

# **Confrontational Politics and Working of National Assembly of Pakistan 1988-1999**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND  
PAKISTAN STUDIES FOR THE DEGREE OF M.PHIL**



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## **CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the dissertation presently submitted bearing the title **“Confrontational Politics and Working of National Assembly of Pakistan 1988-1999.”** is the result of my own research and has not been submitted to any other institution for any other degree.

SOHAIB BALOCH MANDAI  
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## **SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the M.Phil. Candidate Sohaib Ahmed has completed her dissertation titled **“Confrontational Politics and Working of National Assembly of Pakistan 1988-1999.”** under my supervision. I recommend it for submission in candidacy for the degree of M.Phil. in History and Pakistan Studies.

Prof.Dr. Mahboob Hussain

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*The expertise in the thesis belongs to those listed above. Any errors are mine.*

SOHAIB BALOCH MANDAI

## ABBREVIATIONS

AIML.	All India Muslim League
AL.	Awami League
ANP.	Awami National Party
APC.	All Party Conference
BNP.	Balochistan National Party
CEC.	Chief Executive Committee
COAS.	Chief of Army Staf
EBDO	Elective Body Disqualification Order
FATA.	Federal Administrative Tribal Areas
GDA.	Grand Democratic Alliances
GHQ.	General Head Quarters
HRCP.	Human Right Commission for Pakistan
IJI.	Islamic Jamhuri Ithihad
IJT.	Islamic Jamhoori Tulbah
ISI.	Inter Service Intellegence
Jl.	Jameat Isalame
JUI.	Jameat E Ulama E Islam
LFO.	Legal Framework Order
MNA.	Member of National Assembly
MPA.	Member of Provincial Assembly
MQM.	Muhajir Qomi Movement
NAP.	National Awami Party
NDP.	National Democratic Party
NIP.	Nizam-E-Islam Party
NWFP.	Northwest Frontier Province
PML.	Pakistan Muslim League

PNA.	Pakistan National Party
PNSF.	Pakistan National Student Alliance
PPP.	Pakistan People's Party
PSF.	People's Student Federation
UDF.	United Democratic Front

## ABSTRACT

*“Confrontational Politics and Working of National Assembly of Pakistan 1988-1999.”* dissertation provides a thorough analysis of four elected governments between 1988 and 1999, a time of topical relevance sandwiched between two protracted military regimes {Zia ul Haq from 1977 to 1988} {Parvaiz Musharraf from 1999 to 2008}. The study's focus is on the roles played by parliament in the aforementioned contexts. The goal of the study is to identify the causes of democratic system obstacles and the early collapse of elected assemblies. The functioning of the assembly is highlighted in this thesis. The study also focuses on the elements that distinguish between institutions that are elected and those that are not elected, as well as the causes and reasons for assembly dissolution. The Parliament, provincial assemblies, and federal and provincial governments are among the elected institutions variables. The factors for non-elected institutions include the military, bureaucracy, judiciary, media, and caretaker governments. Human rights, the state of law and order, and the executive-judicial relationships are also taken into consideration.

The thesis is divided into 6 chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion. An overview of the history of the parliament from the act of 1833 to the years following Pakistan's independence, 1947 to 1988, is provided in the first chapter. In order to ease debate and interpretation of the thesis's central issue, namely identifying the causes that hindered the working of the parliament's {Assemblies from 1988 to 1999}, this research aims to give background context reasons for the failure of four assemblies. Four chapters, each covering a different aspect of the eleven-year span are covered by this project, including elections, the formation of two assemblies under Benazir and Mian Nawaz Sharif, their functions, and the reasons for their dissolution. The chapters go into detail into political movements, power struggles, and other issues that frequently causes assemblies to breakdown.

In addition to published materials, interviews with certain significant civil-military officials and politicians are utilised to comprehend and analyse the issues and gather first-hand information. In addition to gathering facts, this is also meant to generate thoughts and recommendations for maintaining and effectively functioning true democracy in Pakistan.

## Introduction

The foundation of Pakistan is based on democratic ideas since it is the realisation of the people's aspiration for a distinct nation. Democracy is "in our blood, it is in our bones,"<sup>1</sup> The new state's constitution, according to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was a seamless synthesis of democratic ideals with Islamic precepts, he declared in 1943.<sup>2</sup> A legal framework that would protect the growing state's rule of law, justice, and morality.<sup>3</sup> When Jinnah said: "Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you would find in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal religion of each person, but in the political context as residents of the State," he laid the foundational principle of democracy.<sup>4</sup> Jinnah worked to transform Muslims from a minority to a nation-state dedicated to the values of harmony, religion, and order.<sup>5</sup> He was adamant on bolstering democratically-based political institutions despite being well aware that doing so would require going above and beyond given the current situation in Pakistan. It may be recalled that several of the regions that make up modern-day Pakistan did not join till the middle of the nineteenth century, British India therefore, the influence of parliamentary democracy there was minimal.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, these regions were somewhat excused from democratic politics that were implemented in other areas of British India due to geopolitical considerations.

Despite Pakistan's dedication to democracy, the country has a long history of dictatorial rulers and occasional, protracted military control. Even when democracy was in place, things were not always easy; elected governments were frequently overthrown for a variety of causes. Between the extended military rule of Pervez Musharraf and Zia, the period from August 1988 and October 1999 stands out as a test case in this regard. As a result, the thesis aims to identify any barriers to democracy as well as the causes of the early collapse of elected legislatures and administrations at the period. Both the operation of elected institutions and their interactions with non-elected institutions are emphasised.

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<sup>1</sup> Safdar Mahmood, "Political Roots and Development; 1947-99" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 354

<sup>2</sup> A. H. Kardar, "Pakistan's Soldiers of Fortune" (Lahore: Ferozsons Pvt. Ltd., 1988), 16.

<sup>3</sup> Mohammad Khalid, "Welfare State; A Case Study of Pakistan" (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1968), 126.

<sup>4</sup> "Taken from the address of Jinnah in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan" at Karachi on August 11, 1947. Rafique Afzal, "comp. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements" 1947-48, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Islamabad: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Directorates of Films and Publication, 1989), 47.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Arshad Ali Beg, "Democracy Displaced in Pakistan: Case History of Social Pollution" (Karachi: Research and Development Publications, 1998), 34.

<sup>6</sup> Craig Baxter, "Government and Politics in South Asia" (Lahore: Vanguard, 1988), 392.

## Statement of the Problem:

In August 1947, Pakistan gained its independence under the promise that it would be run democratically. The elected institutions, however, have never been able to fulfil their proper function in politics and decision-making since their creation. The dominance and meddling of hierarchical organisations stripped elected institutions of the ability to establish a stable political system. Civil-military bureaucracy continued to hold more political sway than legislative bodies. Because democratic traditions were not fostered, the elected administrations were weak and subject to the pressure of the establishment.

Even in politics, undemocratic practises were cultivated due to numerous Martial Laws and bureaucratic involvement. The functions of the assembly and its working process, situations, significant occurrences, oppositions, the sovereignty of the assembly, differentiation, durability, autonomy, complexity, and the adoption of rules were all very important at the time of research duration (1988–1999). Additionally, elected institutions free will was absent, and elected assemblies and governments faced an early suspension.

In light of the aforementioned assertion, the study intends to look into and analyse the causes of Pakistan's recurring assembly disruptions between 1988 and 1999. With reference to the operations of four Assemblies between 1988 and 1999, it explores the role of political and non-political parties in the topic. The main goal of the thesis is to examine the behaviour, function, and failure of the assembly.

The study looks into the factors that made it necessary for the assemblies to cede their powers to the ruling class and to advance power politics, which led to power imbalance and political unrest. The following will be taken into consideration when discussing the thesis's theme:

1. *Dissolving Assemblies from 1988 to 1999 using the concepts of differentiation, durability, autonomy, complexity, and rule adoption.*
2. *The Assembly's function in the democratic process from 1988 to 1999.*
3. *The interaction between institutions that are elected and those that are not and how that affects democratisation*
4. *The significance 58 [2] [B] play in the institutions of the parliament.*

The framework will incorporate assembly functioning and the function of 58 [2] [B] in assembly institutions to provide answers to these questions. Parliament, provincial assemblies, and municipal governments are examples of elected institutions; in contrast, non-elected institutions include the media, caretaker governments, military, bureaucracy, and judiciary. It would be possible to determine whether or not the assemblies were operating within their constitutional bounds and what role they played in power politics by looking at the link between these variables.

## **Significance and Scope:**

The study is important since this period of Pakistan's political history contains a plethora of data. Significant political occurrences and developments during this time period made it possible to investigate numerous aspects of parliamentary democracy, including the still-unresolved issue of why Assemblies could not stabilise during this time. The study aims to provide an answer to this crucial question in the context of current political events and to provide a historian's perspective on Pakistan's Parliamentary history.

Significant scholarly work is done on the political history of the Zia era, but the administrations that succeeded him are not thoroughly examined. In particular, a thorough analysis of the period of four consecutive civil democratic assemblies is lacking. Relationships between parliament and various institutions and related elements have not been thoroughly examined in scholarly publications. The goal of the current research is to close this gap.

A thorough history of parliamentary governments is provided in the work. It covers a wide range of concerns related to assemblies and has a broad scope. It is well known that the establishment had a part in undermining the parliament during this time. In order to further understand and highlight the nature and significance of that job within 58[2] [B], the study goes beyond this.

The primary focus of the study is the assembly process in Pakistan from 1988 to 1999. It also explains the history of the interaction between institutions that are elected and those that are not, as well as the pattern of governments' demise since 1947. Election analysis, the state of human rights, the role of opposition and ruling parties in assemblies, the failure of assemblies, their duration, the discussion of law and order situations in assemblies, and the stance of elected and non-elected institutions toward constitutional and political developments have all been covered. The topic of law and order must be discussed since it provides a clear indication of how well the government is run and run.

This time frame (August 1988–October 1999) was chosen since legislatures were frequently overthrown and reinstalled (four elections and elected administrations in eleven years). This serves to define the pattern of politics and to highlight the factors that prevent democracy from taking hold. It serves as a framework for comprehending the struggle for control between institutions that are elected and those that are not since 1947. The function of assembly in terms of rule adoption, autonomy, durability, and differentiation.

## **Review of Literature:**

There is insufficient scholarly research on the subject with constrained viewpoints and theories. It is challenging to locate a single scholarly volume that covers the entire era (1988-1999). The majority of the works are gap-filled descriptions. The following frameworks are used in the majority of research writings: political economy, elite politics, or government performance. The

effectiveness of the assembly is not explicitly reviewed anywhere. In academic studies, the assembly's substantial fundamental ideals are disregarded. Election campaigns, interim governments, and local body elections are some of the topics that are briefly discussed.

Five categories can be used to group the topic-related literature that has already been published. The first category focuses on literature that is based on newspaper articles and assembly debates. For these kinds of subjects, this kind of reading is quite beneficial. The second category includes judges, civil-military authorities, and politicians who were in office at the time of the study. It's intriguing that their literature isn't all that thorough or significant. Their writings are nonetheless chosen and meant to promote their own projects. Their frameworks take into account historical, constitutional, and political developments. The majority of the literature in the fields of law and justice is devoted to amending the constitution and the assembly-based process that produced them.

The following works are listed in chronological sequence and contain first-hand knowledge about the time period: Roedad Khan's book,<sup>7</sup> Iqbal Akhund's book,<sup>8</sup> Sajjad Sha's book,<sup>9</sup> Nasim Shah's book,<sup>10</sup> Ajmal Mian's book,<sup>11</sup> Benazir Bhutto's<sup>12</sup> Sartaj Aziz's book,<sup>13</sup> Pervez Musharraf's book.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to these, certain biographies have also been written that include primary data in shapes of interviews with the key figures who were had authority in decisions making and other business likewise, making legislation at the time of studied period. Likewise, Muhammad Ali's book<sup>15</sup>

The third category includes scholarly works which are about one aspect of entry into assembly, for instant, political parties, elections etc. They deal with the Martial Law era with compared to democratic experience of Pakistan. The major works are: Haseen Rizvi Elections 93: Pakistan (1993);<sup>16</sup> Navid Zafar and Ishtiaq Hussain, comp. -Election 93: Facts Figures Feats (1994);<sup>17</sup> Mohammad Waseem -The 1993 Elections in Pakistan (1994);<sup>18</sup> Zafarullah Khan's book.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Roedad Khan, "Pakistan A Dream Gone Sour" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>8</sup> Iqbal Akhund, "Trial and Error: The Advent and Eclipse of Benazir Bhutto" (Karachi; Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> Sajjad Ali Shah, "Law Courts in a Glass House: An Autobiography" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>10</sup> Nasim Hasan Shah, "Memoirs and Reflections" (Islamabad: Alhamra Publishing, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> Ajmal Mian, "A Judge Speaks Out" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> Benazir Bhutto, "Benazir Bhutto; Reconciliation; Islam; Democracy and the West" (London: Simon and Schuster UK Ltd, 2008)

<sup>13</sup> Sartaj Aziz, "Between Dreams and Realities; Some Milestones in Pakistan's History" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Pervez Musharraf, "In the Line of Fire A Memoir" (London: Simon and Schuster UK Ltd, 2006).

<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Ali Shaikh, "Benazir Bhutto; A Political Biography" (Karachi: Orient Book Publishing House, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> Yaseen Rizvi, "Elections 93: Pakistan" (Islamabad: privately printed, 1993).

<sup>17</sup> Ishtiaq Hussain, and Navid Zafar, "comp. Election 93; Facts Figures Feats" (Islamabad: Modern Book Depot, 1994).

<sup>18</sup> Mohammad Waseem, "The 1993 Elections in Pakistan" (Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt Ltd, 1994).

<sup>19</sup> Zafarullah Khan, "Political Parties in Pakistan: Disabled by Design" (Islamabad: Freedom Publishers, 2004).

Besides, some other books which deals with history of constitutional development in Pakistan, one of the important Hamid Khan's both books, are listed.<sup>20</sup>

The fourth category covers literature on civil and military relations, military interference in politics and assemblies, Martial Laws, prominent elite groups in politics and drawbacks of democratic institutions and role of bureaucracy. Notable books in this category are: Mahboob Hussain's book,<sup>21</sup> Saeed Shafqat's book,<sup>22</sup> and Hasan Askari's book.

The fifth category is general history, in which the era under study is discussed briefly. These books provided limited information, as the era is not a main part of the study. Some important books in this category are: Mahboob Hussain's book,<sup>23</sup> Ali Nawaz Memon -Pakistan: Islamic Nation in Crisis (1997);<sup>24</sup> Lawrence Ziring -Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political Study (1997);<sup>25</sup> Ayesha Jalal -Modern South Asia; History, Cultural, Political Economy (1998); Kalim Bahadur -Democracy in Pakistan: Crises and Conflicts (1998);<sup>26</sup> Safdar Mahmood - Political Roots and Development: 1947-99 (2000);<sup>27</sup> Stephen Philip Cohen -The Idea of Pakistan (2005);<sup>28</sup> Tahir Kamran -Democracy and Governance in Pakistan (2008);<sup>29</sup> Maleeha Lodhi's books "Pakistan's Encounter with Democracy" (1994).<sup>30</sup> Some other books also deal with the performance of a few aspects of governments such as 'Advance Towards Democracy: The Pakistan's Experience (1991)' by Anees Jilani.<sup>31</sup>

The pattern and methods on this research work is applied by the book of Mahboob Hussain: This is the only book which deals with this {parliament} area and gave a brighten sketch of parliament of Pakistan to the readers.<sup>32</sup>

Professor Doctor Mahboob Hussain's book, "The Parliament of Pakistan, A brief history of institution-building and (un) democratic practices" (1971-1977), is the only book which highlighted the functions of Parliament of Pakistan. The book is based on Autonomy, complexity, differentiation, durability and sovereignty of parliament. The theme of the book is to mention the strengths and weaknesses of the parliament and the beginning of undemocratic practices in Pakistan. While doing research on the assemblies (1988-99), this book is to be

<sup>20</sup> Hamid Khan, "Eighth Amendment-Constitutional and Political Crisis in Pakistan"(Lahore: Wajidalis, 1994).

<sup>21</sup> Mahboob Hussain, "The parliament of Pakistan, A short history of Institution-building and (un) democratic practices, 1971-1977"(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2019).

<sup>22</sup> Saeed Shafqat, "Civil Military Relations in Pakistan; From Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to Benazir"(Boulder: Western Press, 1997).

<sup>23</sup> Mahboob Hussain, "The parliament of Pakistan, A short history of Institution-building and (un) democratic practices, 1971-1977" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2019).

<sup>24</sup> Ali Nawaz Memon, "Pakistan: Islamic Nation in Crisis" (Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt Ltd, 1997).

<sup>25</sup> Lawrence Ziring, "Pakistan in the Twentieth Century; A Political History" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>26</sup> Kalim Bahadur, "Democracy in Pakistan; Crises and Conflicts" (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications Pvt Ltd, 1998).

<sup>27</sup> Safdar Mahmood, "Political Roots and Development: 1947-99" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Philip Cohen, "The Idea of Pakistan"(Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005).

<sup>29</sup> Tahir Kamran, "Democracy and Governance in Pakistan"(Lahore: South Asia Partnership, 2008).

<sup>30</sup> Maleeha Lodhi, "Pakistan's Encounter with Democracy"(Lahore: Vanguard, 1994).

<sup>31</sup> Anees Jilani, "Advance Towards Democracy: The Pakistan's Experience"(Lahore: Progressive Publishers), 1990.

<sup>32</sup> Mahboob Hussain, "The parliament of Pakistan, A short history of Institution-building and (un) democratic practices, 1971-1977"(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2019).

proven as a guideline for me. The background, parliamentary issues and challenges further to elaborate the functions, achievements, day to day businesses of parliament, the role of outsider institutions in involvement of assembly and other many more areas of this book would be very helpful for a scholar who would like to do research on Assemblies. I adopted the pattern of my research work from the particular book. The theme which I applied (differentiation, durability, autonomy, complexity, and the adoption of rules) is also taken by the same book on the same methods which was discussed by Professor Mahboob Hussain. Therefore, I made this book as a direct track and basic source and adopted same to same pattern to overcome on my research work <sup>33</sup>

The book of Lawrence Ziring "Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political Study," which is among the publications accessible, presents an excellent overview of the struggle and creation of Pakistan through its political history. The sociopolitical and economic problems, politicians' private lives, corruption, foreign meddling, and international relations that hampered Pakistan's democratic process are all heavily emphasised in the book. Other political and economic topics are not thoroughly discussed, and just a cursory analysis of Pakistan's democratic experiment from 1988 to 1999 is provided. Although the wording is clear and concise, the information about political alliances is insufficient. The years 1988-1999 are viewed as Benazir and Nawaz's political biographies rather than as Pakistan's political history. This book does not discuss the reasons why elected governments fail. It is a collection of scholarly opinions on Pakistan's democratic transition. In the book, Before 1988 is explored more than the topic at hand.

The book "Modern South Asia; History, Cultural, Political Economy" by Aisha Jallal is a useful resource for knowledge about several facets of contemporary South Asia. Jalal notes that the military continued to be a factor in the dismissal of administrations in the context of the study's topic (1988-1999). She explains the justifications for the military's covert involvement (p. 236). However, the army was involved because the COAS kept in touch with key officials in the executive and judicial branches. General Waheed and General Baig were instrumental in overthrowing governments and managing state affairs. The description and analysis of South Asia in this book are more thorough than those in Jallal's prior work, She had not noticed any structural distinctions in India and Pakistan or the nature of civil and military ties in the earlier study.<sup>34</sup>

Establishment's formation in Pakistan is viewed as a novel phenomenon in Kalim Bahadur's book. According to Bahadur, the establishment's resurgence occurred with a change in its composition in the years following 1988. The top Punjabi feudal lords, the elite of the armed

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<sup>33</sup>Mahboob Hussain, "The parliament of Pakistan, A short history of Institution-building and (un) democratic practices, 1971-1977" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2019).

<sup>34</sup> Ayesha Jalal, "Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia; A Comparative and Historical Perspective." (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

forces, and the civil bureaucracy, in his opinion, make up the establishment. According to him, the eighth amendment changed the constitution's parliamentary structure to a presidential one. He says that even after 58 (2) (b) was repealed in 1997, Pakistan's institutionalisation and democratisation processes were still ineffective (p. 29). It's interesting to note that throughout this time, military leaders had a significant influence on politics, whereas the heads of the naval and air forces had no influence whatsoever. He doesn't offer any evidence to back up the Chiefs of the Naval and Air Force's alleged political involvement. He has oversimplified the establishment's organisational structure.

The *Military and Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1997* by Hasan Askari Rizvi describes the role of the military and establishment in Pakistani politics and identifies the causes that made this involvement feasible. Particularly significant are the statistics on the tenure of Presidents, Prime Ministers, Governors, Chiefs of Armed Forces, Chief Ministers, etc. from 1947 to 1997. It is necessary to review the time period covered in the book's title because it is well covered from 1947 to 1985 but only briefly from 1986 to 1997. Several times, incorrect dates are provided. The breakdown of constitutional articles is inaccurate, both numerically and otherwise. The book is a good resource for learning about the effects of the Martial Laws (1958–1969, 1969–1971, and 1977–1988) on politics and society.

The military can affect the nature and course of political change as a vehicle for difference under the structure of civil-military interactions that arose after 1988 because of its organisational strengths and its considerable presence in all sectors, as well as the society and the government. The elimination of circumstances that lead to intervention is the best defence against the military's enlarged role. As these causes persist in Pakistan and the participatory institutions and processes have not been firmly established, the military will continue to overshadow the political process. (p.229)

Scholars such as Saeed Shafqat, Hussain Haqani, Hamza Alvi, and Ayesha Jalal do not agree with his findings and recognise that the army has purposefully taken on many positions since Pakistan's founding and damaged the political system for its own gain.<sup>35</sup> The book's structure outlines the factors that made it easier for the military elite to get involved in politics, but it does not emphasise the manufactured propaganda and circumstances that the military created. This history of civil-military interactions is formal and descriptive.

A thorough work that examines pre-partition India and chronologically explores Pakistan's political and constitutional history is Hamid Khan's "Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan." The majority of times, court decisions pertaining to the constitution have been quoted verbatim from the original texts rather than being translated for the reader. The research is

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<sup>35</sup> Siddiq, *Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*, 65.

essentially a history of the constitution with legal citations. Overall, It is among those scholarly endeavours that fairly analyses the relationship between politicians and the court.

A notable biography of Benazir as a politician is "Benazir Bhutto: A Political Biography" by Muhammad Ali Shaikh. The political figures and Benazir's relatives who were interviewed by the author supplied their perspectives and some fresh information. It emphasises the difficulties the Benazir governments encountered and supports her imposing persona. He is biased and heavily in Benazir's favour, failing to emphasise her shortcomings as a politician. However, the author criticises Nawaz Sharif and holds him accountable for overthrowing his own administrations. In actuality, the book's aim appears to be to mock Nawaz rather than to write about Benazir. Although the book lacks analysis, the information from the personal interviews is helpful. Interview dates are not stated, and significant developments are frequently described without identifying dates. The reader is confused by this. Reading about Benazir's family history, youth, and political career as a whole is fascinating. Only those political events that demonstrate Benazir's leadership skills and her sad personal life are revealed in the book.

A concise history of Pakistan's political system can be found in the book of Sartaj Aziz, "Between Dreams and Realities: Some Milestones in Pakistan's History." The book discusses the problems that have plagued Pakistan's political evolution since its founding and is a comprehensive source of information on the power struggle between the civil and military bureaucracies between 1988 and 1999. The explanation is clear and the wording is appropriate. The book highlights some of the problems with the four civilian governments it is studying, but it hides the heinous acts of the Nawaz governments. As an example, the rowdiness on the Supreme Court on November 28, 1997, a crucial development, is not even addressed in the account of certain events that could be seen as bad parts of Nawaz's government (of which he was a member). The book aims to leave gaps in some locations.

### **Review of Urdu Literature:**

The majority of writing written in the Urdu language is anecdotal and does not cite any sources. However, there is reputable Urdu literature concerning this time period available. It also includes reference works authored by current academics, politicians, lawyers, and bureaucrats, as well as Urdu-language literature.

Some of the important Urdu books are cited in chronological order: Ahmad Salim - 'Tootati Banti Assemblan Aur Civil-Military Bureaucracy' (1990);<sup>36</sup> Muhammad Farooq Qureshi - 'Nawaz Sharif: Aik Hukmaran-Aik Sayasatdan' (1994);<sup>37</sup> Ghafoor Ahmad - 'Wazir-i-Azam Benazir Bhutto: Namzadgi Say Bartarfi Tak' (1995);<sup>38</sup> S. M. Zafar - 'Meray Mashoor

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<sup>36</sup> Ahmad Salim, Tootati Banti Assemblan Aur Civil-Military Bureaucracy (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1990).

<sup>37</sup> Muhammad Farooq Qureshi, 'Nawaz Sharif: Aik Hukmaran-Aik Sayasatdan' (Lahore: Qomi Publishers, 1994).

<sup>38</sup> Ghafoor Ahmad, Wazir-i-Azam Benazir Bhutto: Namzadgi Say Bartarfi Tak (Lahore, Iqra Enterprise, 1995).

