number of ways but also focus of a complex research.²⁶ As discussed earlier the concept has been classified in number of ways though there are some common components that highlight the subject. Leadership is a process that influences the specific group of individuals striving for same goal, aim or purpose.²⁷ Person who influences as leader and individuals who get influenced by him are all the very vital component of the process to achieve goal. Both the components grow with the passage and process of time. In the chapter the researcher also has discussed the

²⁵R.M. Stogdill, *Handbook of leadership: A survey of theory and research* (New York: Free Press, 1974),45.

²⁶ Northouse .G. Peter, *Leadership: Theory and Practice, 3rd edition*, (Sage Publications, International Educational and Professional Publisher Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi,2004), 29-31

²⁷ J. C. Rost, *Leadership for the twenty-first century* (New York: Praeger,1991).101.

topic as a trait that is present in a person as an inborn quality and character.²⁸ But the researcher believes the concept definition more as a process that can be developed through training and process of time. It does requires certain ambit of acceptability in the nature of person to lead, but does not necessarily require inborn character. As applied by Jago, A. G. (1982) in “*Leadership: Perspectives in theory and research. Management Science*”, opportunities and proper forum is required for a person to grow as leader and certain characteristics he or she has to polish to influence people to follow him or her.²⁹ Keeping the derived view of the researcher from the research and studies the concept of leadership as a process applies both on leaders who emerged in a certain group or society³⁰ and also applies equally on the leaders who are assigned the task to lead. Both types of leaders grow in this system of process and development.³¹ Leaders are indeed very proactive and very emotional segments of the concept of leadership in the process of influencing people.³² Excellent leaders are made not born, they grow everyday process of self development to influence people and environment around them (Jago, 1982).³³ Leadership is a developmental system by which a being sways others to achieve a purpose and channels them to unified and articulated path.³⁴ Northouse (2007, p3) more simplifies the concept he

²⁸ J. P Kotter, *A force for change: How leadership differs from management* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 87.

²⁹ A. G.Jago, “Leadership,” *Perspectives in theory and research. Management Science* 28, no 3 (1982): 315-336.

³⁰ E. P Hollander, “Leadership, followership, self, and others,” *Leadership Quarterly* 3, no 1 (1998): 43-54.

³¹ G. R .Hickman, *leading organizations: Perspectives for a new era ed.* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998), 79.

³² E.A Fleishman, M.D Mumford, S. J Zaccaro , K. Y Levin, A. L Korotkin,.. & M. B. Hein, “Taxonomic efforts in the description of leader behavior,” *A synthesis and functional interpretation. Leadership Quarterly* 2, no 4 (1991), 245-287.

³³ A. G.Jago., *Leadership: Perspectives in theory and research. Management Science* 28, no 3 (1982) 315-336.

³⁴ Bernard Bass, “From transactional to transformational leadership,” *learning to share the vision. Organizational Dynamics* 18, no 3, winter, (1990) 19 -31.

describes it as a course by an individual who controls a group of individuals to attain their goal.³⁵

Importance of Leader or Leadership Management and Exertion of Leadership

Leaders are the one who are born with abilities to dominate the circumstance where the poor and weak cannot raise their voices. They are the privileged that have opportunity and ability to effect change, when many around them change their course due to circumstances. They lead the people and they rule the circumstances by changing them in their own favor.³⁶ True leaders are very important for society they don't shrink from responsibilities given t them by the people but they welcome them. They are the voice of the society. They make use of their resources either man power or natural resources. Leaders are not like common people, as they differ from others on the basis of drive for motives, desire to lead, candor, veracity, poise, and cognitive abilities and on the basis of their knowledge.³⁷ They have ability to bring everybody on the table despite their differences.

Leadership Conception and Theory:

In many contexts number of methods has been employed to study the very concept of the leadership including qualitative, quantitative, small group study, research in the ambit of therapeutic groups and large institutes.³⁸ Similarly in the span of almost fifty (50) years as many as dimensions of sixty-five (65) classification

³⁵ G . Northouse, *Leadership theory and practice*. 3rd ed. (Thousand Oak, London, New Delhe, Sage Publications, Inc 2007) 111.

³⁶ A. S. Ashour, "The Contingency Model of Leadership Effectiveness: An Evaluation," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 9, no 3 (1973), 339-55.

³⁷ S. A. Kirkpatrick, and E. A. Locke, " Leadership: Do traits matter?" *The Executive*, 5, (1991), 48-60.

³⁸ Northouse, G. Peter. *Leadership: Theory and Practice, 3rd edition*. (International Educational and Professional Publisher Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004). 77.

system has been brought in light by researchers and focus groups.³⁹ Stogdill (1974) in his leadership research review explains the complexity of the concept of leadership by stating, there are as many definitions of leadership as many people are defining the concept of leadership.⁴⁰ However one feature of the leadership is very certain and agreed upon by all the researchers and book writers that it is in every way a very complex idea and has multifaceted dimensions.⁴¹ Leadership as a concept often has been viewed differently by different sect of scholars. It has been analyzed as:

- a) A trait possessed by,
- b) A behavior or an act to lead a specific sect of society,⁴²
- c) A political prospective, and as
- d) A form of humanistic viewpoint.⁴³

As a process it develops over a period of time and as character it mostly accrues as a trait.⁴⁴ Some also view that it is in all means a skill that can be improved and sharpen but cannot be created.⁴⁵ It is known that leaders exert influence to attain common aim by setting the following:

- Action standards,
- Values,⁴⁶
- The concepts on the way towards achieving goals.⁴⁷

³⁹ E.A.Fleishman, M.D.Mumford, S. J. Zaccaro, . K. Y.Levin, A. L. Korotkin, . & M. B.Hein. "Taxonomic efforts in the description of leader behavior." *A synthesis and functional interpretation. Leadership Quarterly* 2, no 4 (1991),245-287.

⁴⁰R. M. Stogdill, *Handbook of leadership: A survey of theory and research* (New York: Free Press, 1974), 7.

⁴¹ W. G Benis & B.Nanus. *Leaders: The strategies for taking charge* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), 3.

⁴² P. L .Ackerman & L. G.Humphreys, "Individual differences in industrial and organizational psychology," *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology*, Vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Palo Alto, CA, US: Consulting Psychologists Press 1990). 223-282.

⁴³ R. M. Stogdill. *Handbook of leadership: A survey of theory and research.*(New York: Free Press, 1974),78.

⁴⁴ G. A. Yukl, *Leadership in organizations* 2nd Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989). 44.

⁴⁵Northouse .G. Peter, *Leadership : Theory and Practice 3rd edition* (International Educational and Professional Publisher Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004). 69.

⁴⁶ James . M.Kouzes, & Barry Z Posner, *The Leadership Challenge* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1987), 37.

Research writer believes the best example of the statement is that in our society, it can be seen that so many political players being elected through electoral process but very few of them has that spark to lead and decide independently to lead the nation on the road of pride and independence.⁴⁸ Here, under the light of this statement by the writer we can easily understand that concepts of management, coercion are total opposite to the concept of leadership, in general and especially in regard to its independent and free nature against pressure, punishment and inducement.

Kinds of Leadership:⁴⁹

Communities are open to the elements that are wide, extensive and ever fluctuating and on a constant increase.⁵⁰ We have multiplicity of conjectures and speculations that give details regarding the perception, notion and the practice of leadership in general that crafted nearly all essential and prime concepts and definitions of leadership and its innumerable distinctiveness.⁵¹

Several of the categories of leadership are briefly selected here to define leadership to get the insight of this notion with a slight supplementary intelligibility⁵².

- Autocratic Leadership (Lewin, Lippitt, & White, 1939)⁵³
- Bureaucratic Leadership (Weber, 1905)⁵⁴

⁴⁷ J.Ivancevich , R. Konopaske,M. Matteson. *Organizational Behavior and Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill Irwin, 2007).69.

⁴⁸ A. S. Ashour, "The Contingency Model of Leadership Effectiveness." *An Evaluation. Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 9, no 3(1973). 339-55.

⁴⁹ "Leadership." *StudyMode.com* <http://www.studymode.com/essays/Leadership-179769.html> Retrieved 11, 2013,

⁵⁰ Ashour, A. S. "The Contingency Model of Leadership Effectiveness: An Evaluation." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 9, no 3 (1973). 339-55.

⁵¹ B.M.Bass & R.Bass. *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications* (New York: Free Press, 2008), 45

⁵² Julio Warner Loiseau, BSc. MPA, http://www.academia.edu/474807/Types_of_Leadership_styles last seen on 23rd May 2013.

⁵³ K. Lewin,.. R. Lippit.and R.K.White, "Patterns of aggressive behavior in experimentally created social climates," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10 (1939), 271-301.

- Political, Democratic or Participative Leadership
- Laissez-faire Leadership (Lewin, Lippitt, & White, 1939)⁵⁵
- People-Oriented Leadership (Fiedler, 1967)⁵⁶
- Religious Leadership
- Charismatic Leadership (Weber, 1905)⁵⁷
- Servant Leadership (Greenleaf, 1977)⁵⁸
- Task-Oriented Leadership (Rowley & Roevens, 1999)⁵⁹
- Transactional Leadership (Burns, 1978).
- Military Leadership

Among many leadership types we will further discuss in detail the concept of political leadership as how it fits the life of our subject Benazir Bhutto.

Religious Leadership

Faith is very imperative and momentous element of our lives. Sanctified combats have been waged and through centuries for faith and religion and briefly it can easily be construed that faith and religion is more imperative than wealth, authority, position, associations and material goods and possessions.⁶⁰ There are absolutely incredible inspirations to be derived from faith and religion. On this base we can say that religious element of the society is maker and breaker of the society.

⁵⁴ Weber Max. "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. 1905."
<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/weber/protestant-ethic/ch02.htm> last seen on 24th May 2013

⁵⁵ K.Lewin, R.Lippitt, and R.K. White. "Patterns of aggressive behavior in experimentally created social climate," *Journal of Social Psychology*. 10 (1939). 271-301.

<http://psychology.about.com/od/leadership/a/leadstyles.htm> last seen on 12th April 2013

⁵⁶ F.E.Fiedler, *A Theory of Leadership Effectiveness* (New York: McGraw-Hill 1967), 54

⁵⁷ Weber Max. "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. 1905"
<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/weber/protestant-ethic/ch02.htm> last seen on 24th May 2013

⁵⁸ <http://www.carolsmith.us/downloads/640greenleaf.pdf> last seen on 24th April 2013

⁵⁹ http://www.academia.edu/219107/Organize_with_Chaos last seen on 24th April 2013

⁶⁰ B.J. Avolio, J.J. Sosik, D.I. Jung, & Y. Berson, Y. "Leadership models, methods, and applications," *Handbook of psychology: Industrial and organizational psychology*. Vol. 12. (Hoboken, NJ, US: John Wiley & Sons Inc 2003), 277-307.

Therefore people leading the religious segments are very powerful. They rule, modify social behaviors in such a way that it triggers the minds of the people in such an implied way that apparently people change their decisions under their own will and power without any expectation of gain of any type in search of God's will and happiness against all the worldly ego and gains.⁶¹

The powerful impacts of religious leadership are seen around the world today, that how people's sentiments are used to achieve goals.⁶² These leaders guide the followers of particular faith by providing them guidance on performance of rituals, rites, and different religious tosses.⁶³ But the true influence of their guidance is very deep yet implied particularly in today's societal, economic, and political power its impacts are huge and far-off and clear of that of just staging the holy rites of the people.⁶⁴

Military Leadership

Military control is the procedure of persuading people to achieve the operation by giving some reason, course, and incentive. This kind of leadership controls and Commands through power over individuals in the armed services, who legally perform cardiovascular exercise over lower by high caliber of their positions and obligation or rank. The fundamental and necessary tasks of a person in charge are to achieve the task and the wellbeing of the militia. An armed chief has three sorts of responsibilities.

- a) To denote duties
- b) To express duties

⁶¹ http://www.scu.edu/ethics/practicing/focusareas/global_ethics/religion-ethical-leadership.html last seen on 23rd June 2013.

⁶² <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/religious+leader> last seen on 23rd June 2013.

⁶³ http://rationalwiki.org/wiki/Religious_leaders last seen on 23rd May 2013.

⁶⁴ <http://arl-jrl.org/> last seen on 23rd June 2013.

c) To oblique duties.⁶⁵

Political Leadership

Political leadership is an indispensable and curial characteristic and attribute of all administration and government control.⁶⁶ There is no second opinion that a strong and independent leadership virtue leads to indispensable government structure and successful governance on the other hand a weak and fragile headship adds to management and command collapse.⁶⁷ Intelligent and secure management and political leadership of people ensure the success and sense of accomplishment in the elongated manner in future course. Imprudent, impulsive and unwise leadership leads to social and economical devastation. A deficient political leadership in a society lacks the ability to reutilizes social supremacy. Their biased and resourceful aspects lose their colors and mislay the charm and effectiveness.⁶⁸

It turns out to be nothing diverse and unusual from management and organization stressing and spotlighting exclusively on pattern continuation and duplication of the equivalent.⁶⁹ Then again this is mutually agreed upon that officious and bureaucratic leadership may have a characteristic to give diminutive consideration to institutional control but it has amazing ability to carry unexpected, astonishing

⁶⁵ <http://www.molossia.org/milacademy/leadership.html> last seen on 23rd June 2013.

⁶⁶ P.L. Ackerman, & L.G. Humphreys, "Individual differences in industrial and organizational psycholog.", *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology*, Vol. 1 2nd ed. (Palo Alto, CA, US: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1990), 223-282.

⁶⁷ F. Peter. Drucker, .. with Maciariello.A. Joseph, *Management*, rev. edn (New York: Harper Collins (2006)). http://www.ashgate.com/pdf/SamplePages/Ashgate_Research_Companion_to_Political_Leadership_Intro.pdf last seen on 23rd July 2013.

⁶⁸ Alberto R. Coll, "Normative Prudence as a Tradition of Statecraft," in Joel H. Rosenthal (ed.) *Ethics and International Affairs: A Reader* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press 1995), 58-77. Also see

http://www.ashgate.com/pdf/SamplePages/Ashgate_Research_Companion_to_Political_Leadership_Intro.pdf last seen on 23rd July 2013.

⁶⁹ See generally Deutsch, Karl W, "The Analysis of International Relations," 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hal 1978), 301-303

http://www.ashgate.com/pdf/SamplePages/Ashgate_Research_Companion_to_Political_Leadership_Intro.pdf last seen on 23rd July 2013.

revolutionize, and may suspend the usual gush of the social course.⁷⁰ Political leadership and followership account for significant differences across and within individual nation states in responding to both newer global problems and traditional governance issues.⁷¹ Globalization has undoubtedly created the stipulate for innovative and naval outline of worldwide leadership that act as enclose of worldwide pour of populace, invention, speculation, sequence, thoughts, and authority.⁷² Consequently globalization has lifted up the worth and implications of political leadership more than ever.⁷³

Charismatic Leadership of Benazir Bhutto:

In a social network it is assumed that men and women develop different probabilities. This is no surprise and an unfortunate fact that it takes more than courage for a woman, rich or poor, to stand and speak for her rights in her four walled territory in sub-continent. Objective of the thesis is to study Benazir Bhutto as parliamentarian as she despite human flaws can be viewed as a perfect subject to study;

1. The concept of leadership and
2. Her role as parliamentarian.

⁷⁰ Dalai Lama, "Human Rights and universal Responsibility," *speech delivered at the Forum of Non-governmental Organizations, UN World Conference on Human Rights, vienna, Austria, 15 June (1993).*

http://www.ashgate.com/pdf/SamplePages/Ashgate_Research_Companion_to_Political_Leadership_Intro.pdf last seen on 23rd July 2013.

⁷¹ Byman, daniel, and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let us Now Praise great Men. Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security*, 25 no 4 (2001), 107–46.

⁷² Jefferson NC McFarland , interview by Royce J. Ammon, *Global Television and the Shaping of World Politics: CNN, "Telediplomacy, and Foreign Policy."* (2001).

⁷³ Jefferson NC: McFarland , interview by Royce J. Ammon, (2001), *Global Television and the Shaping of World Politics: CNN, "Telediplomacy, and Foreign Policy."* See generally Baki, vian, and david M. Barlow (eds) (2007), *Communication in the Age of Suspicion: Trust and the Media* (New york: Palgrave Macmillan). Also see http://www.ashgate.com/pdf/SamplePages/Ashgate_Research_Companion_to_Political_Leadership_Intro.pdf last seen on 23rd July 2013.

