

## Government-opposition Relations at Centre and Provinces: Analysing Second Term of Benazir Bhutto Government

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### Abstract

*Democracy and democratic governance has widely been debated throughout the world. The study of democratic consolidation has still got prominent position especially in third world countries. Democracy in developing countries particularly in Pakistan is confronting long standing problem of governance. Most important issue to work on is relationship of federal government with parliamentary opposition as well as federating units having opposition parties in power. The second term of Benazir Bhutto as prime minister was expected to be relatively more stable than her previous government. Expectations were roused that democracy in Pakistan will take roots and this would flourish by focusing on welfare of the masses. This paper focuses on the question whether it was the same follies which Benazir Bhutto played with during her second term with opposition in the centre and their governments in provinces. Mostly, secondary sources have been utilized to answer the question and newspapers have also been consulted. Analysing all data, the paper gives a detailed study of the facts along with key findings, on the basis of which suggestions have been given and conclusion is drawn.*

**Keywords:** Democracy, Governance, Benazir Bhutto, Opposition, and Centre-provinces Relations.

### Introduction:

Democracy requires freedom and the possession of knowledge coupled with opportunities of participation to the citizens at every level of decision making. There are some universal values which a democratic society needs to adopt. Achieving intrinsic, instrumental and constructive values by the leaders of a political system in the first place will be the mark of transition to a level of political development. This development should be termed as democratization and achieving maturity in democratic practices.<sup>1</sup> It should, however, be noted here that fall of authoritarian or dictatorial regime does not guarantee or mean that there will be democratic society or political institutions in a state. If with the

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ouster of autocrats or dictator, the state, the political institutions, the civil society and the people in general do not adopt democratic values then the state may still remain under authoritarian tendencies by civilian leaders.<sup>2</sup>

Democracy and political parties are interrelated in modern political systems. The existence of a democratic culture is vital for the smooth working of democracy and political parties. Democracy springs freedom to people, freedom of expression, freedom of thought, freedom to form political organizations. It gives a choice to the masses to elect their representatives by their free will. They can criticize the policies and programs of government. People have the power to make and unmake government. A government that does not represent the general will of the people cannot be called democratic. A government can hope to remain in office as long as it enjoys the backing of the electorates. Political parties are an important component of a democratic process and without political parties no democracy can function in the true sense of the term.<sup>3</sup> However, no mutual cooperation has been seen on the part of ruling and opposition parties during second term of Benazir Bhutto government. Once again, democracy in Pakistan could not flourish, the way it was supposed to, nor could the institutions grow accordingly as they need the desired time frame.

In Pakistan, this phenomenon of non-tolerance of the democratic values on the part of leaders both from government and the opposition has been deep rooted. Ever since the country's birth, democratic practices have been used as core against politicians' autocratic attitudes, they were not accommodative and simply advanced their self-interests undermining, thus, the future of democracy in Pakistan. Political leaders whether in government, in opposition, the president and the civil and military elites, all played mockery with the basic spirit of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan. The president displayed the lingering legacy in the shape of Eight Amendment whenever he wanted.

The opposition, instead of correcting and making the government accountable, disrespected democratic values. They always remained at loggerhead with the government at federal and provincial level. The party in power has sought to strengthen and consolidate its rule not democratic culture in the country. Rivalry and mistrust have been one of the permanent tenants of our political system because no one was loyal as the prime minister was not certain about the president and the military leaders. Even the prime minister's endeavours to politicize certain institutions like judiciary had blatantly violated the norms of democracy. As stated, the mentality of the politicians towards politics and political system needs to be changed. Instead of building institutions and developing consensus on certain crucial issues, institutions and

policies, the politicians often fight with each other in the streets and in the parliament.<sup>4</sup>