Muqadmay' (revised ed.) (2002);<sup>39</sup> Makhdoom Sayed Ghyur Abbas Bukhari –'Benazir: Beti Say Qaid Tak'(2004);<sup>40</sup> Javed Hashmi –'Han! Main Baghi Hoon' (2005);<sup>41</sup> and Yosuf Raza Gillani –'Chah-e-Yosuf Say Sada' (2006).<sup>42</sup>

The book "Benazir: Beti Say Qaid Tak" by Makhdoom Sayed Ghyur Abbas Bukhari covers both of Benazir's terms in office as well as her work as the head of the opposition and the fight for democracy throughout Zia's regime. The book's primary subject is Benazir's career as a politician. Although the events are fully documented, there are times when the book appears to be historical fiction because the author speculates on Benazir's potential reactions to some significant occurrences. The goal of the book is to persuade the reader that Benazir was an experienced and practical politician. The use of emotive words works to persuade the populace to support Benazir.

### **Hypothesis:**

The main aim of this study is to discern the role of Parliament of Pakistan, it also discussed the formation of assemblies from 1988 to 1999 and elaborated on the reasons behind every election and the significant constitutions passed during this era. Every era, 1988-90, 1990-93, 1993-96, 1996-99, has significant developments and challenges. However, we have discussed these developments and challenges in terms of differentiation, durability, autonomy, complexity, and the adoption of rules. As a result of Pakistan's emergence as a sovereign and independent state, the system has grown via reform and development.

The return of democracy in 1988 was viewed negatively by the establishment, which meant that it had to limit its direct engagement in Assembly activities. In military regimes the establishment played a key role which it manipulated to continue even during the elected governments later. The establishment, on purpose, undermined the elected governments by non-cooperation, bad advice and putting hurdles in reinforcement of assembly. The military-civil bureaucracy collaborated in bringing down the elected governments. The non-elected institutions had cosmic authority over elected institutions and command over democratic process. The establishment was a government within a government, creating imbalance in distribution of power. The establishment always disapproved any idea that intended to restrict its authority and bureaucratic red tape inhibited the assembly's effective functioning.

*The study will also test hypothesis test :*

**1: Why the assemblies (1988 to 1999) didn't finish their terms and were terminated early?**

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<sup>39</sup> S. M. Zafar, "Meray Mashoor Muqadmay'" (revised ed.) (Lahore: Bright Books, 2002).

<sup>40</sup> Makhdoom Sayed Ghyur Abbas Bukhari, Benazir: Beti Say Qaid Tak (Lahore: Multi Media Affairs, 2004).

<sup>41</sup> Javed Hashmi, Han! Main Baghi Hoon (Lahore: Sager Publishers, 2005).

<sup>42</sup> Yosuf Raza Gillani, Chah-e-Yosuf Say Sada (Lahore: Nigarshat Publications, 2006).

**2:** From 1988 to 1999, how much did bureaucracy and the Establishment influence the representative institution of assemblies?

In Parliamentary form of government delegation of power means responsibility but in Pakistan the authority was repeatedly misused. The void in leadership and institutional imbalance made the establishment more potent in politics. In fact, the establishment invariably governed the country and was de facto ruler. The genuine transfer of power to elected governments did not come about at any point of time.

### **Methodology :**

A qualitative research design was used in this. This study employs an investigative, analytical, and descriptive methodology. The study is related to historical events, hence the historical presentation style is used. The chapters provide an analytical assessment of the assembly-formation and assembly-dissolution processes, highlighting key moments in legislative history that hampered Pakistan's democratic transition.

Publications, official reports, Constituent Assembly records, published, live broadcasted interviews with politicians, military and civil autobiographies, bureaucrats, articles in magazines and journals, and archived material in Pakistan that has been revealed to the public by various libraries and archives are all sources of information used in the study.

With the use of the internet and newspapers, interviews with current lawmakers and politicians from the ruling and political groups have been conducted in order to gain first-hand information of the issues the assembly and its members are facing. These are also aimed to identify the role of establishment transfer of power to elected institutions and the role of assemblies of the time.

The primary locations to gather the pertinent information included the Pakistan's National Assembly, National Archives, public libraries, Election Commission, and individual repositories.

### **Organization:**

The study comprises seven chapters, including the introduction and conclusion. The second chapter that follows this introduction deals with the political history of Pakistan from 1947 to 1988. In general, this chapter gives details of phases of parliamentary democracy, martial laws and presidential democracy during the period. It underscores the bumpy ride of political institutions, political instability and frequent interference in and overthrow of governments. Third, fourth, fifth and sixth chapters are devoted to the four successive civilian assemblies of the period {1988-99}, third chapter; {1988-1990}, fourth chapter; {1990-1993}, fifth chapter; {1993-1996}, and sixth chapter; {1997-1999}. Each era is taken up separately so that circumstances and events of each are discussed and analysed in detail. The seventh chapter is conclusion.

## Chapter No. 01

### Evolution of Legislative System in Colonial India

The British parliamentary system in India had a direct impact on the creation and development of Pakistan's National Assembly. The Constituent Assembly finally replaced the Governor-Council General as the Imperial Legislative Council, which later changed its name to the National Assembly of Pakistan. The 1833 Charter Act served as the first piece of controlling law when the Council of Governors-General of India was established. The Council's legislative and administrative responsibilities were separated by the Act of 1833. Moreover, Indian Act of 1858 terminated the East India Company's rule, which positioned Indian issues under the council of the British Taj. The 1861 Indian Council Act expanded the Legislative Council and established the portfolio system in the legislative framework.<sup>43</sup>

The Act of 1892 gave the Governor-General more legislative power by allowing him to make regulations for the nomination of extra council members. The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 established a separate electorate system for minorities in India. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 revised both federal and provincial laws. The Lower House (the Central Legislative Assembly) and Upper House (the Council of State), which are the two houses that make up bicameral legislation in the centre, were discovered. The "Diarchy System" was also introduced into provincial legislatures. A provincial diarchy was eliminated and a federal one was installed in its stead by the "Government of India Act" of 1935. The Act also included provisions for the establishment of an Indian federation. Last but not least, Pakistan and India were created from British India by the Indian Independence Act of 1947. Consequently, in August 1947, Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly was established.<sup>44</sup>

#### Constitutional development in the sub-continent

The origins and development of the Indian Constitution can be sketched back to the British period in Indian history. The British government passed many Acts for the governance of India starting in 1773. None of them, however, met Indian ambitions because foreign authorities employed on India<sup>45</sup>. The constitutional development in the sub-continent is split up into 2 phases, i.e.,

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<sup>43</sup>Hussain, Mahboob. "Institution of Parliament in Pakistan: Evolution and Building Process (1947-1970)." *Journal of Political Studies* 18, no. 2 (2011).

<sup>44</sup>Embree, Ainslie T. "Philips, ed.," *The Evolution of India and Pakistan, 1858-1947* (Book Review)." *Journal of Asian Studies* 22, no. 4 (1963): 499.

<sup>45</sup>Kumar, Vijay. "The Constitutional History of India, Vol. I, Vol. II, Vol. III." (1978): 477-482.

## The Charter Act of 1833

On August 28, 1833, the Charter Act of 1833 was approved, and it went into effect on April 22, 1834. Because the Charter merged Saint Helena Island with the British Crown and ended the East India Company's title to the island, it is also known as the Saint Helena Act.<sup>46</sup> It is regarded as the most critical Charter in Indian history of the nineteenth century since it introduced far-reaching changes in the Company's constitution and the Indian administrative system. However, the Governor-General's Council was comprised of Governor-General and four civil members.<sup>47</sup> This Council was recognized as the 'Council of four'.

<b>Member of Council in the Charter Act of 1833</b>	
Governor-General	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lord Bentinck which was the legislative and administrative head of the Council</li> </ul>
Ordinary members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• William Blunt (Judge of Court at Bengal Presidency)</li> <li>• Alexander Ross (Governor of Presidency of Agra) (professionally he was judge)</li> <li>• William Byam Martin (English Merchant and Official of EIC)</li> <li>• Thomas Babington Macaulay (Law member with limited power in the Council)<sup>48</sup></li> </ul>

The tenure of the Council is five years. The Council's term could be extended indefinitely at the discretion of the Court of Directors, but such extensions are uncommon.

### Limitations of Charter Act 1833

The Council lacked the authority to repeal any provisions of the Charter Act of 1833, revoke Acts punishing mutiny or desertion of officers or soldiers of the Crown or the Company, amend any prerogative of Crown or Parliament's authority, or affect any part of the United

<sup>46</sup> Saint Helena Act 1833, **1833 CHAPTER 85** . [28th August 1833]

<sup>47</sup>Ehrlich, Joshua. "The Crisis of Liberal Reform in India: Public Opinion, Pyrotechnics, and the Charter Act of 1833." *Modern Asian Studies* 52, no. 6 (2018): 2013-2055.

<sup>48</sup>Malhan, Prannath, and Pran Nath Malhan. "THE TWO COUNCILS THEORY OF MACAULAY AND DALHOUSIE. AN INTERPREPATION OF THE CHARTER ACTS OF 1833 AND 1853." In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 5, pp. 524-530. Indian History Congress, 1941.

Kingdom's unwritten laws and constitution, or the British Crown's sovereignty or dominion over any part of the said territories.<sup>49</sup>

### **The Charter Act 1853**

The East India Company's last Act was the 1853 Charter Act. The Act prolonged the Company's dominion in India without specifying a set time frame. It meant that the British Parliament might dissolve the 'East India Company'. Through the uprising of 1857, the Parliament abolished the Company's rule and took direct control of India. Likewise, the Court of Directors' number was lowered from '24 to 18'. The Crown was to nominate six of these 18 people.<sup>50</sup> Most crucially, because the Legislative Council was divided from the Executive Council, it marked the birth of India's Parliamentary system.<sup>51</sup>

The Council of Governors-General was founded on a single organization with legislative and executive powers before the 1853 Charter Act. The 1853 Charter Act, on the other hand, explicitly separated the Council's legislative and administrative functions. The Act divided the Council into two entities: the Legislative and Executive Councils. The Legislative Council oversaw making laws, while the Executive Council was in charge of putting them into effect.<sup>52</sup>

### **Governor General's Office Expansion**

Under the act of 1853, the Governor General's Council was extended for legislative goals. The fourth member was given the same standing as the previous members. By 1853 act, the Council of legislative increased the members from six to twelve<sup>53</sup>.

### **Significance of the Charter Act 1853**

The 1853 Charter Act openly stated that the Company's rule would not be long-lasting. The Company's strength and influence were reduced. The British Raj could nominate six Directors. Furthermore, because the Legislative Council was restricted from the Executive Council, it marked the birth of India's Parliamentary system. Bengal's administrative duties were taken away from the Governor-General. He was supposed to work for the Indian government full-time.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Ehrlich, Joshua. "The Crisis of Liberal Reform in India: Public Opinion, Pyrotechnics, and the Charter Act of 1833." *Modern Asian Studies* 52, no. 6 (2018): 2013-2055.

<sup>50</sup>Dechen, Jean-Philippe. "Ambiguities and Interdependencies: The Relationship between Legal Positization and Islamic Law in Colonial India, 1765–1909." In *State Law and Legal Positivism*, pp. 113-149. Brill Nijhoff, 2021.

<sup>51</sup>WILLIAM, DONOVAN. "The Council of India and the Relationship between the Home and Supreme Governments, 1858–18701." *The English Historical Review* 81, no. CCCXVIII (1966): 56-73.

<sup>52</sup>Nogues-Marco, Pilar. "Measuring colonial extraction: the East India Company's rule and the Drain of Wealth (1757–1858)." *Capitalism: A Journal of History and Economics* 2, no. 1 (2021): 154-195.

<sup>53</sup>Webster, Anthony. "The development of British commercial and political networks in the Straits settlements 1800 to 1868: The rise of a colonial and regional economic identity?" *Modern Asian Studies* 45, no. 4 (2011): 899-929.

<sup>54</sup>Snow, Leo M. "The Education and Role of the Superior Civil Service in India." *Indian Journal of Public Administration* 7, no. 1 (1961): 6-25.

The Executive functions were separated from the Legislative powers for the first time. Six members would make up the Council's executive committee. The Governor-General, four members of the Governor-Council General, and Commander-in-Chief were among those present. The Executive Council can veto any bill that the Council has passed in its legislative capacity. Law member was also elevated to full membership on the Governor-Executive General's Council. He may now participate in all legislative and administrative provisions, unlike the Governor-Council General's under the Charter Act of 1833<sup>55</sup>.

## **PHASE II**

### **Constitutional development (1857-1947)**

On abolishing the East India Company in 1858, British Raj was shifted to the India Office, under the "Secretary of State for India". A crucial constitutional transformation that is scarcely comprehended was the 1860s Municipalities Act. This established dozens of appointed metropolitan administrations, overlooked by Indians, which delivered thousands of Indians' experience operating for democratic departments, controlling contemporary city reserves, establishing political abilities.<sup>56</sup> The persisting constitutional development is correlated with the preface of the elective and cooperative doctrines. Legislative committees had exemplified even before 1857, particularly in the Madras Presidency. The preliminary prototype was to retain a legislative council with elected members, and deliberately few members were authorized to be elected. With time, under the act of 1909 further members of the regional legislatures were chosen, and limited were appointed, but the 1919 Communal Award ensured particular number of seats for Hindus, Europeans, Muslims, etc. The ultimate phase of constitutional development, preliminary to 1947, saw the composition of Parliament. The 1935 Government of India Act laid the ground for a substantial electorate and the practical effect of the Dyarchy. The Indian National Congress administration was abolished in 1939 when "Nehru and Congress leaders" gave up revolting how Britain proclaimed war on Germany on the Indian behalf. However, this was the final considerable advancement preliminary to 1947<sup>57</sup>.

### **Government of India Act 1858**

The 1857 "War of Independence" dominates the Indian Sub-continent's history. The Indians were overthrown, whereas at the end of this war the East India Company triumphed. Following the revolt, the British radically altered their policies toward Indians. Indeed, there was considerable animosity toward the establishment in the United Kingdom, as the union's

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<sup>55</sup>Johnson, Gordon. "6. Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy 1853–66. By RJ Moore. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966. Pp. xii+ 284. 45s." *The Historical Journal* 11, no. 2 (1968): 388-390.

<sup>56</sup>Omission, David, Anna-Maria Misra, and Nicholas Owen. "Co-option and coercion in India 1857–1947." (1992): 536-552.

<sup>57</sup>Heehs, Peter. *India's Freedom Struggle 1857–1947: A Short History*. Oxford University Press, 1998.

policies were criticized for the uprising. The British administration was now resolved to take over the management and operations of the union. By 1858 (2 August), the British Parliament enacted the "Act for the Better Government of India".

The 1858 Act of the 'Government of India' prevailed as the formal name of the Law. It announced that Queen Victoria would be the emperor of British India, ending the East India Company's dominion. The Company's administration and assets were transferred to the British Crown. The Act also inaugurated a new department known as "Secretary of State for India," which would be a cabinet member.<sup>58</sup>

He was given a 15-member Indian Council to advise him. The Act correspondingly dissolved the "Court of Directors and the Board of Control", and their sovereignty was transferred to the Secretary of State in India. The Act also gave the office of "Governor-General" the additional title of "Viceroy." Lord Canning was named Viceroy of the British Indian Territories for the first time. As a result, he was forced to run the government in the name of the Crown. In actuality, the Viceroy was the Crown's envoy to India and was in charge of the country's administration<sup>59</sup>.

### Indian Councils Act (1861, 1892)

Indian Councils Act 1861	Indian Councils Act 1892
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Linking Indians with lawmaking laid the groundwork for representative systems.</li> <li>• Some Indians were nominated as the non-official units of the Viceroy's extended commission.</li> <li>• The Raja of Benaras, Sir Dinkar Rao and the Maharaja of Patiala were all designated by Lord Canning.</li> <li>• Bombay and Madras have reimbursed their legislative privileges.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expanded the number of non-official committee members.</li> <li>• Non-official units of the Central Legislative Council are proposed (Bengal chamber of commerce, governors for regional legislative council established on the proposal of state boards, communities, institutes, trade federations, and zamindaris sections).</li> <li>• It incorporated a restricted and oblique provision for elections to restore non-official seats in both councils, i.e., central and provincial.</li> </ul>

<sup>58</sup>Bashir, Quratul Ain, and Maryam Arif. "DETERRENCE AND ADJUSTMENT IN FEDERALISM: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN." *Ilkogretim Online* 20, no. 2 (2021).

<sup>59</sup>Ali, Abeerah. "The role of the British colonial/imperial rule in the introduction of representative institutions in India (1857-1947)." *Journal of European Studies* 29, no. 2 (2013).

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Contemporary Legislative Commissions for Bengal, (N.W.F.P) North-Western Frontier Province, and Punjab have been organized.</li> <li>• The Viceroy could create conditions for smooth business transactions in the Council. The 'portfolio system' of Lord Canning was recognized.</li> <li>• During an emergency, the Viceroy may enact ordinances without the approval of the Council. However, particularly a legislation retained a six-month duration<sup>60</sup>.</li> </ul>	
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### **Morley-Minto reforms, 1909**

The Act of Indian Councils 1909 is generally recognized as the “Morley–Minto or Minto–Morley Reforms”. The 1909 Act was passed as the Act of the United Kingdom Parliament that provoked an exclusive advancement in the Indian's involvement in the regime of British India. The 1909 act brought in elections to ‘legislative councils’ and acknowledged Indians to Indian Secretary Councils, the Viceroy, and the administrative committees of Bombay and Madras nations. Muslims have consented to diverse electorates. Indian patriots contemplated the reforms extremely prudent, and Hindus resented the foreword of the assorted Muslim constituency.<sup>61</sup>

### **Salient features**

The number of units of the “Governor General's legislative Council and the Governors” of various districts has been generated. Legislative Assembly Members now retain more energy. They might directly critique the executive's behaviour, ask about issues, incorporate follow-up problems, and communicate their impressions through resolutions. The Legislative Council moreover evaluated problems of public concern. However, the Indians were incorporated in the India Secretariat and Viceroy's committees, making final opinions. Before the revisions, they

<sup>60</sup>Hechs, Peter. *India's Freedom Struggle 1857–1947: A Short History*. Oxford University Press, 1998.

<sup>61</sup>Mir, Mushtaq Ahmad. "India–Pakistan; the History of Unsolved Conflicts." *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 19, no. 4 (2014): 101-110.

were not allowed to participate in such committees. A consultative group was established.<sup>62</sup> The charge for an independent constituency was granted for first. The acknowledgement of a separation of electorate in the constitution was a significant victory for Muslims. Muslims may now be able to elect their members to the Legislative Councils. They were to be elected solely by Muslims.<sup>63</sup>

These reforms were unsatisfactory to the Indians, even though franchisees must meet strict property and educational requirements. As an outcome, the number of qualified voters was limited. Likewise, the election mechanism was deceptive. Regional government members were elected by the nation, who therefore selected the members of the constituency council. Members of the electoral committee were to appoint Provincial Legislature members, who were to elect Imperial Legislature members.<sup>64</sup> The government aimed to offer stalwart classes' preferential declaration to gain the support of as many groups as possible.<sup>65</sup>

Imperial Council's official majority was retained. The Provincial Council's non-official majorities were annulled since they comprised nominated members. Despite the introduction of parliamentary changes, there was no provision for accountability.<sup>66</sup> In addition, one Indian, S.P. Sinha, was appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council. On contrarily, the Muslims were offended by this litigation, as Muslims timely stressed that two Indian members must be the part of the Council, one of whom should be a Muslim. The government pledged that the next time they would appoint a Muslim. Following Sinha's departure, Sayed Ali Imam was named to the Executive Council.<sup>67</sup>

### **Significance of Morley-Minto reforms 1909**

Despite their flaws and shortcomings, the Reforms contributed to and provided space for political progress. For the Indians, being included in Councils was a wonderful experience. They were incorporated into Legislative Councils. They could move resolutions, debate Bills in-depth, and vote on Bills. The Imperial Legislative Council accepted "24" resolutions from "168", while the Indian labor Bill received thirty non-official changes, seven of which were adopted. Moreover, as a private unit, Mohammad Ali Jinnah introduced the Waqf-al-Aulad Bill, which the Council approved. The Act of 1909 was a watershed moment in India's constitutional growth, ushering in real politics.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Damle, Shilpa C. "Institutionalizing Reform: The Ford Foundation, The IIPA, and Administrative Reform in India, 1950-1970." PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 2014.

<sup>63</sup>Muhammad, Shan. *The Growth of Muslim Politics in India, 1900-1919*. 1991.

<sup>64</sup>Khan, Farzana. "Political Problems of British India with Special Reference to the Introduction of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919-1928." (1979).

<sup>65</sup>Koss, Stephen E. "John Morley and the Communal Question." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 3 (1967): 381-387.

<sup>66</sup>Kumar, Harish. "The Marle-Minto reforms established the moral and legal bases for the establishment of imperialism in Indian subcontinent: An overview."

<sup>67</sup>Zavos, John. "Searching for Hindu Nationalism in modern Indian history: Analysis of some early ideological developments." *Economic and political weekly* (1999): 2269-2276.

<sup>68</sup>Ghosh, Pansy Chaya. *The Development of the Indian Natio [n] al Congress, 1892-1909*. South Asia Books, 1985.

## Act of 1919

The British Parliament approved the Government of India's Act 1919, allowing Indian participation in the creation of their nation. This 1919 Act was based on a report by Lord Chelmsford, India's Viceroy between 1916 and 1921, and Edwin Montagu, who was the country's Secretary of State for India at the time. The 1919 statute enacted constitutional reforms known as the Montford reforms.<sup>69</sup>

### Principle Features of the 1919 Act

<b>Central Government</b>	
<b>Executive</b>	<b>Legislature</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Governor-General oversaw the executive branch.</li> <li>• For parliament, central and provincial lists were selected.</li> <li>• The provinces were in charge of the provincial list, while the Centre was in the order of the central list. However, three of the Viceroy's Executive Committee members would be Indians.</li> <li>• The governor-general had right to put out ordinances. Governor-General might to approve bills that the central legislature had rejected.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Legislative Assembly, “forerunner of the provincial assemblies”, and the State Council “, forerunner of the Central Assembly”, were ascertained as a bicameral legislature.</li> <li>• the power to interfere in topics on the reserved list, but merely on the transferred list.<sup>70</sup>.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
<b>Provincial government</b>	
<b>Executive</b>	<b>Legislature</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dyarchy was established, which was classified as executive councilors and ministers, the two types of administrators:</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The provincial legislative assemblies have been expanded in size.</li> <li>• There were electorates for communities and classes.</li> </ul>

<sup>69</sup>Williams, L. F. "India in 1917-1918: A report for Presentation in Parliament in Accordance with the Requirements of the 26th Section of the Government of India Act." (1919).

<sup>70</sup>Rushbrook Williams, L. F. "India in 1919: A Report prepared for presentation to parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th section of the Government of India Act (5 and 6 Geo. V., Chap. 61)." (1920).

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The province's executive head was appointed as the Governor.</li> <li>• It comprised of two schedules of subjects: reserved and transferred.</li> <li>• The Governor and his executive councilors had ascertained as in charge of the Law and order, irrigation, finance, land revenue, and supplementary concerns.</li> <li>• The ministers had been responsible for the transferred schedule's contents, i.e., schooling, municipal administration, health, excise, business, civil jobs, and sacred endowments.</li> <li>• Ministers were also accountable to the civilians who voted in the legislature to elect them. However, these ministers had been selected from the legislative Council's elected members.</li> <li>• Contrary to the ministers, executive councilors were not accountable to the legislature.</li> <li>• Moreover, "The Secretary of State and the Governor-General" retained</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Specific numbers of women (pension widow and pension mother of non-commission officers and soldiers) have the right to vote as well.</li> </ul> <p>Any bill needed the Governor's approval to become Law. He could also issue ordinances and had veto authority.<sup>71</sup>.</p>
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<sup>71</sup>Britain, Great. "Government of India Act, 1919: an act to consolidate enactment relating to the Government of India." (1919).

### The salient feature of the 1919 Act

- For the first time in India, this Act contributed to the constitution of a public service commission.
- The statute stipulated that a statutory commission was established after ten years to investigate the government's operations. The Simon Commission was established in 1927 because of this.
- It also established an Indian High Commissioner's office in London<sup>72</sup>.

### Rowlett Act 1919

The British government passed Rowlett Act to strengthen their power on the ordinary people. This Act was approved in March 1919 by the Imperial Legislative Committee. This law has provided them the authority to charge anyone without a prosecution. In response to this Law, Gandhi and other leaders made 'Hartal' (work stoppage) exemplify Indians' hostility toward the Law. Due to all these Acts, it came as Rowlatt Satyagraha.<sup>73</sup>

### Indian Act of 1935

The British Parliament's most complete constitution was 1935 Act, passed in August 1935. Though the acts of 1935, "Government of India Act and the Government of Burma Act" were split into two independent acts. The main aim is of the An Act is to provide further provisions for the Indian government.<sup>74</sup>

#### The Act 1935 Modifications

Sr.No.	Features	
1	<b>Provincial autonomy</b>	The province's authority was increased because of the 1935 Act. On the regional level, diarchy was revoked, which has led the Governor to stand as the executive's chief. A Council of Ministers appointed Governor. Moreover, Ministers were answerable to the in charged provincial legislatures. The legislature would potentially revoke the ministers. However, the governors maintained distinct

<sup>72</sup>Ryland, Shane. "The making of the Government of India Act, 1919." (1971): 2322-2322.

<sup>73</sup>Lee, Ernest D. "THE CASE FOR THE ROWLATT ACT IN INDIA." *Fortnightly* 106, no. 632 (1919): 228-238.