She was brave, outspoken, leader of independent idea who only advocated the will of her followers. But above all she was a charismatic leader. Mohtarma Shaheed Benazir Bhutto has been under the prime light as a prominent subcontinent leader for years. National and international press, prominent leaders, scholars and analysts have been addressing the epic struggle of this great leader with overwhelming zeal and adore for her. In 1982, Mohtarma Shaheed Benazir Bhutto at age of twenty nine became the head of Pakistan People's Party becoming the first woman in Pakistan to lead one of the most important political parties followed by 1988 elections, when she became the first woman elected Muslim prime minister of Islamic Republic of Pakistan.⁷⁴

Her captivating influence and political shrewdness inventiveness strived for a landscape for Pakistan, where social capitalist policies industrial development and growth can be implemented. Her political viewpoint and economic course of action gave emphasis to financial deregulation and denationalization of government conglomerate. When we were hearing the echoes of western attitude targeting Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto was openly viewed dis-agreeing the same. She had independent vision and stance for the cause of Pakistan, she believed in the power of people and spoke for their will and wishes. She spoke for the people and advocated that the dictators wearing the thin veneer of legitimacy can't tackle the tide of terrorism instead they are the cause. She argued forcefully and with perception to bring in front the devious stratagems working against Pakistan. She has an absolutely indefatigable personality along with the entire cataclysm going around her. She had this enthusiasm about her that kept her extraordinarily composed and self-reliant.

⁷⁴ <http://www.mytouristplaces.com/?p=183234> See generally Ahmed, "Ghafaor. *Phir Martial Law Aa Gaiya.*" (Martial Law Again). Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1988. Also see https://sites.google.com/site/plikihotfile/pliki/book_8592.zip?attredirects=0 last seen on 24th May 2013

When returning valiantly and selflessly back to Pakistan she was viewed as Joan of Arc, standing for her followers and safe guarding their interests. It was not an inconsequential task to speak on different forums inside and outside the country to advocate the stance of her followers. Benazir Bhutto argued in anguish for her followers, be it a man or woman, infirm, infant, child or indigent.

Mohtarma Shaheed Benazir Bhutto has spent many hectic endeavours years in exile for her stand and principles advocating the stand of Islamic Republic of Pakistan in many misunderstood contexts. She has been addressing prestigious academia, think tanks to articulate the Pakistan's stand and its case on different issues including democracy, terrorism, and human rights. Her lifelong efforts are worth tribute especially the one surfaced during the critical times of 9/11 terror attacks, when many of Pakistani exiled leaders were sitting quite ashamed of something Pakistan as a country was viewed as party instead a victim of. She completely encountered the tunnel vision of the world against Pakistan, which was viewed as a jurisdiction of epicenter of global terrorism. Adversity and hard conditions indeed temper one's character, on one hand when Mohtarma Shaheed Benazir Bhutto's husband was jailed for 8 years with no conviction she had to take care of her immature kids as only parent while she was living in self imposed exile in addition to caring her sick mother and on the other hand she had to tackle the catastrophes of members of her party being executed in Pakistan. On personal level she had to pay a very profound cost for being a woman leader who strived and worked hard throughout her life for democracy in Pakistan.

It is very noticeable character of her leadership that all these occurrences had reinforced and strengthened her stance and dedication for structuring a broadminded and liberal social order that value and compliment human rights, has a translucent and

honest administration that is capable of embark upon the societal and monetary concerns of the community, bring tranquility inside the country by discouragement the forces of radicalism and assemble harmony in the whole region. In these difficult times when the whole world was targeting the bad governance, foreign funded propagating organizations shielding the name of "Islam" and Pakistan as a country was alarming them, Benazir Bhutto was busy battling the cause of 160 million Pakistanis as a brave and courageous leader and citizen of nuclear armed country in which she was proud of. She was a strong believer of democracy and viewed dictatorship as a sole cause which was instigating the foreign funded organizations to use Pakistan's land for terror activities. This was not a simple task, as it seemed it took a lot to stand as a leader and representative of a country from where she was exiled and she was advocating on every possible forum that mattered. Benazir Bhutto was more steps ahead when it came to measure her barometer of courage, she was a daughter, a sister, a friend, a wife, a mother and an advocate leader of a territory comprising of population of more the 160 million Muslim men and women.

Around the world we see that very few women are in global elected polities. This phenomenon is equally applicable in east and west that it is difficult for most of the women to get and stay involved in parliamentary polities. It can't be definitely said what basically is it that constituted a character like Benazir Bhutto trait or training? Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in all manners has been a very prudent political leader of subcontinent. Be it Shimla Accord resulted due to 1971 war or be it starting of Pakistan nuclear program or be it courageous speeches on the forums like United Nations, Bhutto has his independent stance and style. This independence is no doubt always been reflected in Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of the east. The grooming of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto no doubt made her a politician but it was crisis events that

polished her into a leader. Not just a leader but a polished leader who survived the tricks and tips of a strong male dominating Muslim society. Traits can never be categories as a sole reason that formats or makes the face of the leader it is the crisis that gives opportunity to a politician to appear and rise as a leader. In latter chapters we will discuss the concept in detail keeping the life of Benazir Bhutto as the subject of study.

Benazir Bhutto used more participative and less autocratic style during her period in Prime Minister House. Benazir Bhutto was equipped with a lot of individuality characters, but her apex is seen in as a public leader and as a parliamentarian in her politics in Pakistan. When she emerged in Pakistan politics she didn't have any ordinary task to handle. She was foreign educated and independent woman, who had a lot in her baggage that she sacrificed willfully or without it. As a woman leader she was leading a major political party, without a say with all the odds working against her in all their potential. She had the shield of her late father's name but she herself was also not some ordinary woman. Her standing by her motto and mission of her idea of democracy was not less than a political miracle in the history of Pakistan, where stage was set to go, deserted with so called Hadood laws, most of which were wrongly interpreted and were made the part of legal system.⁷⁵

As a parliamentarian she kept moving towards a mission of democratic and independent Pakistan. Her intellectual influence, speech-making, willpower, sincerity and candor facilitate the other parliamentarians to move forward too. We have discussed earlier that Benazir Bhutto was in full practical training of her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was a great diplomat and politician. During Simla agreement, speech in Security Council by Bhutto on fall of Dhaka, Negotiation with Americans

⁷⁵ Benazir Bhutto, *Benazir Bhutto: Daughter of The East*, (Simon & Schuster, 2004), 21-64

as back door diplomacy to stop the divide of Pakistan Benazir was accompanying her father. Apart from it Bhuttos were in constant contact with each other during academic period through letters where Zulfikar Ali Bhutto uses to discuss and demonstrate Benazir the reason, tricks and tactics of his politics. Here we will talk about Benazir Bhutto's achievements as a parliamentarian in Pakistan era vise. Benazir was facing with number of problems as she sworn in the position of youngest ever prime minister of Pakistan including that Pakistan was on the verge of bankruptcy and international monetary fund was putting pressure on Pakistan to bow down on few terms.⁷⁶ She indeed had a very thin line to walk on in and out of Pakistan and International politics.

⁷⁶ <http://www.pppusa.org/Acrobat/Benazir%20Bhutto.pdf> last seen on 17th May, 2013

CHAPTER 3

LEGACY OF BENAZIR BHUTTO

Political Legacy of Benazir Bhutto

Benazir Bhutto was the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and grand-daughter of Shah Nawaz Bhutto. Shah Nawaz Bhutto, born in 1888, in a Rajput family of Sindh, on reaching the age of majority was sent to England for higher education by his father. On his return, he joined the civil service of “Nawab of Junagar”. He got so impressed by his political skills that later he made him his Prime Minister. He played major role in partition of Pakistan. His son Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, born in 1928, continued the political legacy that he inherited from his father. He served as statesman of Pakistan for years as foreign Minister in 1963, as 4th President of Pakistan during 1971 to 1973, and then 1973 to 1977 as 9th Prime Minister of Pakistan.⁷⁷

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto formatted a political party in 1967 under the name Pakistan People’s Party. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is remembered in Pakistan political history due to his marvelous political tactics and achievements on international level. Two very prominent events in Pakistan’s political and diplomatic front are Shimla Pact in 1972 and Islamic Summit held in Lahore in 1974. Both of these events took place under the chairmanship of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Shimla agreement was the result of 1971 war; it ended up by Bhutto’s immense diplomatic victory when he retrieved not only 93,000 war prisoners but also 5,000 square miles of land from India. In 1973, Bhutto gave first convenient constitution to Pakistan. He is also known as the father of Pakistan’s nuclear Program.

⁷⁷ S. J. Zaccaro, *The nature of executive leadership: A conceptual and empirical analysis of success*. (Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association 2001), 89-93

Academic and Political Education of Benazir Bhutto

Benazir Bhutto was the first and eldest child of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, born at Pinto Hospital, in Karachi, on 21st June 1953. Despite being born in Sindhi Rajput family her Sindhi speaking skills were nonexistent. We all remember Benazir Bhutto for speaking colloquial Urdu with countless grammatical fumbles, as she was raised with English as her first language. From the beginning of time her political and diplomatic life was in training under the shadows of her father. She completed her initial education from convent schools in Karachi and Murree, where she passed her O' levels. She completed her A' levels in Karachi and departed for higher education to United States like her father and grandfather. She got admission in Harvard University at Redcliff College in 1969, marking that tenure of education from 1969 to 1973 as best years of her life. In Red Cliff College she completed her degree in Bachelor of Arts and honors in comparative government. Later when in 1989 Benazir Bhutto became prime minister of Pakistan she was bestowed upon with the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard University on her first visit to the university in United States.⁷⁸

During her educational tenure in Oxford University she was elected as Phi Beta Kappa. In all these times she was in all contacts with her father through letters. In these letters her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto used to write her about political and diplomatic aspects and advise and explain her about his moves in politics of Pakistan. Though she never wanted to leave Harvard University but her father forced her to join Oxford University in United Kingdom as he regarded this change in academia an important factor for her political life. Her academic stay in United States was around 1973 to 1977. On the advice of her father Benazir Bhutto elected the subjects of

⁷⁸ Muhammad Najeeb, Hasan Zaidi, Saurabh Shulka and S. Prasannarajan. *Benazir Bhutto: Daughter of Tragedy*, (India Today, January 7, 2008).

international Law, Diplomacy and Politics and Economics etc. It was this period of her education where she was elected first Asian woman to head the debating society of Oxford University. Her this student period was gritty by storms, to a certain extent involving to her father's policy disapproval among student politicians as a Pakistani Politician.

Benazir Bhutto had attitude and learning due to support of her father in politics. Political genius was in her blood inherited to her through her father and grandfather. But being a leader requires more than learning, as discussed in earlier chapters in politics (Pakistan/Sub-Continent) we see number of politicians who are running hereditary politics and parties but very few has leaders in them. It's a proven fact that it is the test of time and circumstances that formulate leaders. Evidently Benazir Bhutto had diplomatic experience and academic exposure all set to go to act as a politician similar to many children of political families of Pakistan. Despite being a female, coming from a dysfunctional and men dominated society that "named" itself Muslim along with gender prejudice, men's discomfort to work under a women even on managerial levels all odds including her personal barriers for example of letting go of a normal luxurious life that she could enjoy, time and destiny had different plans for her, she was to become a leader.

Birth of a Leader

The year 1977 was the beginning of it, when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was removed from office through a military coup of general Ziaul-Haq. A self promoted army general by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, whom he trusted with the responsibility of being a chief of army staff. Benazir Bhutto evidenced first practical political dodge that her father suffered and the beginning of her journey as political leader of Pakistan. General Zia arrested Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto with the charge of conspiring to

assassination of dissident politician Ahmed Raza Kasuri. Benazir Bhutto worn-out the subsequent one and a half year in and out of government detentions while working to bring out political rallies in the effort to force the government to plunge assassination accusations against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto family filed a petition for the reassessment of her father's death. Briefly despite mercy appeals from head of the states and against public expectations Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged to death on 4 April 1979.

After the judicial murder of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan People's Party scored an immense victory, considering that Chief of Army Staff and President Zia-ul-Haq postponed the general elections. After this Benazir Bhutto was placed in introverted solitary imprisonment in a desert of Sukkur jail for six months. The conditions of the jail were so heated and bad that Benazir Bhutto got sick and has to be hospitalized for months. Considering the international pressure first Benazir was shifted to house arrest in Larkana in 1981 and then in January 1984 after six years of house and jail detentions government of Pakistan allowed her to leave Pakistan on medical condition for United Kingdom.

After her surgery in 1984, she was made the chairperson of Pakistan People's Party. By this she became the first woman leader to lead a major political party. Instead taking time to relax in 1984 after 6 year of imprisonment and her bad health and surgery, she started campaigning against the bad jail and detention conditions for political prisoners in jails of Pakistan. In the wake of this effort she made a speech in European Parliament in Strasbourg in response to this "retaliation" Zia-ul-Haq the military leader and then president announced fifty-four death sentences for the political members of Pakistan People's Party in prison.

In the same time period her brother Shah Nawaz Bhutto was given poison and was murdered. But then there was no stopping for Benazir Bhutto. The long and painful detentions and sacrifices on her personal accounts had converted her into a leader who had the ability to see beyond and move across the rivers of pain and blood. She knew that Pakistan's prospect and potential practicality, constancy and sanctuary reclined in giving power to its people and structuring of political society. She made it a goal to demonstrate that the essential and primary mêlée for the hearts and minds of a generation can be proficient and achievable only in democratic system.⁷⁹

Return to Pakistan and Movement for Restoration of Democracy

Lifting of martial law provided a base for the complete transfer of power from military to civilian government. Therefore it was an ideal time for Benazir Bhutto to return home. Benazir Bhutto returned to the country on August 10, 1986. She was welcomed and greeted by almost more than half a million people at Lahore airport who had gathered there to welcome their leader. It took her almost 10 hours to reach Minar-e-Pakistan⁸⁰ from the airport, a distance of a few minutes. Nothing and no words can describe the feel of Benazir Bhutto's return in 1986, except the person present there, Benazir Bhutto herself. She writes *'The loudspeaker system wasn't working well and certainly couldn't reach ten times the number of people we had anticipated. But as if by telepathy the people fell quiet with one motion of my hand. 'Here and now, I vow I will make every sacrifice to secure people's rights,' I called out. 'Do you want freedom? Do you want democracy? Do you want revolution?' Yes, the roar came back every time, three million voices shouting as one. 'I have returned because I want to serve the people, not seek revenge,' I told them. 'I put an end to*

⁷⁹ Abdullah Malik, *Bhutto se Benazir tak: Siyasi tajziye, Maktabah-yi Fikr o Danish* (ASIN B0000CRQJH, 1988), 103.

⁸⁰ Minaret at Lahore where the Lahore Resolution was passed by the Indian Muslims on 23 March 1940 in which they demanded a separate homeland for themselves.

revenge. I don't have any such feelings in my heart. I want to build up Pakistan. But first, I want a referendum from you. Do you want Zia to stay?' No, the sound wave roared. 'Do you want Zia to go?' Yes, the roar mounted. 'Then the decision is Zia jahve!' I called out. 'Zia must go.' 'Jahve! Jhave! Jhave!' millions of voices cried into the darkening sky.⁸¹ She attended several public rallies against Zia regime and infused a new spirit in the MRD movement. She asked Zia to resign and demanded fresh elections.⁸²

Although, martial law was already lifted and the civilian government was working but all this was done under the cloak of the martial law which could never be backed by the democratic components. The public gathering to listen to Benazir and the tirades by the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto infused an unshakable enthusiasm in the minds of the people of Pakistan. Although, she was an excellent speaker, however she mainly benefited from the public sympathy due to her father's assassination. She herself was using her charisma rather than focusing on issues.⁸³ This challenged the military-cum civilian head of the state and the Parliament which had changed the constitution according to the will of the military dictator. The return of Benazir to Pakistan was a positive sign for the process of transfer of power to the real democratic government as she was a popular leader. Many things were yet to be done to take the country to the track of democracy.

After returning, Benazir reversed the policy of the party in several key areas. the further nationalisation of industry was explicitly ruled out, the land reforms were removed from the agenda of PPP (instead stressed the productivity issues) and tilted the foreign policy in a more favourable direction to the USA, particularly in relation

⁸¹ <http://www.rediff.com/news/2007/oct/18bhutto.htm> also see Benazir Bhutto, *Benazir Bhutto: Daughter of The East* (Simon & Schuster, 2004), 63.

⁸² *The Nation* (Islamabad), 11 April 1986.

⁸³ *The Muslim* (Islamabad), 22 November 1987.

to Afghanistan. However, the party workers openly questioned the wisdom of these policy changes by Benazir Bhutto. Such feuds and dissent within the party were the product of successive setbacks. The PPP had performed very badly in the local bodies elections of 1987. The party had also failed to win by-elections to the National Assembly. Benazir's call for public protest to bring down 'the civilian facade' of Junejo and force Zia into free elections was met with stoical disdain. The momentum had shifted away from the PPP; a drift abruptly halted by the dismissal of Junejo in May 1988.

CHAPTER 4

BENAZIR BHUTTO AS PRIME MINISTER

The martial law of Ziaul Haq was lifted in December 1985. The government of Junejo was the first to face the bitterness of the constitutional changes which were architecture to facilitate the power sharing arrangements between the military authorities and the civil government. Zia-ul-Haq dissolved the National Assembly on 29 May 1988, also removed the Prime Minister and promised to hold general elections within the next ninety days. However, he died in a plane crash on 17 August 1988. After the death of Zia, General Mirza Aslam Beg became the Army Chief. He along with the other military high command decided to allow the elections to go through as per planned schedule and not to declare another period of martial law. In October, the Supreme Court also declared the political parties as constitutional. Candidates would be able to have symbols next to their names.