### **Elections of 1993: A Split Mandate at Federal and Provincial Level**

Despite inclusion of Asif Ali Zardari in the caretaker setup, Moeen Qureshi's interim administration was widely praised for impartiality. October 1993 general elections were widely agreed to have been among the fairest ever to take place in Pakistan. That is the reason, the elections result gave a split mandate and neither PPP nor PML-N could obtain clear majority. Another reason was that the people showed no enthusiasm mainly due to their frustration over corruption of politicians and struggle for power between the president and the prime minister. However, Pakistani democracy appeared to have been strengthened by eventual resolution to a political crisis. PPP had campaigned on the promise of "Agenda for Change," focusing on improvement of social services.<sup>5</sup> During the campaign of the 1993 elections, the party manifesto pledged to present a "list system" by adding extra seats on the basis of votes obtained by political parties, apart from the directly elected members, restore the joint electorates system, pass such laws which will not only discourage floor crossing and re-establish the dignity of the institutions of democracy.<sup>6</sup>

As usual, Nawaz Sharif blamed the caretaker government for discrepancies with the election results. In fact, the caretaker government had given encouragement to an open discussion on the performance of previous government of Nawaz Sharif. Moreover, a list of politicians along with their assets who were involved in corruption cases was published. It exposed the politicians to the masses and as a result, majority of the people, instead of turning to the polling stations on the polling day preferred to stay at home. Benazir Bhutto led PPP and Nawaz Sharif led PML-N were able to emerge as the major political parties in a hung Parliament. Out of 217 total seats, the PPP secured 86 seats (six less than in the 1988 elections) thus became the leading party and was followed by PML-N with 72 seats in National Assembly. However, Nawaz Sharif criticised the caretaker government for its alleged efforts to defame PML-N and favour the PPP in October 1993 elections.<sup>7</sup>

The election results created concern as no single party was able to form government and in such a situation, military could be prompted to end its neutral stance and intervene. The problem was resolved when PPP captured the positions of Speaker and Deputy Speaker in National Assembly. Once again, the PPP, although with the help of PML (J), few small parties and some independent members became able to form a

coalition government at the centre. Benazir Bhutto got a vote of confidence as premier with 121 for the second time in last five years. However, after indirect threat of military and powerful president, the 72-members majority in National Assembly and a virtual majority in the Senate enabled Nawaz Sharif to become a formidable opposition.<sup>8</sup> PPP succeeded in establishing provincial governments in Punjab (coalition) and Sindh. The PML (N), on the other hand, only managed to form a coalition government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then NWFP) with the help of ANP and sat on opposition benches in Punjab as well as Sindh provincial assemblies.

Benazir Bhutto started with a clear advantage of majority for her federal government in National Assembly and coalition governments in three provinces. However, the skeptics were pleasantly surprised by Nawaz Sharif's debut as leader of the national opposition, his maiden speech in the new legislature verged on an eloquent concession of defeat and he solemnly gave his word that the opposition would eschew the politics of confrontation in favor of a constructive approach. This was almost too good to be true, given that the best of time ruling and opposition parties had viewed one another belligerently, rarely losing an opportunity to browbeat, humiliate and, if possible, replace their opponents.<sup>9</sup>

If fact, military had wanted establishment of a coalition government or, in otherwise case, favoured a president from another party. Therefore, the acting President Wasim Sajjad was their favourite choice. Both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif opposed the idea of a coalition government. However, Nawaz Sharif showed agreement for appointment of a person from Muslim League as the President of Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto initially showed no objection, however, rejected such an arrangement later. To Benazir Bhutto, since the government of Nawaz Sharif also suffered from the Eighth Constitutional Amendment, he was expected to lend support to the PPP government for its annulment.<sup>10</sup> However, as the aim of PPP government was a party president, it didn't present such bill till its dissolution in November 1996.