<sup>74</sup>Shah, K. T. "Indian Constitution. Vol. I: Provincial autonomy (under the Government of India Act, 1935)." (1937).

		substitute powers, and British councils suspended the provincial parliament.
<b>2</b>	<b>Diarchy at the Centre</b>	The Federal List was segregated into two classes, i.e., reserved and transferred. The Governor-General was responsible for the reserved problems, which Governor-General dealt with the assistance of 3 advisers of his choice. However, they are not bound to respond to the legislators. The main topic of concern that Governor-general deals with is defence, religious conspiracies (church-related), external conspiracies, press, officer, taxation, magistrate, power reserves, and tribal conspiracies. The Council also function in the legislature's satisfactory concerns. Provincial governance has to monitor every fear related to forests, education, and health. The Governor-General also comprised some "special rights" to intervene in the transferred subjects. <sup>75</sup> .
<b>3</b>	<b>Bicameral legislature</b>	Bicameral legislature ascertained the two houses, i.e., "the lower chamber (The Federal Assembly) and the

<sup>75</sup>Waghmare, Nalini. "Government of india act 1935 and federal government in india." (2018).

		<p>upper house (the Council of States)".The national assembly duration is of five-years. The imperial governments were also exemplified in both areas. Though, these governments' negotiators were selected by the monarch's scheme rather than of the election. According to this legislature, the Governor-General was to nominate some of British India's representatives. Moreover, this legislature was established in other provinces like Bihar, Bombay, Assam, United provinces, Bengal and Madras.<sup>76</sup>.</p>
<b>4</b>	<b>Federal court</b>	<p>The federal court was founded in Delhi for the purpose to settle controversies among regions as well as among the government offices. This federal court is comprised of six judges and the only Chief justice.</p>
<b>5</b>	<b>Indian Council</b>	<p>The Indian Council was demolished. Moreover, counsellors' committees were assigned to the Indian Secretary of State.</p>

<sup>76</sup>Macallan, P. N. "The Sphere of Provincial Government under the Government of India Act 1935." The Indian Journal of Political Science 8, no. 3 (1947): 761-766.

6	<b>Franchise</b>	Through this Act, the first direct elections in India were held.
7	<b>Reorganization</b>	Under this Act, the Bombay Presidency was split up into Sindh, and the states, i.e., Bihar and Orissa, were segregated. Moreover, Burma was abridged from India. Aden was correspondingly split from India and solidified as a Crown colony. <sup>77</sup>

### **Indian Independence Act of 1947**

In 1947, Pakistan and India evolved as two separate countries on behalf of the 1947 independence Act. According to this Act, Pakistan was comprised of two parts. Later on, one part of Bangladesh was divided into another country. These boundaries were set on the specific sects, i.e., Muslims, Hindus, and the Sikh population, that appeared as the most prominent and the largest migration in history. The Act revoked the usage of the inscription "Emperor of India" for the British Crown, and all prior treaties with imperial states were abolished. As the Act repealed the usage of the title "Emperor of India" for the British Crown, all previous treaties with imperial states were also repealed. Lord Mountbatten stayed Governor-General in India, and Jawaharlal Nehru was appointed India's first Prime Minister. On the other hand, Quaid Azam nominated as a first Governor General of Pakistan. At that time, Pakistan Prime Minister was Liaquat Ali Khan.<sup>78</sup>

### **A Brief History of Assemblies in Pakistan**

On the basis of the two Nation idea, the Muslims of India had started their fight for a distinct homeland in the middle of the nineteenth century. Hindus and Muslims in India still were two distinct nations and sociocultural groups, as the British monarchs were aware of. The British monarchs had no other option than to eventually accede to the demands of the Indian Muslims.

<sup>77</sup>Singh, Sardar Ranbir. The Indian states under the government of India act 1935. DB Taraporevala sons & co., 1939.

<sup>78</sup> Indian Independence Act, 1947. II GEO.6. Chapter .30. article 2. Subsection 3,4. 18 July 1947.

On June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, called a meeting of all the rulers of the Sub-continent and briefed them on his government's plans for the transfer of power. The very first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was established at that time with 69 members (later increased to 79), one of which was a woman, according to a notification that was issued in the Indian Gazette on July 26, 1947. The establishment of the State of Pakistan was permitted under the Independence Act of 1947. The Act designated the created Constituent Assemblies as the dominion legislatures. These Assemblies were given the authority to execute all the powers that were formerly held by the Central Legislature previous to the adoption of a new Constitution, when all territories were to be managed in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935. The Sindh Assembly Building in Karachi hosted the inaugural meeting of Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly on August 10, 1947. The National Flag of Pakistan was formally authorised by the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947, when Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was unanimously chosen as its head.

A resolution to refer to Sir Muhammad Ali Jinnah as "Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah" was accepted on August 12th, 1947. The same day, a special committee known as the "Committee on Fundamental Rights of Citizens and Minorities of Pakistan" was established with the mission of investigating and advising the Assembly on issues relating to citizens' fundamental rights, particularly those of minorities, in order to pass appropriate legislation. The Power Transfer took place on August 14, 1947. The Governor General of India, Lord Mountbatten, spoke before the Pakistani Constituent Assembly. The Quaid responded to the speech in the House that laid forth the foundation for the State of Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam was sworn in as Pakistan's first governor on August 15, 1947. The Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mian Sir Abdur Rashid, administered the oath of office on his behalf. The Quaid held this role till his passing on September 11, 1948.

The very first Constituent Assembly's top priority is to draught the country's constitution. The Objectives Resolution, that is now the fundamental law of Pakistan, was initially proposed on March 7 by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the country's first prime minister, and later approved by the Constituent Assembly on March 12. A Basic Principles Committee made up of 24 members was established on the same day with the goal of creating a draught constitution based on the Objectives Resolution. The Objective Resolution's proponent and prime minister, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, was assassinated on October 16, 1951, and Khawaja Nazimuddin took over on October 17.

On April 17, 1953, Nazimuddin's government was overthrown by Ghulam Muhammad, and Muhammad Ali of Bogra—at the time Pakistan's ambassador to the USA—was invited to

become the new prime minister. The civil-military establishment supported this reform.<sup>79</sup> The Constituent Assembly, which has been scheduled to vote just on draught constitution and had agreed to reduce the Governor General's powers and transfer them to the government, was abolished by Ghulam Muhammad in October 1954. Actually, the 1947 Independence Act did not provide the Governor-General the power to dissolve the Assembly.<sup>80</sup> The nation proclaimed a state of emergency before the collapse. The dissolving of the Assembly was welcomed by the United Front (UF) in East Pakistan as a sign that East Bengal's parliamentary democracy will soon be restored.<sup>81</sup> The Governor General supported the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by arguing that it took too long to draught the constitution and that this had caused elections to be delayed. He added that the Assembly does not adequately reflect the nation. A constitutional crisis was brought about by Ghulam Muhammad's unlawful use of power.<sup>82</sup> The actions of the Governor General was the subject of a complaint filed to the Sindh High Court by Mouvli Tamizuddin, the President of the Constituent Assembly. The dissolution of the Governor General to Assembly was unlawful, and the Court upheld Tamizuddin's appeal. The case was brought before the Federal Court by the government, and under the direction of Pakistan's Chief Justice, Muhammad Munir, the court upheld the Governor General's judgement. The ruling of the Supreme Court established a (bad) precedent for weakening democracy and defending coups. The Governor General was supported by a political judiciary, a dedicated civil staff, and owned media.

It was intended for the autocratic rule of the Governor General to cease with the creation of the Second Constituent Assembly in July 1955. The Governor General was able to manipulate the members to install a government of his choosing, albeit no party was able to win a clear majority in the legislature. Politicians lost their prominence, and the state's chief executive took over. This had a tremendous impact on the legislature and the Assembly's political leaders.<sup>83</sup>

Later, another bureaucrat, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, was proposed for the position of premier by Governor General Iskandar Mirza, a former civil servant. Due to Iskandar Mirza's persistence and the bureaucracy's desire to maintain its hold on power in light of the impending National Assembly elections and the bureaucracy's lack of desire to fully cede power to the political servants, Iskandar Mirza intentionally became the first President of the Republic of Pakistan. Following the resignation of Muhammad Ali in September 1956, H. S. Suhrawardhy

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<sup>79</sup> Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism*, 52. Ardath W. Burks, "Constitutional Making in Pakistan", *Political Science Quarterly* 69, no. 4 [December 1954]: 541. Latif Ahmed Sherwani, "The Constitutional Experiment in Pakistan", *Asian Survey* 2, no. 6 [August 1962]: 9, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3023613>

<sup>80</sup> Muhammad Waseem, *The 1993 Elections in Pakistan* (Islamabad Vanguard, 1994), 32.

<sup>81</sup> The UF was the merger of numerous factions and parties. Its had three main components vis-à-vis ; the Awami League (AL), the Krisak-Sramik Party, the Nizam-i-Islam Party.

<sup>82</sup> Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism*, 52. Ali, *Parliamentary Democracy*, 23. For details about PRODA consult Rizvi, *Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1997*, 65.

<sup>83</sup> Khalid B. Sayeed "The Political Role of Pakistan's Civil Service" *Pacific Affairs* 31, no. 2 [June 1958]:

was appointed prime minister and led a combination of the Republican Party and Awami League. According to Suhrawardhy, the 1956 Charter granted the President the broad discretion that the Governor General had previously enjoyed, and politicians now actually possessed political authority. But he quickly realized that the President still had the upper hand. Suhrawardhy received 26 votes in the coalition government of the Awami League (AL) and the Republican Party (RP). On October 10, 1957, the RP withdrew its support, and Suhrawardhy requested the President call a meeting of the National Assembly to see if he still had the support of the majority of lawmakers. The President declined the constitutional demand. In response, "he [the President] replied back a letter declining to organize a meeting of the National Parliament, alleging that he was aware of the parties' position and called on me to resign by two in the morning or he would take action," Suhrawardhy stated. Decision made by the President was dubious and unlawful.<sup>84</sup>

In 1954, the Constitution's final draught was created. Muhammad Ali Bogra had assumed the role of Prime Minister by then. On October 24, 1954, the Assembly was dissolved by the governor general at the time, Ghulam Muhammad, just before the text could be submitted to the House for approval. But instead of being fired, the Prime Minister was requested to lead the government while a new Cabinet was formed until the elections could be held.

The President of the Assembly, Maulvi Tamizuddin, successfully argued against the dissolution before the Sindh Chief Court. The Government then went to the Federal Court, where the then-chief justice Muhammad Munir delivered the renowned decision stating that Maulvi Tamizuddin had lost the case.<sup>85</sup>

### **Constitute Assemblies 1947-58**

In accordance with Governor General's Order No.12 of 1955, the second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was established on May 28, 1955. The Provincial Assemblies of the different Provinces served as the Electoral College for this Assembly. There were 80 members total in this assembly, with 50 percent each from East and West Pakistan. In order to achieve equilibrium between the two wings, this Assembly made one of its most significant decisions by founding West Pakistan (One Unit) (East and West Pakistan). By presenting Pakistan with its first constitution, the Constitution of 1956, this assembly also succeeded in its goal. At the time, Choudhary Muhammad Ali served as prime minister. The Assembly approved the text of this Constitution on February 29, 1956, after it was introduced on January 9, 1956. On March 2, 1956, the Governor General gave his assent to it. The implementation of this Constitution began on March 23, 1956. Since Pakistan became an Islamic Republic as a result of this

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<sup>84</sup> Anwar H. Syed, "Factional Conflict in the Punjab Muslim League, 1947-1955", *Polity* 22, no. 1 [Autumn 1989]: 51, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3234846>. Callard, *A Political Study*, Chapter, 2. Also see K. Aziz, *Pakistan 1947-1958*, 80-94.

<sup>85</sup> Hamid Khan, "Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan" (Karachi: Oxford University press, 2009), p. 49.

Constitution, March 23 became our Republic Day. The historic Pakistan Resolution was approved at Minto Park in Lahore on the same day in 1940.

On 5th March 1956, Major General Iskander Mirza became the first elected President of Pakistan. The 1956 constitution provides for Parliamentary form of government with all the executive powers in the hands of Prime Minister. President was Head of the State and was to be elected by all Members of the National and Provincial Assemblies. He was to hold office for 5 years. The President was to act on the advice of Prime Minister, except where he was empowered to act in his discretion.

The 1956 Constitution established a unicameral parliament. The National Assembly, which included 300 members evenly distributed between East and West Pakistan, and the President were the only two members of the Parliament with legislative authority. In addition to these 300 seats, five seats in each of the two wings were set aside for women for a ten-year term, making a total of 310 people in the House.

Political unrest, however, persisted since there was no law to regulate Political Parties and the issue of floor crossing. President Sikandar Mirza proclaimed martial law on October 7, 1958, annulled the Constitution, and disbanded the National and Provincial Assemblies, delaying the first general election until early 1959. The Army's Commander-in-Chief, General Muhammad Ayub Khan, was chosen to serve as the Chief Martial Law Administrator.

### **National Assembly under Ayub Khan**

On October 27, 1958, General Muhammad Ayub Khan became Pakistan's second president. One of General Ayub Khan's first notable acts was the appointment of a Constitution Commission on February 17, 1960. This commission's mandate was to promote and integrate democracy while taking into account Islamic justice ideas as well as the nation's geopolitical landscape. The Commission delivered its report to the government on April 29, 1961. Based on this research, a new Constitution was created and presented to the nation on March 1st, 1962.

Elections underneath the new Constitution were held on March 28, 1962, while elections for the special seats reserved for women were held on May 29, 1962. The opening session of the third National Assembly took place on June 8, 1962, in Rawalpindi's Ayub Hall.

A Federal State with a Presidential system of administration was envisioned in the Constitution of 1962, with a National Assembly at its core and Provincial Assemblies in each province. The legislatures were unicameral in both the national capital and the provinces. By permitting the President to designate Provincial Governors directly, the Federal system had been restricted. According to the Constitution, the President holds sole executive authority for the Republic of Pakistan. Members of the President's cabinet that reported directly to him were appointed.

The voting procedure was made indirect in order to pick the Assemblies and the President, and the "Basic Democrats" representing both wings were chosen to serve as the Electoral College. 80,000 were basic Democrats (40,000 from each East & West Pakistan). Three seats were

reserved for women from each region in the National Assembly, which had 156 members overall. Members were to be chosen from East Pakistan for half of a seats, and West Pakistan for the other half. This Assembly was in session for three years. It has been conventional for the President to come from West Pakistan and the Speaker to be from East Pakistan. The Political Parities Act of 1962 was passed by this Assembly, which was one of its greatest accomplishments.<sup>86</sup>

Ayub Khan fulfilled his promise made at the time of capture by promulgating Pakistan's second Constitution on March 1, 1962. The Constitution was presidential, giving the President significant powers. The President's council of ministers was to help him; its members were allowed to attend and participate in the legislature but not to vote. The President, not the legislature, was responsible for 69 ministers. The Electoral College, made up of elected members of the Basic Democracies, was meant to elect the President. Since 1958, the National Assembly has had the right to rethink the prohibition on political parties. The National Assembly also had the authority to repeal the ban and provide the conditions for political parties to function.<sup>87</sup> The 1962 Constitution was flawed in many ways. It wasn't created by country representatives; it was predicated on secret ballot for the President and members of assemblies; it didn't call for a fair division of power between both the executive and legislature; it was a one-man show despite the fact that the Head of State had significant authority; it was made specifically to ensure Ayub Khan's continued office of president; and it. The Basic Democracies system was designed to give the people more power, but he also used it as an Electoral College and to win public support for his leadership. Basic Democracies was a concept that Ayub Khan firmly believed in, referring to it as the "foundation-stone of a new political structure."<sup>88</sup>

Elections for the National Assembly and two Provincial Assemblies were held on April 28 and May 6, respectively, following the publication of a new Constitution, with the Basic Democrats serving as the Election System.<sup>89</sup> Candidates did not have direct public access during these elections, instead the Election Commission organised events for voters to learn more about the candidates. Political parties were outlawed, although politicians were still allowed to vote.<sup>90</sup> Both of the Treasury and Opposite sides in the National Assembly had weird feelings about the lack of political parties and demanded their revival. The National Assembly introduced and approved a bill to revive political parties. The parties are permitted to exist as long as they

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<sup>86</sup> Hamid Khan, "Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan" (Karachi: Oxford University press, 2009), p. 210.

<sup>87</sup> Susheela Kaushik, "Constitution of Pakistan at Work", *Asian Survey* 3, no. 8 [August 1963]: 384, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3023649>

<sup>88</sup> Kalim Bahadur, "Democracy in Pakistan: Crises and Conflicts" (Delhi: Har-Anand Publications Pvt Ltd, 1998), 24.

Amir Abdullah Khan Rokari, *Main Aur Mera Pakistan* (Urdu), 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1994), 25.

<sup>89</sup> Herbert Feldman, *The Herbert Feldman Omnibus*, "Revolution in Pakistan: A Study of the Martial Law Administration" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 145.

<sup>90</sup> M, Rafique Afzal, "Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-1969", vol. 2, ed. 3<sup>rd</sup> (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2000), 234-237.

adhere to two requirements: they must be founded on Islamic principles, and they cannot accept any members who have been found guilty of "misconduct." In response to these events, ex-politicians promised not to work together for the resuscitation of political parties prior to the democracy being restored.<sup>91</sup>

The Basic Democrats won the National Assembly elections on March 21, 1965. According to the results, the Conventional Muslim League (Conv ML) received 80% of the seats, while the opposition received 10%. On May 13, 1965, provincial elections were held. Because some of its members chose to run alone or under their parties' banners, the Combine Opposition Party (COP) boycotted the provincial elections in West Pakistan. In West Pakistan, the Conv ML had an implied victory in the provincial elections, but it did not win a majority in East Pakistan.<sup>92</sup>

Anti-Ayub Khan sentiments were widespread in 1968, as people demonstrated and challenged Ayub Khan's dictatorial government. These demonstrations wreaked havoc on the law and order situation. In contravention of his own Constitution, which obliged him to pass up authority to the Speaker of the National Assembly, he was forced to resign on March 25, 1969, delivering control to the Army Chief, (General) Yahya Khan. Martial Law began and terminated Ayub Khan's reign.<sup>93</sup>

### **People's assembly 1971-77**

On March 25, 1969, the second Martial Law was put into effect, and Gen Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan was appointed as the country's president and chief Martial Law administrator (CMLA). Due to a Legal Framework Order (LFO) he later issued, the first-ever general election took place on December 7, 1970. The selection of the adult franchise and population for this Assembly was a first. There really are 313 members, 169 from East Pakistan and 144 from West Pakistan, with 13 seats reserved for women (6 were from West Pakistan and 7 from East Pakistan). Serious political issues led to the Province of East Pakistan separating from West Pakistan and becoming Bangladesh after the elections. President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of its first civil government

The inaugural session of the National Assembly was conducted on April 14, 1972, at the State Bank Building in Islamabad due to the delay caused by East Pakistan's secession. In addition to the 144 members of West Pakistan, there were also two representatives from the erstwhile East Pakistan (Mr. Noor-ul-Amin and Raja Tridev Roy, who had decided to join Pakistan). On April 17, 1972, the National Assembly enacted an interim constitution that created a presidential form of government. Prior to August 14, 1973, this Constitution forbade dissolving

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<sup>91</sup> Mohammad Khalid, *Welfare State: A Case Study of Pakistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1968), 163.

<sup>92</sup> Rizvi, *Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, 134. Afzal, *Pakistan 1958-1969*, 257-264. Sharif al-Mujahid, "Pakistan's First Presidential Elections" *Asian Survey* 5, no. 6 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2642126>

<sup>93</sup> Akmal Hussain, Mushahid Hussain, "Pakistan: Problems of Governance" (New Delhi: Vanguard Books Pvt Ltd, 1993), 125.

the National Assembly. The distribution of power between the Center and the Provinces was extensively covered in the Interim Constitution.

A Constitution Committee was constituted by the Assembly on April 17, 1972, to work on the initial draught of a new constitution. The Committee's findings and a draught Constitution were given on December 31, 1972. On April 10, 1973, the Assembly overwhelmingly approved it, and on April 12, 1973, the President gave his approval. This constitution—officially known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973 Constitution—was declared on August 14, 1973. On the same day, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Mr. Fazal Illahi Choudhary both took their oaths of office as president of Pakistan.

A parliamentary form of government was created in 1973 with the Prime Minister serving as the head of state. The President is positioned at the top of a Constitution as a representation of the Republic's cohesion.

From 1947 until 1973, the nation's legislature functioned as a unicameral body. The fundamental institution established by the 1973 Constitution is Pakistan's bicameral "The Parliament," which is made up of the President, the National Assembly, and the Senate. Initially, the National Assembly had 210 seats—210 regular seats and 10 seats reserved only for women. The Senate, the newly created Upper House, had 63 members. From 1947 until 1973, the country's legislative system was a unicameral one. According to its 1973 Constitution, Pakistan adopted a bicameral government known as "The Parliament," with the President, the National Assembly, and the Senate serving as its three major bodies. The National Assembly originally had 210 seats, with 210 regular seats and an extra 10 seats designated for women. The newly created Upper House, the Senate, had 63 members.

The National Assembly is selected for a five-year term under the 1973 Constitution, unless it is dissolved earlier. In contrast to the Senate, each province and other unit of the federation is given a certain number of representatives in the National Assembly based on its population. 20 extra seats set aside for women under the Constitution expired in 1990, bringing the Assembly's size down from 237 to 217. Elections for the 10 minority-reserved seats were conducted in accordance with the Constitution using distinct electorates.<sup>94</sup>

#### **Formation of Immediate Assembly under Zia Ul Haq { 1985-88 }**

Despite the Assembly's five-year term being required by the Constitution, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto announced the conduct of elections early on January 7, 1977. As a result, on January 10th, 1977, he suggested that the President dissolved the National Assembly. The election day of 1977 was March 7. After accusing the government of rigging the National Assembly elections, the opponents abstained from voting in the Provincial Assemblies elections. Because they did not accept the results of the National Assembly elections, the opposition chose not to take the oath.

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<sup>94</sup> <https://na.gov.pk/en/content.php?id=75>

As a result, there was a significant political crisis, and on July 5th, 1977, the then-Army Chief, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, proclaimed martial law. The party-less elections of 1985, which were an attempt by General Ziaul Haq to delegitimize political parties and render them obsolete, were particularly damaging for Pakistani politics in the 1980s.<sup>95</sup>

The General declared elections for the national and provincial parliament in February 1985 following the referendum of 1984. Ziaul Haq added additional election requirements in January 1985, and the Political Parties Act of 1962 underwent revisions as a result.

The Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), a coalition of eleven political parties founded in 1983, boycotted the 1985 election results even though their demands for party-based elections and the reconstruction of the 1973 Constitution were denied, a decision that the political parties later regretted. These amendments were bad news for all political parties. The elections had a detrimental effect on the nation's ongoing democratic process.<sup>96</sup>

The Pakistan People's Party, Awaami Tehreek, Jamiat Ulemai Islam, National Awami Party, National Democratic Party, Pakistan Mazdoor Kisan Party, Pakistan Muslim League, Pakistan National Party, Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, and Tehrik-e-Istiqlal were among the political parties represented in the MRD.

The successful referendum boycott in 1984 may have persuaded the MRD to follow suit in the 1985 elections. Unexpectedly for them, however, a sizable number of voters showed up at the polls; the National Assembly saw a voter turnout of 53.69%, while provincial assemblies saw a national turnout of 57.37%.

Speaking to TNS, Dr. Rasul Bukhsh Rais claims that "the political parties afterwards regretted their choice to boycott the 1985 election." "In reality, party candidates wished to challenge the results. Because of this, there were far more candidates than there were in 1977 "He adds.

Under the circumstances, political leaders might be able to carve out some political space for themselves by voting.

The election contenders ran their campaigns on racial, religious, and tribal lines while purposefully ignoring national (or international) matters in favour of local issues. As a result, MNAs and MPAs were expected to focus on local government development, which reduced national politics to municipal level politics.

Dr. Rais claims that actions like providing funding to lawmakers chosen without party support amounted to political bribery for the MNAs and MPAs.

But the General's aim of trivialising national politics was not entirely successful. General Zia found it difficult to cope with a prime minister who was a result of these elections. "Muhammad Khan Junejo carried out his duties as an elected and strong prime minister right away. He made

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<sup>95</sup> <https://na.gov.pk/en/content.php?id=75>

<sup>96</sup> Hamid Khan, "Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan" (Karachi: Oxford University press, 2009), p. 356.

several pivotal choices, including reinstating political parties, signing the Geneva Peace Accord with the Afghan government, and bringing Benazir Bhutto to an All-Parties Summit on Afghanistan in March 1988 "Dr. Rais opine.<sup>97</sup>

By Presidential Order (P.O.15 of 1981), the President formed the Federal Council (Majlis-e-Shoora) on December 24. The President made the participants' suggestion. The first meeting of this Council took place on January 11, 1982. Following the resumption of restricted and controlled political activity, general elections for the National and Provincial Assemblies were held without regard to party affiliation on February 25, 1985.