The MRD was the group which was most likely to win majority seats in the National Assembly and form a government in the center. However, the PPP and the other groups in the MRD could not agree on candidates and/or on the way to share power after the elections. The two groups separated, and Bhutto turned her attention and started selecting PPP candidates for the National and provincial assemblies. At the same time, the army and the caretaker government created some obstacles for the opposition parties. They wanted to make sure that non of the parties could get a majority, because a majority would allow it to challenge the army's power or take away the benefits that Zia's civilian cronies enjoyed.

The military took a preparatory measure through supporting an alliance of the conservative parties in the form of IJI.⁸⁴ It is an open secret that it was cobbled together by the ISI in which the Muslim League was the major component along with smaller parties like MQM, ANP and JUP (Niazi Group). However, the military had to accept the government of Benazir Bhutto when the PPP won a fragile victory in the elections of 1988. At that time, the country needed to have an image of a moderate state passing through the transition to democracy. Benazir, who was a young woman from a celebrated feudal family, also represented urban professionals and intelligentsia by virtue of her education and training, was a very good choice of Washington in this regard. She was equipped with the western style of conversation, idioms and ideas, more than any other politician in Pakistan.⁸⁵

Election Campaign for 1988 Elections

The Lahore High Court invalidated the charges of Zia, established for the dismissal of the national and provincial assemblies by declaring the charges 'so vague and non-existent that they were not sustainable in law.' But as the elections schedule was announced and election campaign was also going on, therefore the Court declared that the assemblies could not be restored.⁸⁶ The Supreme Court of Pakistan also endorsed the decision.⁸⁷ Gen. Baig had sent a message to the court not to restore Junejo government.⁸⁸ It shows the institutional weakness of the judiciary, which could

⁸⁴It was coined together to counter PPP's influence, especially to block its electoral victory. The parties included in this alliance were JI, PML, the JUI (Darkhawasti group), the NPP, the Markazi-Jamiat-e-Ahlehadith, the Jamiat-ul-Mashaikh, the Hizb-e-Jihad, and Fakhar Imam's Azad Group. Mohammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2007), 423-24.

⁸⁵Lawrence Ziring, "Pakistan in 1989: the Politics of Stalemate." (*Asian Survey* 30, February 1990), 126-135.

⁸⁶For the text of judgment see *Pakistan Times*, 2 October and 3 October 1988.

⁸⁷*Nation*, 6 October 1988.

⁸⁸Gen Baig gave this statement that he sent an indirect message to the court not to restore the assembly and let the election to be conducted. *Dawn*, 10 February 1993. *Nation*, 8, 9 February 1993.

not deliver justice by taking independent decision for the nation. The Supreme Court in a separate judgement also declared that all the political parties would be eligible to contest the elections of the national and provincial assemblies.⁸⁹ It ended the distinction of registered and unregistered political parties. In this way, they restored the provision of party based elections in 1988.

As the elections approached, Bhutto was well into her first pregnancy. Bhutto's own stress level mounted. Finally, on September 21, Bhutto had her son by caesarean section.⁹⁰ Politics were never far from Bhutto's private life. She gave birth at a hospital in Lyari. So, after a short period recuperating from the birth and a subsequent kidney infection, Bhutto was forced to go on the campaign trail. She traveled by train through the Punjab, speaking to the crowds that gathered at every station and meeting with local PPP officials on the train between stops. In spite of the doctor's orders to get plenty of rest, Bhutto spent up to 20 hours a day campaigning, trying to make up for the lack of sleep by taking medication and drinking large amounts of tea for her kidneys.

After returning to Karachi from the Punjab, Bhutto toured the rest of the country, campaigning not just for herself but for the other PPP candidates as well. Huge crowds attended her rallies. In Rawalpindi, more people went to hear her than had when she returned to Pakistan in 1986. Bhutto urged them to vote for the PPP: "You have to choose between reactionaries who want to suppress the people and the PPP which wants to break the chains of suppression."⁹¹ But it was perhaps Begum Bhutto who had the best campaign line. She told supporters, "Ali Baba may be gone,

⁸⁹ *Muslim*, 3 October 1988.

⁹⁰ Benazir Bhutto, *Daughter of Destiny*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 387.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 387-392.

but the forty thieves remain. . . . You know who they are. Vote the arrow (the PPP symbol) on November 16th, 1988."⁹²

Results of 1988 Elections

When Benazir returned to Pakistan in 1986 after a long exile she announced to be contesting the upcoming elections to be held on 16 November 1988 (after the death of Zia). As a result of the 1988 elections, the PPP won by simple majority in the National Assembly and formed the coalition government.⁹³ In the provincial elections, PPP was in a position to make coalition governments in NWFP and Balochistan. In Sindh, their position was very strong but in the Punjab they had to sit in the opposition to IJI headed by Mian Nawaz Sharif.⁹⁴ The main reason for the success of PPP was that it remained the direct target of the military regime of Zia and also due to the sacrifices which the party had made during this period.

Table of election results:⁹⁵

	P P P	I J I	J U I (F)	J U I (D)	P A I	P D I P	A N P	N P P (K)	M Q M	B N A	I N D	Total Seats
Punjab	52	44	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	12	113
Sindh	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	2	46

⁹² Ibid. p. 387.

⁹³ PPP emerged as the single largest party with 93 seats followed by the IJI with 54 seats. The third largest group was that of the independent members with the strength of 27 members. The MQM was fourth with 13 seats, all from Karachi and Hyderabad. Hassan Askari Rizvi. *Military, State and Society in Pakistan* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003), 205.

⁹⁴ Mohammad Waseen, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, 431-432.

⁹⁵ *The Nation*. 18 November 1988.

NWFP	7	8	3	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	25
Balochistan	1	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	11
Tribal areas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8
Islamabad	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	92	54	7	1	3	1	3	1	13	2	27	204

Source: *The Nation*, 18 November 1988.

Hurdles for Benazir in the Transfer of Power

The President delayed calling PPP to form government the military made it amply clear that it desired to share, not transfer power.⁹⁶ Benazir Bhutto could only assume the office after having agreed to the following conditions with the President, chief of armed services and ISI Chief Major General Hamid Gul.

1. That the continuation of General Aslam Beg as chief of Army Staff (COAS).
2. Retaining Sahibzada Yaqoob Khan as Foreign Minister.
3. No interference in the internal affairs of the military.
4. Support Gulam Ishaq Khan for the next Presidential elections.⁹⁷

The fact that for 16 days the President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, was unable to form an anti-PPP coalition to head the government did not convince Bhutto's opponents that she should become prime minister. Not all of them objected to her on political grounds: Some felt that, at 35, she was too young to lead Pakistan, but some of her loudest critics objected to her because she was a woman. Before the elections.

⁹⁶ Saeed Shafqat, "Transition to Democracy: The experience of Pakistan," paper presented at the Conference on "Political Development and Democracy in Pakistan" Columbia University, September 1992 (mimeograph).

⁹⁷ Saeed Shafqat ed. "Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto," *Contemporary Issues in Pakistan Studies* (Lahore: Gautam Publishers, 1998), 243.

several religious leaders had issued fatwas, or judgments, telling people that it was against Islam for a woman to be the leader of a country. Even on the day of her inauguration, President Ishaq Khan did not hesitate to show his disdain for a woman: When Bhutto asked if she could join him for prayers at the mosque, he answered, "It's for men only," adding, "But you can watch."⁹⁸

Bhutto was not sure how to respond to the attacks. She says, "The very mere fact that I was a woman seemed to drive them into a frenzy. So that was the biggest challenge. I don't know how to deal with that, I can deal with political differences, but how do you deal with it when someone says I don't like you because you're a woman and you've taken a man's place."⁹⁹ Nonetheless, Bhutto tried to defend herself. In a speech to the National Assembly, she reminded her opponents that Islamist parties had supported Fatima Jinnah (the sister of Pakistan's founder) for president in the 1965 elections. She also chose the title of Mohtarma for herself. Mohtarma means "esteemed lady" and implies that the lady is traditional and no longer young.

Her best tactical move, however, was being received as prime minister by the king of Saudi Arabia only a month after she was sworn in. She gained legitimacy when "the ruler of the most Islamist of Islamic states and the Keeper of the Holy Shrines...formally received her as the head of the government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan."¹⁰⁰ Bhutto also made concessions to the Islamists that did not help win their approval. She became careful about her personal behavior, no longer shaking

⁹⁸ Mary Anne Weaver, *Pakistan: In the Shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 192.

⁹⁹ "Benazir Bhutto, Former Prime Minister of Pakistan," Women in Power Reveal What It Takes. Dealing With Criticism and Conflict. see <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/features/wiwp/dyncon/bhutto.shtml>, last seen on 19th May 2013

¹⁰⁰ Iqbal Akhund, *Trial and Error: The Advent and Eclipse of Benazir Bhutto*. Oxford. (Oxford University Press, 2000), 90.

hands with men and asking other women in the administration to do the same. In public, she did not argue against the Islamists but spoke about the importance of Islam to Pakistan to show that she was qualified to lead an Islamic country. Some of her supporters thought that her efforts were pointless because she would never win the religious vote. For Benazir Bhutto, however, it was a way of avoiding unnecessary controversy.

The Challenge of Eighth Amendment and other Discretionary Laws

When Benazir took over as prime minister in December 1988, one of her top priority was domestic policy and the first order of business was human rights. Political prisoners were set free, and those convicted of crimes by military courts had their cases reviewed. Soon after the assumption of the office, the political situation was more challenging and Benazir Bhutto faced innumerable problems at the domestic level. Three major issues confronted by Benazir's government were, the crisis in the Center, the Capital-Punjab relations, the dissolution of the Balochistan Assembly, and the demand for the repeal of the Eight Amendment.¹⁰¹

Benazir's government top priority was to repeal the Eighth Amendment to the 1973 constitution which empowered the President to dissolve the National Assembly if, "in his opinion, a situation had arisen in which the Government of the Federation cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and an appeal to the electorate is necessary."¹⁰² Benazir Bhutto said. The Eight Amendment was not adopted by a democratic procedure, and it only reflected the autocratic requirement of an unconstitutional regime.¹⁰³ Bhutto's government wanted to repeal

¹⁰¹ Mohammad Waseem, op.cit. 76

¹⁰² The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, Article 58(2b).

¹⁰³ *The Pakistan Times*, January 29, 1989.

the Eighth Amendment in a manner that no further national crisis was created. But due to the strong opposition of IJI and absence of the required two third majority in the parliament, the amendment could not be repealed. The government's criticism on the Eighth Amendment was rather seen as directed against presidential power, and there by proved conducive to a split between the President and the Prime minister.

Although Bhutto did not have enough votes in the National Assembly to repeal Zia's constitutional amendments, his other laws were reviewed to make sure they were in accordance with the constitution and respected human rights. Those that did not, were repealed, and the special courts he had established were disbanded. Restrictions on labour unions were lifted, and student unions were allowed to reorganize. Free speech was also restored. Private news organizations were allowed to express their views, even if they were critical of the government. The government-owned media, however, continued to produce stories in support of the administration.

Intra-Center and the Center-Provinces Political Challenges

The coalition she had forged with the Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) to form her government broke up when the PPP failed to carry out its promises to the other party. As a result, Bhutto lost her majority in the National Assembly and was unable to pass any legislation. She tried to govern by issuing ordinances, but President Ishaq Khan refused to sign them. The prime minister and the president clashed over various other issues as well, and Bhutto did not get along with the chief minister of the Punjab, Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, who refused to cooperate with the central government.

Benazir Bhutto's major test came on November 1, 1989, when the Combined Opposition Parties (COP) moved a no confidence motion against her. The political activity surrounding the no-confidence motion was a new experience for most Pakistan. Long starved by sustained periods of martial law. Trading for MNA's votes had never been done on such a scale, and the amount of money that was said to be involved in purchasing or retaining loyalties was estimated to be in hundreds of millions of rupees. However, in spite of opposition's efforts and the cost incurred, Benazir Bhutto survived no-confidence move by receiving 107 votes against the requirement of 119. Speaker of the Assembly Maraj Khalid commanded that such type of move represented the free, open and democratic spirit in the House. This also permitted acceptance of the procedure and the final out-come, Pakistan democracy seemed to the alive and well.¹⁰⁴

A political crisis erupted in Balochistan on December 15, 1985 when governor of Balochistan, General (Retd) Mohammad Musa, dissolved the Balochistan provincial Assembly, on the advice of Chief Minister, Zafarullah Jamali. It was considered as an attack by the Center of the IJI's government in Balochistan. However, a full bench of Balochistan higher court ruled the dissolution of Balochistan Assembly as "unconstitutional and without lawful authority" and restored the provincial Assembly.¹⁰⁵ The court declared that Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali had not yet obtained a vote of confidence from the Provincial Assembly as envisaged under Article 130(3) of the constitution. Therefore, he was under constitutional disability to advise the Governor for the dissolution of the Assembly. So the petitions against

¹⁰⁴ Lawrence Ziring, *The Politics of Stalemate*, "Asian Survey, Vol.XXX:No.2,(February 1990), 131-133.

¹⁰⁵ *The Muslim*, January 24, 1989.

dissolution were accepted with no order as to coast.¹² The IJI's protest on the dissolution was termed as Punjab's revolt against the centre.

Centre-Punjab rift was also a point of great concern. Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, Chief Minister of the Punjab, did not reconcile himself to the formation of PPP's government at the centre. Soon after the elections, a worsening situation took place between the two without any possibility of normalization.¹³ The conflict continued until the dissolution of the assemblies a year or so later in August 1990 by the President under Article 58(2B). As PPP failed to establish its government in the most populous province of Punjab, it accused the elected member of the Punjab assembly of a large-scale rigging in the election, demanding removal of Nawaz Sharif, the Chief Minister of Punjab, from the office. Benazir came to be aware of the fact that center's stability lay in capturing power in the province of Punjab. The two parties came to nourish high stakes in dominating the politics of Punjab. The PPP's attempt to oust Nawaz Sharif from the political scene of Punjab by buying off members of the provincial assembly, to change their loyalties, led to counter moves by Punjab to do the same against Benazir Bhutto at the center. The country witnesses the worse kind of horse-trading bribing legislators by offers of cash in public office to change their political loyalty. Thus changing the loyalties by the legislators deformed the political life.

The Pakistan Nuclear Missiles and Space Programs

Benazir Bhutto despite the difficulties imposed upon by the President and some segments of Army not only kept herself aware of Pakistan's nuclear program that her father started but also kept allocating special funds for the purpose. In her parliamentary speeches she made a point that for development and security Pakistan

needs a big deal of development in science and technology.¹⁰⁶ She not only moved the ministry of science and technology inside the Prime Minister house but also made the administration directly report to her. The credits of starting Pakistan's nuclear program are given to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Benazir Bhutto has the glory of acclaiming the achievement of starting and developing and accomplishing Ghauri and Shaheen Programs under her belt. She is said as Mother of Pakistan's Space program in Pakistan's history. She authorized Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan in 1990 and then Dr. Samar Mubarakmand in 1995 to do more in atomic field to build the shield of protection around Pakistan by developing integrated space weapons programme. Development of Integrated Space Weapon program is the one that helped Pakistan to build up and enhanced country's atomic bomb programme.

It was Benazir Bhutto's tough stance on nuclear program that whenever United States criticized Pakistan nuclear program, Benazir Bhutto intern attacked Indian nuclear program. At the time when America put a lot of pressure on Pakistan to freeze the nuclear program and imposed sanctions on Pakistan, she ensured them doing so but on other hand she kept the program very much alive under her belt. Under the same stance she advocated the parliament to support her to increase the computer literacy awareness and support her and their regions towards the use to computers in schools and general public. With the consent and support in the parliament she issued an executive decree to import the computer hardware in the country without any tariff or duty on their imports. Under the same stance in the parliament she established a structure to improve and encourage the private sector to give hand in hand with public sector to not only develop such technology but also to

¹⁰⁶ daniel Byman, , and Pollack.M. Kenneth, 'Let us Now Praise great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In', *International Security*, 25, no 4 (2001) 107-46.

establish technology parks across Pakistan. In her tenure the parliament approved the program of financial assistance to grant soft loans to develop such programs and facilities.

Badar 1 and 2 are the first military satellites launched from any Muslim country. Pakistan is the first Muslim country to launch military satellites. It was Benazir Bhutto's stance on the security of Pakistan that she raised number of time inside parliament. 1990 was declared as year of space in Pakistan after the launch of these space satellites. To encourage the scientists and engineers she awarded them with national awards who contributed in this development.