### **Manoeuvrings to Handle Opposition in the Centre: A Tit for Tate Policy**

The way Benazir Bhutto started her second term as a prime minister, developing good working relations with political opponents and other stakeholders presented maturity and greater enthusiasm. Benazir Bhutto not only showed good gestures for the military but also started nurturing cordial relationship with civil bureaucracy. She had not only

working relationship but great party ties with President Farooq Khan Leghari. In the case of PML (J) from Punjab, Benazir Bhutto demonstrated more accommodation for her coalition partners in the parliament. Furthermore, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) was given the Chairmanship of Foreign Affairs Committee, Nasarullah Khan with Kashmir Committee and Malik Qasim with Anti-Corruption Committee Chairmanships. Malik Qasim later became the Chairman Senate. However, Benazir Bhutto government also avoided appointing the Public Accounts Committee in the National Assembly meant for scrutinising the expenditures of the PPP government.

Although the first year of Benazir Bhutto's second term can be characterized as a success story not only by perusing her objectives of good relationship but avoiding conflicts with other stakeholders.<sup>11</sup> However, her strategies could not materialize when these efforts proved futile and she was confronted with and had to survive in a hostile political situations. In 1994, a grave political hostility between Benazir Bhutto and her main political adversary, Pakistan Muslim League (N) dominated Pakistani politics. Neither Benazir Bhutto nor the opposition could display any patience towards one another. The former was pursuing vengeful policies while the latter indulged in ceaseless agitation and politics of confrontation. Political atmosphere of the country suffered enormously from the decay in political institutions, widespread corruption, ethnic and sectarian violence thus leading to an anarchical situations in most parts of the country.<sup>12</sup> During two and a half years in power, Benazir Bhutto government had been facing strong resistance from opposition parties and a critical press.

In fact, Benazir Bhutto as leader in the opposition in 1993 had consistently followed a single point agenda to topple the government of Nawaz Sharif and had been using all means for it. As a retaliation, Nawaz Sharif was posing a much stronger opposition to Benazir Bhutto and was more impatient for overthrowing her government mainly through agitational politics and a rigorous campaign through media. The grounds on which Benazir Bhutto had been demanding resignation of Nawaz Sharif, her government was indulged in almost similar problems such as political victimisation, mega corruption and political bribery. Nawaz Sharif targeted her administration of corruption in main state owned companies and accused Benazir Bhutto government for decelerating the pace of economic growth of the country.

Now Benazir Bhutto had to find herself with donning many of the same political tactics that she had done in her first administration. All the tactics adversely devalued PPP and her public image. A more damage to come was due to the way her government used higher judiciary to

annoy rival politicians by imposing charges of corruption, a strategy she had denounced during PML government. As a result, she was overwhelmed by protests and walkouts that Nawaz Sharif started against her administration. However, the movement called Tehrik-i-Nijat which Nawaz Sharif had started against the PPP was purely based on his own economic motives. He evidently believed that the vast industrial empire could only be saved through his own return to power. However, a movement of deliverance from a regime should have some justification, either when the power has been acquired through palpably undemocratic means or when a government is clearly seen to be pursuing policies detrimental to the national interests.

The PPP government went a step further and cancelled the contract of a Turkish Firm Bayinder granted by Nawaz Sharif government for the construction of Peshawar-Islamabad Motorway. Eventually the firm was paid compensation and the project had substantial over turn both in terms of time and money. The government had all privatization deals of Nawaz Sharif period scrutinized while appointing PPP man Naveed Qamar as head of the Privatization Commission. Simultaneously, the government continued to close many private sector power generation deals, the biggest of them was Hub Power Company's agreement for 1200 Mega Watts. This agreement was unusual as deficit of power in Karachi was only 300 MW. Moreover, tariff rate given to the company was three-times higher than any other project. Subsequently, Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) made desperate attempts to seek some relief but the pressure of international financial institutions and so called sanctity of investment agreement prevented them from securing a reduction in tariff.<sup>13</sup>