On March 2nd, the Constitution underwent a number of revisions under the Resurrection of Constitution Order (P.O.14 of 1985). The first session of the National Assembly was held on March 20, 1985. Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo has been proposed by Pakistan's president as the nation's future prime minister (General Zia-ul-Haq). He received a vote of confidence on March 24, 1985.<sup>98</sup>

The National and Provincial Assemblies voted non-party elections on 25 and 28 February, 1985. On March 20, 1985, the National Assembly had its inaugural session. Zia skillfully began horse-trading in the offices of Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers from then on. Pir Mardan Shah of Pagaro presented Muhammad Khan Junejo as his nominee. The majority of the MNAs from Punjab later joined the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, which Junejo created despite the fact that the members of the National Assembly were chosen in non-party elections. The MLPP also had an opposition parliamentary caucus. Zia asserted that despite his dislike of party dominance, he was in favour of the MLPP's formation as a test of parliamentary democracy. An Electoral College composed of delegates from the Provincial Assemblies was then used to elect the Senate. To understand Zia's politics, critics proposed a hypothesis based on the concept of a "invisible" power structure. The thesis contended that Zia had established a phoney Parliamentary democracy, with the Prime Minister's office holding the least useful authorities and important ones concentrated in his hands. They had separated their arguments into two groups. First, rather than choosing Junejo to represent the Pakistan Muslim League (PML), the majority party in the Parliament, as a member of the National Assembly, Zia chose Junejo as an independent member. Junejo was Zia's junior partner in their facade democracy construction firm. Second, Zia continued to serve as COAS even after winning the presidential election in a referendum. He established an imbalance in the arrangement of power between the President and the Prime Minister by amending the 1973 Constitution. When Junejo took his oath of office as premier on March 23, 1985, he promised the population that democracy would be reinstated, martial law would be removed, there would be justice, the rule of law, an end to sectarianism,

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<sup>97</sup> <https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/565678-class-1985>

<sup>98</sup> <https://na.gov.pk/en/content.php?id=75>

and corruption would be eliminated.<sup>99</sup> Junejo assumed that a call to terminate martial law would be made to the President shortly after the Political Parties Act was passed by Parliament. "A political party would be founded," he added, "that would be the "governmental party" in charge of the country's affairs." Every member of Parliament wished for the martial law to be lifted immediately. In March 1985, the constitution was amended with fifty-six modifications, just one of which was related to Islam or Islamic rule. The remaining modifications attempted to strengthen Zia's authority. Fundamental human rights were suspended, and legislatures and courts had no say or role. The National Assembly's most important task was to include the RCO in the 1973 constitution. The eighth amendment to the Constitution incorporated certain important amendments. Zia also suggested the construction of a National Security Council as an element of the Constitution, but it was withdrawn after the National Assembly overwhelmingly vetoed it.<sup>100</sup>

Martial Law was lifted on December 30, 1985, and a customised version of the 1973 constitution was implemented. Junejo used his constitutional authority to exercise foreign policy authority, which Zia despised.<sup>101</sup>

People greeted Benazir's return from exile with joy, and MRD's pressure on Junejo to organise new party-based elections rose. Junejo's government had likewise failed to meet Zia's expectations.<sup>102</sup> On April 10, 1988, a blast occurred in Rawalpindi's Ojhri camp (ammunition depot), resulting in the loss of life and property. Politicians demanded that the army officers responsible for the tragic incident be punished. Junejo's government had already ousted and replaced other top officers, and Zia anticipated that this time it may accuse and pressurise him to resign as Army Chief. As a result of the growing schism between Zia and Junejo, on May 29, 1988, Zia dissolved Parliament, sacked Junejo's cabinet, and called new elections using the sword of Article 58 (2) (b). The Senate, however, was not removed. Junejo became intolerable to Zia when he established his authority; It was inconceivable for someone to form a coalition government with the Prime Minister after eight and a half years of unchallenged dominance. Since March 1985, substantial differences between the President and the Prime Minister have grown, and the government has been deposed as a result. The Junejo government's dilemma was that it struggled for three years to reclaim its constitutional powers, which Zia rejected and eventually resulted in his departure.<sup>103</sup>

The temporary government was established on June 1, 1988. The PML had a significant presence in the interim cabinet. Elections would be held in 90 days, as promised by Zia, who

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<sup>99</sup> Muhammad Ali Chirag, 'Tareekh-e-Pakistan' (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001), 490.

<sup>100</sup> Rizvi, *Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, 265.

<sup>101</sup> Ahmad Salim, *Tootati Banti Assemblan Aur Civil-Military Bureaucracy (Urdu)* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1990), 325. Philip Cohen, *Idea of Pakistan*, 145.

<sup>102</sup> Rizvi, *Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, 265-266

<sup>103</sup> Parveen Shaukat Ali, 'Politics of Conviction: The Life and Times of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq' (Lahore: The London Centre for Pakistan Studies, 1997), 205.

also declared that they'd be nonpartisan. Polls based on political parties were mandated by the MRD and other political parties. Prior to the elections, on August 17, 1988, Zia died in an aircraft accident. Senate Chair Ghulam Ishaq Khan signed the oath to serve as acting President after his passing. The Vice COAS, General Aslam Baig, was elevated to COAS. The President proclaimed a state of emergency, but human rights were not suspended.<sup>104</sup>

Between 1947 and 1988, three coups occurred (October 1958, March 1969, and July 1977), weakening the democratic edifice and obliterating any democratic advances.<sup>105</sup> Democracy was a new experience, and it was necessary to understand it via training and practise over time in order to make it work, but the civil-military bureaucracy stifled its development. The imposition of martial law deepened the roots of authoritarianism in Pakistani politics; it also resulted in constitutional modifications that shifted authority to the President. Because of this, the Premier, who was supposed to be a dominant figure in parliamentary governance, always remained weak and exposed whenever a civilian government came into office. In the years 1988, 1990, 1993, and 1997, the {PPP} {IJI}, the PPP, and the PML {N} consecutively formed governments in the centre. There existed a power differential supporting the President and the establishment at the cost of elected governments, as seen by the frequent collapse of governments and expulsion of prime ministers from office.<sup>106</sup> The participation of Pakistan's civil-military bureaucracy and intelligence services (particularly the ISI) in politics has been clear and substantial throughout the country's political history. The future of democracy has been threatened numerous times due to the discontinuity of democratic processes. In light of Pakistan's brief history of democracy, this examination seeks to uncover the reasons why each administration was unable to complete its five-year term, which is the study's core issue.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Waseem, *State in Pakistan*, 435. For complete text of Ishaq Khan's speech see *The Pakistan Times*, Islamabad August 18, 1988.

<sup>105</sup> Hamid Khan, *'Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan'* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 883.

<sup>106</sup> Ayesha Jalal and Sugata Bose, *Modern South Asia; History, Cultural, Political Economy* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1998), 236. Rizvi, *Politics in Pakistan*, 277.

<sup>107</sup> In order to see the role of intelligence agencies in politics of Pakistan see Altaf Gauhar: "How Intelligence Agencies Run Our Politics", *The Nation*, Islamabad, August 17, 1997. Ardeshir Cowasjee, "Forgetting History", *Dawn*, Islamabad, May 15, 2011.

## Chapter No. 02

### Benazir Bhutto First Era 1989-1990

The 1985 assembly formulated by National Assembly (NA), was unexpectedly dissolved in May 1988 the President Mohammad Zia Ul Haq dismissing the PM and the entire of the Cabinet at the same time, said that the government was corrupt and ineffective. In July 1988, the President selected the 16 November polling date, which was more than 90 days after the dissolution deadline set by the Constitution. He also stated that the elections would be non-partisan, as they had been in 1985<sup>108</sup>. Prior President Zia's untimely demise on the 17th of August 1988, the Supreme Court overturned the prohibition on parties in October. So, the PPP, led by Benazir Bhutto and the Islamic Democratic Alliance, led by Nawaz Sharif, and a crease up with other parties, position 1370 candidates for the 217 seats of Assembly selected by the people.<sup>109</sup>

Elections were held on November 16, 1988. Ms Bhutto and the socialist PPP, who ran a populist campaign, succeeded with 92 seats to the 9-party coalition IJI's 56. The continuance of President Zia's Islamization programme was the centrepiece of the latter's forum. Independent candidates and secondary parties filled the prevailing seats. However, the Acting President Ghulam Ishaq Khan asked the PPP to establish a government based on these findings. It formed alliances with minorities and small parties. On the 4th of December, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto “the first female head of government in a Muslim country” announced the establishment of a new Cabinet<sup>110</sup>.

#### General Elections 1988 and Pakistani Politics

Elections were held, and the PPP won by winning a majority of seats in the legislature. According to election results, the party won 94 members in the National Assembly without the backing of any party. The second-largest forum, IJI received 56 seats in the NA. With 13 seats in the NA, the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) got third position. As a result, the 1988 elections yielded a divided mandate; the PPP did not win an outright majority in Parliament or the three provinces<sup>111</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> Muhammad Mumtaz Ali Khan and Mazher Hussain, "Pakistan General Elections 1988: An Analytical Study on the 'Bipolarization' of the National Electorate." *Pakistan Vision* 22, no. 1 (2021): 44-54

<sup>109</sup> Usba Noureen, Rizwan Ullah Kokab, and Hamid Yaseen Ahmed, "ELECTORAL POLITICS: A HISTORICAL (1947-1997) REVIEW OF MIANWALI, PAKISTAN." *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 17, no. 7 (2020): 16149-16167.

<sup>110</sup> Syed Tahir Hussain Bukhari, Abdul Basit Mujahid, Syed Akmal Hussain Shah, Muhammad Azeem. "Nascent Democracy of Pakistan (1988-1990)." *Pakistan Vision* 21, no. 1 (2020): 224-235.

<sup>111</sup> Arif Khan, Bakhtiar Khan, Irfan Khan. "The Crisis of Governance in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis of Benazir Bhutto Government (1988-1990)." *Global Political Review* 4, no. 3 (2019): 10-19.

<b>Party's name</b>	<b>Seats</b>	<b>Voting percent age</b>	<b>Leaders of the party</b>
<b>PPP</b>	94	38.5	Benazir Bhutto
<b>IJI</b>	56	30.2	Nawaz Sharif
<b>Independents</b>	40	19.5	
<b>Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam</b>	7	1.8	Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman
<b>Pakistan Awami Ittehad</b>	3	4.2	Shahram Khan Tarakai
<b>Balochistan National Alliance</b>	2	0.3	Abul Maududi (JI) Ahmad Noorani (JuP) Zahoor Illahi (PML) Asghar Khan (Tel)
<b>Awami National Party</b>	2	2.1	Asfandyar Wali Khan
<b>Pakistan Democ</b>	1	0.4	Nawabzada Mansoor

<b>Partic Party</b>			Ahmed Khan
<b>Total</b>	207	100	

After the comprehensive election, an extra 20 seats in the NA were set aside for women to be filled. However, with the help of MQM and 8 members from the former FATA PPP, a decisive majority was achieved. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan appointed Benazir Bhutto to establish the government after securing the requisite majority in the House. As Benazir Bhutto had coalition allies who would not have been loyal in the long run, Benazir Bhutto's newly elected PPP administration faced considerable hurdles in the following days. The IJI, a coalition formed by the retiring military elites, opposed her vehemently. 1988 marked a watershed moment in Pakistan's troubled history in many respects. This year marked the end of the country's long period of military dictatorship. As a result of the 1988 elections, a democratic wave swept Pakistan. The election victory of Benazir Bhutto marked the start of a contemporary democratic period in Pakistan<sup>112</sup>.

The sole difference in 1988 was that the elections were held on a party-by-party basis, and the House's complexion was clear, making the President's choice of Prime Minister easy. However, because of its lack of political understanding in the absence of democratic standards, the coalition government was constantly pulled and pressed, eventually leading to a misunderstanding between both political centres and exhaustion, requiring the intervention of the great arbitrator. Although the electorate's role in these elections was not decisive, it revealed a clear political division between pro-and anti-Zia orientations, which had previously been divided along conservative-progressive lines due to the PPP's ascension to power in 1970<sup>113</sup>. Benazir backed Ghulam Ishaq Khan in the presidential elections on the December 12th, 1988, because he embodied Benazir's idea of conciliatory politics. Within and outside the PPP, there was a growing recognition that prior confrontations between democratic powers had merely supported the martial bureaucracy. The establishment of many centres of power may present Pakistani leaders with a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to establish modern traditions of the political alliance while keeping independent political essences. However, Benazir Bhutto along with her party would play a key part in promoting Pakistan's reconciliation politics<sup>114</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> M Javaid Akhter. "Politics of Reconciliation and Accommodation: A Study of Benazir Bhutto's First Era of Democratic Government 1988-1990." *Journal of Political Studies* 16 (2009): 63.

<sup>113</sup> Barkat Ali, Hafiz Aziz ur Rehman. "Protection of Fundamental Rights in Pakistan: A Study of the Development of Public Interest Litigation." *Al.Qamar* 4, no. 1 (2021): 19-30.

<sup>114</sup> Faraz Ali Bughio, "Critical analysis of political discourse: A study of Benazir Bhutto's last speech." *Balochistan Journal of Linguistics* 2, no.4 (2014): 79-95.

## Civil-Military Relations

During the General Zia era, the military suspicion on Benazir grew because of the ouster of previous prime minister Zulfikar Bhutto and the imprisonment of both Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir. The unease in relationship remained by Bhutto's entire era. She fired the Chief of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), General Hameed Gul, and wanted to reduce the army's participation in politics. Benazir Bhutto also tried but went wrong to replace Admiral Sirohey, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC), but the latter enjoyed the support of both the military and the President. General Hameed Gul, designated by General Zia, was not pleased with this escapade<sup>115</sup>.

The three main criteria and the military's fundamental concerns were accepted by Benazir Bhutto. These included promises that previous Foreign Minister General Yaqoob Ali a retired general would continue in the cabinet, Ghulam Ishaq Khan would be elected Pakistan's President, and that the defence budget would not be reduced. Benazir Bhutto gave President Obama guarantees that she would not intervene in senior military appointments or affect Afghanistan's foreign policy trajectory. She created a government without much authority in 1988 and was toppled in 1990 because Benazir Bhutto chose to employ the security plan, as she stated in multiple interviews. Despite Ghulam Ishaq Khan's guarantees to the military forces, Benazir Bhutto could have pushed herself to enhance the part of democratic establishments. Still, Benazir focused on strengthening and broadening the party's political domain<sup>116</sup>.

The Zia martial aristocracy was able to exert influence on the events by brokering a deal that guaranteed the alliance of anti-PPP political parties under Nawaz Sharif. These accords were founded on promises that the defence budget would be safeguarded and that the military would maintain its veto power over crucial defence and foreign policy decisions. Through the assistance of their bureaucratic backers under the direction of Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Zia ul Haq's successor in the Presidency, whose authority had been greatly expanded by the 8th Amendment to the Constitution, the military forces were competent to carry out this veto. For instance, without talking about Benazir, "General Mirza Aslam Baig and the President" chose to continue with a nuclear weapon.<sup>117</sup>

### Developments in the era of Benazir

*{A glance to Assembly under the terms; Differentiation, Durability, Autonomy, Complexity and Adoption of Rules.}*

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<sup>115</sup>Muhammad Azeem, Mukhtar Ahmad, and Tahir Tabassum. "A Sneaking Exposure to Premiumship through Politics of Tactics and Compromises—Civil Military Relationship during Benazir Bhutto's Government 1988-90." *Pakistan Social Sciences Review* 3, no. 1 (2019): 663-672.

<sup>116</sup> Lawrence Ziring, "Benazir Bhutto: A political portrait." *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 18, no. 3 (1991): 178-189.

<sup>117</sup> Saeed Shafqat, "Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto." *Asian Survey* 36, no. 7 (1996): 655-672.

Though Benazir Bhutto had high supported considerable autonomy for the provinces of Pakistan, she restrained it in Punjab's case. Nawaz Sharif's Punjab power denied approval to the federal officers who were selected by Benazir Bhutto. Considerations among Benazir Bhutto and the civil service of Pakistan were also depleted, resulting in paralysis of various country affairs, Benazir Bhutto spoke of it as Zia's bureaucracy. Moreover, her perception of anti-Punjabi affected several civil servants which were majority from Punjab<sup>118</sup>.

### **Discipline was not maintained in Galleries.**

Shaik Rashid said, what is going in Galleries , which is totally disrespected for this house. A huge crowd was marched towards Assembly. For an hour people didn't let the business of Assembly to be conducted. An Hangama situation was created in Assembly.<sup>119</sup>

### **Oath taking ceremony and selection of Speaker and Duty Speaker**

After taking oath of all members, the election for president was held. Mr. Meraj Khalid-he has been proposed by Makhdoom M. Amin Faheem, Malik Mushtaq Ahmad, Rai Rashid Ahmad Khan and Sheikh Rashid Ahmad has been proposed by Sardar Haji Gul Khitab Khan and Raja Muhammad Afzal Khari.<sup>120</sup>

Total 207 votes were cast out of which 134 votes gained by Mr. Malik Khalid Meraaj and 82 votes casted for Shaikh Rashid.<sup>121</sup>

The campaign for duty speaker was held between Dr. Ashraf Khatoon Abassi and Haji Sardar Gull Khitab , Ashraf Khatoon scored 133 votes and Haji Sardar gained 65 votes. Therefore, Ashraf Khatoon was nominated as duty speaker.<sup>122</sup>

### **Dissolution of Balochistan Assembly:**

The issue of Balochistan Assembly was highlighted in National Assembly. One day after its dissolving the matter was taken in Assembly by Mir Manzoor Ahmed Ghichki, Syed Ahmed Awan and other many opposition members did speech on it.<sup>123</sup> Dr. Sher Afghan asked to take this issue seriously. He said that Balochistan and Balochistan's problem from first day have not taken much seriously.<sup>124</sup> While discussing on the same issue Atizaz Hassan replied to opposition that federal government is not involve in the dissolving of Balochitsn assembly.<sup>125</sup>

On December 15, 1989, the Governor of Balochistan, Gen. Muhammad Musa, dissolved the Assembly of Balochistan on the advice of the CM, Zafar ullah Jamali. According to the opposition, the Prime Minister was behind the dissolution. Benazir flatly denied the claim and

<sup>118</sup> Muhammad Azeem, Kashif Ali, Ahmad Hassan, Saeed Ahmad. "Revisiting Benazir Bhutto's political services during 1988-1996: An overview." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 55, no. 1 (2018): 312-342

<sup>119</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 1. 3, December 8, 1988, 28-29

<sup>120</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 1. 3, December 8, 1988, 33

<sup>121</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 1. 3, December 8, 1988, 34-35

<sup>122</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 1. 3, December 8, 1988, 54-56

<sup>123</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 12, December 12, 1988, 335-465

<sup>124</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 20, December 20, 1988, 823-24

<sup>125</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 27, 1988, 1128

invited the opposition to a debate on the subject.<sup>126</sup> The Speaker of the Provincial Assembly had voted openly in the Chief Ministerial election, which sparked the scandal. The majority and minority votes were separated by only one or two votes. In this grave situation, Benazir's special envoy, Syed Yousuf Raza Gillani, was deployed to Quetta. Gillani wrote Fazal-ur-Rehman a letter on December 3, 1988, underlining Benazir's concerns regarding Balochistan. Jamali requested the Governor to dissolve the Balochistan Assembly while Fazal-ur-Rehman was waiting for the letter, which he never received. In the Balochistan High Court, Jamali's termination was challenged on the grounds that he was denied a majority vote in the Balochistan Assembly, preventing him from getting a vote of confidence and prohibiting him from calling for the Assembly's dissolution. According to the Assembly record, Jamali received 22 votes with the Speaker's casting vote, and on January 23, 1989, a full bench of the Balochistan High Court ruled that the dissolution was illegal. Benazir had received advice from the COAS not to support any party or individual in the Balochistan dispute or engage in it.<sup>127</sup> Jamali was unable to gain a majority of votes in the 44-member parliament as a result. Jamali was ineligible to propose dissolution because he had not taken the vote of confidence required by section 130 (3), according to the Court. The Assembly was re-established since the dissolution was unlawful. The IJI, BNA, and JUI (F) signed a tripartite agreement on January 26, 1989, to form the Balochistan government, with Akbar Bugti as its Chief Minister.

### **Making of Budget in Assembly**

Because the President had only approved the budget for four months during the caretaker administration and in the absence of the National Assembly, the government's first objective was to present the federal budget for fiscal year 1988-1989. On December 8, 1988, Ehsan-ul-Haq Piracha, Minister of Finance, Economic Affairs, Planning, and Development, presented the budget produced by the caretaker administration in the National Assembly, with a few adjustments.<sup>128</sup>

In the budget the Deficit was mentioned 9 to 13 billion.<sup>129</sup> 18 billion rupees were fixed for provinces educational and other grants.<sup>130</sup> Sum of 12 to 8 billion rupees were fixed for other developmental works for provinces.<sup>131</sup> The previous government done a program which will be continued with some further reforms.<sup>132</sup> The total budget is comprised of billion rupees. In which 54 million rupees were fixed for corporations and central development works.<sup>133</sup> Currently in country the power/ electricity generation ratio is 6816 megawatt, but we will

<sup>126</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988, 355-56

<sup>127</sup> Munir Ahmad, Bhutto: Khandan Ka Katal (Urdu) (Lahore: Takhliqat Publishers, 1998), 326.

<sup>128</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 3, December 8, 1988, 78-80.

<sup>129</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 88

<sup>130</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 88

<sup>131</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 88

<sup>132</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 85

<sup>133</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 86

improve to increase it further 610 megawatt. If this continued till 2000 Pakistan would be able to make 25,000-megawatt electricity.<sup>134</sup> The production of oil and gas will be developed, currently Pakistan is producing 4500-barrel oil and 1148 billion cubic gas. This government will increase in the production of gas and oil.<sup>135</sup> This government has fixed an amount of 96 crore for roads, highways, and bridges.<sup>136</sup> The government has fixed an amount of 3 million rupees for telecommunications and telephones lines and connections.<sup>137</sup>

Government will build 12,0000 houses and new housing schemes are being built. 50 crore rupees are fixed for this purpose.<sup>138</sup> For education 1 million 17 crore and for food and health 67 crore rupees were fixed.<sup>139</sup>

The budget was discussed for 12 days in Assembly, on 20 December, Mr. Speaker passed the budget which was adopted by assembly at once. Opposition [ shaikh Rashid, Ghulam Haider Wahain, Manzoor Ahmed Gichki and 20 Others] didn't accept it. They opposed it. Almost 23 opposition members delivered speech on budget. Their point of view was clear that this budget is not made by PPP government it is a readymade budget. <sup>140</sup>

### **Taping of Telephones of Opposition Leaders**

Shaikh Rashid said that the phone lines of opposition leaders is being taping by officials. Such activities shows that nether assembly is sovereign, nor its members are free about their will.<sup>141</sup> Chudari Shujahat Hussain for many times spoke about his telephone taping and he also said that some people watching him following all the time. He said once his guards beaten some of them and kept him under my house. That person belonged to ISI. <sup>142</sup>

### **Sindh's state of law and order:**

Sindh has had weak law and order since 1983, but the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy saw the emergence of an ubiquitous "dako raj phenomena" (MRD). The PPP administration was unable to restore peace in Sindh as a result of the eruption of ethnic violence, and the army demanded major autonomy to handle the situation. Because it considered that using force would make the problem worse, the PPP declined to provide the army these expertise..<sup>143</sup>

The National Assembly debated Sindh's law and order situation. The opposition has criticised the administration for failing to normalise life in Karachi.<sup>144</sup> The law and order situation in other

<sup>134</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 88

<sup>135</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 90

<sup>136</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 91

<sup>137</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 92

<sup>138</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 91

<sup>139</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 15, December 8, 1988 . 91

<sup>140</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 5, December 20, 1988 . 898

<sup>141</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 9, No. 12, April 10, 1989. 101

<sup>142</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol 3, No. 5, February 05, 1989. 100

<sup>143</sup> Kalim Bahadur, Democracy in Pakistan: Crises and Conflicts (Delhi: Har- Anand Publications Pvt Ltd,

<sup>144</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 5, March 29, 1989, 380-381.

provinces was also bad. In the NWFP, people's lives and property were in peril. Assassinations, kidnappings, burglaries, and robberies were all widespread. Arms were plentiful and easy to obtain, and they were used freely in family and clan feuds. In Balochistan, ethnic enmity between Pakhtuns and Balochs was rising. The economic and ethnic difficulties of Balochistan needed long-term solutions. Punjab had lost its national unity. Punjab was split among ethnic groups like Saraiki and Punjabi.<sup>145</sup>

### **Centre-Punjab Relations:**

Tensions between the Punjab and the Centre had reached a breaking point by February 1989. Nawaz opposed the launch of the People's Programme by the Centre and requested that it be shut down by the President. The Punjab and Federal governments were at conflict over wheat, blaming one other for the critical situation.<sup>146</sup> The struggle between the Centre and Punjab became even more intense on February 11, 1989, when Nawaz was chosen President of the IJI.<sup>147</sup> Nawaz Sharif was even subjected to a vote of no confidence engineered by Benazir. The Punjab PPP requested that Mian Manzoor Watto, the Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, summon a special session on March 6, 1989, to present a no-confidence resolution against Nawaz Sharif. 80 MPs of Parliament signed the petition, with some members getting support through horse-trading. Ishaq Khan contacted Benazir and asked her to meet with him right away to discuss the issue. On March 6, 1989, Benazir and Ishaq Khan met in the company of Aslam Baig. Aslam Baig informed Benazir that PPP members were engaged in horse-trading but that federal ministers were residing in the Punjab and planning to overthrow Nawaz, and that these actions and attitudes would further deteriorate relations between the Centre and the Punjab. Benazir said that no one from her party was competing for Punjab Chief Minister because of Nawaz's improper and bad behaviour. Ishaq Khan and Aslam Baig recommended Benazir to cease plotting against Nawaz and instead try to persuade the IJI to cooperate with the federal government. Nawaz later met Benazir, and the two agreed to work together for the good of the country. The IJI accepted the PPP's authority to rule at the federal level, while the PPP acknowledged the IJI's mandate in Punjab.<sup>148</sup>

### **The Centre-NWFP Relations:**

The relationship between the PPP and the NWFP was fragile. Wali Khan accused Benazir of breaching a commitment she made during the formation of the NWFP coalition government; based on this arrangement, Wali Khan helped the PPP at the Centre. As she backed out of her vow, Benazir isolated himself from her party, and the ANP-PPP alliance came to an end on June 4, 1989. When a no-confidence resolution against the NWFP administration was

<sup>145</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 3, No. 9, June 13, 1989, 1468-1469.