The Foreign Affairs

In foreign affairs, Bhutto was not completely free to follow her own policies because she had to consult the army and the president on important issues. Bhutto and the others actually agreed on several issues, such as maintaining a strong alliance with the United States. Her first important task in foreign relations was hosting a summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Summit at Islamabad, in late December 1988, just a few weeks after she was sworn in. Bhutto was elected chair of the association. Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi was given prominence. Despite the opposition's criticism, the Government signed three accords, including an agreement regarding the vindication of each other's nuclear installations, a cultural pact, and a treaty to avoid double taxation on bilateral trade.¹⁰⁷

Afghanistan presented another serious problem for Pakistan in 1989. With all her fears present Benazir was forced to authorize Pakistan's involvement in Afghan war against Russia, as Russia was providing support to Indian Bharatiya Janata Party

¹⁰⁷ *The Muslim*, December 31, 1988.

against Pakistan. Benazir in her short period of two years couldn't move her foreign policy ambit away from Afghanistan, India and America. The war in the region played a huge role in Pakistan's internal affairs due to our strategic placement in the region. Pakistan was the victim of many uncalled for problems which were result of American involvement in Afghan Russian war. Pakistan's west border was over crowded by millions and millions of Afghan refugees. Pakistan wanted a stable and friendly government established in Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal. It also wanted to stem the flow of Afghan drugs through Pakistan, avoid the expense and disruption that would result if more Afghans came to Pakistan as refugees, and settle its border disputes with Afghanistan. Bhutto wanted to help establish a coalition government that would be acceptable to all the different groups in Afghanistan. All the parties did not have the same aims, however. For more than a year, Bhutto tried to get the different Afghan groups to negotiate a settlement, but they could not agree on how to share power. By 1990, religious fundamentalists who were later known as the Taliban were beginning to get the upper hand.

In other areas of foreign policy, Bhutto was more successful. Benazir's visits to the USA and to Great Britain, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran and China, not only enhanced the country's image but also established her stature as an important leader.¹⁰⁸ In general, the world responded favourably towards the democratic transition in Pakistan.¹⁰⁹ She maintained good relations with China and reached an agreement by which China would build a nuclear power plant in Pakistan. China also agreed to transfer the technology so that Pakistan would be able to build its own plants in the future. Relations with the United Kingdom also improved, and Pakistan rejoined the

¹⁰⁸ Mohammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1989), 455.

¹⁰⁹ Saeed Shafiqat, "Transition to Democracy: An Uncertain Path", in *State Society and Democratic Change in Pakistan*. Op, cit.,242

British Commonwealth. Bhutto traveled to England, where Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher welcomed Pakistan's return to democracy. Bhutto struck up a friendship with Thatcher that would last for years.

Relations with the United States proved to be more difficult. In June 1989, Bhutto went to Washington, D.C., on a state visit. President George H. W. Bush met with her, and she was invited to speak before a joint session of Congress (to both the House of Representative and the Senate). She not only received a standing ovation, but also was assured of increased American aid to Pakistan more than under Zia. After the Soviets left Afghanistan and Pakistan lost its strategic importance, however, Pakistan's nuclear program became a more important issue. Benazir Bhutto was unable to convince the United States that Pakistan was not building a nuclear weapon. The CIA director told her that the United States knew that Pakistan had already succeeded in building one. The government also negotiated for 60 F-16 Combat Planes from the USA. Soon after Bhutto's government was dissolved in August 1990, American aid was cut off.

Relations with the Military

Like with the President, Benazir Bhutto also had problems with the army. Although she had regular briefings from the top leaders, she was kept away from the corps commanders and other officers, so she never established a relationship with many decision makers. She was not always included in important decisions, for example, General Aslam Beg and the president made the decision to build a nuclear bomb without consulting her. Bhutto's control of the army was minimal: "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. leave

alone violating government policy.”¹¹⁰ Moreover, Benazir Bhutto could not launch the smooth relationship with the military also. She took some initiatives which offended the military and widened the Gulf between the two. In May 1989, she replaced ISI Chief, General Hamid Gul, by retired General Shamsur Rehman Kallu, contrary to the wishes of the COAS, Lieutenant General Hamid Gul was a key strategist for Afghan war during Zia’s years. The military considered it as a violation of a commitment not to interfere in the foreign policy.

Another issue of her government which not only antagonized the military but the President as well related to the retirement of Admiral Sirohi, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC). The President Gulam Ishaq Khan held that the article 243(c) of the amended constitution of 1985 authorized the president to appoint and retire the Chairman of Joint chiefs of staff Committee. Benazir asserted her authority by referring to the executive order that was passed by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the 1970s fixing the three tenure term of services chiefs but not of JCSC. However, after considering that Eighth Amendment empowered the President, she retreated from her position. But her assertion of authority not only annoyed the COAS but also started another chapter of conflict between the President and Prime Minister.

Ethnic violence in Sind particularly Pucca Qila incident of 27th May 1990 caused a conflict between the Prime Minister and the military. Pucca Qila is an old settlement inhabited by Muhajirs. A clash erupted between the Muhajirs community and the local Sindhis. The Federal government took action at the time when the military top brass was not available. COAS upon returning from a foreign tour visited

¹¹⁰ Tony Jones, “Benazir Bhutto speaks to Lateline about attack on Iraq.” Lateline Australian Broadcasting Corporation. <http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/s609909.htm>. last seen on 13th April 2013

the place, and was given a hero's welcome, with slogans of "impose martial and remove Benazir Bhutto."¹¹¹ Benazir's interference in the internal affairs of the army and the way of handling of Sind problem was not liked by the army. In words of the COAS, Mirza Aslam Beg, "The continuing turmoil in Sindh remained the major negative point for the Pakistan People's Party government."¹¹²

As prime minister, Bhutto worked as tirelessly as ever, and her personal life continued to take second place to politics. In August 1989, she visited soldiers posted in the Siachen glacier, 20,000 feet high in the Himalayas, even though she was pregnant with her daughter, Bakhtwar. Bakhtwar was born in February 1990 during a new crisis over Kashmir. For once, the prime minister was forced to miss a meeting with opposition leaders in the NA to discuss the situation. Begum Bhutto took her place. Knowing full well that Bhutto was in the hospital recuperating, some opponents still complained that she had failed to attend.

Economic Affairs

Benazir Bhutto's economic policies were very different from her father's. Instead of nationalizing large companies, she tried to encourage small business start-ups and private investment in large industries. The Bhutto administration also addressed poverty. It built small, low-cost houses in big cities and opened health clinics. It also increased the education budget, building new schools around the country and hiring new teachers. School became compulsory, or mandatory, through the eighth grade. Bhutto also fought drug lords and the violence that goes with the

¹¹¹ Saeed Shafiqat, *Civil Military Relations in Pakistan: From Z.A. Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), p.230.

¹¹² Abbas Nasir, *What's is Going on*, (Herald, Karachi, Vol.21:No.7, July 1990) .27.

drug trade. Her administration extended electrical service to thousands of rural villages. Although, the PPP was still calling for social programs for the poor.

In 1989, to meet the financial and banking needs of women in Pakistan, a First woman Bank was incorporated by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.¹¹³ First Women Bank Ltd. is a one of its kind monetary organization that is a listed profitable reservoir and acts as a monetary improvement establishment for the socio-economic strengthening of women in Pakistan.¹¹⁴ Bhutto considered the work she did to improve the lives of Pakistani women her most important contributions. "Above all I want to be remembered for what I did for women."¹¹⁵ Her administration started family planning programs. It opened police stations for women, recruiting women to serve as police officers, and set up a women's bank, run by women, that would provide loans to women who wanted to start their own businesses. It also required that 5 percent of employees in government offices be women.

People work programme had also created a controversy among the federal and provincial governments of Punjab and Bolochistan. The Central Government initiated the programme for the social welfare of the people. But both the provincial governments regarded it as an encroachment on the provincial preserve. In addition both governments insisted on the implementation of the programme to their own agencies. Because most of the subjects of the programme came directly under the provincial governments.

¹¹³Rafiq Afzal, *The Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-58*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical Research, 1986. see http://www.nihr.edu.pk/All_Publications.html. last seen on 13th April 2013

¹¹⁴ Mushtaq Ahmad, *Government and Politics in Pakistan*. (Karachi: Royal Book Company 1988). 54

¹¹⁵ "Benazir Bhutto, "Former Prime Minister of Pakistan." Women in Power Reveal What It Takes. Policies for Women," http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/features/wiwp_dyncon_bhutto.shtml last seen on 24th June 2013

However, the major politico-economic problems stood unsolved. The deteriorated law and order situation was a proof enough that the effectiveness of governmental authority was weak, and the PPP's efforts to establish its authority had been insufficient.¹¹⁶ The government was not able to devise a coherent policy in the economic management either. In principle, the PPP abandoned its socialist goals and resolved to pursue privatization, but reluctantly and without clarity of purpose.¹¹⁷ While inaugurating the eleventh Pakistan leader show 89' Syed Faisal Saleh Hayat¹¹⁸ pointed out that the PPP government was committed to privatize public sector. He stated that the government should be seen as an instrument of change and the government was, indeed, determined to bring about positive changes in the atmosphere that Pakistan's industrialists worked in.¹¹⁹ Unemployment, inflation and stagnation in the industrial enterprises, particularly in the public sector, demanded immediate attention and policy action, which the Benazir Bhutto government did not seem to be able to provide.

Not all of the country's problems were political. Pakistan went into an economic decline during Bhutto's term, but the loan agreements the nation had with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) made it difficult to modify its economic policies. In addition, the oil boom in the Persian Gulf countries had ended, and Pakistanis could no longer go there for high paying jobs that allowed them to send money home. Business was bad, and there were fewer jobs available.

¹¹⁶ A Crime Report Published by the Government of Sindh, Daily JANG, June 6, 1990.

¹¹⁷ *DAWN*, January 20, 1990.

¹¹⁸ Faisal Saleh Hayat, Federal Minister for Commerce, Industries and Rural Development.

¹¹⁹ *The Pakistan Times*, February 12, 1989.

Bhutto's Government Unravels

Bhutto's administration made mistakes that put her at odds with the president, the army, and the government employees with whom she had to work. In her first press conference as prime minister, Bhutto promised to do away with the Eighth Amendment to the constitution, which gave the president his extensive powers. She failed to reorganize the army intelligence agencies and bring them under some civilian control when she had the chance. She appointed inexperienced advisors and staff whom she considered loyal but who often treated civil servants who had worked under Zia as if they were the enemy, and her government accepted political corruption as part of the system as ministers bent the rules to help friends and allies.

Another controversy between the President and the Prime Minister was over the appointment of the judges of the superior courts. In the absence of a care-taker Prime Minister, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan appointed eleven judges of the Lahore High Court. A writ petition was filed in Lahore High court on the ground that, without Prime Minister's advice the appointment could not be made.¹²⁰ The High court upheld the validity of the appointments.¹²¹ Later on, the Supreme Court declared on an appeal of the Central government that the advice of the Prime Minister was necessary under article 48(1) of the constitution.¹²² But the government withdrew the appeal on December 10, 1989.¹²³

Charges of governmental corruption further led to a tenuous relationship of Benazir Government with both the Civil and Military establishment. Benazir Bhutto's assertion of authority was not fully acceptable for both civil and military bureaucracy.

¹²⁰ Abbas Nasir, *The New Deal*, (Herald, Karachi, Vol.21:No.4, April 1990), 30.

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² Ibid

¹²³ Ibid

In addition, the regime, without mustering sufficient organizational strength and support, made futile attempts to weaken the military's hegemony.¹²⁴ Both the president and the COAS came to have common interest of supporting each other. In July 1990 General Mirza Aslam Baig asked Benazir Bhutto to dismiss four of her Ministers include Aitazaz Ahsam and Jahangir Badr. The dictation was not agreed by the Prime Minister who resented and told the messenger let them overthrow my government, but I will not accept their dictation. In meeting on July 22, 1990, COAS asked the president to remove the government by August 14, 1990, otherwise the army would step in directly. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was too willing to oblige as the relation between him and Benazir had hit an all time low. On August 6, 1990, the President dissolved the National Assembly and dismissed Benazir government. Bhutto's term as prime minister ended as it had begun in the midst of political battles and intrigue. The president presented thirteen specific charges in his dissolution order as under:

1. That the National Assembly was defeated by internal dissension and friction;
2. That Scandalous horse-trading for political gain was rampant in the National Assembly;
3. That the National Assembly was corrupt;
4. That the National Assembly had failed to discharge any "substantive legislation other than the adoption of the Finance Bill";
5. That the council of common interests[constitutionally sanctioned by Article 153] had not been allowed to discharge his duties;
6. That the National Finance Commission [constitutionally sanctioned by Article 160] had never been allowed to meet, nor function;

¹²⁴ Saeed Shafqat, *Civil Military Relations in Pakistan*, Op. cit, 244.

7. That the establishment of the people's programme of local government had usurped the authority of the provinces;
8. That corruption nepotism had become so rampant that "law no longer carries public faith and credibility";
9. That the federal government had failed to maintain order in the Sindh province against internal disturbances;
10. That the federal government had publicly ridiculed the superior judiciary;
11. That the "authority, resources and agencies" of the federal government had been misused for the personal gain;
12. That the civil services of Pakistan had been undermined by circumventing relevant rules of recruitment and selection, and;
13. That the government unconstitutionally exercised the right of pardon [Article 45] without first gaining the permission of the President.

Challenging the Dismissal of her Government in the Court

A writ petition was filed in Lahore High Court by Khawaja Ahmad Tariq Rahim challenging the constitutionality of Gulam Ishaq Khan's dissolution order. On 14 October 1990, the Court upheld President Ghulam Ishaq's decision of dissolving the National Assembly.¹²⁵

The decision of the Lahore High Court was appealed in Supreme Court.¹²⁶ The Supreme Court issued a (10:2) decision by upholding the High Court's judgment. However, in a leading judgment by Rustam S. Sidhwa, several charges against Ms Bhutto's government discarded. Because they did not give the President a firm basis

¹²⁵Tariq Rahim. V. Ahmad., Federation of Pakistan. (Lahore High Court. Pakistan legal Decisions. (Hereinafter referred to as PLD), Vol.XLII: No.11, (November 1990), 505.

¹²⁶ Tariq Rahim .V. Ahmad, Federation of Pakistan P.L.D. ,Vol. XLIV: No.10, (October 1992) . SC. 703.

to form an opinion regarding the breakdown of the constitutional machinery, for example, peoples programme, Sindh situation and the misusing of Secret Services Fund. In similar vein, the counsel of the petitioner also argued that allotment of plots, tapping of telephones, the use of Air Force and Civil Aviation planes for political purposes, general corruption, and favoritism are concerned all these were said to be perennial problems that had continuously faced the federal and Provincial Government in both this country and in India. All of these deserved severe condemnation, but could not be permitted to justify dissolution of legislature.¹²⁷

To the Supreme Court the most important grounds were the defection and horse-trading. Defection means the change of party allegiance or loyalty by a legislator, i.e., leaving one political party and joining another. Horse trading was, in fact, the main allegation against the deposed Prime Minister. Other allegations were co-related to the abrogation of PPP – MQM coalition and were conducive to the dissolution of the assembly. The evil practice of horse trading manifested itself only where tenuous coalitions were in power.

A confrontation between the combined opposition led by IJI and the coalition government of Ms Bhutto contributed to defection and horse-trading. Both Benazir Bhutto and the IJI government in the Punjab headed by Nawaz Sharif, attempted to dislodge each other by buying off members. The country in the opinion of majority of judges, witnessed the worst kind of horse-trading, bribing legislators by offers of cash and public office to change their loyalties and leading to a situation where in the government could not be carried in accordance with the constitution.

¹²⁷ Ibid

Next major allegation against Ms. Bhutto's government was the failure in its constitutional obligations, by not allowing the National Finance Commissions and the Council of Common Interest to discharge their duties constitutionally. The problem was two-fold: First, after the 1988 elections, the PPP had to form a coalition government, and Second; the government in the provinces of Punjab and Balochistan. A political confrontation and polarization beset the government from the very beginning and continued unabated: it could not get working support from the combined opposition. Its ability to legislate or to allow the Council of Common Interests and the National Finance Commission to discharge their functions and exercise its powers, was circumscribe.

The inability to have a working relationship with the opposition further exacerbated an otherwise difficult situation. Both sides continued "horse-trading" unabated so as to grab each other's members to defeat the other. In view of the court, parliamentary practice does not permit horse-trading.¹²⁸ In order to remove the stalemate created by abrogation of coalition government, it was imperative to call upon the electorate to re-elect the National Assembly. Only one judge, Sajjad Ali Shah, disagreed to the merits of the case, arguing that object behind the dissolution order to tarnish image of PPP in the eyes of people. But he also concurred with the majority decision that relief should not be granted as all the political parties including the PPP were contesting the already scheduled elections with full participation.¹²⁹

Through judicial verdicts in the post-Zia period, it becomes clear, that, there was a transformation from military-oriented authoritarian regime into a people

¹²⁸ Ibid., SC. 704-705.