Benazir Bhutto also faced problems with her brother, Murtaza Bhutto, mainly in Sindh. The return of Benazir Bhutto's brother, Murtaza Bhutto, to Pakistan had created formidable opposition to her government in late 1993. His return virtually, unnerved the former leader and her spouse, Asif Ali Zardar. Some disgruntled PPP supporters gathered around him which became another major concern for the prime minister. Now it was difficult time for his ailing mother who agonized over the schism between her two eldest children. Murtaza Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari were not in cordial terms with one another as the latter openly denounced Asif Zardari's domineering influence in the party.<sup>14</sup> A cleavage came to surface inside the Bhutto family when Benazir Bhutto's mother, Nusrat Bhutto, chose to support her son, Mir Murtaza Bhutto, within PPP. Murtaza Bhutto, declared himself as the true heir to his father. Apparently to pre-empt Nusrat Bhutto's bid to declare Murtaza

Bhutto her successor in the PPP, Benazir Bhutto expelled her mother from the party's co-chairpersonship.

The power struggle within the Bhutto family was further intensified when Nusrat Bhutto said she would not allow certain PPP members of Benazir Bhutto government to visit the grave of her late husband, Z. A. Bhutto on his birth anniversary on January 5. However, Benazir Bhutto remained firm that the anniversary would be celebrated as usual. A clash between Murtaza Bhutto's followers and the police occurred on January 5 resulting in the death of two persons. Nusrat Bhutto declared that Benazir Bhutto and her administration was worse than ZiaulHaq. However, the government claimed involvement of Indian Intelligence Agency agents among Murtaza Bhutto's followers who provoked the incident. This family feud, despite its vicissitudes, continued to haunt Benazir Bhutto government throughout the year.<sup>15</sup>

Nawaz Sharif also supported Murtaza Bhutto and formed a political alliance that functioned vigorously to weaken Benazir Bhutto's regime and initiated an anti-corruption movement throughout the country. During 1994 to 1995, Nawaz Sharif along with Murtaza Bhutto started a Train March, a tradition established by Z. A. Bhutto, and travelled from Karachi to Peshawar. The huge crowds, who participated in the march along with those gathered on the stations, attended the speeches of their leaders. The massive crowds along the route gathered in a display of the campaigning and hostile strategies that described both politics and these two political rivals. Nawaz Sharif also played an important role in organizing strikes by labours and industrial workers all over Pakistan during in September and October 1994. Thus Benazir Bhutto had a tough time in establishing an effective government and addressing the nation's problems. Several opposition leaders were arrested by the government in drawing widespread condemnation and who took part in the protests.<sup>16</sup>

Attacked from one side by her mother Nusrat Bhutto and Murtaza Bhutto and, on the other by Nawaz Sharif, who was still smarting from his loss of power, her defence could hardly be expected to satisfy the public. Nawaz Sharif also fought back with accusations about Benazir Bhutto's dishonest political practices. He also raised questions about her personal probity, citing a banking transaction that netted Benazir Bhutto family a considerable wealth. The scandal was played up in the press which eventually trapped the President in an embarrassing situation. By centring attention on the excesses of Benazir Bhutto and her husband, Nawaz Sharif was able to escape assaults on his own financial activity. Moreover, he was successful to drive a wedge between the prime minister and the president.<sup>17</sup> For the purpose, to vitiate the already

antagonistic relations between the Leghari and the Benazir, some of the corrupt officials and ministers were sacked.

In September 1996, police killed Mir Murtaza Bhutto near his home in Karachi. This unhappy occurrence was a gloomy explanation of the worse lawlessness situation especially in Karachi. This was especially heart breaking news for Benazir Bhutto since she and her brother recently had reconciled their political differences after many years of confrontation. Benazir Bhutto later claimed that Murtaza Bhutto's murder was part of a plan to destabilize her government and to wipe out the Bhutto family. Her charges appeared to cast some blame for the murder on President Farooq Khan Leghari, thus causing a rift between the prime minister and the president. Following the death of Murtaza Bhutto in 1996, amid protests and spontaneous demonstrations in Sindh province had led Benazir Bhutto's government losing control of the province. She had mostly lost the reputations by end of 1996, because of the rampant corruption in her government and the alleged involvement of her spouse in Murtaza Bhutto's death.