<sup>146</sup>Ihtashamul Haque, "The Meeting Season", The Herald, Karachi, May 1989, 36.

<sup>147</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No.1, December 09, 1988. 209-11

<sup>148</sup>The Nation, Lahore, March 7, 1990. Ahmad, Khandan Ka Katal (Urdu), 327-329.

introduced on June 14, 1989, the ANP created a new partnership with the IJI, pledging to collaborate alongside the IJI Parliamentary Party.<sup>149</sup>

### **Enigma of Eighth Amendment:**

The Eighth Amendment, enacted by the Zia dictatorship, threw the 1973 constitution's conception of balance of power into chaos. The PPP government declined to approve the Eighth Amendment, a point of contention between Benazir and Ishaq Khan. The reunion of Benazir with the Eighth Amendment that followed was remarkable.

On whether the Eighth Amendment should be repealed, the opposition and the PPP disagreed. The Eighth Amendment is "the blackest stain in the terrible history left by the democratic administration," Benazir stated. Shujat Hussain of the IJI called the contentious law a constitutional development. Some alliance members were in favour of engaging with the PPP on the issue, while others were against any collaboration with the PPP.<sup>150</sup>

As a result, the PPP's plan to abolish the Eighth Amendment was shelved, and conflicts between Ishaq Khan and Benazir Begum began to ease. On the eve of Pakistan Day, both appeared relaxed and confident (March 23, 1990). After serving in office for fifteen months, the PPP gave up trying to exert its influence and submitted to the President. The PPP has discovered through experience that it must pay the price of power, which includes abiding by the restrictions imposed by the Eighth Amendment.<sup>151</sup>

In assembly both opposition and government members wanted to remove the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment. One of Government supporter Nasreen Rao said, the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment removal was in PPP manifesto, but 9 months has passed still we are just talking nothing doing else.<sup>152</sup> The National Assembly advocated for the removal of the Eighth Amendment and offered a draught bill to be debated in the House of Representatives to determine the amendment's fate. Because the Eighth Amendment Bill was developed and authorised by the ultra-constitutional Assembly during the Zia administration, there was widespread conviction in the National Assembly that it was unlawful.<sup>153</sup> The lower house was divided on the Eighth Amendment by Umar Laika: (1) it should be entirely abolished; (2) it should be preserved; and (3) agreement should be made on the mechanism of power sharing between the President and the Prime Minister as set forth in the 1973 Constitution. The PPP lacked a two-thirds majority, which prevented it from repealing the Eighth Amendment.<sup>154</sup>

### **Anti –Government Stance of the Opposition:**

<sup>149</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No.5 , February 09, 1989, 298-400

<sup>150</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 5, February 08, 1989, 337-364

<sup>151</sup> Zahid Hussain, "Making Amends", "The Herald, Karachi", February, 1989, 18-19.

<sup>152</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, Vol. 16, No. 22 September 1989. 1098

<sup>153</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 11, No. 2 March 1990. 22

<sup>154</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 11, No. 2 March 1990. 8

When it came to passing the federal budget for the year 1989-1990, the PPP had a big job on its hands. The opposition prepared two plots during the first budget session: to delay the budget from being adopted and to dissolve the government. This was a crucial moment for the administration since Benazir had to travel to the United States, and if the budget did not pass, the trip might not have been as fruitful as it could have been. The opposition's efforts, however, were in vain, and the budget was finally passed.<sup>155</sup>

On June 4, 1989, Ishaq Khan met with Nawaz and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi (National People's Party (NPP) Chief). In the evening of the same day, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi became the head of the newly established Combined Opposition Parties (COP), a political alliance. It was an association of opposition parties that opposed the PPP. The coalition includes almost all of the major parties and groupings in the lower chamber. Following the establishment of the COP, the number of opposition members increased to 100.<sup>156</sup>

Following the termination of the PPP-MQM agreement, the MQM actively collaborated with the IJI to oppose the PPP. A big rally was conducted in Karachi on January 26, 1990, to demonstrate the opposition alliance's size and power. Pir Fazle Haq, the leader of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Mashaiq (JUM), projected that Nawaz would be the next Prime Minister at the rally. Nawaz became Prime Minister barely fourteen months after the PPP won power, confirming this forecast. During the meeting, several speakers used unparliamentary language against Sheikh Rasheed, Altaf Hussain, and Azeem Tariq.<sup>157</sup>

By bringing up the Kashmir issue, the opposition attempted to destabilise Benazir's government. It turned the Kashmir issue into a political football by arguing that the administration was not taking strong enough action to counter the Indian government's actions. According to the COP, the PPP sold Kashmir to India. The COP's planned strategy of pressuring the government by bringing up Kashmir backfired when the administration developed a harsh position on Kashmir. One of the COP's top brass revealed the opposition's defeat on the Kashmir issue on the condition that his name be kept anonymous. He admitted, "We did create a strategy against the Bhutto dictatorship, but I must admit that we failed badly." By providing major armed backing to the Kashmir insurgency, Pakistan was accused by Indian higher authorities of setting up a rerun of the Bangladesh catastrophe. At high-level discussions attended by Benazir Bhutto, Ishaq Khan, Aslam Baig, Sahibzada Yaqub, and the Defense Minister, the topic of Kashmir was discussed. The Foreign Minister denied Indian accusations that Kashmiris were armed.<sup>158</sup>

### **No-Confidence Motion Opposed to Benazir:**

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<sup>155</sup> Muhammad Ali Shaikh, "Benazir Bhutto: A Political Biography" Karachi: Orient Books Publishing House, 2000 156-157.

<sup>156</sup> Dawn, Karachi, June 5, 1989.

<sup>157</sup> Dawn, Karachi, January 27, 1990. Zafar Abbas, "A Show of Strength", The Herald, Karachi, February 1990, 29-30.

<sup>158</sup> Ihteshamul Haque, "Taking Charge", The Herald, Karachi, February 1990, 43-44

The opposition parties asked for vote of no confidence of Mrs. Benazir in the Assembly. BB Amina said ‘Pakistan is an Islamic state in which a women cannot run the state, so we demand a vote of confidence about this.’<sup>159</sup> Another member of Assembly Hafiz Hussain Ahmed supported this idea and asked for immediate Vote of No-Confidence against Benazir.<sup>160</sup> The PPP was threatened by the COP's membership in the National Assembly. When Benazir was attending the Commonwealth summit in Kuala Lumpur on October 23, 1989, the COP formally presented a vote of no confidence in her. The petition included 86 signatories from the National Assembly (MNA). The MQM was bound to the IJI in favour of the no-confidence motion; this was a marriage of convenience to persuade the MQM to support the motion. According to reports, Aslam Baig offered his skills to bring MQM on board because he was connected to Altaf Hussain. He spoke with Altaf Hussain about how to defeat Benazir in the no-confidence vote. Aslam Baig's role in enlisting the MQM's support was later revealed by Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan (one of the confidants of Nawaz and top ranked leader of the PML). According to MQM, Aslam Baig had not approached them, but Brigadier Imtiaz had offered money. The COP expressed confidence in the motion's success. The COP leaders had warned the administration that if underhanded measures were used to reject the motion, widespread anti-government rallies would be organised.<sup>161</sup>

On October 31, 1989, Benazir and Ishaq Khan met to plan the no-confidence motion. The House of Representatives had a total of 237 members. Because both the ANP's Wali Khan and the PPP's Mumtaz Tarar were out of the country, the meeting was obliged to be presided over by Malik Meraj Khalid (Speaker). According to the PPP, they have 131 MNAs on their side. Because of the large number of independent members in the National Assembly, the COP and the PPP were able to horse-trade in no-confidence measures.<sup>162</sup>

The IJI exploited Punjab and Balochistan's resources in the no-confidence vote, and both provinces' Chief Ministers endorsed it. Some PPP MNAs were blocked from departing for Islamabad by the Punjab administration, and they were eventually imprisoned on various charges. Just before the vote on the no-confidence motion, eight PPP MNAs (from Punjab) were absent. The Punjab administration was said to be holding them captive. In addition, four MNAs from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) were detained at the Shalimar Hotel in Lahore and later transported to the houses of the IJI leaders; they eventually backed the motion of no confidence.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No.5, December 12, 1989, 154

<sup>160</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, Vol. 1, No.5, December 12, 1989, 155-56

<sup>161</sup> ‘Dawn, Karachi’, November 1, 1989.

<sup>162</sup> ‘Dawn, Karachi’, November 1, 1989.

<sup>163</sup> Muhammad Ali Shaikh, ‘Benazir Bhutto: A Political Biography’ Karachi: Orient Books Publishing House, 2000, 173-174.

The IJI was also successful in convincing PPP legislators to support its programme. From September 28 to October 6, 1989, the Intelligence Bureau (IB) surreptitiously recorded meetings between the leaders of the IJI and the PPP in order to obtain their support for a no-confidence motion. On twelve cassettes, the IB had recorded meeting minutes. According to the archives, the intelligence community's top leadership was also involved in the operation to destabilise Benazir's government.<sup>164</sup>

On November 1, 1989, a vote of no confidence was held. The PPP won by a 12-vote margin in the National Assembly, which had 232 members. Benazir addressed the National Assembly after the vote, saying, "A no-confidence motion is not a joke." It not only disrupts the operation of the country's machinery, but it also raises questions about democratic institutions and their implications for Pakistan's integrity and unity. As a result, I'd want to make a plea to the opposition not to oppose us solely for the sake of opposing us." "I have no malice or animosity toward those who have," she added. The opposition became more vociferous in its criticism of the PPP after the no-confidence motion. In the House of 237, the IJI had 55 members and received 107 votes in a no-confidence move against the ruling party. Benazir had received a vote of confidence from an elected parliamentary body, which satisfied the legal requirement that an elected legislative body have faith in her leadership.<sup>165</sup>

Despite the fact that the administration's first year in power was about to end, the COP criticised it for failing to pass any laws or create any policy. It asked that the government make its health, education, and economic programmes available to the public as soon as practicable. It also criticised the administration for not distributing a proportional share of electronic media to the opposition and for using government channels to publicise itself.<sup>166</sup>

The movement of No-confidence was taken orally 148 members said 'YES' and raised their hands to support Benazir. 55 members didn't raise their hands.<sup>167</sup>

After the process Benazir was declared PM of Pakistan again by Assembly. Mr. Speaker asked for speech to the members in which a good number of opposition and official members presented their ideas. Then Mr. Speaker asked Benazir to speak before Assembly.<sup>168</sup>

Miss Benzair said " I am pleased that the members of the Opposition have extended their hanci of cooperation. Pakistan's destiny is not the destiny of any one Party! Pakistan's destiny is the destiny of the people of Pakistan and each one of us must shoulder this responsibility."<sup>169</sup> In her speech Miss

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<sup>164</sup> Munir Ahmad, *Ghadar Kon?* (Urdu) (Lahore: Gora Publishers, 1995), 29. Muneer Ahmad, *Pakistan Mein Intelligence Agencies Ka Sayasi Kirdar*, (Urdu) (Lahore: Takhliqat, 2006), 122-250. Last cited book contains complete text of transcripts of cassettes.

<sup>165</sup> Iftikhar Gilani, interview by Nasir Malick, *The Herald*, Karachi, April 1990, 38.

<sup>166</sup> *Dawn*, Karachi, November 16, 1989.

<sup>167</sup> *The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report*, Vol. 1, No.5, December 12, 1989, 156

<sup>168</sup> *The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report*, Vol. 1, No.5, December 12, 1989, 185

<sup>169</sup> *The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report*, Vol. 1, No.5, December 12, 1989, 186

Benazir mentioned the era of Zia Ul Haq and his deeds to demolishing of Democracy in Pakistan. She is also promised that her priority will be the strong Democratic system in Pakistan.<sup>170</sup>

### **Tactics to Pressurize the Government:**

The IJI remained deafeningly silent on the matter, neither endorsing nor opposing the bill. Since Ishaq Khan dissolved the Assembly on August 6, 1990, the bill could not be debated.<sup>171</sup>

### **Legislative Performance:**

The Senate put pressure on the government by passing the Shariat Bill and referring it to the National Assembly for consideration in the following session (scheduled for August 9, 1990). According to the President, the lower house will follow the upper chamber's lead and pass the bill. The PPP disagreed with the Senate on the bill because Darul Uloom Haqania at Akoara Khatak could not be accredited as a law-making organisation, and a number of opposition MPs supported the PPP position on the matter (as proposed in the bill). They argued that the Constitution granted all people equal constitutional and civil rights, and that no religious organisation should be entitled to impose its rules and conditions on others. The performance of the legislators was appalling. During that time, just 11 National Assembly sessions were held. The Parliament did not meet on a regular basis, and when it did, the session was frequently postponed due to a quorum shortage. Even though the members who had proposed it were not present, the issue was sometimes taken up in the Assembly.<sup>172</sup> MNAs were detained during the session despite being protected from arrest during the current session. Though legislators were unaware of its significance, the question period was essential to the proper running of the legislature. Supplemental laws were regularly introduced simply for the aim of denouncing the administration. The debates were dominated by allegations and counter-accusations. Members were given insufficient opportunities to express their views on proposed legislation.<sup>173</sup>

The government claimed that in 1989, Parliament passed 12 acts and that at the time of dissolution, more than 20 to 30 bills were pending in the Senate and National Assembly standing committees. It claimed that during its tenure, the average number of bills passed was higher than that of the previous government (i.e., Junejo's government, which passed two bills per year on average).<sup>174</sup>

<b>Serial No</b>	<b>Date of Ruling</b>	<b>Rulings</b>
01	1 October, 1989.	Adjournment motion: alleged supply of contaminated drinking water

<sup>170</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No.5, December 12, 1989. 194

<sup>171</sup> Meer, Benazir Ka Jamhoori Daur Aur Fauji Ashrafia (Urdu), 47-53

<sup>172</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, Vol. No. 7, 26, December 1989, 308

<sup>173</sup> Ahmad, Politics of Power, 94-95.

<sup>174</sup> Iftikhar Gilani, interview by Nasir Malick, The Herald, Karachi, April 1990, 38.

		Islamabad and Rawalpindi: facts denied by minister concerned: motion ruled out <sup>175</sup>
02	18 <sup>th</sup> December, 1990.	Adjournment motion: explosion in sui-gas plant. In Balochistan: matter pending before authority! Committee: ruled out of order: <sup>176</sup>

### Acts of Parliament of The Year Of 1988

Serial No	Date	Act title
01	Wednesday, 17th February, 1988	The Civil Services (Qualification for Appointment as High Court Judge) (Amendment) Act, 1988
02	Monday, 21st March 1988	The Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 1988
03	Wednesday, 30th March 1988	The Members of Parliament (Salaries and Allowances) (Amendment) Act, 1988
04	Sunday, 29th May, 1988	The Provincial Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Act, 1988
05	Sunday, 29th May, 1988	The Capital Territory Local Government (Amendment) Act, 1988

<sup>175</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report Vol-VI 8-5'1 October, 1989. Pp. 1004-1008.

<sup>176</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol VI, 20-11 18<sup>th</sup> December, 1990. Pp. 312-328.

06	Monday, 26th December, 1988	The Finance Act, 1988
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### Acts Of Parliament of The Year Of 1990

Serial No	Date	Acts Tittle
07	Tuesday, 7th February, 1989	The Islamabad Real Estate Agents and Motor Vehicles Dealers (Regulation of Business) (Amendment) Act, 1989
08	Thursday, 9th February, 1989	The Delimitation of Constituencies (Amendment) Act, 1989
09	Saturday, 20th May, 1989	The Civil Servants (Amendment) Act, 1989
10	Saturday, 1st July, 1989	The Finance Act, 1989
11	Wednesday, 1st November, 1989	The Pakistan International Airlines Corporation (Amendment) Act, 1989
12	Wednesday, 1st November, 1989	The Martial Law Regulation No. 60 (Repeal) Act, 1989
13	Friday, 16th January, 1998	The Federal Employees Benevolent Fund and Group Insurance (Amendment) Act, 1988

## Parliament was failed

In case of legislative assembly was failed. As Dr. Atya said Democracy didn't socialize due to not working of Assembly. During question sessions, ministers do not present mostly. Adjournment Motions are not coming forward. Committees are not working well. Assembly is not doing legislation from 10 months. In a week assembly only works for 8 hours. But others do the same only in a day. This is a joke.<sup>177</sup> Another parliamentarian Meer Hazar Khan Kusa said that from its birth till to now this parliament didn't make any law or bill was moved to upper house. Every kind of non-sense is being done here but the legislation which is the main duty of parliament is not seen here.<sup>178</sup>

## Media freedom

In Assembly the role of media was mentioned time by time. Though it was free by name, but opposition was ignored by media for many time, as it was mentioned by shaikh Rashid while debating in Assembly "The media specially the TV and some newspapers like 'MUSLIM' completely ignored the opposition parties."<sup>179</sup> Chudri Shujahat Hussain said that media is presenting their images as a bad character and blackmailer.<sup>180</sup> As the press gained independence, more women were acknowledged and given attention on the political stage, and people in general were allowed to express their political opinions. The government was liberal and welcoming of opposing political perspectives and avoided using coercive methods to win support from influential people. They now have optimism for a future that is clearer and brighter as the patron-client links of the syncretic political system, which had characterised Pakistan's highly individualised politics for three decades, effectively ended in the environment. Pakistan looked to be embracing organised politics in the modern era.<sup>181</sup>

While discussing in Assembly for many time clashes were seen regarding media. Opposition members were not given much space on Media.<sup>182</sup>

## Health and education policies

Under Benazir's government the Assembly was democratically-distributive, emphasising democracy's socioeconomic components. The assembly emphasis on significant increases in "health and education" resources in the era of 1989 to 90 budget was obvious

<sup>177</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 6 No. 12 October 1989

<sup>178</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 22No. 29 June 1989. 1331.

<sup>179</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 6, February 10, 1988, 321-23

<sup>180</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 3, March 8, 1988, 12

<sup>181</sup> Imran Shahzad, Akhtar Hussain. "Centre-Province Relations in an Islamic Republic: A Case of the Centre-Punjab Relations During Benazir Bhutto's First Government (1988-1990) in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan." *Journal of Islamic Civilization and Culture* 4, no. 01 (2021): 21-29.

<sup>182</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, Vol. No. 3, 3, February 1989. 1641

evidence of its frontage. Benazir intended to push the personal portion to the vanguard of financial activity in Pakistan, in contrast to her father's nationalisation and public sector expansion policies, but the economy remained stagnant. She ratified a *fait accompli*, a contract made by Zia's dictatorship in compliance with IMF economic restructuring rules, in which Pakistan approved \$1.169 billion from the "IMF and the World Bank".<sup>183 184</sup>

### **Foreign policy**

Assembly under Benazir was completely free to discuss the foreign policy. Every member in assembly either he/she is from treasury benches or from assembly openly discussed the foreign policy in assembly and gave ideas to how improve foreign policies. Mostly Kashmir Issue discussed on daily basis. Secondly, the situation in Afghanistan was discussed in every second day. Where the victory of Afghanistan was considered the victory of Pakistan.<sup>185</sup> For many time the Mujahiden were declared the defender of islam and Pakistan in Assembly.<sup>186</sup> There were no notable advances in foreign policy, and Bhutto was forced to resign and sabotage the delicate relationship between the military and the bureaucracy. The military was enraged by her approach toward Afghanistan and India. She supported a diplomatic solution in Afghanistan, but the army and the Interservice Intelligence Directorate (ISI) were unwilling to accept anything less than the mujahideen's overwhelm of the Afghan government. Benazir's efforts to reduce Pakistan's assistance in the Kashmir conflict were met with severe hostility from the army, which was eager to improve its capacity to India<sup>187</sup>.

The army saw her moderation as unpatriotic in both situations, and tensions reached a fever pitch over Afghanistan policy after the Soviet retreat. General Gul's dismissal from the ISI by Bhutto in 1989 was significant because it marked a shift in Pakistani policy toward a negotiated settlement in Afghanistan and reflected a more significant domestic consolidation of the prime minister's authority. Javed Ashraf (ex-senator) said that Army had made deal with Benazir Bhutto on the following points.

"Benazir Bhutto would not exact retribution on the army; Benazir will not meddle in Kashmir or Afghan policy; and Benazir will maintain the army's faith in foreign affairs at all costs"<sup>188</sup>.

Besides, the Assembly under people's party was given much space to discuss the foreign affairs. Mostly opposition and treasury benches members were free to elaborate their ideas and observations on Foreign Policy in Assembly. Such major topics were openly discussed ; SAARC Conference which was held in Islamabad, GENEVA PACT, Afghanistan issue, Pak

<sup>183</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. No. 3, 21, February 1989. 1075

<sup>184</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. No. 3, 16, February 1989. 812

<sup>185</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 8, No. 10, May 12, 1989, 496

<sup>186</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 9, No. 3, March 2, 1988, 332

<sup>187</sup> Nancy Fix Anderson, "Benazir Bhutto and dynastic politics: Her father's daughter, her people's sister." In *Women as Political Leaders*, Routledge 1, no. 2 (2013): 98-127

<sup>188</sup> Anwar H Syed, "The Pakistan People's Party and the Punjab: National Assembly Elections, 1988 and 1990." (*Asian Survey*) 31, no. 7 1991: 581-597.

Russia relations, Pak-Iran relation, Hajj, Saudi affairs, Pak-Australia relations, Pak-china relations, Pak-Turki relations, Salman Rushdie book and other countries, Pakistan atomic problem etc.<sup>189</sup>

### **Economic development**

Ghulam Haider Wahain said that this government is failed to achieve the economic target of the year. Benazir Bhutto failed to formulate a consistent economic policy. In theory, the PPP gave up its socialist aims and resolved to embrace privatisation, but only reluctantly and without a clear goal in mind.<sup>190</sup> Under Farooq Leghari, a high-powered committee was formed to task the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) with reviving industrialisation, easing decentralisation, and supporting privatisation. The PIDC was announced to get Rs 12 billion over five years as an ambitious growth plan. The PPP administration sought to create favourable conditions for the sale of ill public sector entities to the private sector by injecting funds and reinvigorating the PIDC in the private sphere<sup>191</sup>.

### **Defence development agenda**

The debates on defence were not taken much. One of the primary priorities of the was to strengthen the country's defence. Speaker of the Assembly Mr. Meraj said that on 3 topics discussions is ben in this Assembly 1. Defence 2. Kala Bagh Dame 3. Foreign Policy. <sup>192</sup> But the government its self-took Several efforts with in this respect, incorporating introducing “missile technology, expanding Port Qasim in Karachi, establishing a nuclear power plant under a bilateral agreement with China, and ensuring that a loss-making entity, the heavy mechanical complex, became profitable.” Benazir also expended a private visit to the Glacier Siachen, emphasising the importance of the glacier in the country's defence. Most crucially, during her presidency, the United States passed the Brown Amendment, which allowed for the partial release of military equipment and weapons held in the country for a long time because of the Pressler Law<sup>193</sup>.

### **People-friendly policies**

In the Assembly the members of people party often spoke to adopt such policies which gives ease and comfort to the people. Hakim Ali Zardari said, the PPP government is working just for common people, we have adopted the open border trade policies, the release of prisoners, easy access to passport and visa policies etc are our priority.<sup>194</sup> Benazir herself spoke in parliament and said that we quest to construct a fair and equal community, multiple people-

<sup>189</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. No. 3, 20, February 1989. 1020-1035

<sup>190</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 9 February 1990. 887

<sup>191</sup> Khalid Mahmood Iraqi, "Eradicating Cultural Discrimination: Political Perspective of the Former Prime Minister of Pakistan Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto Shaheed." SHAHEED BENAZIR JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES 1, no. 1 (2021): 1-14.

<sup>192</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, Vol. 13, No. 26 July 1989. 1223

<sup>193</sup>Benazir Bhutto, "Pakistan's dilemma." Harvard International Review 24, no. 1 (2002): 14.

<sup>194</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 2, No. 19, February 1990. 989

friendly policies were introduced in line with the PPP's primary purpose of empowering people. For the benefit of widows and orphans, monthly stipends were established. Spending on education has grown, and 47,000 new schools have been built. To aid in education development and reduce unemployment, 51,000 young people were inducted as school instructors. It happened for the first time in the history of Pakistan, over 4100 villages were electrified, and 580,000 families received electricity in a that year. At the reign of Benazir Bhutto, electricity-supplying offices were fairly required to furnish new connections within 30 days in cities and 45 days in rural regions to combat the considerable corruption that existed at the time in the sector.<sup>195</sup>

### **Policies for youth**

The assembly under PPP has always placed a strong emphasis on the youth, viewing them as an asset to the party and the country. For the first time in Pakistan, a distinct Ministry for Youth Affairs was established to handle youth-related issues and provide opportunities to Pakistan's young people.<sup>196</sup> Sixty thousand contemporary literacy centres were opened, and the youth loan programme was simplified and made more beneficial. The prohibition on student unions has also been abolished. Poor people continue to get assistance and benefits from the Benazir Income Support Program, a worldwide recognised welfare programme<sup>197</sup>.