¹²⁹ Ibid., SC. 721.

oriented democracy.¹³⁰ The second round of dissolution confirmed that the courts in the post-Zia constitutional order had the authority to determine the validity of dissolution orders on the basis of the individual merits of respective dissolution orders and subsequently presented governmental evidence.¹³¹ Manipulating the system mainly by corruption involving horse-trading was rejected by the judiciary. The court's judgement brings out, that, this type of practices are hindrance to the strengthening of democratic process. Political parties engaged in corruption would undermine parliamentary democracy as such. The judgement brings out clearly the fact that manipulation by political parties involving corruption would not be for the good of parliamentary democracy.

The judiciary condemned the corruption and horse-trading practiced whether by the ruling party or the opposition. It is clarified through judicial verdict that evil practice is contrary and harmful for parliamentary democracy, thus paving the way for the next general elections of 1990.

The Elections of 1993

While Mohammed Nawaz Sharif and Ghulam Ishaq Khan bled each other, Benazir Bhutto was already beginning her next campaign. Bhutto had claimed all along that the 1990 elections had been rigged and had been calling for new elections since. By May 1993, she had signaled to Ishaq Khan that she would support his reelection as president if he first supported her as a prime minister; a move that upset many of her followers and aides. Bhutto, however, was determined to put the government back in the hands of the Pakistan People's Party with herself at the head.

¹³⁰ Naseem Hassan Shah, "Judiciary in Pakistan: A Quest for Independence", in Craig Baxter and Charles Kennedy (ed), . Pakistan 1997 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), pp. 61-62.

¹³¹ Charles Kennedy, *Presidential-Prime Ministerial Relations: The Role of the Superior Court*, (Boulder: West view Press, 1995), 24.

Although some feared that she had lost her connection with the people after the disastrous defeat of the PPP in the previous elections, huge crowds continued to attend her rallies. Bhutto responded to them and they to her.¹³² Bhutto had not lost their love.

The elections were called for on 6th October 1993. The PPP and PML (N)¹³³ emerged as the major parties after the elections of 1993, by securing 86 and 77 seats respectively, out of 217 total seats in the National Assembly. The voters turn over remained 40.92 percent.¹³⁴ The religious parties could secure negligible mandate, less than 10 seats in number while the PPP again with the help of PML (J), independents and minorities was able to make coalition government in the centre. It also formed governments in Punjab and Sindh while Nawaz Sharif's PML-N emerged as the opposition party in the National Assembly as well as in the Punjab and Sindh assemblies.¹³⁵ PML (N) and ANP formed coalition government in NWFP but after six months it was replaced by PPP government. Overall election results were as under:

Political Parties	Seats
Pakistan Peoples Party	86
Pakistan Muslim League (N)	73
Pakistan Muslim League (J)	6
Islamic Jamhoori Mahaz (IJM)	3
Awami National Party (ANP)	3

¹³² Anne Mary Weaver, *Pakistan: In the Shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 173.

¹³³ PML (N) appeared first time in the elections of 1993. The other ML group was Junejo group.

¹³⁴ *Report on General Elections, 1993*, vol. 1 (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1994), 330.

¹³⁵ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Company, 2003), 332-333.

Muttahida Deeni Mahaz (MDM)	3
Pakhtoon Khawah Milli Awami Party (PKMAP)	3
Pakistan Islamic Front(PIF)	3
Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP)	2
Baluchistan National Movement-Hai (BNM-H)	1
Baluchistan National Movement –Mengal (BNM-H)	1
National Democratic Alliance (NDA)	1
National People Party(NPP)	1
Pakhtoon Khawa Quami Party (PKQP)	1
Independents	15
Vacant	5
Total Turnout = 41 percent	
Total vote cast = 22,550,000/	

Source: Election Statistics of Pakistan.¹³⁶

Benazir Bhutto's Second Tenure as Prime Minister

Benazir Bhutto once again became the prime minister. Although she did not have the two-thirds majority she needed to get rid of the Eighth Amendment. Nawaz Sharif was now the leader of a strong opposition. His party, the Pakistan Muslim League (PML/N), had 73 seats. Several smaller parties filled the remaining 58 seats. After she was sworn in, Bhutto did not support Ishaq Khan's reelection for president and he was forced into retirement. Instead, she put forward an old PPP loyalist, Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, who defeated the Muslim League candidate. With a

¹³⁶ *Report on General Elections, 1993*, vol. 1.

president from her own party who claimed to be against the Eighth Amendment. Bhutto anticipated being able to finish her five-year term in office. Another appointee whom she expected to be loyal was the new chief justice of the Supreme Court, Sajjad Ali Shah. Pakistan had a highly politicized judiciary, and it was assumed that he would rule in her favour. Disagreements with Shah, however, would cost Bhutto in the future. In her second term, Bhutto found herself playing many of the same political games that she had played in her first term.

Once again, she became embroiled in maintaining control of the National Assembly and trying to get control of the three provincial assemblies the PPP did not head. Some deals, such as negotiating with religious leaders and parties to prevent problems because she was a woman, worked in her favour. In early 1994, however, the PPP tried to get control of the Northwest Frontier Province by bribing several independent members of the legislature with ministries and other benefits if they joined the PPP in a coalition. The following year, the PPP tried to cut deals in Punjab to gain control of that assembly. Neither move worked, but both served to stain the party's and Bhutto's reputation. Her reputation was further damaged by the way her administration used the courts to harass political opponents with charges of corruption a strategy she had condemned during Nawaz Sharif's tenure. She was plagued by demonstrations and strikes that Nawaz Sharif staged to protest her government.

Relations with the Military

As usual, the military initially showed support to the newly elected government. While the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, unlike her first term, adopted the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the military. Moreover, she

exhibited full commitment to the military in order to maintain a smooth relationship between both the stakeholders.

After assuming power, Benazir didn't support Ghulam Ishaq Khan for the presidential election. Instead her government nominated a PPP stalwart Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari, in order to save her government from the discretionary powers of the President conferred by the Eighth Amendment. General Javed Ashraf Qazi says that the Army Chief was in favour of a coalition government or at least the President from the other party. He wanted that Wasim Sajjad should continue as President. Like PPP, Nawaz also rejected the idea of a coalition government but agreed to appoint a Muslim Leaguer as President. Initially Benazir agreed but later on backed out of the arrangement. Farooq Leghari was elected as President with a comfortable majority defeating the acting President Wasim (Chairman Senate) who was supported by Nawaz.¹³⁷ Leghari promised to be supportive in repealing the Eight Amendment therefore, she started her government with a clear advantage of having majority in almost three provincial governments and federal government as well and most important of all had President of her own choice.

Benazir took another step by appointing Sajjad Ali Shah as the Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Pakistan and ignored other two senior judges. In order to get strong hold of the powerful institutions of the state, the heads of ISI and IB were also replaced. The troika started its functions quite smoothly. The President, Prime Minister and Army Chief were meeting and discussing important issues regarding domestic and foreign policies of the country. Benazir was quite comfortable with Gen. Abdul Waheed and offered him one year extension but he refused.¹³⁸ She also

¹³⁷ Results of the Election of President in 1993.

¹³⁸ Shuja Nawaz wrote this with reference to Benazir Bhutto in his book *Crossed Swords*, 281-2.

appreciated that despite all efforts to politicise his role and provocation against the elected government by different factions, he remained insulated. General Waheed got retired in time.¹³⁹ It confirms that individual character had been a dominant factor in the political history of Pakistan. If the army commanders are having sound character they may let the institutions work and prosper smoothly. Whatever the circumstances prevailed but it is an undeniable reality that Gen. Waheed had honoured the mandate of the masses and had avoided to drag the military into the politics. Although, it was in conformity with his actual constitutional role as an army chief but the prime minister had to praise him as an unusual practice in the transition period.

General Jahangir Karamat succeeded on the post of General Waheed in 1996. Although, Benazir wanted to nominate another General but Jahangir was appointed with the mutual consultation of President and Prime Minister.¹⁴⁰ Despite strong pressure from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, the PPP government did not take any risk to reduce the defence budget. The PPP government also did not change the number and structure of appointments of serving and retired military personnel to the civil services. The salaries of the military and civilian officers were also increased. The increase was given to the army immediately after the budget but to the civilian employees it was given in two instalments.¹⁴¹ It showed the civilian government's conscious behaviour to deal with even the junior command of the military.

¹³⁹ Shuja Nawaz. *The Crossed Swords*, 480-83.

¹⁴⁰ The other options were Lt. Gen. Raja Muhammad Saroop Khan, Lt. Gen. Imranullah Khan and Major Gen. Khurshid Ali Khan from Punjab, Baluchistan and NWFP respectively. *The Nation*, 14 July 1996.

¹⁴¹ Hassan Asakari, , *Military, State and Society*, (Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003),220.

Modernization and Development

Modernizing the country and improving social services were major policies of Bhutto's second administration. Private companies were brought into the energy industry, and the first privately owned power plant was built. Electricity was extended to almost every village in the country, and new gas pipelines were laid in many areas. The World Bank called Bhutto's energy initiatives a model for the rest of the developing world. Seven hundred thousand new telephone numbers were added, and FM radio, cellular phones, and satellite dishes were used for the first time. Women and children once again benefited from the Bhutto administration. Schools were a priority: 21,000 primary and 3,000 secondary schools were built. Several women were appointed as judges to superior courts, and more computer centers were opened for women. Some of Bhutto's most far-reaching programs were in the area of health. Through her Polio Vaccination Program, almost all children under the age of five were immunized, and she restored the country's Tuberculosis Control Program. One of her most innovative plans trained Lady Health Visitors to teach other women particularly in the country about childcare and family planning in order to reduce infant mortality and improve maternal health. Bhutto also wanted to reduce the high birth rate, which the country could not afford. She explained, We brought down the population growth rate by one-third, and because of the cascading effect it's going to continue going downwards. And there was a lot of hue and cry against the population program, but we did it by recruiting 50,000 women from different villages.... We had ambassadors everywhere to counter people in villages who were opposed to

population control.¹⁴² Bhutto received the World Health Organization's highest honor, the Health for All Gold Medal for her work in public health.

For Bhutto, the key to women's success is education: "If women are truly to be defined by themselves and their own accomplishments and abilities, they need the level of education that empowers them. Education leads to the kind of financial independence that causes women to break the shackles of being only a man's daughter or a man's wife."¹⁴³

In early 1994, the Benazir government announced that the policies of both the deregulation and the liberalization started by Nawaz and also the tight fiscal policies carried out by Moeen Qureshi will be continued. The government also announced its intentions that a greater portion of the national resources would be devoted to health, education and especially for the women development. The economy improved initially at macro level by reducing budget deficit under IMF pressure, but at the micro level, the situation was quite depressing. About two fifth of the textile¹⁴⁴ sector was not working. The officially projected GDP rate fell from 6.9 per cent to 4.6 per cent during the period of 1995-96.¹⁴⁵ There was also a rapid increase in the inflation rate, officially claimed at 14 per cent but actual figure was 20 per cent¹⁴⁶ due to which the economic policies suffered heavily.

Pakistan continued to face grave economic problems. It had a tremendous budget deficit the government spent much more money than it took in and the IMF

¹⁴² "Benazir Bhutto: Interview," <http://www.achievement.org/autodoc/page/bhu0im-1>, last visited on June 12, 2013

¹⁴³ Benazir Bhutto, "Victims of Terrorism." Speech delivered December 16, 2002 on U.S. Tour, <http://ppp.org.pk/speeches/speech48>, last accessed on 17 June 2013

¹⁴⁴ It was the major industrial sector of economy.

¹⁴⁵ Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications), 245.

¹⁴⁶ Tahir Amin, "Pakistan in 1994," (*Asian Survey* 35, February 1995), 146.

was unwilling to release loans unless the government took major steps to reduce it. Bhutto tried to get the money by establishing a general sales tax that would be charged on most items. The tax was unpopular with both producers and consumers and could not get through the legislature. Many poor, working, and business people resented the fact that the agricultural income of feudal landlords would not be taxed. Nevertheless, Bhutto was able to reduce the deficit and reached an agreement with the IMF, but the deficit combined with inflation (a continuing rise in prices) to create more economic problems.

The Foreign Affairs

In the Benazir's second term within five years, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto started with the experience of her first term to deal with the immediate challenges of the foreign affairs, the western borders and relations with the US. She wanted restoring cordial relations with the US. The matter of the delivery of F-16 was still hanging for which Pakistan continued to pay on the advice of US State Department.¹⁴⁷ But the arms embargo was the basic hurdle. The new administration of President Clinton¹⁴⁸ was favourable but the issue of nuclear proliferation was the 'stumbling block.' Pakistan persuaded the US administration to reconsider the sanctions placed on the country. In return they offered military support if Pakistan military provided its support in all the US initiatives throughout the world. Pakistani troops were sent to Haiti, Somalia and Bosnia which are the examples of such cooperation. These patterns

¹⁴⁷Denis Kux, *US and Pakistan 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, p.2001),313.

¹⁴⁸ He won the election in 1992 and became the President of the United States.

of cooperation continued at military to military level, sometimes even bypassing the civilian governments of both the countries.¹⁴⁹

Benazir took the Army Chief and DG, ISI into confidence on all the issues between Pakistan and the US. The DG, ISI, COAS and the Prime Minister agreed that the erratic foreign policy of the US towards Pakistan should not be trusted. It was hard to face the tough stance of US on the nuclear issue. But both COAS General Waheed and the Prime Minister decided that the nuclear issue was purely an internal matter of Pakistan and they should take their own decisions on the national interests.

The seventh summit of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) was held in Casablanca from 13 to 16 December 1994. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto represented Pakistan at the summit. The agenda for the summit prepared by the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFMs) which took place in September 1994 included issues like Kashmir, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Arab-Israel peace process, the status of Al-Quds Shareef, the civil war in Afghanistan, the UN embargoes against Libya and Iraq, the problem of Muslim minorities in the Philippines and Bulgaria, a plan to stop the export of radical violence and Armenian aggression against Nagorono-Karabagh.

Addressing the summit, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto called upon the Muslim countries to become partners for peace, commit themselves not to use force against each other and develop a system of collective security against aggression. Imploring the Muslims to join hands, Ms Bhutto said. "Let an aggression against an Islamic country be considered an aggression against all Muslim countries". She also stressed the need to develop a consensus that in case of attack on a Muslim country by

¹⁴⁹ Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, (Oxford University Press, 2008), 474.

a non-Muslim state, the OIC will come to the help of the former. In this connection, she asked the OIC Secretary-General to set up an experts' group to develop the concept of "partnership for peace".

From Pakistan's standpoint the summit was a success as has been evident from the resolution and a separate declaration on Kashmir adopted unanimously by the 53 member organization. It seems that Pakistan's efforts to internationalize the Kashmir issue and to include the representatives of Kashmiris in the debate over the issue have yielded positive results as the Chairman of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference Mir Waiz Omar Farooq was allowed to attend the summit by the Indian government. Mir Waiz's participation in the summit was significant as it indicated that India could no longer ward off the international pressure with regard to the problem of Kashmir. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's proposal of collective security for the Muslim world which she outlined during her address to the summit appeared to be quite relevant in context of the two issues facing the Muslim Ummah that is Kashmir and Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹⁵⁰

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto paid a three-day official visit to France from 2 to 5 November at the invitation of her French counterpart Edouard Balladur. The visit was aimed at enhancing cooperation between Pakistan and France in economic, commercial and defence fields. The two sides held detailed discussions on bilateral, regional and international issues. On bilateral relations, French President emphasized the importance that France attached to develop its relations in economic, commercial and military field with Pakistan. The purchase of nuclear power plant was also discussed and the President promised to use his influence with the government for

¹⁵⁰ Farzana Shakoor, Mutahir Ahmad and Tehmina Mahmood, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Quarterly Survey," October to December 1994 Pakistan Horizon, Vol. 48, No. 1 (January 1995), pp. 1-7 Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41371571> . Accessed: 24/03/2014 15:11

giving positive response to Pakistan's proposals in this regard. French government agreed to double its economic assistance to Pakistan from 200 million francs to 400 million francs. This aid would be utilized for construction of Gomal Dam, remodeling of Rohri canal and construction of a Hydel Power Station of 16 megawatt and rural communication. Pakistan and France signed letters of intent concerning infrastructure deals worth 3.7 billion francs (710 million dollars).¹⁵¹

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto also paid a seven-day official visit to Britain. The visit was aimed at discussing the issues concerning Kashmir, economy and the investment. The main achievement of Prime Minister's visit is the up gradation in Britain's investment priorities and grant to Pakistan of a preferred status as a trade partner.¹⁵²

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto visited China from 27 December to 30 December. Talking to newsmen before her departure, Ms Bhutto said that she would discuss bilateral and regional issues including Kashmir, with the Chinese leaders. In Beijing, Ms Bhutto met with her Chinese counterpart, Li Peng. During her meeting she said that Pakistan would resist Western moves against China on the human rights question as well as pressures on the subjects of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Tibet. Ms Bhutto said that Pakistan and China shared adherence to the principles of co-existence, peace, stability and territorial integrity in the region. This shows a close identity of interests between Pakistan and China on regional and international issues.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Pakistan Horizon, Vol. 47, No. 1 (January 1994), pp. 1-6 Pakistan Institute of International Affairs <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41393452> .Accessed: 24/03/2014 15:05

On the second round of her tour, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto visited Turkey. During her visit Ms Bhutto had wide ranging talks with her Turkish counterpart, Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, on bilateral, regional and international issues of mutual concern including Kashmir, Cyprus, and Central Asia. In the context of economic relations, both countries have decided to enter into joint ventures for exploration of oil and gas in Pakistan. Both sides also decided to cooperate in the banking sector and in this regard Turkey will soon establish a bank in Pakistan. They have also decided to establish export free zones for their respective export goods.¹⁵⁴

After assuming office, Ms Bhutto visited Iran which symbolized the priority Pakistan attaches to its relations with Iran. On bilateral relations, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and President Ali Akbar Hashmi Rafsanjani desired to increase cooperation in the fields of defence, trade and culture. Memorandums of Understanding relating to economic cooperation in the construction of a gas pipeline and trade were also concluded. An agreement has been reached with Iran to lay a 1170 mile pipeline between the two countries which is to be financed by two Gulf states, Oman and Qatar. This project will help Pakistan to fuel its thermal power stations. A joint economic commission would also be set up to implement various agreements reached between the two states.¹⁵⁵

Relations with the United States, however, improved considerably during President Bill Clinton's first term and Bhutto's second, and that brought some economic relief. American companies invested several billion dollars in Pakistan, particularly in energy production. The two countries also began cooperating on the

¹⁵⁴ Farzana Shakoor, Mutahir Ahmad, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy," Quarterly Survey: October to December 1993 Pakistan Horizon, Vol. 47, No. 1 (January 1994), pp. 1-6 Pakistan Institute of International Affairs <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41393452>. Accessed: 24/03/2014 15:05

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

problems of illegal drugs and international terrorism. Pakistan extradited several wanted criminals, including Ramzi Yousef, the man responsible for the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York.