At initial stages, the criticism had been tolerated but finally, PPP government resorted to the use of state machinery for dealing with the opposition. Mian Muhammad Sharif and Mian Shahbaz Sharif, father and brother of Nawaz Sharif respectively were subjected to ill-treatment by state agencies under civilian control. Innumerable cases were brought against the business family of Nawaz Sharif and his ageing father was arrested over several cases of tax evasion, default on loan payments, and misuse of state authority.<sup>18</sup> Nawaz Sharif responded by strikes, shut down of business, wheel jams, protest meetings and boycott of assemblies. The state of affairs only sent waves of despair among the people, regardless of their party affiliations.<sup>19</sup> However, PPP's motive behind this act was that they wanted the opposition to protest as violently as possible to interrupt the formal address of the President to joint session of parliament on 14 November.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, the cleavage between prime minister and president had come to surface long ago with the arrest of Mian Sharif in the pretext to infuriate the opposition.

Now the PPP and PML-N had also started fighting in the new legislature. Benazir Bhutto's government found it hard to perform in the face of grave opposition from Nawaz Sharif. The situation got further drained by disrespecting the parliament. In the parliament, opposition's policies were losing the norms of decency and decorum. The thing touched the lowest ebb when, on 14 November 1994, on the occasion of president's address to the joint session of parliament. The opposition as mentioned above, tried to physically assault President Farooq Ahmad Khan president and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. The opposition had



smuggled a number of banners inside the parliament inscribed with indecent Slogans, which they unfurled in the hall to the great embarrassment of the members. As if this was not enough, the opposition hurled verbal insults on her and the president.<sup>21</sup>

Benazir Bhutto government was hurt also by PPP defections the plan engineered by Nawaz Sharif that caused splits within the party. Pakistan had witnessed countless attacks on its democratic norms, and Benazir's government was hardly in position, let alone did it enjoy the conditions, to practice democratic policy. The government also arrested Brigadier (Rtd.) Imtiaz, former Intelligence Bureau Chief during the Nawaz Sharif regime, for conspiring in the toppling of the earlier Benazir Bhutto regime. Moreover, despite appointing Justice Sajjad Ali Shah from Sindh (a junior judge) as Chief Justice of Pakistan, efforts were made to control higher judiciary through political appointments. To be brief, Benazir Bhutto government was making all efforts to concentrate all powers i.e. judicial, legislative and financial unto her office. This was a situation which Benazir Bhutto herself had deemed as most dangerous before the elections of 1993.

At the same time the matter which became defining moment came to the front in the Shafi Mohammadi affair. In the judge's case he showed his deep interest in the implementation of the Supreme Court judgment. He was annoyed on "launching an attack on the Apex Court Chief Justice" by Shafi Mohammadi, the Shariat Court Judge.<sup>22</sup> However, the leadership of the main political organizations namely Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto opposed that scheme and therefore, this plan were discouraged the stage of its conception. Nonetheless, by the year 1996, Benazir Bhutto government had alienated the judiciary, the military, the president, the world monetary bodies like World Bank and IMF (in particular), and the Pakistani public-at-large. Confrontation between Benazir Bhutto government and the opposition parties continued and the prime minister was declared a security risk to the national security and integrity of Pakistan. This intolerance of the government and opposition towards each other provided again an opportunity to the military and the president to start thinking about rolling down of the elected government.