### **Nature of Assembly**

The Assembly faced many challenges, as the role of Establishment was clear. While debating R. Major Abdul Ghafoor burst up with these words, ‘ No we will not bear any more interferences from outside to take the decisions of assembly. Such activities must be finished now.’<sup>198</sup>

Hafiz Hussain Ahmed described the role of President in the assembly, he said that the government of PPP is bound to the president and this assembly is not sovereign at all.<sup>199</sup>

The opposition, according to Atizaz Hassan, a member of the Treasury benches, has not worked with us. In a democratic system of government, the House, not the Parliament, is the sovereign. We have consistently assured them that we will support them in their efforts to implement the Eighth Amendment. But the opposition's reaction is consistently that they do not want a parliamentary system of government to succeed in this nation. I firmly think that they would have collaborated with us if they had been honest in their goal to advance democracy.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>195</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 1. December 1988. 12

<sup>196</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 9, January 20, 1990. 123

<sup>197</sup> Samina Samina Saeed, Rubina Rubina Saeed. "BENAZIR BHUTTO: LEADERSHIP AND PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY." *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 49, no. 1 (2010): 103-107.

<sup>198</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 13, August 1989. 83

<sup>199</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 11, No. 04, Feb 1990. 872

<sup>200</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 3, 1990.

Sher Afghan raised voices that the assembly must be taken seriously, this is an assembly not joker place.<sup>201</sup>

Manzoor Ahmed Gichki did walkout because the speaker was making fun of him, and he take the side of government in many matters.<sup>202</sup>

Saradar Mansoor khan Taman 308 Discrimination is going to be done with other members. There is no equality in assembly among members by govt side. <sup>203</sup>

Chaudhari Mohammad 282 said Government is ruling about its will. Govt is acting like a dictate. It passes assembly decisions for many time. Assembly Is just name's sake.

During the assembly sessions members were walking in galleries, as noticed by Sher Afghan, one member is currently walking in the Gallery. He is Chaudhari Mohammad Ashraf. He is lawyer by profession. It is abuse of the honourable House .<sup>204</sup>

**MISS ATYA ANYAT ULLAH** mentioned this weakness of Assembly in her speech.

Assembly is not working good due to

1 Democracy didn't socialize due to not working of Assembly

2 During question sessions , ministers do not present mostly.

3 Adjournment Motions are not coming forward.

4 Committees are not working well

5 Assembly is not doing legislation from 10 months.

6 in a week assembly only works for 8 hours. But others do the same only in a day. This is a joke.<sup>205</sup>

Manzoor Ahmed Gichki; the Assembly never had stared on its time. The Assembly is not serious along with Speaker .

In the case of differentiation, there wasn't any value of unity seen among opposition and government members in the Assembly. The opposition was not given any place in media by Government. In the Assembly their members were not given much time for speech and for many time the opposition leaders were followed by ISI and army man by the instruction of Government. The speaker didn't pay attention much towards opposition and their statements were taken as a joke in assembly for many time. On the other hand, the opposition also didn't cooperate with government, while making committee the opposition members stressed government to enter their more members in committee then officials. As such many such

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<sup>201</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol 1. 17, No. 9, June 11, 1989.

<sup>202</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 5, No. 2, April 27,1990. 502

<sup>203</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, No. 7, March 0, 1989. 308

<sup>204</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 4, No. 12 January 7, 1989. 282

<sup>205</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 6 No. 12 October 1989

demands were presented by opposition which were not acceptable. Opposition members did walk out for 6 months because of dissolving of Balochistan Assembly by Governor of Balochistan. For pity reasons opposition often did walk out.

Adoption of rules was not being processed in a developed method by this assembly. Members often not present in the Assembly the corm was uncompleted for many time due unpresented members of both officials and oppositions. Shaikh Rashid once said that Members are not present , I'm addressing the empty seats. This assembly is made for joke. No legislation has been done in this for 9 months. This is werst of this assembly. Bad so bad<sup>206</sup>

In short, by Nature the assembly of 1988-90 was not sovereign, because the 58 2[B] act of constitution given all powers to president who by his will could dissolve the assembly for any time. Besides, the established continued its pressure upon government and assembly members.

In the case of Durability this Assembly couldn't completed its tenure. Due to many challenges and specially the Act of 58 2[B] it was dissolved before its tenure. Its total tenure was November 30, 1988, to June 26, 1990.

## **BENAZIR'S GOVERNMENT TOWARDS FALL**

### **Benazir and President's Tussle**

Despite an arrangement that saw Benazir help Ghulam Ishaq Khan win the presidency, their differences grew daily as Benazir tried to exercise her authority as prime minister. The Prime Minister's choice to retire Admiral Sirohi from his position notwithstanding claims by PM Benazir that he had served out his three-year tenure as Admiral was the first bone of dispute between the President and PM Benazir. The President has the authority to appoint or remove any JCSC, COAS, or Air Martial in accordance with the 8th Amendment. The Admiral was required to stay on the job by the President's administration. Benazir Bhutto withdrew from the retirement debate, but as a result, the arguments between the Prime Minister and the President got worse. . The choice of several judges was another point of conflict between the President and the PM. These visits were scheduled between August and December 1988. The Benazir government contested the legitimacy of these appointments and claimed that the Prime Minister had not granted his or her approval prior to their creation. The government abandoned their appeal on December 10th after significant deliberation, once again blaming the President's combative style; nonetheless, this issue increased the gulf between the President and the prime minister.<sup>207</sup>

### **Political unrest**

<sup>206</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 6, No. 18. 19th September 1989. 345

<sup>207</sup> Ajay Darshan Behera, "Anna Suvorova, Benazir Bhutto: A Multidimensional Portrait." *History and Sociology of South Asia* 10, no. 2 (2016): 221-223.

Just as it had started, Benazir Bhutto's term as prime minister ended amid political disputes and machinations. Her alliance to set up her administration disintegrated when she broke her promises to the MQM. Having lost her majority in the NA, Benazir was unable to enact any legislation. However, the majority of the nation's issues at the time were not political; rather, her government had long been concerned about the nation's dire economic state. Pakistan's economy began to suffer during her first term. Moreover, Pakistanis were not in the position to pay exorbitant prices because the Persian Gulf oil boom had come to an end.<sup>208</sup>

The industry was sluggish, and there were limited employment openings. Demands from the private sector came in when inflation rose and unemployment deepened, and she could not provide them. In addition, the appointment of Benazir's mother, "Nusrat Bhutto, as a senior minister without a portfolio, followed by the appointment of her father-in-law, Hakim Ali Zardari, as Chairman of the Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee", was viewed in some circles as unwise nepotism. Benazir's administration also established the contentious Placement Bureau, which introduced representation to the public service but was ultimately abolished. When talented public officials who previously harboured differences with her father were fired for justifications other than job accomplishment, she allowed her family's political legacy to intrude. Furthermore, the PPP's reluctance to share authority and benefits with its alliance partners fostered increased hostility, culminating in the MQM's resignation from the administration in 1989 October<sup>209</sup>.

Bhutto's reputation was damaged when suspicions of corruption in public-sector firms started to surface. Because of his cold war with the President, Bhutto was unable to address the issues about unemployment and labour strikes, which caused the country's economy to stall and get jammed. In August 1990, Khan overthrew Bhutto's administration, claiming the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution. He said that it was crucial because her government was dishonest and powerless to uphold law and order. Khan announced a state of emergency and sworn in a caretaker administration headed by former PPP member Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi.<sup>210</sup>

Apart from the drawbacks, Benazir gained international acclaim as a strong voice for Pakistan and projected a more liberal image of the country. She was ideologically on the left side of the political spectrum. Perhaps her most important positive legacy was her outspoken opposition to Zia-ul-Haq's Pervez Musharraf's military rule. Because of her opposition, she was imprisoned or placed under house arrest several times, and her father and two brothers were assassinated. Her decision to run for elections again was a significant step toward strengthening democratic forces of Pakistan. Benazir's decision proved fatal, as she died as a result of it;

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<sup>208</sup> Akbar Ahmed, "Benazir Bhutto (1953-2007) A conversation with Akbar Ahmed." *Anthropology Today* 24, no. 1 (2008): 4-5.

<sup>209</sup> Lawrence Ziering, "Pakistan in 1990: The Fall of Benazir Bhutto." (*Asian Survey*) 31, no. 2 (1991): 113-124.

<sup>210</sup> Ushna Tariq, Rajia Tariq. "Fatima Jinnah & Benazir Bhutto: Initial Saga of Painful Birth of Pakistan's Feminine Politics." *PERENNIAL JOURNAL OF HISTORY* 2, no. 1 (2021): 35-48.

however, if a democratic system emerges and the military refrains from coups in the future, she could be credited as one of the key figures who helped make that happen<sup>211</sup>.

### **Abrogation of the Government**

At a media briefing conducted at the presidency at 5 p.m. on August 6, 1990, President GIK announced that he had dismissed the government using the authority granted to him by Article 58(2)(b) of the Constitution. On the same day, the dissolution order was also published. Benazir said during a news conference at Bilawal House in Karachi that the President took this action due to military pressure. All provincial assemblies were also dissolved during the next two days. A writ petition was filed in each province's High Court. At the federal government's request, the Supreme Court consolidated petitions from the Baluchistan High Court to the Peshawar High Court and from the to the Sindh High Court to Lahore High Court in September 1990. Both high courts affirmed the decision to dissolve the government. A petition was filed in the SCP; however, the SCP declined to offer any relief and rejected the petition quickly. Promptly escalated hostility to contemporary cliffs and sifted the economy with payoffs to different politicians to droop associations. However, there was no advancement on the economic front. These summaries harmed the main government's impression. In 1990 Bhutto was dismissed by the President under the 18<sup>th</sup> Constitution Amendment, which was upheld by the Supreme Court. Elections were held again after a short period of two years<sup>212</sup>.

### **Dissolution of Assemblies with the Axe of 58 (2) (b):**

On August 6, 1990, Nawa-i-Waqt and The Nation published a notice that the assembly would be disbanded today. Benazir's government was completely unaware of the situation. It was disinformation and a plot by the IJI, according to Benazir. According to sources, the decision to depose the PPP administration was decided at a summit of corps commanders held in Rawalpindi on January 21, 1990.<sup>213</sup>

Through Happy Minwalla, the PPP approached the President. The ambassador of the United States of America (USA), Robert B. Oakley, spoke with the president to verify the information. Stories and rumours of the government being ousted, according to Robert B. Oakley, were anecdotal, and Ishaq Khan refuted them. On the other hand, Ishaq Khan announced the collapse of government during a media briefing at the Presidency on August 6, 1990, at 5:00 p.m.<sup>214</sup>

Ishaq Khan dissolved the National Assembly by issuing an ordinance the following day, citing Article 58 (2) (b) of the Constitution. Additionally, the Sindh and NWFP assemblies were disbanded. The expelled administration was charged with corruption, nepotism, incompetence in the administration, disrespect for the Senate and the legal system, political enmity, and

<sup>211</sup> Sankaran Krishna, "Yearbook of India's Foreign Policy, 1987-1988 (Book Review)." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 20, no. 1 (1990): 134.

<sup>212</sup> Anita M Weiss, "Benazir Bhutto and the future of women in Pakistan." *Asian Survey* 30, no. 5 (1990): 433-445.

<sup>213</sup> Nawa-i-Waqt (Urdu), Rawalpindi, August 6, 1990. *The Nation*, Lahore, August 6, 1990.

<sup>214</sup> Maleeha Lodhi, "A Shadow Military State?: The Inside Story of Bhutto Fall", *Newsline*. Karachi, August 1990, II.

breaking constitutional rules. Although the Constitution was not suspended, the emergency was declared under Article 232 (1) of the Constitution. The emergency was justified on the grounds that Pakistan had been put in peril by internal and external forces, and that declaring the emergency was necessary to deal with the situation.<sup>215</sup>

Ishaq Khan was questioned by Benazir as to why he had taken such action when he had vowed not to. Ishaq Khan said that he had recently decided to destabilise her regime. Benazir had scolded him for toppling her government, calling his actions a "constitutional coup d'état." Following that, the Punjab Assembly and the Balochistan Assembly were both disbanded.<sup>216</sup>

On January 9, 1990, the Centre and Punjab mediation committees agreed to end floor-crossing and drafted a constitutional amendment to do so. On July 22, 1990, during the Assembly session, the committee reconvened and appointed Malik Muhammad Qasim to draught a measure prohibiting floor-crossing. It was also decided that the opposition would be adequately represented on television. The Speaker of the National Assembly was also present at the meeting. In order to build understanding between the Centre and Punjab, a number of crucial problems were slated to be tackled in the upcoming session of the committees. The National and Provincial Assemblies, on the other hand, were disbanded prior to the convening of the committees.<sup>217</sup>

The PPP has decided to file a petition to have the dissolution decision overturned. The decision to dissolve the National Assembly was challenged in all four High Courts, including the all four provinces high courts all under Article 199. Two petitions were filed in the High Court of Sindh, one challenging the validity of the National Assembly's dissolution order and the other challenged the Governor of Sindh and the President's dissolution orders in relation to the dissolution of the Sindh Assembly and the Assembly of Pakistan, which included both. The Quetta High Court petition was ordered to be transferred to the Sindh High Court, and the Peshawar High Court writ petitions were ordered to be transferred to the Lahore High Court. A full bench of the Lahore High Court hear the petitions on October 14, 1990, and upheld the dissolution decision. The petitions were examined by a full bench of four justices, including that of the Chief Justice, before the Sindh High Court. The Court postponed its decision until the petitions' hearings, which began on September 24, 1990, and ended on October 14, 1990, were finished. On October 18, 1990, the decision was made public. In a unanimous decision, the Court dismissed the petition. The federation and Sindh were found to have failed to carry out their missions in line with the Constitution, necessitating an election summons.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Nawa-i-Waqt (Urdu), Rawalpindi, August 7, 1990.

<sup>216</sup> "Benazir Bhutto Deposed As Prime Minister", [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kjrd9HKY\\_Sg&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kjrd9HKY_Sg&feature=related) (Accessed on: December 24, 2011).

<sup>217</sup> Abbas Bukhari, *Beti Say Qaid Tak* (Urdu), 165-166.

<sup>218</sup> Dawood, "The Role of Superior Judiciary in the Politics of Pakistan", 92, 98, 102

The PPP leaders asserted that the President alone was to blame for the fall of Benazir's administration. Lt. General Alam Jan Mahsood claims that the army made the decision to overthrow Benazir's government at the start of 1990. Benazir and the president and army fought each other in August 1989.

According to Iftikhar Gilani, "no constitution can make the President the assigning authority (for the services heads) and this power of retirement goes to the Prime Minister." President Hassan Rouhani invited Iftikhar Gilani and instructed him not to "insist on her opinion," according to a high-ranking member of the PPP government. He agreed with Ishaq Khan, but he counselled Benazir to stick to her guns. The counsel of cabinet members was essential in bringing the Benazir administration to its knees. Throughout Benazir's rule, Aslam Baig's standing was dubious. According to the PPP, the Army Chief was agreed to the Naval Chief's retirement.<sup>219</sup>

According to clause 243 (1) of the Constitution, the national govt should be in charge of and have control over the armed forces, but the army was in control of the political system. The army has always wished for a leader who could safeguard its interests while remaining unobtrusive in its operations.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Zahid Hussain, "The Ides of August", 'Newline', August 1992, Karachi, 69-70

<sup>220</sup> Raza, "Governments in India and Pakistan", 103.

## Chapter No. 03

### First Era of Nawaz Shareef

President of the Republic “Ghulam Ishaq Khan” dismissed PM Benazir Bhutto's Government of PPP following the last general elections National Assembly (NA) held in 1988. This happened because of the corruption, misuse of authority, and Mismanagement on the 6th of August 1990. As an outcome, the Assembly was liquefied prematurely, though the Senate meetings were continued. However, elections were held again in October. The charges, according to Mrs. Bhutto, are politically motivated. Subsequently, months of ethnic struggle in Sindh province and acrimonious conflicts with the Armed forces on the home and foreign policy resulted in the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto's regime<sup>221</sup>.

The nine party, primarily right wing IDA “Islamic Democratic Alliance”, directed by “Mr Nawaz Sharif,” was the major opposition of Mrs. Bhutto's regime. The veracity of the contemporary Government's claims against the PM started the campaign for one month, outweighing issues, i.e., the country's faltering economy, foreign aid, and nuclear program. The total applicant of applicants for this party is 1,334<sup>222</sup>.

IDA on the day of the election, won 106 (50-seat increase) of the 217 seats up for grabs, compared to 44 for its opponent. The remaining seats were won by candidates from small ethnic parties and independents, some of whom were said to be sympathetic to IDA. In this scenario, the People’s party accused Benazir Bhutto of widespread election rigging to keep her from winning re-election . Analysts described the outcome as a win for the military, maintaining close links to IDA. Hussain says:

"Sharif became the prime minister for the first time in 1991 as leader of a right-wing alliance known as Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) put together by the military."

The 1990 elections were held in a highly polarised environment. The PPP and the former PM were under oppression because of the lawsuits filed against her government. Whereas the IJI party was a vital component of the caretaker administration and a personal supporter of “Ghulam Ishaq Khan .”The major competitors in the elections of 1990 where an alliance of 8 political groups called the Islamic Democratic Alliance and a coalition of four other parties called the People Democratic Alliance. IJI included the “PML (Pakistan Muslim League), JI, National People's Party, and smaller parties .”On the other hand, the PPP and Tehrik-e Istiqlal were crucial performers in the PDA<sup>223</sup>.

<sup>221</sup> Aisha Shahzad, "ETHNIC POLITICS OF MOHAJIR QUOMI MOVEMENT FROM 1986-93." *Journal of (South Asian Studies)* 1, no. 2 (2013): 105-121.

<sup>222</sup> Andraw R Wilder, "Changing patterns of Punjab politics in Pakistan: National Assembly election results, 1988 and 1993." (*Asian Survey*) 35, no. 4 (1995): 377-393.

<sup>223</sup> Saeed Shafqat, "Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto." *Asian Survey* 36, no. 7 (1996): 655-672.

### Results from the 1990 elections

Parties	Seat distributi on	Vote's distributi on	Voting percent age
<b>IDA</b>	106	154	37.3
<b>PDA</b>	44	182	36.8
<b>Muhajir Quami Movement</b>	15	24	5.5
<b>Independe nts</b>	22	716	10.3
<b>Other groups</b>	20	256	9.9

The JI received 8 seats in the NA out of 18 and 20 seats in the Provincial Assembly out of 37 seats offered by the IJI. The JI achieved 3% of the vote in the National election, whereas 2.6 percent in the local Assembly election<sup>224</sup>.

Events	
<b>1990</b>	On charges of ineptitude and corruption, Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto is removed.
<b>1991</b>	Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, undertook an economic liberalization agenda in 1991. Islamic Sharia law has been formally enshrined in the legal system.
<b>1992</b>	1992 – The Government undertakes an effort to quell unrest among Muhajir Qaumi Movement members who speak Urdu (Haqiqi).
<b>1993</b>	Under military pressure, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif resigned in 1993. Benazir Bhutto is re-elected in a general election.

<sup>224</sup> Saeed Shafqat, "Democracy in Pakistan: Value change and challenges of institution building." (The Pakistan Development Review) (1998): 281-298.

## Coalition and Opposition Parties

Nawaz Sharif did not join the Government soon after the election because he genuinely relied on different parties, i.e., “the MQM in Sindh and the National Awami Party in the NWFP .”Hence, the party was shattered by the IJI's tight relationship with the MQM, which deliberately regulated Karachi. Though Nawaz Sharif was Muslim, he did not become a supporter of the Islamic network. JI feely chastised the Government for its lack of commitment to Islamization and religious issues. The IJI coalition has turned against the JI, "the Muslim League, the Awami National Party, and, most notably, the MQM .”Besides, tensions between the Government and JI grew due to the dramatic changes in international politics<sup>225</sup>.

An alliance of parties led by the PML called the IJI alliance, The JI was established in 1988 in order to compete against the PPP in the elections. After the 1988 elections, the PPP became the sole significant party in the NA, and Benazir Bhutto, its leader, was appointed prime minister. Nawaz Sharif concurrently emerged as the very powerful figure against the PPP<sup>226</sup>.

The IJI, led by Nawaz Sharif, won the election two years later. Nawaz Sharif's arrogant in a calm, constitutional transfer of power as the third PM after the death of Zia in 1988 showed a retrieval of democracy. However, Nawaz Sharif's rule also marked a change in Pakistan's political culture as the traditional feudalistic nobility gave way to a thriving class of modern businesspeople. This change intentionally transformed the area from such a feudalistic to an industrial society, reflecting the socioeconomic disparities that would emerge across Pakistan.<sup>227</sup>

### Composition of the National Assembly:

Landlords and tribal leaders made up the majority of the newly elected National Assembly, followed by industrialists and businessmen (38), religious leaders (106), professional (46). Three former military officers were also present. As a result, members of the wealthier class, who may not have been as familiar with the struggles of the average person, made up the majority of the National Assembly. The absence of the middle class from the government prevented it from being a true representative of society.

### Timeline of Main Issues and Important Achievements of the Assembly

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<sup>225</sup> Mushtaq A Sajid, AR Chaudhary, "Historical Development of Liberalization since 1947 in Pakistan." *Pakistan economic and social review* (1996): 179-192.

<sup>226</sup> Khan Faqir, "An Analytical Study Of Judicial Independence In Pakistan 1988-99." *Grassroots* 51, no. 1 (2017): 55-68

<sup>227</sup> Summer Sultana, Nausheen Fatimah Jaffery, "Pakistan-Democracy and Political Parties 1988-99." *New Horizons* 5, no. 1 (2011): 1.

<p><b>1990</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On the of February 5, "<u>Kashmir Solidarity Day</u>" added.</li> <li>• On the 6th of August, "President Ghulam Ishaq Khan" liquefied NA &amp; deported the Govt of Benazir. At that time, "Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi" was the caretaker PM.</li> <li>• On the 23rd of September, the "Sandak project" was approved by two countries, China and Pakistan, in Beijing.</li> <li>• General elections were held on the 24th of October, and IJI won 104, and PDA got 45 seats.</li> <li>• By securing 153 votes, Nawaz Sharif was appointed as the Prime Minister.</li> <li>• In December, Pakistan evolved as the 37th country to bring an excursion to Antarctica.</li> </ul>
<p><b>1991</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On the 25th of April: Jahangir Khan established a record by earning the "British Open Squash title for the record tenth consecutive time."</li> <li>• NA approves the Shariat Bill on the 16th of May.</li> <li>• Pakistan disclosed the primary war tank Al-Khalid designed concurrently by Pakistan and China by the 17th of July.</li> <li>• On the 14th of August: Nawaz Sharif puts the "foundation-stone of Bab-i-Pakistan at Walton Lahore."</li> <li>• On the 16th of August: "Chief of Army Staff General Mirza Aslam Baig" retired, and General Asif Nawaz took the command.</li> <li>• Local assemblies' elections are carried out in Pakistan<sup>228</sup>.</li> </ul>
<p><b>1992</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The "Lahore-Islamabad Motorway project" inauguration took place on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January.</li> <li>• Nawaz Sharif initiated a "yellow-cab taxi scheme" by 22th of Feb.</li> <li>• The military operation was started against MQM on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June.</li> </ul>

<p><b>1993</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On the 18th of April: “President Ghulam Ishaq Khan” thawed NA and deported the Government of Nawaz Sharif; however, "Balkh Sher Mazari” was elected as the care-take PM.</li> <li>• Supreme Court replenishes NA and PM Nawaz Sharif by the 26<sup>th</sup> of May.</li> <li>• President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and PM Nawaz Sharif resigned their seats by the 18<sup>th</sup> of July.</li> <li>• General elections were held, and in those elections, PPP won by 86, whereas PMLN attained 72 seats. These elections were held in October.</li> <li>• Benazir Bhutto is elected as a PM on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October by securing the votes of 121.</li> <li>• Farooq Laghari was elected in November as the 8th president of Pakistan.”<sup>229</sup></li> </ul>
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## Major Challenges and Developments

### Oath Taking Ceremony

By the first the problem of 1990-93 assembly was started, while taking oath ceremony one party did walkout due to one of their members was in jail and couldn't take the oath. The Assembly was adjourned just after a few minutes.<sup>230</sup>

### Election of speaker

The campaign was held between Gohar Ayub and Zafar Ali Shah. Assembly with the votes of majority elected Gohar Ayub by 147 votes. On the other hand, Zafar Ali Shah scored 48 votes.<sup>231</sup>

### First speech of PM Nawaz Sharif and Benazir

After the oath taking ceremony and selection of speaker Prime Minister delivered his first speech in the House. His speech theme was about the positive role of positive role of opposition. He said, my struggle would be to run by the cooperate and support of opposition. Their role is

<sup>228</sup> Mansoor Ahmed and Youngjoon Won. "Cross-national systematic review of neonatal mortality and postnatal newborn care: Special focus on Pakistan." *International journal of environmental research and public health* 14, no. 12 (2017): 1442.