The developments in Afghanistan and the resultant successes of Taliban were encouraging indicators for the strategic planners of Pakistan who were waiting for a supportive Afghanistan and opening roads to Central Asia. But the increasing power and independence of Taliban and getting out of Pakistan's control was alarming for their patrons, the 'ISI' and the army. The US, despite all the odds with Taliban due to their conservative handling of women and Islamisation agenda was content with the opportunity to reach energy resources of Central Asia through Afghanistan.¹⁵⁶ The PPP government couldn't draw a strategy for it due to internal crisis and the worsening relations with the army over the Afghan policy.

Law and Order Situation in Sindh

One of the most serious problems her administration faced was street violence. Ethnic tensions had existed in Sindh for a long time, and the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) had been formed to protect the rights of the mohajirs, or immigrants from India and their descendants, but the MQM had never been able to reach a workable arrangement for more power with either Bhutto or Nawaz Sharif. The tensions escalated dramatically when the MQM split into two factions that began to battle each other in the streets of Karachi and other cities. Under Nawaz Sharif, the army had not been able to put a stop to the violence, and, by 1994, business had almost come to a stop in Karachi. The Bhutto administration finally sent in special

¹⁵⁶Rashid Ahmed, *Taliban: Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia*. (USA: Yale University Press, 2001), 145. (He discussed the emergence of American oil firm UOCAL as a player in Taliban governed Afghanistan.)

forces, who worked with police to crush the MQM. The fights between factions stopped, but government forces were accused of using extreme violence about 1,800 people were reportedly killed and the underlying tensions never disappeared completely.

After Bhutto was elected prime minister, her brother Mir Murtaza returned to Pakistan and won a seat in the Sindh Provincial Assembly. Benazir and Mir Murtaza had never agreed on many political issues, but during her second term, the disagreements reached the point that he publicly accused her and her husband of corruption. Mir Murtaza blamed Zardari for the financial dishonesty in her government, and it became public knowledge that the two men hated each other. On September 20, 1996, Mir Murtaza's motorcade was stopped by a large contingent of police near 70 Clifton. A shootout between his guards and the police proceeded. Six of his guards were killed, and Mir Murtaza was wounded. After 40 minutes, he was finally taken to a hospital where he died soon after. The police disposed of all the evidence before it could be examined.

Bhutto's supporters and opponents agreed that the prime minister's brother could not have been murdered without the approval of someone highly placed in the government. The question was, who? Many of Murtaza's supporters blamed Bhutto, to whom he presented a serious challenge within the PPP as an equally legitimate heir of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto perhaps more so because he was a son. Bhutto herself blamed the president; Leghari had been questioning the policies of the Bhutto administration for some time in private and by 1996 had publicly distanced himself from the prime minister. Some of her supporters blamed her opponents, who now had only one Bhutto to deal with. They believed her life was in danger. That night, 20 people were

arrested for taking part in Mir Murtaza's murder. Among them were high-ranking members of the PPP, the chief of police of Karachi, and Asif Zardari, who was accused of ordering the murder.

Dismissal of Benazir's Second Government

Bhutto and Zardari were accused of having received millions of dollars in kickbacks (the return of part of the money received for a contract) from businesses that received government contracts. Zardari had developed a bad reputation: He was known as Mr. 10 Percent during Bhutto's first administration and Mr. 20 Percent during her second for the amount he expected back from each contract. In June 1996, the financial corruption became a public scandal when a British newspaper printed a series of stories claiming that Zardari had set up a foreign bank account and bought a number of expensive apartments and a mansion abroad. Bhutto and Zardari denied making the purchases.

Differences between the President and the Prime Minister intensified when Leghari repeatedly raised corruption issues regarding involvement of the ruling PPP members including Prime Minister's husband Asif Ali Zardari, asking Benazir to address the issues priority basis.¹⁵⁷ Benazir, instead of paying heed to the advice of the President installed Zardari into her cabinet as the Investment Minister which offended the President. Leghari as a reaction to this, proposed Wasim Sajjad, the Chairman Senate and Yousaf Raza Gillani, the Speaker of the National Assembly to set up a commission to take notice of the corruption issues.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Statement of President Farooq Ahmed Leghari, *Muslim*, 15 July, 1996.

¹⁵⁸ President's statement, *Muslim*, 15 July 1996.

In November 1996, President Leghari used the Eighth Amendment to dismiss Benazir Bhutto's government. The charges included corruption, abuse of power, and harassment of the opposition. She was also accused of ridiculing the Supreme Court, using extreme violence during the MQM crackdown, and never prosecuting the guilty officers. Leghari accused Bhutto of not respecting his authority. Thus the main charges for the dismissal were the extra-judicial killings, corruption, non-implementation of the orders of the Supreme Court, efforts to curtail the independence of judiciary through accountability laws and the government's involvement in the murder of Murtaza Bhutto.¹⁵⁹ Benazir challenged the dismissal of her government by filing an appeal in the Supreme Court but the court in a 6:1 judgement upheld the presidential decision by maintaining that the President had submitted enough evidence in the support of the dismissal order.¹⁶⁰ The Chief Justice wrote in the decision, "There is enough material to establish corruption, nepotism and misrule."¹⁶¹ The Supreme Court allowed conducting the parliamentary election on the schedule. The November 5 order removed Benazir as the Prime Minister for the second time.¹⁶² Sajjad court was having its own grudge against Benazir government, which was reflected in the decision.

¹⁵⁹ For the text of the President's Speech see the *The Nation*, 6 November 1996.

¹⁶⁰ *Mohterma Benazir Bhutto and others versus President of Pakistan and others*, 1997-SCMR-353, see also *The Nation*, 30 January 1997.

¹⁶¹ "Court Upholds Dismissal of Benazir Bhutto," *The Washington Post*, 30 January 1997.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 5

BENAZIR BHUTTO AS OPPOSITION LEADER AND COMPARISON OF HER TWO TERMS

Elections of 1990 and Benazir as Opposition Leader

Islami Jamhuri Ittihad's (IJI) strategic designs for the elections and the support of the military earned for them winning a clear majority in the National Assembly. The elections held on 24 October 1990 resulted in election of 217 members in parliament in a comprehensive yet suspicious and surprising victory of IJI headed by Mian Nawaz Sharif, putting Benazir Bhutto in Opposition seats.¹⁶³ IJI won 106 seats in the house of 237 and concluded as a single largest party in the electoral process.¹⁶⁴ PPP and its allies which contested the elections under an alliance titled PDA¹⁶⁵ could secure only 44 seats and raised a hue and cry about the alleged rigging in the elections.¹⁶⁶ Asghar Khan Petition¹⁶⁷ in 2012 opened the secret of that victory where it is established that Mian Nawaz Sharif was given financial support by Mirza Aslam Baig and Asad Durrani (Head of the ISI) and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan as it was felt that party led by Benazir Bhutto was a burden on national shoulders.

Nawaz Sharif emerged as the leader of the majority party in the National Assembly by winning seats across all the provinces. He had been portrayed as the symbol of the Punjabi identity by the Punjab government in the first term of Benazir

¹⁶³ D. Nohlen, F. Grotz, C. Hartmann, *Elections in Asia: A data handbook*, Volume I. (2001), 678 ISBN 019924958, also see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistani_general_election,_1990 last accessed on July 13, 2013

¹⁶⁴ Facts and Figures Relating to the general elections 1990 (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, n. d.) see also the Report on the General Elections, 1990, two volumes (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1991).

¹⁶⁵ PDA included PPP, Tehrik-i-Istaqlal, PML Qasim Group, and Tahrik-i-Nafaz-i-Fiqh Jafria (TNF).

¹⁶⁶ *How an Election was Stolen*, PDA White Paper on Elections 1990 (Islamabad: PDA, 1991)

¹⁶⁷ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/453773/asghar-khan-case-short-order-full-text/> last accessed on July 15, 2013

government. This tactic proved quite useful because the main pillar of the success of Nawaz Sharif was his strong political base in the Punjab. Other factors contributing in his success were Benazir's defensive attitude during the election campaign and Nawaz Sharif's ability to take the advantage of the situation and presenting himself a better choice for the Prime Minister's office.¹⁶⁸

Although in October, 1990 the PPP lost control of the National Assembly, but Bhutto retained her seat. For the next three years, she was leader of the opposition to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Soon, however, Nawaz Sharif clashed with President Ishaq Khan over army appointments and tried to get the Eighth Amendment repealed. Ironically, both men tried to get the support of the PPP in their struggle. The president dropped all charges against Bhutto, and her husband, who had been jailed on various charges, was set free. Bhutto, who was in London for the birth of her third child, consulted Margaret Thatcher about how to handle her enemies' offers. Thatcher advised, "Side with neither of themThey will use you and dump you. Let them fight it out and bleed each other."¹⁶⁹ Bhutto listened but made up her own mind.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif actually wanted to undo the Eighth Amendment but for that he needed Benazir's support. As a goodwill gesture, he liberated Asif Ali Zardari and allowed him to move to London to greet his wife who delivered a daughter there. It always happens in the Pakistani politics that the opposition never supports government. It always calls the military's support to gain pedestal of power back. Benazir also did the same. She was looking for a chance to get revenge from Nawaz Sharif who supported the military and the President for her dismissal. She

¹⁶⁸ Lawrence Ziring, "Pakistan in 1990: The Fall of Benazir Bhutto." *Asian Survey* 31 (February 1991): p. 121

¹⁶⁹ Weaver Anne Mary, *Pakistan: In the Shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 185.

availed the opportunity by assuring President Ghulam Ishaq of her support in the presidential elections only if he promised mid-terms elections.

On assessing the intensity of the tussle between Nawaz Sharif and President Ishaq, the PPP tried to take advantage of the situation by offering the President its support in removal of the Prime Minister. According to Roedad Khan,¹⁷⁰ President Ishaq did not want to dismiss the government once again, because he did not want to repeat the mistake of earning a bad name as he did by the dissolution of assembly in 1990. So he asked him (Roedad Khan) to signal the PPP about his support to a no-confidence move against Nawaz Sharif.¹⁷¹ However, keeping in view the majority of IJI in the parliament it seemed difficult to pass a no-confidence motion against the Prime Minister in the assembly.

On the situation of the Punjab politics, in which all the forces including the President, Prime Minister, PPP were involved, the special meetings of Corps Commanders were held in which they favoured fresh elections.¹⁷² PDA (Pakistan Democratic Alliance) under the leadership of Benazir also supported military's decision on the promise of holding mid-term elections.¹⁷³ Benazir also met with the Army Chief Abdul Waheed Kaker who assured of holding fresh elections. In April 1993, President Ishaq Khan once again dismissed a prime minister and his government.

Watching closely the manoeuvring at the top level, Nawaz Sharif decided to come in the open and expose the palace intrigues in public. Expecting his dismissal,

¹⁷⁰ He was a former bureaucrat and advisor to the President at that time. When the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was addressing to nation on National TV and Radio, he was at dinner with Gen. Waheed Kaker. It shows the close contact of President House and Army Chief.

¹⁷¹ Roedad Khan, *Pakistan: A Dream Gone Sour*, 121-123.

¹⁷² Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*. 217.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

he addressed the nation on 17 April 1993 and delivered a harsh speech against the President with these words; "I will not resign. I will not dissolve the National Assembly; and I will not take dictation."¹⁷⁴ He told the nation about all pressures, blackmailing, intimidation and conspiracies of the President to force him to resign from office.¹⁷⁵ After the speech of the Prime Minister as was expected Ishaq Khan dismissed his government in April 1993 of course with the support of COAS and opposition party i.e. PPP, on charges of corruption, nepotism, maladministration, terrorising opponents, violation of the constitution and inability to investigate the causes of death of former COAS Gen. Asif Nawaz.¹⁷⁶

Nawaz Sharif took his case to the Supreme Court, which, in May, declared that the president did not have the right to dismiss him. Nawaz Sharif took a vote of confidence from the National Assembly and secured 120 votes in the absence of PPP which boycotted the emergency session of the Parliament.¹⁷⁷ However, the military was of the view that this tension between the Prime Minister and President over the issue of power sharing had created negative impact on Pakistan's security keeping the tension with India and Afghanistan.¹⁷⁸ Despite the judgment of the Supreme Court, both Nawaz Sharif and Ghulam Ishaq maintained their tough stance towards each other. Nawaz Sharif took a vote of confidence from the National Assembly and secured 120 votes in the absence of PPP which boycotted the emergency session of the Parliament.¹⁷⁹ Though the constitutional war was over but the practical situation remained tense. On the situation of the Punjab politics, in which all the forces including the President, Prime Minister, PPP were involved, the special meetings of

¹⁷⁴ Prime Minister's Address to the Nation on TV, 17 April 1993.

¹⁷⁵ *The Nation*, 18 April 1993.

¹⁷⁶ Presidential Speech to the Nation, PTV, 18 April, 1993.

¹⁷⁷ *The Nation*, 28 May 1993.

¹⁷⁸ Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*. 210-220.

¹⁷⁹ *The Nation*, 28 May 1993.

Corps Commanders were held in which they favoured fresh elections.¹⁸⁰ The fight for power continued until the army finally intervened and worked out an agreement among the civilians that was approved by the PPP and the IJI (Islami Jamoori Ittehad). Both Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif were forced to step down, a caretaker prime minister was installed in July, and elections were scheduled for October 1993.

The Elections of 1997 and Benazir as Opposition Leader

New elections, in which Nawaz Sharif and the Pakistan Muslim League beaten the PPP, were held in February 1997. The PPP and religious parties lost badly in 1997 elections. The most surprising aspect of these election results was that PPP lost in all the three provinces other than Sindh, the home province of Bhutto family where it could secure only 18 seats.¹⁸¹ Its performance was dismal in Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan. The PML (N) won the seats in all provinces and was successful in forming a government in centre and Punjab for the second time with the help of ANP and MQM.¹⁸² Bhutto claimed that the election was rigged but went back to the National Assembly to lead the opposition. She did so under the shadow of very damaging corruption charges. Dismissed governments in Pakistan were always charged with corruption, but this time not even her friends denied the charges.

PML (N) gave an impression that apart from their differences, different political parties would work for the national interests for the first time. But it proved a wishful thinking because it was hardly possible on practical grounds in the Pakistani leadership to set national interests above their personal ones. In fact, Benazir and

¹⁸⁰ Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, 217.

¹⁸¹ It was commonly perceived that pre-poll rigging and changes in results concluded this situation. *Jharloo* became a popular term which means 'forcible clean-sweep.' It was alleged to be managed by the civil administration and the agencies.

¹⁸² *Report on the General Elections 1997*, pp. 191-2.