### **Governments of Opposition Parties in Provinces: The Policy of Regime Change**

Initially, Benazir Bhutto had encouraged political participation by accommodating all the stakeholders both at federal and provincial levels. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's son was appointed as minister in Sindh provincial government and the son of Balkh SherMazari was given a

ministerial position in the Punjab government. Similarly, two ministers in the Punjab cabinet were the son of Mustafa Khar as well as Nasrullah Khan.<sup>23</sup> However, the situation at political front in provinces was not friendly and Punjab proved to be the bone of contention for PPP yet again. The judgement of the Lahore High Court to restore ManzoorWattoo's government in Punjab in November 1996 caused considerable embarrassment for the federal government and threatened its survival. This was a severe blow as a PPP government of SardarArifNakai was installed by the Prime Minister just a year back in September 1995.<sup>24</sup> AsifZardari would not accept this reinstatement and went to Lahore, for the purpose to shift the allegiances of provincial assembly members through horse trading.<sup>25</sup>

The presence of Faisal Saleh Hayat as a Principal Advisor at his head MianManzoor Ahmed Watto, the Chief Minister had started feeling a bit uneasy. In the struggles for making himself free from the influence of Benazir Bhutto's appointed governor in the Punjab the dissensions aroused to the surface between Wattoo and Hayat. ManzoorWattoo eventually faced the no-confidence motion against him in the Punjab Assembly and SardarArifNakai, a veteran politician from District Kasur replaced him. The former's appointment as the Chief Minister of Punjab also sowed the seeds of conflict between the president and the Prime Minister. President FarooqLeghari was interested in MakhdomAltaf to cover the position of Chief Minister. Therefore, President FarooqLeghari was not happy over these developments taking place in the most important province.

In early 1994, though, Benazir Bhutto tried to capture the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then NWFP) by bringing to her side a number of independent members of the government having ministerial position, and more advantages on joining the party union. The goodwill of the opposition and backing of the presidency could have been cashed to secure her position and government. Instead, Benazir Bhutto planned to oust provincial government through constitutional manoeuvring. She had no tolerance for democratically elected coalition government of PML (N) and ANP. She sought to install the government of PPP in the province despite being a minority. Within four months of the election, the PPP leadership in the province led by Aftab Khan Sherpao, manoeuvred to lure away eleven independent members who had initially supported the PML (N) government in the province.<sup>26</sup> He was successful in buying the loyalties of Independent and two PML (N) members of the Provincial Assembly with the help of Mehran Bank money. Thus, PPP acquired a majority in the provincial assembly through paying a huge sum of money in bribes.<sup>27</sup>

Believing she had to neutralize Nawaz Sharif, Benazir Bhutto took advantage of the unstable conditions in the NWFP to prorogue the provincial government and impose governor's rule. The federal government asked the President to impose governor's rule in the province under Article 234 of the Constitution to remove the current government which he complied.<sup>28</sup> With lifting of the restrictions on political activity after the installation of a PPP government following governor's rule of two months provoked the opposition. The opposition, however, could not remain silent in the face of this obvious effort to impose her party's rule throughout the country. Protest meetings were held from Peshawar to Islamabad and all the way to Lahore. The undemocratic action from the outset opened another round of confrontational politics, damaging democratic discourse. The opposition launched Save NWFP Campaign. The opposition boycotted the sessions of the Parliament and challenged the government on virtually every issue. This example reflects on Benazir's disregard for legitimate opposition and on how she failed to promote the much needed culture of tolerance based on respect for majority rule.

Benazir Bhutto's first government had been overthrown at a time when Pakistan was confronting grave problems particularly law and order. Since regaining authority for the second term, Benazir Bhutto had found herself battling with major issues with opposition including the MohajirQuami Movement (MQM) in Karachi. The MQM along with PML (N) had become a strong opposition in the Sindh Assembly. In late April 1994, Mohajir tensions with the government in the province of Sind increased thus leading to violence in which many died. Many of the clashes were between MQM and PPP workers; some were between Sunni and Shia sects. Those involved in the sectarian violence, and yielded to pressures from religious parties by postponing amendment of the country's "blasphemy" laws, were not prosecuted or punished by the Benazir Bhutto's government, like its predecessors.<sup>29</sup> The climate of insecurity reached the highest point after the two American consulate's officials were killed on March 8, 1995. Karachi's Stock Exchange (KSE) fluctuated considerably and fell by 29 points since then mainly due to political turmoil and uncertainty in Karachi.