<sup>229</sup> Furqan Mohammed, "Exploring Power Politics and Constitutional Subversion in Pakistan: A Political and Constitutional Assessment of Instability in Pakistan." 7 (2009): 229.

<sup>230</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 01. No. 01. November 4, 1990. 2-12

<sup>231</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 01. No. 02. November 3, 1990. 29

very important, and we hope they will help us in every possible situation. On the other hand, Benazir assured the house that her party and opposition will help them as they could.<sup>232</sup>

### **Defence**

In the first week of November, the defence secretaries of the two countries met to discuss Siachin, Sir Creek, and naval boundaries. There has been no progress reported on any of these issues. The only accomplishment of the 1992 Indo-Pakistani dialogue was an agreement on a code of conduct for the treatment of each other's diplomats, and the ink was barely dry when India violated the code<sup>233</sup>. The assembly and house members were not show any interest to debate on defence. Rarely someone took any question about it.

### **Privatization and increased export**

On the issue of privatization, a member of IJI shaikh Rashid said in the house, we increased export and privatization. The Government appeared to be focused on speeding up the pace of growth through privatization, and various measures were adopted to that end. Sharif privatized a few administration establishments by attracting foreign interest. His remodels started up different businesses to private corporations, and his government provided "liberal tax and tariff incentives" to contemporary companies<sup>234</sup>.

### **Foreign exchange**

Mostly members of treasury benches were seen satisfy to debate on international trade in assembly. International trade was liberalized, export commerce was allowed to foreign enterprises, practically all industrial groups and financial establishments were restored to the private region, and contemporary banks were established.<sup>235</sup>

### **Poverty policy**

In assembly Nawaz Sharif also proposed "several populist measures to combat poverty and social inequality."<sup>236</sup> In 1992, Nawaz Sharif announced a fixed monthly lowest salary of Rs. 1500 for inexperienced laborers, and in 1991, Nawaz "announced that 3.75 lakh acres of land in Sindh's Sukkur and Ghulam Muhammad Barrage areas would be distributed to landless hairs, each having 15 acres." He also established the "Yellow Taxi Scheme" in 1993, an attempt to improve taxi service in Pakistan while also contributing to self-employment recourses for jobless youths. About 40,000 households benefited from the self-employment loans given to the unemployed, while 95,000 taxis, buses, coaches, and trucks were approved. Nawaz Sharif

<sup>232</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 11. No. 01. November 6, 1990. 22

<sup>233</sup> Mahmood Manipuri and Amjad Saamuel, "Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus?." (Asian Survey) 35, no. 11 (1995): 973-989.

<sup>234</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 3, no. 13, March 19, 1992, 55-85.

<sup>235</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol, vol. 9, no. 7, August 9, 1993, 122-163

<sup>236</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 04, no. 17, April 19, 1992. 701

also restarted the Islamization campaign, which had been started by Zia ul Haq, by introducing the Shariat Enforcement Act shortly after assuming power<sup>237</sup>.

### **Science policy**

The house On the privatization of industry in assembly floor endeavoured to ensure tight administration control over science in Pakistan, authorizing projects.<sup>238</sup> Nawaz developed and endorsed the Pakistan Antarctic Programme in 1991, working with the "Pakistan Navy's Weapons Engineering Division" and the National Institute of Oceanography (NIO) to establish the "Jinnah Antarctic Station and Polar Research Cell ."Pakistan joined the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research as an associate member in 1992<sup>239</sup>.

### **Educational establishment**

Assembly took several initiatives in to enhance education, including establishing primary, middle, and high schools, and colleges. The Government also refurbished schools by providing more cash and employing more instructors to promote education, which had a crucial role in improving formal and non-formal education and increasing the literacy rate in Punjab.<sup>240</sup>

### **Main challenges**

#### **Problems for the Government:**

Due to political unrest, Nawaz Sharif assured Pakistani security, which the nation lacked. The IJI model of government had long been favoured by the elites. Political stability, however, was not a result of the establishment's support for and backing of the IJI. The Kalabagh Dam, the Afghan insurgency, the Shariat Bill, the weak economy, the empty treasury, bad peace and order, and the freedom movement in occupied Kashmir were among the many obstacles the new government had to overcome.<sup>241</sup>

Nawaz was adamant about reducing reliance on foreign aid and ensuring development through native resources. He pushed an agenda of economic deregulation, disinvestment, and privatisation of public-sector businesses. He was certain that Pakistan shouldn't give up its nuclear project because it had been created with benign intentions. He contended that Pakistan was being unfairly squeezed since the US had failed to get India to accept restrictions on its nuclear development. The military, which depended on the US for conventional equipment and replacement parts, was ready to survive without it. "We can do without them," a top military

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<sup>237</sup> Shakeel Amjid, "MILITARY INTERVENTION IN POLITICS: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN (1999-2008)." PhD diss., 2014: 109-150

<sup>238</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 15, no. 6, September 23, 1992, 329-65

<sup>239</sup> Farzana Rizvi, "Circulation of elites in Pakistan's politics." Orient Research Journal of Social Sciences 3, no. 1 (2018): 160-174.

<sup>240</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol .1, no. 2, January, 1993. 197

<sup>241</sup> Syed Abdul Quddus, 'Nawaz Sharif: The Courage in Leadership' (Lahore: Sh.Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1991), 26. 'Dawn, Karachi', November 7, 1991.

insider claimed. We don't need them, but they need us." . With this resolute mentality, the military began looking for hardware prospects in the international community.<sup>242</sup>

### **Formation of the Cabinet:**

After extensive consultation and guidance from the President and the army, the new government was created.<sup>243</sup> 18 people, comprising 9 from Punjab, 2 from the federal capital, 6 from Sindh, 1 from Balochistan, and 0 from the NWFP, made up Nawaz's inaugural government. In the IJI administration, Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, the army's choice from the previous administration, kept the same position (Foreign Minister).<sup>244</sup>

Sartaj Aziz, Roedad Khan, and Ijlal Haider Zaidi were also included in the government. Ishaq Khan's close advisor & senator Sartaj Aziz was given the important portfolio of Finance and Department Of finance. To manage the ministries of information, religious affairs, Kashmir, administration, and frontier areas with a status and position equivalent to ministers, Roedad and Ijlal, two former officials, were recruited.<sup>245</sup> According to Altaf Hussain's advice, the MQM was given the ministries of production, housing, and works. The ANP and the JI were not given portfolios, although official sources stated that the ANP would be accommodated in the future.<sup>246</sup>

The cabinet was later enlarged in size. Businessmen (9), attorneys (12), and feudals made up the majority of cabinet members (12). There were four women in the preceding cabinet of 4.86, but there were none in the current ministry of 39. The cabinet was expanded to 46 members after consultation with and approval from all IJI partners (including ministers and state ministers).<sup>247</sup>

### **Shariat Enforcement Act**

Immediately after becoming Prime Minister in 1990, Nawaz Sharif updated Ziaul Haq's "so-called Islamization effort with a Shariat Enforcement Act." However, during his second term, a significant initiative on this principle was created in the form of the "15th Amendment," which maintained two objectives: first, it added the 2B Article to the Constitution, which declares that the "Quran and Sunnah" are the supreme law, and second, it directed changing the Constitution by a fair majority of units present in either their homes or at a joint session of parliament.<sup>248</sup>

<sup>242</sup> Abbass Nasir, "The Beginning of the End?" 'The Herald, Karachi', November/ December 1990, 45.

<sup>243</sup> MNA Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, PML (N), Islamabad, Personal interview, September 14, 2011.

<sup>244</sup> Dawn, Karachi, November 11, 1990. Muhammad Ali Chirag, Tareekh-e-Pakistan (Urdu) (Lahore: Sang- e-Meel Publishers, 2001), 503. Ihtasham ul Haque, "Cabinet Coup", The Herald, Karachi, November-December 1990, 65.

<sup>245</sup> Dawn, Karachi, November 11, 1990. Muhammad Ali Chirag, Tareekh-e-Pakistan (Urdu) (Lahore: Sang- e-Meel Publishers, 2001), 503. Ihtasham ul Haque, "Cabinet Coup", The Herald, Karachi, November/ December 1990, 65.

<sup>246</sup> Haq, "Coup", 65.

<sup>247</sup> Chirag, Pakistan (Urdu), 502-506.

<sup>248</sup> Irma Haleem, "Ethnic and sectarian violence and the propensity towards praetorianism in Pakistan." Third World Quarterly, 24, no. 3 (2003): 463-477.

The second half of the measure had to be dropped by the government due to nationwide protests, and the NA only agreed to add the 2B Article to the basic legislation. But it sounds like; “The federal government shall be under an obligation to take all steps to enforce the Shariah, to enforce Salat, to administer Zakat, to promote amr bil ma’aruf and nahi unil munkar (to prescribe what is right and to forbid what is wrong), to eradicate corruption at all levels, and to provide substantial socioeconomic justice in accordance with the principles of Islam as laid down in the Quran and Sunnah.”

The Sharia Bill sparked debate among Pakistan's numerous Islamic sects. The process of Islamization, which was accompanied by political persecution, resulted in societal unrest and opposition to the Sharif government. Benazir Bhutto spearheaded protests in Islamabad in opposition to these restrictive practices<sup>249</sup>.

With the passage of the Shariat Bill, Nawaz and Zia were ideologically committed. Nawaz has stated a strong desire to see Shariat Law enacted. "It is a vital legal document that carries the essence of the thousand years of struggle waged by the Muslims of the subcontinent," he remarked in a joint session of Parliament.<sup>250</sup> He formed a committee of Senators, MNAs, judges, attorneys, and ulema in March 1991 to draught a new version of the Shariat Bill. The committee, led by Law Minister Chaudhry Amir Hussain, consisted of eleven members. When the bill was voted on in committee on May 8, 1991, it was defeated. Four of the eight members who attended the meeting declined to pay the cost. One IJI member stated that he could only vote in favour of the bill if his proposed revisions were included. The government party was rushing to get the bill passed. The PDA was concerned about several key features of the law. The PDA expressed their concerns through eleven questions and a few changes. The Shariat Bill was introduced in the National Assembly on May 11, 1991, however the PDA, the JUI (F), and the ANP issued statements of opposition in the meantime. The PDA protested to the bill, claiming that it violated human rights. "I do not approve the law in its current form since it does not guarantee protection to the current political system and existing democratic institutions," the ANP's representative, Arbab Jehangir Khan, wrote in his dissenting comment. The goal of the proposed bill, according to the JUI (F), was to grant the "interest-based economy an indeterminate duration of life."<sup>251</sup> After arguments, nine modifications were adopted into the bill on May 15, 1991.<sup>252</sup> The Senate passed the Shariat Bill on May 28, 1991. The IJI voted in favour of the bill in Parliament, but the PPP voted against it in the National Assembly and refused to vote in the Senate. The IJI was keen for the Shariat Bill to pass. It did not change the clauses that limited the higher courts' jurisdiction as an act (Shariat Act). The 1988 Shariat Act

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<sup>249</sup> Mohammad Waseem, "Political Parties in an "Establishmentarian Democracy"." *Pakistan's Political Parties: Surviving between Dictatorship and Democracy* (2020): 272.

<sup>250</sup> Mushtaq Ahmad "Spirit of Shariat Law" Dawn, Karachi, May 7, 1991.

<sup>251</sup> Dawn, Karachi, May 12, 1991.

<sup>252</sup> For unadulterated text of the Shariat Bill see 'Dawn, Karachi', May 12, 1991. Dawn, Karachi, May 16, 1991.

did not address the issue of jurisdiction between the High Courts and the Federal Shariat Court, which was the most contentious aspect of the law. For the previous two governments, the Shariat Bill was a point-scoring issue because they were unable to pass it. The PPP's stance on the bill was deemed to have "anti-Islamic attitudes."<sup>253</sup> In truth, Benazir favoured a liberal understanding of Islam, similar to that advocated by Allama Iqbal in his essay "Thoughts on Religious Reconstruction."<sup>254</sup>

The opposition's consensus was not in favour of the Shariat Bill. In her own words, Benazir's opinions on the Shariat Law: "The shariat bill that they offered was to create a mockery of parliament by stripping its powers away and give them to nominated individuals." The Shariat Bill that we intended to introduce was revolutionary in that it would have resolved this question in Pakistan once and for all by providing an interpretation that was consistent with the 1973 Constitution."<sup>255</sup>

#### **Issue of Provincial Autonomy:**

Provincial autonomy was a hot topic during the previous assembly. This assembly also discussed the provincial assembly in its various proceedings. A member of opposition Atizaz Hassan said 'During the Benazir era, Nawaz was a strong advocate of province autonomy. Without altering the Constitution, he couldn't get the kind and degree of provincial autonomy he wanted during her term. After becoming Premier, he admitted that he didn't know much about the authorities required for province autonomy and that he was concerned about the CCI and the National Finance Commission (NFC), both of which had not been convened in the previous two years'.<sup>256</sup>

#### **Disagreement on the Gulf Issue:**

Gulf issue remained in debates of members for an entire year. Ishaq Khan and Aslam Baig were important members of the caretaker government troika, whereas Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's position was weak.<sup>257</sup> However, Ishaq Khan and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi had an excellent working relationship because Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi had did not reject any of Ghullam Ishaq Khan's proposals. Iraq attacked Kuwait on August 2, 1990.<sup>258</sup> Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates were also under fear of attack from Iraq (UAE). The Pakistani army had been requested by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates to help with security in this circumstance. The caretaker administration was unable to make a decision since there were already 50,000 Pakistani soldiers stationed in Saudi Arabia. Aslam Baig refused to accede to

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<sup>253</sup> Charles H. Kennedy, "Repugnancy to Islam: Who Decides? Islam and Legal Reform in Pakistan" {The International and Comparative Law Quarterly} 41, no. 4 (October 1992): 779-780, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/761030>

<sup>254</sup> 'Dawn, Karachi', December 3, 1990.

<sup>255</sup> Benazir Bhutto, interviewed by 'The Herald, Karachi', April 1991, 59.

<sup>256</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 14, December 22, 1992, 911 December 1990, 37.

<sup>257</sup> Sardar Muhammad Chaudhry, 'Nawaz Sharif: Tehri Rahon Ka SeedhaMusafir' (Lahore: Qaumi Publishers) 125.

<sup>258</sup> Munir Ahmad, Ghadar Kon? (Urdu) (Lahore: Gora Publishers, 1995), 178.

Saudi Arabia's request because he thought it was right to help Iraq against the US. He had also predicted the demise of the United States. Saudi Arabia became exempt from all international debts as a result of Egypt's strategic deployment of 50,000 troops there.<sup>259</sup> "Aslam Baig caused Pakistan a significant financial loss in the Gulf War," Shahid Khaqan Abbasi later commented. He chose a militarily and politically inappropriate position. At the time, Nawaz should have sacked him. We advised Nawaz Sharif to fire him since the Army Chief lacked the authority to make reckless pronouncements. The Egyptians had pledged ten billion dollars in aid, of which ten billion had been waived. Aslam Baig, in this context, caused Pakistan great harm."<sup>260</sup> The decision of the caretaker administration not to send troops was criticised on the floor of the Assembly.<sup>261</sup>

### **The Presidential Address:**

Ishaq Khan gave a speech to the joint parliamentary session on November 8, 1990, during which he outlined the significant internal and international issues facing the administration and advocated the overthrow of the PPP government. The government shouldn't jeopardise the country's sovereignty, he stressed, and "demands for autonomy and rights within the confines of legal regulations should not be labelled centrifugal tendencies." To do so would not be right or in the country's best interests. He promised that the Centre will protect the rights of the smaller provinces.<sup>262</sup> The publications emphasised Ishaq Khan's position on provincial autonomy because in the past, whenever a smaller province requested its constitutional rights, the newspapers emphasised Ishaq Khan's attitude.<sup>263</sup>

### **Legislation:**

Despite a lack of quorum, the National Assembly enacted two controversial laws on February 28, 1991. The bills drew a lot of criticism from the opposition since they authorised the death sentence for kidnapping for ransom.<sup>264</sup> The opposition interpreted the passage of these measures as a vindication of Asif Ali Zardari's involvement in such crimes.<sup>265</sup>

### **Economic situation**

Pakistan's economic situation deteriorated further in the late 1990s. Sanctions imposed by the West in response to Pakistan's nuclear detonation exacerbated the crisis. In contrast to the political chaos and confusion, the economic scene in 1991-92 (July to June) painted a picture of confidence, optimism, and a sense of direction. Despite a challenging external environment, the economy made significant progress.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> Dawn, Karachi, October 10, 1990.

<sup>260</sup> Chaudhry, 'Tehri Rahon Ka Seedha Musafir' (Urdu), 125-127.

<sup>261</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 5, no. 5, February 10, 1991, 438.

<sup>262</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, no. 4, December 19, 1991, 361.

<sup>263</sup> Dawn, Karachi, November 16, 1990. Anwar Pirzada, "Provincial Autonomy: Lawlessness", Dawn, Karachi, November 16, 1990.

<sup>264</sup> Jang (Urdu), 'Rawalpindi, February 29, 1991.

<sup>265</sup> 'Dawn, Karachi', November 9, 1990. 'The Nation, Lahore,' January 14, 1991.

<sup>266</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol 1, no. 4, December 19, 1991, 358-60

## Budget presentation

The budget for the year of 1991-92 presented by finance minister Sirtaj Aziz on May 30, 1991.<sup>267</sup> Sum of 222.0 amount was fixed for the year of 1991-92. While presenting budget he said, GDP increased to 6.4 percent by the year 1990-91, up from 5.7% in 1990-91, moreover, 4.6% in 1989-90. Agriculture improved by 6.4%, compared to 5.1 per cent in 1990-91, and manufacturing increased by 7.7 per cent, compared to 6.3 per cent the previous year. Total investments increased by 17.6 per cent, while exports increased by 12.6 per cent. The reserve depletion was decreased from 8.8 % of GDP by 1990-91 to approximately 7% of GDP in 2001-02. Inflation (CPI) was kept at 9.6 per cent, down from 12.7 per cent in 1990-91. Foreign exchange reserves have surpassed a billion dollars<sup>268</sup>.

The IJI government failed to provide the necessary constitutional safeguards and legal framework for its economic measures. On the other hand, the private sector is less concerned because Benazir Bhutto has stated that if the PPP is re-elected, it will not reverse the privatization process<sup>269</sup>.

The President requested that some ex-bureaucrats be included in the National Taxation Reform Commission, which Nawaz appointed. Central Board of Revenue viewed the Commission reports as the attempt to benefit the wealthy while burdening small business owners. Agriculture was a provincial domain, so imposing a tax on agriculture income by the Federation was a touchy subject.<sup>270</sup> The CBR advised the government to persuade the corporate community to pay a higher proportion of taxes. The ministry was in a bind over the taxes issue, and it was clear that if the matter was not resolved quickly, the budget would be delayed.<sup>271</sup>

Sartaj Aziz, the Finance Minister, announced the budget for the fiscal year 1991-92 on May 31, 1991. He indicated that the administration has cut its expenses by 10 million rupees in a post-budget press conference. The budget was built around a ten points strategy that he dubbed "the pillars of the new budgetary system."<sup>272</sup> The budget for defence was increased because of the terrible geopolitical conditions of the time, although Sartaj Aziz stressed that the gain was small compared to the rate of prices. The assistance package proposed for the poor was inadequate, and the budget was criticised for supporting the interests of the wealthy by removing wealthy farmers from income taxes and giving them subsidised fertiliser.<sup>273</sup>

In 1991–1992, the economy outperformed 1990–1991 in terms of performance. GDP grew by 6.4 percent in 1990–1991 opposed to 5.6 percent in 1990–1991; investment rose as inflation

<sup>267</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, no. 4, May 30, 1991,

<sup>268</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 5, no. 11, May 30, 1991, 18

<sup>269</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 11, no. 2, June 12, 1991, 771

<sup>270</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 1, no. 4, December 19, 1991, 364

<sup>271</sup> Ihtashamul Haque, "Unhappy Returns", The Herald, Karachi, March 1991, 91.

<sup>272</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 11, May 30, 1991, 30

<sup>273</sup> Shahid Kardar, "Budget: Waiting for Next Round", Dawn, Karachi, June 8, 1991.

and the budget deficit decreased. The agricultural and manufacturing industries also saw improvements.<sup>274</sup>

### **Foreign Policy**

The Assembly under IJI government was took keen interest in foreign policies. Assembly did debates on various foreign policies. Suggestions and criticism were also presented by members.

Events in Kabul overshadowed the United Nations peace initiative in Afghanistan, that Pakistan endorsed, raising concerns about the future of the nation. As a result of "the Gulf War," relations with old Arab allies had soured, and the Indo-Pakistani talks had come to a standstill, leaving worries tense as usual. As Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs, Akram Zaki, "Pakistan's foreign policy used to be like walking on a tightrope; now it's like walking in a minefield with no map."

A member discussing in assembly , on the 23rd of May 1992, PM “Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan” instructed “the Army to launch Operation Blue Fox” to replenish the constitution and decree in Sindh and dispose of a paramilitary impetus of approximately 18,500 in a particular six-month undertaking. However, the Army conserved that it would not attack specific political institutions. The U.S. State's Department 1992 summary demonstrated that the Sindh "... law and order operation also sparked charges of human rights violations by the army units involved and selective targeting of certain political elements in Sindh.”<sup>275</sup>

Nine Tando Bhawal were killed in an Army atrocity on June 5, 1992. According to the Army, the inhabitants were terrorists. After media discovered evidence that the victims were farmers caught up in a land dispute, the Army assumed responsibility for the deaths and condemned and convicted the accused soldiers and top authorities.<sup>276</sup>

According to the “Herald, an Islamabad-based journal,” the army operation retained a substantial preliminary effect on lessening conspiracy in the region of Sindh. Successive invasions administered by army battalions, though, have been systematic. The kin and companions of those who go to target political groups or parties retain allegedly been uncovered, investigated, brought into custody, and persecuted by the safety regiments<sup>277, 278</sup>

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<sup>274</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates; Official Report, Vol. 9, no. 6, June 6, 1991,

<sup>275</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 19, December 28, 1992

<sup>276</sup> Emanuel Kohlscheen, "Why are there serial defaulters? Evidence from constitutions." *The Journal of Law and Economics* 50, no. 4 (2007): 713-730.

<sup>277</sup> Ross Burkhart, "Humane Globalization? The Clash of Human Rights and Globalization Agendas in the Quest for Development." In *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA*, vol. 30. 2001: 21-33

<sup>278</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 4, July 18, 1991, 167-178

### **Cooperatives societies scandal**

Assembly members also highly discussed the cooperatives societies. Though it was another matter but soon it was used as apolitical tool.<sup>279</sup> The cooperative societies controversy cost Nawaz a significant amount of political support. These organizations collect residues from units and are reasonably permitted to issue a credit to partners to benefit the membership. On the other hand, Mismanagement resulted in a collapse in 1992, hurting millions of Pakistanis. Approximately 710,000 population of Punjab and Kashmir forfeited their savings, and though it was discovered that the “Ittefaq Group of Industries — Nawaz's steel plant” was provided billions of rupees. Even though the debts were quickly returned, Nawaz's prestige was seriously tarnished<sup>280</sup>.

### **The Twelfth Amendment:**

The twelfth amendment was presented in assembly on 16 July, 1991. Just for 2 proceedings discussion was held on it<sup>281</sup>. A member Syed Zafar Ali Shah said, respected sir, let us do debate on it, even many members in this house are still not able that what is 12<sup>th</sup> amendment is being done for. This is not bearable.<sup>282</sup> After one day discussion assembly passed the bill on July 18, 1991 . Mostly opposition members were not happy. Because they were not given proper time to do discussion on this amendment.<sup>283</sup>

The administration was concerned about the rising turmoil and lawlessness. The administration tried to promote law and order by enacting legislation. In fact, by altering the Constitution, the ruling party hoped to gain enormous power to combat law and order. Nawaz had a difficult time obtaining the change because 105 members of the coalition parties refused to endorse him. If the amendment was tabled, many lawmakers were likely to abstain. The ANP, JUI (F), and JUP (N) also refused to support the amendment.<sup>284</sup>

The ruling coalition was eventually able to reach an agreement on a constitutional modification in order to restore peace and order and eliminate terrorism. The amendment gave the federal government a great deal of power. The amendment's intended life period was three years, after which it would automatically expire. According to the proposed amendment, the federal government's acts in any impacted area (any location where heinous crimes and terrorism have been occurring for a long time and are unable to be controlled by conventional means) cannot be brought before a court of law. The methods for combating terrorism were not specified and were left to the government's discretion. It gave the government the power to declare any area

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<sup>279</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 3, January 10, 1993

<sup>280</sup> Hongjoo Hahm, "The Development of the Private Sector in a Small Economy in Transition." World Bank Discussion Papers (1993): 23-24

<sup>281</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 8, no. 3, July 18, 1991, 230

<sup>282</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 8, no. 3, July 18, 1991, 244

<sup>283</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 4, July 18, 1991, 237

<sup>284</sup> Dawn, July 8, Karachi, 1991.

affected for a period ranging from six months to a year. The ANP's Ajmal Khattak claimed that it was the Parliament's right, not the cabinet's, to declare any area as an impacted area. The JI's Liaquat Baloch believes that superfluous constitutional revisions will exacerbate the problem.<sup>285</sup> The administration believed that this modification was necessary since the existing laws were insufficient to deal with the problem. "If you want me to abolish lawlessness, then you will have to give me greater powers because the current rules largely let criminals get away easy," Nawaz stated the need for extra powers. " The PDA had slammed the planned reforms, accusing them of being a ruse to gain dictatorial powers, which Nawaz had denied. 160 Minister of State for Law, Justice, and Parliamentary Affairs Chaudhry Amir Hussain introduced the Twelfth Amendment on July 18, 1991. The amendment passed with 152 votes in favour and 33 votes against it.<sup>286</sup> Leghari declared the bill to be in violation of the rules and regulations. He claimed that the change was passed in such a haste that the opposition was unable to hold a debate.<sup>287 288</sup>

### **The Eighth Amendment:**

The PML Parliamentary Party has resolved to meet with other parties to address the subject of the Eighth Amendment. Nawaz was given the power by the PML Parliamentary Party to select a presidential candidate and render an opinion on the Eighth Amendment because the matter directly touched the President and Prime Minister. To discuss the removal of the eighth amendment with other political parties, Nawaz created a two-person delegation under the direction of Syed Ghaus Ali Shah. The formal committee and the representatives of the major parties got the conference underway. It was challenging to repeal this amendment without the opposition's assistance. Benazir demanded a political package in exchange for supporting the removal of the Eighth Amendment, which included fair elections conducted by an impartial administration. Nawaz and Ishaq Khan met to talk about their disagreements on March 22, 1993. Benazir did not find it amusing that they determined, among other things, to prevent anyone from benefiting from the situation. The prime minister decided not to bring up the removal of the Eighth Amendment at the meeting, according to sources close to the president.<sup>289</sup>

### **Constitutional crisis and resignation**

Nawaz retained severe administration questions with "Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the conservative president," who had propelled Nawaz to fame during the dictatorship of Zia. Khan utilized his resource powers to decompose the NA on the 18th of April, 1993, earlier in the Parliamentary election of 1993, and named Mir Balkh Sher as interim prime minister with the

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<sup>285</sup> Dawn, Karachi, July 15, 1991.