Nawaz cooperated with each other to remove 58(2B)¹⁸³ but the government continued the proceeding of Accountability Commission, which were started by President Leghari against the former Prime Minister Benazir and her husband. An Accountability Cell was created in place of the Accountability Commission within the Prime Minister Secretariat which further flexed its muscles to the opponents of Nawaz government including the politicians, businessmen, journalists and others.¹⁸⁴

After becoming prime minister in February 1997, Nawaz Sharif acted quickly to expand his power. In April, the Thirteenth Amendment, taking away presidential powers, was passed. In May, the power to investigate corruption charges against members of government was taken from an independent commission and placed in the hands of the National Accountability Bureau, which worked under Nawaz Sharif. In August, the Anti-Terrorism Act, which enabled the police or army to make searches and arrests without warrants, was passed. For a little over two years.

The Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA) empowered the law enforcing agencies, under article 245 of the constitution, to search houses and arrest the suspects without warrant. Chuadhry Shujat Hussain¹⁸⁵ promised that army had no role beyond military courts¹⁸⁶ followed by a public statement of the army Chief that military was not involved in politics and it would not target any political party.¹⁸⁷ Special courts were established under ATA to deal with such cases. As these cases were settled within the given time frame in this act, therefore these courts were severely criticized by the civil society. The Supreme Court started hearing petitions against ATA, and declared that

¹⁸³ John F. Burns, "Pakistan Acts to Cut Power of President," *New York Times*, 2 April 1997.

¹⁸⁴ Husain Haqqani, (2005), *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military*. Lahore: Vanguard, 243.

¹⁸⁵ The Federal Minister for Interior in Nawaz Government.

¹⁸⁶ *Dawn*, 3 December 1998.

¹⁸⁷ *Dawn*, December 2, 1998.

the constitution did not permit any parallel judicial system.¹⁸⁸ The Supreme Court also declared 12 controversial provisions of ATA 1997, invalid.¹⁸⁹ It declared section 10 and 35 unconstitutional, which allowed the process of ATA and allowed law enforcing agencies to enter any place for search operation, respectively.¹⁹⁰ Earlier the Lahore High Court gave two months time to government to bring ATA in conformity with the constitution.¹⁹¹

Nawaz government also announced the revival of the Kalabagh Dam project which increased problem to the already turbulent political environment. The previous PPP government had dropped the project when a resolution against this project was passed in the provincial assemblies of Balochistan, Sindh and NWFP. The Nawaz government reactivated it without any drive to create a national consensus over it.¹⁹² Instead, creating consensus, the federal government launched an aggressive campaign in cooperation with the Punjab government which met with severe criticism from the regional political parties, ethno-nationalist groups and Pakistan Peoples Party.¹⁹³ A sharp polarization caused due to these issues which placed federal government and the Punjab on one side and three provinces on the other side. Ethno-nationalist group in Balochistan, Sindh and NWFP demanded protection of their provincial rights under the constitution including autonomy. Some demanded a new constitution to be framed

¹⁸⁸ *Dawn*, May 4, 1998.

¹⁸⁹ For detailed judgement see *Dawn*, 20 June 1998.

¹⁹⁰ *Dawn*, June 18, 1998.

¹⁹¹ The Act was further criticized by the civil society because of its arbitrary powers. Despite all these measures there was no sign of reduction in violence which was wide spread all over the country. Human rights organizations and members of civil society also objected the powers of ATA as an abuse of state power threatening the civil rights of the people of Pakistan. Anti Terrorist Act of August 1997 was challenged in SC and the declared its 12 clauses invalid. *Mehran Ali vs Federation of Pakistan*. PLJ 1998 S.C. 1415.

¹⁹² *Dawn*, June 7, 1998.

¹⁹³ Atizaz Ahsen in a public statement said that though he supported Kalabagh Dam but it should not be at the cost of national unity. *Dawn*, June 21, 1998.

by a new constituent assembly having equal representation from all the provinces.¹⁹⁴ In October 1998, more or less 28 regional groups and political parties had joined the 'Pakistan Oppressed Nations Movement' (PONM). The ANP leader Ajmal Khattak became its convener and this movement demanded a loose federation of autonomous and sovereign nations.¹⁹⁵ This shows the gravity of the situation as to how the provincial and ethno-national polarization threatened the polity. This also showed the level of mismanagement by Nawaz government in relation to the affairs of the federation and its inability to create national harmony among the various contributing units.

PPP as a major opposition party, entered into a new alliance mainly with Pakistan Awami Tehrik along with 14 other political parties. It was named as Pakistan Awami Ittihad (Pakistan peoples Alliance) headed by Dr Tahir-ul-Qadri. The former President of Pakistan, Farooq Leghari established a new political party named 'Millat Party' and presented himself as an alternative leader to Benazir and Nawaz. While Nawaz government continued to follow the cases of corruption against Benazir and her husband.

Benazir Bhutto led the opposition in the National Assembly. She spoke aggressively and critically of the government and its policies even though she was interrupted by the great majority of members. In a diary, she described a speech she gave during the budget debates for 1997: I mention that the politics of revenge has frightened capital and paralyzed the economy. I begin to give a few examples. When I mention my political secretary, who has been imprisoned and freed on court orders three times, off loaded from a flight once, tortured and asked to lie about me, the

¹⁹⁴ *Dawn*, August 22, 1998.

¹⁹⁵ *Muslim* (Islamabad), October 3, 1998.

...[ruling party] benches burst into an uproar. I shout as loud as I can over the microphone, "Sir Mr. Speaker, why do they panic every time they hear the name of a woman?" That shuts them up. At least temporarily.¹⁹⁶

Her opponents also had their turn to criticize her and her views and were able to harass her and her political allies. One such small annoyance was that the Speaker did not allow her budget speech to be shown on television. Another was that the electricity of her Islamabad house, where she had her office, was regularly cut off at unusual times, preventing her and her staff from running fans or using their computers. Far worse were the jailings and kidnappings. When Bhutto gave her budget speech, her husband had been in jail for eight months without having been indicted for any crime. One of the opposition leaders of the Sindh provincial assembly had been kidnapped the week before and not been found.

Bhutto continued to work long hours. She shuttled back and forth between Karachi, where the children were, and Islamabad, where the government met. She would write speeches on airplanes and consult other PPP leaders by phone. Relaxation was a few minutes playing with her cats or a late night cup of tea with a friend, even if the conversation did not stray too far from politics. Her children were also a serious worry for Bhutto, because her constant traveling did not just affect her. As she was leaving once for the capital, she was shocked to hear seven-year-old Bakhtwar breezily say, "Bye, it was nice seeing you. Come back soon," as if Bhutto were a mere acquaintance.¹⁹⁷ Hearing her child distance herself emotionally pained

¹⁹⁶ Slate, "Benazir Bhutto." *Diary: A Weeklong Electronic Journal*, June 17, 1997 to June 21, 1997. <http://slate.msn.com/id/3731/entry/24703>, last accessed on June 27, 2013

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

Bhutto. It also pained her when four-year-old Aseefa told her, "Mama, I cry every night when you are away and (Baba) is in jail."¹⁹⁸

In those days, only Bilawal seemed secure. Although she could reassure the girls that she loved them, even a strong political fighter like Bhutto could not always deflect the unintended arrows of her own children. When the children heard that she would be 44 on her next birthday, Bakhtwar commented, "That's as old as a dinosaur." All the exhausted mother could think was, "I don't have the strength to reply."¹⁹⁹ Bhutto also feared for her children's safety. She thought that the economic problems of the country might lead people to demonstrate and even storm the houses of politicians. That fall, Bhutto put the children in school in Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates, which was only an hour and a half from Karachi by plane close enough for her to visit them. Her life was now divided among three cities: Dubai, Islamabad, and Karachi, where Zardari was jailed.

Zardari did win a symbolic legal battle against the administration: He had been elected senator the previous March, while still in prison, and in December 1997, Nawaz Sharif was forced to let him be sworn in, although Zardari still was not released. Bhutto continued fighting the accusations against her and serving in the National Assembly for more than a year. In April 1999, however, she and Zardari were convicted of corruption in a case involving a Swiss company called SGS/Cotecna and sentenced to five years in prison. To avoid being jailed, she joined the children in Dubai that same month and Nawaz Sharif was removed from power on

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

October 12, 1999.²⁰⁰ It was the return of military rule again the dictatorship took place of the democracy

The Corruption Question

The charges of corruption have followed her through the years. The two-year investigation conducted by the Nawaz Sharif administration produced a great deal of bad publicity for Bhutto and Zardari. Although some of the accusations were absurd, the Accountability Board appeared to have documents proving that the couple had received more than \$1.5 billion in kickbacks. After their conviction by the Lahore High Court in the SGS/ Cotecna case in 1999, Bhutto and Zardari appealed to the Supreme Court. It dismissed the conviction in April 2001, when records of several audiotapes showing that one of the judges in the original trial had negotiated with the senior investigator in the Accountability Bureau over Bhutto and Zardari's punishment before they had even been found guilty were printed in a British newspaper.

Musharraf asked for a retrial of the SGS/Cotecna case and for speeded up trials in nine other corruption cases. When she failed to return to Pakistan to appear in court in the new trials, Bhutto was sentenced to three years in prison. Asif Zardari has never been released from jail. He has been tortured or denied medical assistance at different times. Since 1996, he has been accused in 19 different criminal cases, including drugs, murder, corruption, and tax evasion. Each time he becomes eligible for bail, new charges are brought against him. Despite his reputation, Zardari has been convicted in only one kickback case, which was under appeal in the fall of 2003.

²⁰⁰ "Benazir Bhutto: Former Prime Minister of Pakistan," Women in Power Reveal What It Takes. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/features/wiwp/dyncon/bhutto.shtml>. last accessed on July 27, 2013

Bhutto has admitted that her husband may have behaved improperly but insists that his actions were not criminal. The legal battles have taken a heavy toll on Bhutto's family. The children did not see their father for years, although they did exchange letters and cards. Zardari was allowed one hour per week on the phone with his wife, half an hour with his three children. Their conversations were tapped.

The corruption charges were many but never proved in court. While the Pakistani government used the charges to keep her out of politics, her downfall had more to do with structural and ideological issues. In spite of being popular politicians, both Benazir and her father were doomed to failure when the army decided to act, indirectly in her case and directly in her father's. There is a tragic zero-sum relationship between Bhutto's party and the army.²⁰¹

Evaluating the First Term of Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister

It was the morning of 2nd December 1988, when Benazir Bhutto set another first like many in Pakistan's political history.²⁰² She became the first woman in the modern political history of Pakistan and above all of Muslim world to be sworn in as Prime Minister.²⁰³ Her selection as a first Prime Minister of Islamic republic of Pakistan was a result of completely untied and liberated electoral process where people were forced to come out to bring change against the suppressed and congested

²⁰¹ Gustaaf Houtman and Akbar Ahmed Benazir Bhutto (1953-2007): A Conversation with Akbar Ahmed Anthropology Today, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Feb., 2008), pp. 4-5 Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20179889> . Accessed: 24/03/2014 15:09

²⁰² Ziring, Lawrence. *The Ayub Era: Politics in Pakistan, 1958-69*. Syracuse. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1971. Also see <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27737842> Last seen on 23rd June 2013

²⁰³ Ziring, Lawrence. *Pakistan: The Enigma of Political Development*. Boulder: West view Press, 1980. Also see <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4326346> Last seen on 23rd June 2013

circumstances forced on them.²⁰⁴ This election also marked Benazir Bhutto the youngest Prime Minister in the world political history in 1989.²⁰⁵

In the first tenure of Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister People of Islamic Republic had a very jubilant rationale to celebrate the elections, there hopes were high and they were looking at their determined leader to lead them.²⁰⁶ In her first term in office Benazir Bhutto's first challenge was to meet the expectations and demands of coalition and to fulfill her agenda for what she was elected. It was very tiresome job.²⁰⁷ Apart from this challenge in 1989 Pakistan was not going through a very "happy go around" phase in any way. Country was facing very threatening situation economically and internally. Pakistan was on the verge of Bankruptcy and IMF was bargaining with Pakistan to put country under more taxes and burden it with more monetary restraints to give the country more loans to return the previous loan.

Benazir as Prime Minister had more than desired in her plate to address at one time. Politicians were speculating that even if Benazir becomes 100% perfect heart mind and soul she will still fail to stop derailing the country from its track of bankruptcy and destruction.²⁰⁸ With economic burden increasing on the common people of Pakistan, Benazir was facing pressure from military not to disturb or cut their budget at the same time. She was forced to allocate the 40 to 60 percent budget to arm forces of Pakistan as the security situation on the borders of Pakistan was not

²⁰⁴ Ziring, Lawrence. *Pakistan: At the Cross Current of History*. Lahore: Vanguard, 2004. Vol. 64, No. 2 (May, 2005), pp. 510-511. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25075809> Last seen on 23rd June 2013

²⁰⁵ Lawrence Ziring, and Robert LaPorte, Jr. "The Pakistan Bureaucracy: Two Views." *Asian Survey* 14 (December 1974): page 1086-1103. <http://www.jstor.org> Last seen on 23rd June 2013

²⁰⁶ Ziring, Lawrence. "Pakistan in 1989: The Politics of Stalemate." *Asian Survey* 30 (February 1990): 126-135. <http://www.jstor.org> Last seen on 23rd June 2013

²⁰⁷ Ziring, Lawrence. "Pakistan in 1990: The Fall of Benazir Bhutto." *Asian Survey* 31 (February 1991): pp.113-124.

<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/2644921?uid=2134&uid=2&uid=70&uid=A&sid=21103114528467> Last seen on 23rd June 2013

²⁰⁸ W. P. Zingel, Ave Stephanie, Zingel Lallemand, (eds.). *Pakistan in the 80s.* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1985), 157-58. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/147633665/SS-3350-Politics-of-Pakistan> also see <http://www.pppusa.org/ Acrobat/Benazir%20Bhutto.pdf> Last seen on 27th June 2013

very satisfactory, along with her own personal involvement and interest in nuclear program of Pakistan; it was a compulsory step to be taken.²⁰⁹

The situation wanted temperament and control on part of Benazir Bhutto as a person that she indeed showed and did whatever was in her control as a leader, who knew only one word that was to fight and never to give up. She proved that she was an executive leader that was a vital point to establish her as a prominent chairperson of a country against all odds.²¹⁰ She had assured and guaranteed her followers the societal reforms, development and enhancement for election but the irony of the situation was this that in reality she had the lowest budget to work with in education, health and basic housing that she promised the people.²¹¹ Pakistan had a lot to be pampered for as in previous 11 years the military had neglected the social reforms badly including the field of education and health needed a complete makeover and icing on the cake was afghan refugees and drugs smuggling from Afghanistan that was eating away the youth of Pakistan and was spreading very rapidly as smuggling had find its grounds during military dictatorship tenure.²¹²

Benazir Bhutto reformed and allowed the freedom of speech aspect and national television was given the full freedom to express views and criticize Benazir for her flaws and steps in developmental plans. This was a vital and very brave step

²⁰⁹ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford University Press, 2003. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (2000), pp. 440-441.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1559511> Last seen on 23rd June 2013

²¹⁰ S. J. Zaccaro., *The nature of executive leadership: A conceptual and empirical analysis of success*. (Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association 200).

<http://psycnet.apa.org/journals/amp/62/1/6> Last seen on 27th June 2013

²¹¹ Yasir, Hussain. *The Assassination Of Benazir Bhutto*, Readworthy, 2008. Hughes, Libby. *Benazir Bhutto* May 2000. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/24941644?q&versionId=30088263> Last seen on 22nd July 2013

²¹² Yousaf, Hamid. *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-1997*. Lahore: Sang-E-Meel Publications, 1999. Also see <http://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/role-politics-pakistans-economy-0> Last seen on 15 July 2013

that was not even taken by her father who had a great believe in democracy.²¹³ These steps of Benazir Bhutto to allow media freedom made Pakistan radically a very different place and proved her stance and believe in openness and democratic forces.²¹⁴ Her first tenure is also marked with her efforts for better relationship with India. In SAARC summit her interaction with Rajiv Gandhi marked a new era for Pakistan India relationship. Pakistan and India signed a bilateral agreement that stated that none of country would attack the nuclear power installations of the either country and intelligence will be exchanged to overcome the problem of drugs and smuggling on the international borders.²¹⁵

The first tenure of Benazir Bhutto saw no piece of any new legislation in any field whatsoever. She was very unsatisfied with the legislation done in the name of Shariah in the dictatorship tenure and she voiced her discomfort on every front be it national or international forum specially laws legislated regarding women in the country.²¹⁶ But when it came to the practical implications there is nothing much to be seen and to elaborate. It was later in 2000 when Gen. Musharraf legislate the laws in favour of women and increased the number of special seats for women in parliament.²¹⁷ It was no doubt humanly impossible to tackle so much in less than 800 days of rule in the Prime Minister office on part of Benazir Bhutto.²¹⁸ In her first term

²¹³ Stanley Walport, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times*. Douglas M Peers, *Journal of Asian History*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (1994). New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. pp. 178-180.

²¹⁴ Muhammad Waseem, *Pakistan under Martial Law: 1977-1985*, (Lahore: Vanguard, 2002), 111-117.

²¹⁵ Muhammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*. Islamabad: NIIICR, 2007.