Violence had extremely increased and citizens expressed profound frustration with the incapability of Bhutto's administration to end it. Benazir Bhutto government launched a crackdown against MQM. Peace in Karachi remained elusive as MQM activists were not ready to allow PPP in administering duties. The followers of Altaf Hussain trusted neither the two major political parties nor the army. They propagated the intensity of state led violence against fellow Muhajirs by using

pamphlets, audiocassettes, and videocassettes. A member of the Muhajirs charged that Muhajirs were victims of discrimination and ethnic cleansing. The violators were the elite Sindhis which included the Bhutto family. He charged that the Sindhis had dominated most of the nation which included only about 2 percent of the population. Many Pakistanis also felt that Benazir Bhutto government had done nothing to stop the wave of violence against the Muhajirs Community in Karachi.<sup>30</sup> Altaf Hussain along with his few confidants had been awarded British citizenship, but they continued their involvement in Karachi through a well-organized system of communications.<sup>31</sup> The opposition, particularly MQM continued to be at loggerheads with PPP throughout 1993 to 1996.

#### **Towards the Dismissal of Benazir Bhutto Government:**

During her second term (1993-1996), Benazir Bhutto nominated a former bureaucrat and senior member of the party Farooq Ahmad Khan Legari as a candidate for the office of president. This nomination was intended to strengthen her position and to save her government from the attack of dangerous adversaries i.e., military and Nawaz Sharif. All this proved futile during the course of time and in the end she realized that selection of Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari for the slot of presidency was wrong because the president used the same tactics as were used by his predecessor i.e., Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

Despite differences the president did not come to an open confrontation with the premier. However, confrontational politics in Karachi and Punjab was the starting point of bad relations between President Farooq Khan Leghari and Benazir Bhutto, yet both of them belonged to PPP and had shared common political persuasions. Throughout 1996, relations between the President and prime minister remained strained because of the cavalier and arrogant behaviour of Benazir Bhutto towards her party's appointee to the president's office. The military not only had the reservations that Benazir Bhutto was trying to encroach on their preserve of policy but also because of her financial policies which were likely to jeopardize their ties with the international assistance community.<sup>32</sup>

President Farooq Leghari was annoyed of the interference of Asif Zardari in the administration specifically as the latter did not have positive reputation. A tug of war had continued between the president and prime minister over appointment in judiciary and levelled allegations in diverse parts such as unlawful use of public money, establishing monopoly on politics, and favouritism. The issue became contentious when the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and the chief justices of the four provincial high courts, ordered the discharge of twenty four judges,

all of whom had been appointed in the Benazir Bhutto government. Benazir Bhutto, however, refused to abide by the judgment due to which Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah approached the president for intervention in the matter.

Besides the charges of corruption, Benazir faced the allegation of maladministration. Also Benazir Bhutto was unable to retain her populist commitments and rationalize Pakistan's economy. From the end of 1995, no effort was spared to ensure continuity of her rule even if it meant pushing corruption and patronage to the utmost levels. The result was disastrous. It strengthened the oligarchy's determination to dismiss her government being a hindrance to the restructuring of the economy to better fit Pakistan into the global economy.<sup>33</sup> As the political situation worsened, Benazir Bhutto sent Rao Sikander Iqbal, Nuraz Shakoore and Khurshid Shah, senior politicians from PPP to meet President Farooq Khan Leghari and discuss his grievances from the government. Nawaz Sharif along with Abida Hussain, Chaudary Nisar and other Muslim Leaguers also held meeting with President Farooq Khan Leghari and pointed out the worsening economic situation and demanded mid-term elections. Other opposition parties also added fuel to the fire and encouraged President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari to dismiss the government of Benazir Bhutto.