²¹⁶ Suhail Waraich, *Ghaddar Koun? (Who is Traitor)*. (Lahore: Sagar Publications, 2006). Also see <http://www.lashchannel.com/ghaddar-kon-by-sohail-waraich-on-nawaz-shareef.html> *ghaddar-kon-by-sohail-waraich-book-in-pdf-free-download*. Last seen on 23rd June 2013

²¹⁷ Patterns of Conflict in Pakistan: implications for Policy working paper by Brookings Project on USA relations With the Islamic World by Muhammad Waseem, Also see *The 1993 Elections in Pakistan*. (Lahore: Vanguard, 1994). http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2011/3/01%20pakistan%20waseem/01_pakistan_waseem.pdf Last seen on 23rd June 2013

²¹⁸ Yasir, Hussain. *The Assassination Of Benazir Bhutto*, Readworthy, 2008. Hughes, Libby. *Benazir Bhutto*, May 2000. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/24941644?q&versionId=30088263> Last seen on 23rd June 2013

her hands were mostly tied due to lack of funds in the government pocket. So whatever reforms we see in her first term are all those that require no allocation of new funds. What backfired Benazir policy more was she was so occupied with other problems that she found no resources and planning to generate more liquidity for new or ongoing projects.

Her first term ended as a result of her stand against the unseen and seen forces inside and outside army which could not bent her stand in their favor. This includes are denial to than Directorate-General for the Military Operations Pervaiz Musharraf's plan to open Kargil war and her stand against General Gul who purposed to aid an strengthen Sikh movements inside India to stop and answer India from her anti Pakistan actions.²¹⁹ In her first tenure she appeared as a fearless leader who didn't know to compromise on the name of people's and country's sovereignty and an outstanding diplomat who was determined to write new pages in the name of Pakistan on international scenario.²²⁰

Evaluating Benazir's Second Term as Prime Minister

The second term of Benazir Bhutto was marked with another victory that put her again is the parliament house of Pakistan in October 1993.²²¹ This time in the political scene of Pakistan only half of the voters casted their vote. This was the result of dissatisfaction of people on politicians who failed to deliver.²²² Too much involvement of American agendas and Pakistan's army's involvement disabled

²¹⁹ Sheela Bhatt, "we are walking into American trap", <http://in.rediff.com/news/2004/feb/12inter.htm> Last seen on 23rd May 2013

²²⁰ Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-1997*. (Lahore: Sang-E-Meel Publications, 1999), 123

²²¹ Saeed Shafqat, *Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto: Asian Survey*, Vol. 36, No. 7 (Jul., 1996), pp. 655-672 Published by: University of California Press. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2645715>. Accessed: 27/11/2013.

²²² Saeed Shafqat, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan*. Boulder, San Francisco. (Oxford: Westview, 1997) 156

Pakistan's democratic forces to play their part not to neglect their own personality weaknesses also.²²³ That voiced above the surface in the shape of corruption and self-promotion schemes.²²⁴

Like the first time this time too, Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan holding the crunches of alliances.²²⁵ Briefly once again the people of Pakistan gave the course of Pakistan's future in Benazir's hands.²²⁶ Once again she was given the task and she survived in election in the name of saving democracy in the country and giving people of Pakistan "*Rooti, Kapra or Makaan*".²²⁷ Hitherto, the nation state stayed behind and was economically unsound, and the common people of Pakistan were outlying as of budding as an indisputable social culture.²²⁸ Benazir Bhutto had the support of American lobby this time for coming into power and she had to present a better picture of America and had to cope with kindring that image with the people of Pakistan.²²⁹

This second tenure of Benazir Bhutto presented a true politician where her colors were undetectable.²³⁰ On one hand she traded with America in the face that she was ready to stop the nuclear program of Pakistan against their support on Pakistan's stance on Kashmir against India, and on the other hand she powered Pakistan's nuclear program more than ever to keep Pakistan in line to defend her borders against

²²³ Khalid Bin Sayeed, "The Three Worlds of Democracy in Pakistan." *Contemporary South Asia* 1, (1992), 62.

²²⁴ Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: 1947-2005*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007) 35

²²⁵ Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change*. (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1980), 56

²²⁶ Schofield, Victoria. *Bhutto: Trial and Execution*. London: Chassell, 1979. also see <http://www.victoriaschofield.com/info8.htm> last accessed on May 13, 2013

²²⁷ Ayesha Siddiqi, *The Military Inc.* (Islamabad: Vanguard, 2007), 23-4

²²⁸ Iftikhar Ahmed Sirohey, Admiral (Retd.) *Truth Never Retires*. (Lahore: Jang News Publishers, 2000), 88

²²⁹ Anwar H. Syed (1984), *Pakistan: Islam, Politics and National Solidarity*. Lahore: Awami Press, p. 73

²³⁰ Turkheimer, E. (2000). Three laws of behavior genetics and what they mean. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 9(5), pp. 160-164.

Indian aggression.²³¹ She kept her previous stance voiced up as ever that the budding terrorism activities in sub-continent were the result of failed American policy in Afghanistan and “Mujahedeen’s” issue needed to be addressed more than ever before.²³² She publically criticized the American pressure on Pakistan on the matter unpleasant and always deprecated it.

In her second term Benazir reflected and proved that she was truly the daughter of a brilliant diplomat Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.²³³ This tenure of Benazir Bhutto got wasted away due to two major scandals one when her family life came in lime light as a result of her husband’s and brother’s dispute.²³⁴ As her bother accused Asif Ali Zardari of corruption that ended up by Murtaza Bhutto’s murder in Karachi by police in which Asif Ali Zardari was accused of accomplice in 1996. And secondly by her political rival Nawaz Sharif when he revealed publically that Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was involved in banking fraud that forced President Leghari to take steps against corruption charges levied on Benazir Bhutto and her Husband Asif Ali Zardari by dismissing her government in 1996.²³⁵ Like her previous tenure not much of legislative actions were taken in favour of the common people. In this tenure Benazir basically continued the economic policy of Nawaz Sharif to keep the privatization on her priority and didn’t do much to improvise or to change it either.

After Bhutto’s dismissal during second term, the new government began investigating the allegations of corruption and charged them in various different cases.

²³¹ Tolbert Strobe (2004), *Engaging India: Democracy, Diplomacy and the Bomb- A Memoire*. Washington DC: Brooking Institution Press, pp. 45

²³² Farzana Gull. Taj, “Dismissal of NAP Government in Balochistan.” *Pakistan Vision* 5 (July 2004). 49-62.

²³³ Anwar H. Syed, *The Discourse and Politic of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*. (London: Macmillan). 63.

²³⁴ Hassan Askari Rizvi, “Pakistan in 1998: The Polity under Pressure.” *Asian Survey* 39 (January-February 1999), 177-184.

²³⁵ Muhammad Najeeb, Hasan Zaidi, Saurabh Shulka, “*Benazir Bhutto: Daughter of Tragedy*” *India Today*, January 7, 2008.

Bhutto lost many of her loyal supporters. Many people who, like her, had been through jail and exile and sacrificed their family life were disappointed with her. Some felt that, by getting mired in patronage and battles for control, she had betrayed the ideals and principles they had all labored for. Some felt that she was not capable of solving the country's long-term economic and ethnic problems. Others felt that she had given up her democratic principles and become autocratic. A year after her dismissal, one analyst explained, "Her supporters feel that Benazir has turned the party into a one-woman show, where allegiance to Ms. Bhutto is more important than the wishes of the large and dedicated party membership."²³⁶ Bhutto herself admitted that she may have pushed too hard: I ...tried to be very aggressive and warmongering with my people in my second term to try and co-opt my opposition. I am a consensus sort of person, I like to win people over. Not to compromise the core of my values, but I seek the middle way and I tried to do that. I think in retrospect it was wrong because I did not co-opt them and I alienated some of my own supporters. But at the same time we got the three years to eliminate polio, to build schools and electrify villages.²³⁷ Many of her friends, however, were appalled by the apparent financial dealings of Asif Zardari.

²³⁶ Hans Zomer. "It's Hard to Be an Opposition Leader: The Politics of Benazir Bhutto. Politician and Icon." One World News Service. http://www.oneworld.org/owe/news/owns/hz2_en.htm. last accessed on 24th May 2013

²³⁷ "Benazir Bhutto: Interview," <http://www.achievement.org/autodoc/page/bhu0int-1>. last accessed on 9 June 2013

CONCLUSION

The political personality of Benazir Bhutto has been critically evaluated. In other words it has been tried to understand a new political trend that she introduced in Pakistani politics being the first women Prime Minister as well as the short coming of her personality as a political leader. In this scenario Benazir Bhutto being young and first Prime Minister had too much to lose in her basket. She had to defend herself as a right choice by the people of Pakistan to the political fanatic as well as religious extremists who believed that elected regime of Benazir Bhutto was a mistake done by the people of Pakistan.

Due to tremendous pressures on multiple posts due to the facts discussed in the above chapters, Benazir Bhutto's government had done very little yet understandably decent in office, though no particular legislative steps were taken in practice in her period.²³⁸ It looked that she had motives and will to do number of things but her government management lacked proper planning and scheming to tackle the tasks. She notable addressed number of issues in the parliament specially her strong will and intention to repeal the so called Hadood laws which were targeted by number of Muslim scholars as against the original understanding and rules or Shariah law as few of them were wrongly interpreted and corporate into the legislative system. But she took on practical steps to correct the flaws.²³⁹ In her parliamentary speeches as well as on international forums she kept speaking against the prisoner situation in the jails of Pakistan as she has also went through the agony of

²³⁸ Murtaza Anjum, , *Pakistan Mein Fauji Hakoomaten* (Military Governments in Pakistan). (Lahore: Darul Shaur, 2001), 45

²³⁹ Moonis Ahmer, "Ethnicity and State Power in Pakistan." *Asian Survey* 36 (October 1996),1031-1048.

this system, but no corrective legislation was implemented except over 1000 political prisoner were freed from the jails.²⁴⁰

When it came to freedom of expression and liberties she had a very clear stance on them. For the very reason television and news mediums were given free walk across not only this but also ban on student unions and labour unions were lifted. It was in some ways the effect of Pakistan's economic and financial situation also that she lacked funds to bring more effective and practical plans in action. In this regard it should not be ignored that when she took over the office of Prime Minister of Pakistan was at the verge of Bankruptcy and Pakistani administration had to made special compromises as to avail more loan to pay the previous loan.

Intended for almost a decade Benazir Bhutto has been the most vibrant, energetic, and forceful parliamentarian in Pakistan. She was to some extent controversial hitherto admired political director in Pakistan. For the duration of a decade from 1986 almost till 1999 she has been on the center stage of politics in Pakistan, either inside or away of prime ministerial command, she demonstrated guts, nerve and mind in tackling martial law and in the course of action to facilitate a democratic and elected government. From the beginning to end of the elections she contested in 1988 till 1999, she portrayed the reflection of a leader who believed in and was developmental, futuristic, and judicious but with an independent temperament, sound equipped in varying comprehensive authenticity and aspirant to renovate Pakistan into an economically urbanized, autonomous, collectively broadminded, contemporary nation.

²⁴⁰ Rafiq Afzal, *The Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-58*. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical Research, 1986), 67

Benazir Bhutto's parliamentary skill of crowd enlistment and administrative altercation were proven to be far superior than her counterparts. She has been efficient and skillful as a leader of the opposition, as compared to her tenure in prime minister's office. She displayed her dedication to progressive ethics as a parliamentarian. In her biography she comes into sight as an individual who was worn to shreds and stuck between the democratic and moderate model that she learned in Oxford and Harvard and a tyrannical truth that she was practically living in Pakistan. In spite of being deficient in practical legislative accomplishments including not being able to manage and gathering proper funds for the projects she was very speaking very active about in the parliament, her attractiveness, fame and recognition in the midst of the nation lingered solid.²⁴¹

Benazir Bhutto was upholding the fragile sense of balance inside the realm, tirelessly acting to conciliate and bring as much positivity as was achievable. For this purpose there was nothing in bag for Benazir Bhutto known as trouble-free approach to achieve the desired. Prime Minister Bhutto's efforts at sustaining a sense of balance amid the splinter group in the country assembled through diverse consequences. Seeing that in every following circumstance, every bloc exercised its individual thoughts concerning how matters were taken care of and were done. The two for the most part stern and stem antagonism sections opposing her in and outside the parliament were the religious fundamentalist and Nawaz Sharif who at that time was heading the regional administration of Province Punjab, which had largest number of army personals led by Zia regime.²⁴² Both hardened their aptitude of

²⁴¹ Saeed Shafiqat, *Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto: Asian Survey*, Vol. 36, No. 7 (Jul., 1996), pp.655-672 Published by: University of California Press, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2645715>. Accessed: 27/11/2013 11:32

²⁴² Rafiq Afzal (1986), *The Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-58*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical Research, p. 68

hostility towards newly elected Prime Minister. The functioning and mood of these elements was in no likelihood of supporting to build up a wounded country that was threatened with the possibilities of economic default but to make people of Pakistan realize what a big mistake they have done by electing a woman as their leader. As the majority conventional amongst the religious influential, went consequently very remote by maintaining and declaring that a female, in Shariah commandment had no standing and eligibility of escorting Pakistan as head of state. Standing and maintaining her stance in such conditions, on whole as a parliamentarian was the big achievement by Benazir Bhutto.

She stands and stance was accepted and acknowledged internationally for being an exemplary parliamentarian internationally. She was acknowledged as a leader who helped Pakistan through its fight back to bring democracy, basic human rights and a democratic government back in the country. Her parliamentary popularity and acceptance can be imagined that when she visited United States in 1989, Twenty-five thousand people stood in the rain to eavesdrop to this 1973 graduate of Harvard. She was indeed a great woman, the great parliamentary leader and the courageous democrat (May her soul rest in peace).

FINDINGS

1. A simple majority is very much necessary for the smooth functioning of a parliamentary system of government. The position of Benazir Bhutto in the parliament was weak because in both terms of her government she had to work in a coalition government. It was one of the major reasons that legislative work was negligible during her two terms in office as the Prime Minister.
2. In post withdrawal period, the military remains watchful to what the civilian government performs. However, in 1988, General Aslam Baig, the Army Chief, was very assertive. The foreign policy and nuclear policy was the exclusive domain of President and Army Chief and Prime Minister was not authorized to enter. However, Benazir Bhutto tried to involve herself in the nuclear command and control system, which irritated the Army Chief and the President.
3. When Benazir Bhutto came into power during her first term of government, the country was economically weak. The US also suspended both the military and economic aid by invoking the Pressler Amendment. Therefore, she could not fulfill her promises and commitments done during the electoral campaign.
4. A political leader alone cannot run the whole system of government. The government of Z.A Bhutto also collapsed because he gradually separated his companions from himself. Benazir Bhutto had no experience to deal with the gigantic task of running a state. Similarly, she was lacking a strong and competent team. Her prime ministership could have been a successful one, if she could avail the services of senior members of her party. But she lost her

father's loyalists due to her authoritarian style. Consequently, she could not develop a cabinet having a combination of some senior and experienced party members and also a few junior energetic persons. This weakness resulted in poor performance of her government on one side and alienation of senior leadership of her party on the other.

5. It is necessary that a female leader who comes to the leadership should be trained from the grass root level as a political leader so that she could be able to make a group and supporting party instead of failing alone because for running an office like prime minister is a laborious job which cannot be done without the support of a strong group or political party. Similarly, a female political leader, who comes to top level of politics with the support of her parents and/or husbands, should keep her political career separate from her family life. Benazir Bhutto couldn't do it. Her husband, father in law and mother were involved in politics. Benazir Bhutto was not able to control her husband's interference in her government affairs. Though she was never been accused of corruption directly but her husband and father-in-law were openly criticized with charges of corruption. Both terms of her governments were dismissed mainly on the charges of corruption.
6. Benazir Bhutto could not adjust herself according to the situation of the state and the political circumstances. She could not cooperate with the military, the president and the judiciary. Instead of strengthening her position, the rivalries with these institutions further weakened her governments. The political governments sustain due to the strengthening of the institutions and not due to strengthening of the political leaders. Benazir Bhutto failed to develop a working relationship with the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan accusing him as

an authoritarian person. But ironically, during second term in office, she failed to reconcile with her handpicked and party lieutenant, President Farooq Laghari.

7. Like her father, Benazir Bhutto had less tolerance towards the opposition. Her refusal to compromise with opposition parties and with provincial governments especially with that of the PML-N in Punjab kept her engaged in un-necessary activities, leaving her government as unpopular one, easy to be dismissed by the President.
8. As an opposition leader Benazir Bhutto took a better start but soon fell prey to her old style of confrontation and could not add more in legislative process except to help in amending the Constitution to end 58 (2B).
9. Political party should be strong and the female political leader should head the political party and not isolate itself from the political party. She should not act as the charismatic leader only because political party is the real base of a leader that should be on the back of the female political leader. It was lacking in case of Benazir Bhutto.

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