Prime Minister, once again, proved to possess a weak position in the ruling troika. On November 4, 1996, President Bill Clinton of the United States was re-elected as the forty-second president. On the same day in Pakistan, President Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari was using his powers of the amended Constitution. As a consequence, Benazir Bhutto's regime was overthrown as accused with corruption and mismanagement. The dismissal by her hand picked president came as a surprise to Benazir Bhutto. This was the fourth elected prime minister dismissed since 1988, and Farooq Khan Leghari became the third president of Pakistan to have exercised the constitutional power under 58(2)(b) in this regard. However, the preferences coupled with the performance of Benazir Bhutto had made that day bound to come. In fact, Benazir Bhutto had been emerging as an arrogant, reckless, capricious and corrupt ruler. Moreover, she was surrounded by sycophants, lackeys and flunkeys thereby squandering away another good opportunity to prove her services for the people of the country.<sup>34</sup>

### **Conclusion:**

The 1993 general elections were a kind of action replay in the sense that it brought Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) to the helm of affairs once again. The standing of PPP was weaker as compared to that of

1988, weaker in the sense that it remained fearful of the opposition due to shaky majority in the parliament. Instead of seeking lessons from the blunders committed one after another, PPP seemed determined to follow the same old pattern of politics disregarding the spirit of the revised manifesto carrying the title "Agenda for Change." One wonders why a party leader, who had her brought up in the West, got education from the prestigious Western academic institutions and fully accustomed to the democracy and its pre-requisites, was failing to introduce it in Pakistan, despite an all-out foreign support extended to her for the purpose.<sup>35</sup> From her ill-planned Doves of Democracy Movement to the uncertain majority which she rode to her first stint as the prime minister, Benazir Bhutto did everything that General ZiaulHaq had wanted his hand-picked politicians to do. Every step she took disgraced the political process, from bribing elected representatives to secure their support in the National Assembly to letting her husband run amok in the premier's secretariat".<sup>36</sup>

Although, initially Nawaz Sharif claimed to offer her party support to the government but, later on, all this proved a myth than reality. Nawaz Sharif openly demonstrated defiance to the writ of federal government and resorted to Long and Train Marches. He as opposition leader caused damage to democracy in Pakistan due to his attitude of non-cooperation with his political rival Benazir Bhutto to complete the mandated period. Opposition parties during this period demonstrated no spirit of accommodation and disallowed the smooth functioning of democratic process to flourish. Similarly, PPP did not prove its worth as it had left no stone unturned in humiliating the opposition especially Nawaz Sharif. Various petitions were filed to damage each other's credibility. PPP resorted to undemocratic means including suppression of the opposition both at federal and provincial levels. Benazir Bhutto created troubles for her government by indulging with Nawaz Sharif as well as with other provinces and particularly with MQM in Sindh.

### **Suggestions and Recommendations:**

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

Politics of Pakistan is in need of strong opposition among the political parties as well as inside the parliament. PPP should avoid these

follies and must compete its opponent on the basis of performance. It should abide by the culture of sincere and positive political opposition. Our history reveals such instances on the part of politicians in the political affairs of the country.

Politics in Pakistan has not been an easy job to do. Because of the divergent nature of Pakistani society, it is very difficult for the PPP to control pulses of the masses and divergent groups in Pakistan. The Party lacked a uniform agenda and programme mostly, it confided to Sindh and raised the slogan of respective community at the time of its downfall.

Democracy as a system is adopted by various countries in various manifestations according to their own conditions. As we belong to a region where there is multi-cultural and multi ethnic variations, it will take longer time to fully implement the principles of democracy in Pakistan. All the stakeholders including politicians should be accommodative to each other and democracy should be given chance to nurture for longer time, rather they should refrain from undue interference.

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