<sup>286</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 3, July 18, 1991, 230-231.

<sup>287</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 3, July 18, 1991, 234-36.

<sup>288</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 8, July 18, 1991, 244

<sup>289</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 3, no. 18, June 20, 1993, 358-396

assistance of the Army. Nawaz refused to recognize the act and filed a lawsuit in Pakistan's Supreme Court. However, the Supreme Court decided on the 26th of May that the presidential decree was unlawful. The president could merely dissolve the legislature, and it would simply he have done if there had been a constitutional deterioration and the Government's incompetence, or corruption was irrelevant. The debate about power raged on Nawaz Sharif resigned in July 1993, under pressure from the military, as part of a deal that saw President Khan ousted from power. “General Shamim Allam, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, and General Abdul Vahid Kakar, Chief of Army Staff,” compelled Khan to quit the presidency, ending the political impasse. An interim and transitional administration was constituted under the watchful eye of the Pakistan Armed Forces. However, the new parliamentary election was carried out three months later<sup>290</sup>.

### **Lack of the rule of law**

The IJI era was also attacked for bias and a disregard for the law, the opposition pointed out in assembly. Preference was also displayed in decisions on who should be detained in police custody without being told of the appropriate legal forums, who should be spared, who should have a FIR filed against them, and who should be saved from arrest. The Government MPAs and MANs were rarely apprehended, even when they were found guilty. As usual, on April 13th, 1991, the government formed a 12-person special committee to look into the wrongdoings and frauds of the cooperatives. Although financial institutions have proposed corrective measures, nothing better has been done. A few checks were given to the impacted on television, and then there was a flood of criticism and counter-criticism from both parties.<sup>291</sup>.

### **Conservative policies**

Bezan Bizanjo addressed that ‘Nawaz continued Zia's program of accompanying “Islamization and conservatism” in Pakistani society. In Pakistan, fiscal conservativeness, supply-side economics, conservatism, and pious conservativeness have all been implemented’.<sup>292</sup> Moreover, Nawaz showed ample participation in the ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization) to entice Muslim countries in Central Asia to form a Muslim bloc. Nawaz expanded Zia's divisive Islamization efforts, introducing Islamic laws like the “Shariat Ordinance and Bait-ul-Maal” (to assist needy orphans, widows, and others) to move the country toward a welfare state model of Islamic perspective. Three committees were formed as an outcome of his undertakings.

- “Ittihad-e-bain-ul-Muslemeen (Ittihad-e-bain-ul-Muslemeen) is a Muslim (English: Unity of Muslims Bloc)
- Committee for Nifaz-e-Shariat (English: Sharia Establishment Committee)

<sup>290</sup> Larry Garber, Glenn Cowan, "The virtues of parallel vote tabulations." *Journal of Democracy* 4, no. 2 (1993): 95-107.

<sup>291</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 12, May. 02, 1993. 73-94.

<sup>292</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 8, March 19, 1993. 177

- Committee for Islamic Welfare”<sup>293</sup>

### **The Government Opposition Relations:**

Benazir while addressing in assembly said, Nawaz was unconcerned about the opposition since it lacked clout in the National Assembly and Benazir was still reeling from her defeat. Nawaz Sharif was unable to establish a positive connection with the major opposition parties and IJI allies. Relations between the two parties were really soured by the president's criticism of the PPP's leadership. Hundreds of PPP workers were detained by Jam Sadiq Ali in Sindh. Asif Ali Zardari was detained for a number of offences, including robbery and abduction. Nawaz Sharif's inability to address ethnic problems in Sindh was fully exploited by the PDA. The PDA questioned the failure of various IJI ministers' and members' cooperatives and charged the IJI with selling the Muslim Commercial Bank.<sup>294</sup>

Since April 1991, Benazir has been advocating for the fall of the government. She wasn't opposed to the idea of another military junta taking power after his fall. Nawaz was displeased with Benzir's method of running the country. On August 14, 1991, Nawaz warned the opponents that it would suffer serious repercussions if it sought to topple his administration.<sup>295</sup>

The All Parties Conference (APC), a group formed by the opposition in 1991, called for fresh elections to be held right away. Eight of the 23 parties that were combined to form the APC had representatives in the National Assembly. The IJI claims that the call for elections is against the Constitution, against democracy, and against national interests..<sup>296</sup> The APC has informed the government that opposing legislators will resign if the elections are postponed. in order to have his own people replace the roles of the opposition in the Assemblies, Nawaz asked them to resign. Nawaz Sharif blamed the collapse of the nation on the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). The mood was tainted by allegations and counter-accusations from both sides, as well as a barrage of nasty comments. The APC expressed public support for the PDA and its goals. They declared that the APC and the PDA's goals were to overthrow the government. The PDA staged a gathering near Lahore's Mochi Gate, demonstrating the opposition's might. The PDA leaders slammed the IJI's economic, domestic, and diplomatic policies, as well as Nawaz's treatment of political opponents. They responded in opposition to Nawaz Sharif's assertions made during in the placement of the Bab-i-Pakistan stone. No opposition leader showed up, demonstrating the divisions between both the APC and the IJI.<sup>297</sup>

### **Lack of Supremacy of the Parliament:**

<sup>293</sup> Ashfaq U Rehman, Arif Khan, Bakhtiar Khan, "Government-Opposition Relations during Benazir Bhutto's Rule in Pakistan." *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)* 1, no. 2 (2017): 24-33.

<sup>294</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 8, March 12, 1993. 109

<sup>295</sup> Khan, "Light and Shadows", 198. 'Dawn, Karachi', August 16, 1991.

<sup>296</sup> Sultan Ahmad, "Towards the Confrontation", 'Dawn, Karachi', August 17, 1991. Dawn, Karachi, August 13, 1991.

<sup>297</sup> 'Dawn, Karachi', August 13, 16 & 17, 1991.

The military was clearly involved in politics since it served as the last arbiter in conflicts over power. Despite the army's and the establishment's support, the administration was weakened by conflict on several fronts and political issues. The hanging threat of 58 (2) rendered the Parliament non-sovereign and prevented it from making political decisions similar to those done by the previous government of Benazir. 58 (2) (b) was also evaluated by the IJI as a strategy for combating the PPP in the National Assembly.<sup>298</sup> Else, the power of president also controls the supremacy of Parliament.<sup>299</sup>

### **Controlled Media:**

The role of media was also discussed in assembly. Opposition for three times did walkout because the media was not giving them clear coverage and the role was presented as a negative before people through media.<sup>300</sup>

In March 1991, the MQM launched a scathing attack on Sindh's press. The Mohajir Rabita Council's Ishtiaq Azhar accused The Herald (a monthly Dawn Groups' journal) of publishing articles critical of the MQM (A). "Journalists' excesses are committed through their pens," he warned, "while the public has alternative options." The MQM (A) leadership's reaction was revealed in the March issue of The Herald, which featured a report about the dismissal of MQM (A) Sindh minister Baber Iqbal on corruption accusations. According to the MQM (A) side, the tale was made up in order to produce a schism within the party.<sup>301</sup> The Jang published an article about Altaf Hussain's speech at the Abbasi Shaheed Hospital, stating that the President was present. Some parts of the report were chosen for broadcast by the BBC. The MQM (A) clarified that its leader had been misquoted. Zaffar Abbas, a Herald reporter and BBC journalist, was attacked in his residence by unknown gunmen. The MQM (A) condemned the attack and chastised the manner the MQM (A) was linked to the attack's planning, implying that the PPP and the JI were also involved. The MQM (A) declared war on the Dawn Group's papers and called for a boycott of Dawn, The Herald, The Star, and Takbeer. During the conflict, armed militants roamed the streets and took control of Karachi's major thoroughfares. In the presence of armed radicals, the police were vulnerable.<sup>302</sup> The MQM (A) interrupted the distribution network until a deal was struck between the MQM (A) and a committee formed.<sup>303 304</sup>

### **Undemocratic Action:**

The house raised the tour of Wasim Sajad to China. One of the member of the assembly mentioned that, Wasim Sajjad headed a non-parliamentary team to China on August 11, 1991, to talk about the circumstance in South Asia. Parliament's stewards in a multi-party system

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<sup>298</sup> Waseem, "Crisis of Dyarchy", 618.

<sup>299</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 3, no. 15, December 31, 1992, 962-66

<sup>300</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 9, no. 7, February. 21, 1993. 88

<sup>301</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 4, June 3, 1991, 1422

<sup>302</sup> Idrees Bakhtiar, "The Press under Fire", The Herald, Karachi, April 1991, 23-24.

<sup>303</sup> Bakhtiar, "Press under Fire", 24-25.

<sup>304</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 4, December 3, 1991, 1492

Parliamentary democracy were intended to be impartial, hence the tour led by Wasim Sajjad went against the principles that separated the government from the legislature. Only in the event of quasi-democracies and one-party systems may the Parliament's caretakers travel overseas. In a multi-party system, the ruling party/coalition was solely responsible for representing the government. The Chairman Senate's tour was in violation of unwritten rules of conduct.<sup>305</sup> The government's kaleidoscopic patterns threw the legislative system into disarray.

Another issue was discussed by Liaqat Baloch the member of assembly, he said 'The elected government's first and most important responsibility was to put its manifesto into action. One of the IJI's election campaign promises was to create job opportunities, however shortly after taking office, Nawaz halted new recruitment in all federal and provincial government ministries.<sup>306</sup> The ban was upheld by the administration until July 1992, but it was removed in August 1991 as a result of intense pressure from coalition allies. The IJI's favourites were unaffected by the ban because they were assigned to various autonomous and semi-independent committees on daily salary.<sup>307</sup>

### **Condition of Human Rights in Sindh:**

In assembly the tussles between Punjab and Sindh were on its peak. A member said in house, 'During the operation, there were numerous violations of human rights. During the demonstrations, the police used lethal force against women. Several young males were kidnapped and have yet to be found. The victims of law enforcement agencies had been traumatised, and they were hesitant to file complaints or denounce the torture of military/police personnel to the press.'<sup>308</sup> Law enforcement officials also tortured Hindu minorities, and several persons went missing in rural and urban Sindh.<sup>309</sup> The MQM (A) was accused of being a political terrorist organisation by Operation Clean Up, and the Kalashnikov culture was fostered under the MQM's guise (A). In Sindh, the MQM (A) had established a parallel administration. The operation aimed to eliminate MQM (A) goons who used to steal money from local businesses. The MQM (A) leaders went underground as a result of the operation. The torture cells of the MQM (A) were discovered during the operation. In Karachi and Hyderabad, the operation was a success.<sup>310</sup> Islamabad was significantly impacted by the political situation in Sindh. Similar political trends to those in 1990, right before the PPP administration was overthrown, were present today. The APC was discussing two topics in

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<sup>305</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 9, no. 28, January 3, 422

<sup>306</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 7, no. 13, December 15, 1991.

<sup>307</sup> 'The Herald, Karachi', April 1991, 34a.

<sup>308</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 3, no. 15, December 23, 1992, 90

<sup>309</sup> Nauman Naqvi, and Hasan Mujtaba, "Under the Boot", Newline, Karachi, November 1992, 28-29.

<sup>310</sup> Muhammad Hanif, "The Army has Broken the MQM's Reign of Terror but its Own Excesses are Generating a Backlash", Newline, Karachi, November 1992, 25-28.

Islamabad: dialogue and the composition of the interim administration. The government's existing management approach, according to the bureaucracy, "could not continue past June."<sup>311</sup>

### **Legislation under the House:**

By November 1992, Parliament had passed 55 laws, compared to 19 by the previous administration. The public was informed about the details of the legislations by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. Agriculture, industry, election procedure, political representation, parliamentary rights, and Shariah were among the issues on which the government enacted legislation, according to him.<sup>312</sup>

### **Opposition and the 1993 elections**

The PML-N rose to a nationwide reputation in the 1993 parliamentary elections, winning seats in the state legislature 73. The group declared its hostility to the PPP. Benazir Bhutto was accused of conspiracy, stagnation, and jeopardizing national safety by the PML-N. Internal factions within the PPP were seen and, one of which was overseen by "Murtaza Bhutto," who harmed the party. The debatable Murtaza Bhutto's murder by Sindh Police and the tension on the MQM undermined Benazir Bhutto straight further. The "PML-N and Sharif" himself were stunned to learn about the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto. The irony of this dismissal was that "President Farooq Leghari provoked it," a trustworthy lieutenant of Benazir, who appointed her to the presidency as a sanctuary for the PPP's Government after Ghulam Ishaq Khan abandoned the office. Nawaz Sharif toured entire Pakistan during that movement. As part of his campaign to depose Benazir, he also moved by a train rally from Lahore to Peshawar<sup>313</sup>.

### **Resolving to dissolve the National Assembly**

In line with Article 58(2), the Assembly was dissolved on April 18, 1993, by Ghulam Ishaq Khan (b). The dissolution of the General Assembly was challenged before the Pakistani Supreme Court, which heard the case and reinstated the Assembly on May 26, 1993.<sup>314</sup>

On April 18, 1993, the crisis resulted in the dissolving of the General Assembly and the resignation of the President. Only 29 months were spent in office during this government. In the Dissolution Order, Nawaz was charged with violating the Constitution and the military's authority, as well as with poor management, corruption, nepotism, the failure of economic policies, a decline in Sindh's law and order, political strife, and trying to rig the system so that the federal government and the provinces have unequal power.<sup>315</sup>

On April 18, 1993, Sher Baz Mazari of the IJI was inaugurated in as interim premier. The caretaker government was created by the PPP and the PML (Junego Group). Ishaq Khan

<sup>311</sup> Maleeha Lodhi and Zahid Hussain, "Power Play in Islamabad", Newline, Karachi, June 1992, 24-25.

<sup>312</sup> Mushtaq Ahmad, "Law Without Justice", Dawn, Karachi, November 3, 1992.

<sup>313</sup> Lawrence Ziering, "The second stage in Pakistani politics: The 1993 elections." (Asian Survey) 33, no. 12 (1993): 1175-1185.

<sup>314</sup> Osama Siddique, "The jurisprudence of dissolutions: Presidential power to dissolve assemblies under the Pakistani constitution and its discontents." *Ariz. J. Int'l & Comp. L.* 23 (2005): 615.

<sup>315</sup> Dawn, Karachi, April 19, 1993.

explained that Nawaz wanted to violate the Constitution since he had said that he would not follow the President's orders by using Nawaz's statements to support his conduct. He claimed that because I had a constitutional duty to advise the government, I had never given him orders. Ishaq Khan was criticised by Nawaz Sharif for collaborating with the PPP to overthrow the government. The PML has chosen to file a judicial challenge against the Dissolution Order with the Supreme Court.<sup>316</sup> Ishaq Khan is asked to leave by Nawaz, because believed he was unqualified for the position. On April 19, Gauhar Ayub contested the presidential order dissolving the Federal Parliament by submitting a constitution petition to the Lahore High Court. He claimed the presidential decree was unconstitutional. Nawaz petitioned the Supreme Court on April 25, 1993, pleading for a prompt judgement before to the fresh election on July 14, 1993. The appeal was heard by the complete Supreme Court bench, which was led by Chief Justice Nasim Hasan Shah. The National Assembly, Prime Minister, and Cabinet had to be immediately reinstated, the court declared on May 26, 1993. The decision was approved by a vote of 10 to one.<sup>317</sup> All of the justices on the full bench, with the exception of Justice Sajjad Ali Shah, had concluded that the President's action of dissolution was outside the purview of the authority assigned to him under Article 58. (2). (b). For the very first occasion in the history of the Pakistani parliament, the Supreme Court reinstated the National Assembly, the government, and the Speaker of the House. Once time, the illegal dissolution was not justified and the idea of necessity was not used. On May 27, 1993, a session for the vote of confidence was held, and Nawaz secured 123 votes out of the 203 members of the House. The Pakistan Muslim League and the Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA) Group) PML (C) did not vote. However, five PDA members defied party order and voted for Nawaz. During his 39-day caretaker administration, Nawaz realised that addressing national challenges required a broader national consensus. On the House floor, he stressed the importance of consultation with all stakeholders to address the country's concerns. He underlined the importance of working together between the opposition and the Treasury benches to help the democracy and eliminated un-democratic forces. He also reacted to the caretaker government's criticism of his motorway project and privatisation practises. The National Assembly's dissolution hurt the economy and made the problems with the government worse.<sup>318</sup>

### **End of a Democratic Rule:**

A series of talks between the troika (Ishaq Khan, Nawaz, and Waheed) to resolve the problem took place in July 1993. Ishaq Khan and Waheed both put their faith in the opposition. The army head persuaded the opposition to call off their long march against the promise of new elections. Ishaq Khan and Nawaz finally agreed on a formula thanks to Waheed's efforts.

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<sup>316</sup> Dawn, Karachi, April 19, 1993.

<sup>317</sup> 'The News, Islamabad', May 27, 1993.

<sup>318</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 2. May 31, 1993, 47-48.

Nawaz proposed dissolving the National Assembly on July 18, 1993, and then submitted his resignation in compliance with the procedure. Ishaq Khan called a special session of the Assembly and then resigned as president. Waheed's intervention came at the request of Nawaz, who had dispatched three army officials (including Javed Ashraf) to speak with Ishaq Khan and Nawaz about the problem.<sup>319</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> Dawn, Islamabad, July 16, 1993. Dawn, Islamabad, July 17, 1993.

## Chapter No. 04

### Second Era of Benazir 1993-96

When Benazir Bhutto became leadership of the Pakistan People's Organization (PPP), a democratic socialist, centre-left party, in 1982, she became the nation's first female political leader. She was selected to govern a Muslim state in 1988, becoming Pakistan's first and only female prime minister. Benazir Bhutto was renowned for her political savviness and dynamic leadership. She led initiatives to "improve Economic growth, national security, and social capitalist policies for industrial growth and development." The political philosophy and economic plans of Benazir also emphasised the deregulation of the banking industry, flexible labour markets, denationalisation of state-owned businesses, and the abolition of subsidies. As a result of the recession, widespread corruption, and lack of employment opportunities, Benazir Bhutto's support dwindled, and obedient "President Ghulam Ishaq Khan" finally overthrew her administration.<sup>320</sup> By 1993, the PPP had won the majority of the seats in the legislature with 86 MPs. However, a clear majority of voters knocked it down. With 73 seats, Nawaz Sharif's new party, the PML-N, received the second-highest number of votes. In Punjab's rural parts and Sindh's province, the PPP performed remarkably well.

In contrast, the PML-N performed better in important cities like "Karachi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi" and industrial areas of Punjab. Benazir Bhutto was re-elected as prime minister, but with a weaker parliamentary majority than in 1988. She took her first oath of office on October 19th, 1993.<sup>321</sup>

Recognizing that what a hostile president may endanger her position as prime minister, Benazir gave the assurance that a "PPP member, Farooq Leghari," had been legitimately elected and assigned to the position. Zardari was freed from prison in 1993, when Bhutto retook office. During her second term, Bhutto appointed her "husband and mother to her cabinet." He was formerly known as "investment minister, director-general of the Federal Investigation Agency, head of the Intelligence Bureau, and chair of the new Protection Of the environment Council." He was given ownership of Pakistan's gold imports by Benazir, a position that paid him \$10 million.<sup>322</sup> Allen implied that;

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<sup>320</sup> Nasreen Aslam Shah, "Shaheed Benazir Bhutto: An Overview on her Struggling Life." *SHAHEED BENAZIR JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES* 1, no. 1 (2021): 15-25.

<sup>321</sup> Uddin Ijaz, "Impact of Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) on consumption, health and education." *Economic consultant* 4 (36) (2021): 42-50.

<sup>322</sup> Muhammad Bilal, Farqaleet Khokhar, "Executive Intervention in Judicial Independence in Pakistan: An Overview of the Past." *The Dialogue* 17, no. 1 (2022): 105-119.

“Measures like these reflected how Bhutto had given up on all her previous ideals and simply caved into the culture of corruption—indeed excelled in it, as she had excelled in so many other areas”.

### Background of election

Bhutto led the PPP to victory in the 1993 elections after PM "Nawaz Sharif's IJI administration" was overthrown due to corruption allegations. Benazir Bhutto oversaw economic privatisation during her second term and fought to advance women's rights. National elections were conducted once more in October 1993. In the NA, the PPP gained a majority of seats but not all of them. Recently, Nawaz Sharif's PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League) earned a very little bump in the popular vote. Fewer people who were eligible to vote did so, and the results were close all around. On the other side, in Balochistan, PPP was unable to overcome the PML-N. With the help of "Junejo's Pakistan Muslim League (J) (PML-J)", the PPP created the current civilian government, and Benazir Bhutto received.<sup>323</sup>

<b>Major Events</b>	
<b>On the 18<sup>th</sup> of July, 1993</b>	“Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Sharif resign”.
<b>On the 6<sup>th</sup> of October, 1993</b>	Benazir was appointed as the PM once again.
<b>On the 14<sup>th</sup> of November, 1993</b>	Farooq Leghari is appointed as the President.
<b>By 1994</b>	Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Board (PNRB) Regulate the nuclear safety
<b>On the 5<sup>th</sup> of November, 1996</b>	Leghari deported Benazir’s government on behalf of the corruption penalties.

### National Assembly Elections 1993

A hung parliament resulted from the 1993 elections, in which no party gained enough votes to form a government on its own. To get the necessary votes, the PPP and the PML (N) made an effort to win over minor parties and independents. However, the majority of independents chose to vote for the former since they were aware that the PML (N) was not popular with the establishment and that the Pakistan People's Party had grown to be the largest party in the house. For the second time, Benazir Bhutto was viewed as prime minister on

<sup>323</sup>Aisha Shehzad, "The issue of ethnicity in Pakistan: Historical background." (Pakistan Vision) 12, no. 2 (2011): 124.

October 19, 1993.<sup>324</sup> Along with the elected minority and independent members, the PML (J) joined the coalition government. The PML (N) was denied the chance to form the government in Punjab despite being the only party to win more than 100 of the 240 seats in the parliament. With only 18 seats, the PML (J) formed a government with the support of the PPP and independent MPs. The Nawaz Sharif party lost control of Punjab for the first time since the start of the nation's democratic process in 1985.<sup>325</sup> The PPP has been able to overthrow the PML (N) Chief Minister Pir Sabir Shah in a vote of no confidence in April 1994, and they went on to demonstrate their own government in the province with Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao as their leader in the house. The PML (N) was capable of establishing a regime in NWFP with the ANP. Presidential elections were held within a month of the establishment of the new Federal Government, and Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari of the PPP defeated Wasim Sajjad of the PML (N) by a margin of 274 to 168 electoral votes.<sup>326</sup>

<b>National Assembly Elections 1993</b>		
PPP	124 votes	86 seats
PML-N	72 votes	72 seats

### **Challenges and Developments of the Assembly**

*{A glance to Assembly under the terms; Differentiation, Autonomy, Durability, Adoption of Rules and Complexity.}*

Though the initial year of Benazir's second term could be described as an achievement story, not merely in achieving her goals of favourable relations but also in terms of avoiding disputes with other stakeholders, however, when these actions substantiated ineffective, she was contradicted with and forced to live in complicated political settings, her strategies failed to materialize. In 1994, Pakistani politics was dominated by a bitter political rivalry between Benazir and her primary political challenger, the "Pakistan Muslim League (N)". Benazir Bhutto and the opposition were unable to be patient with each other. The former pursued spiteful measures, while the latter engaged in a constant uproar and contentious politics. The country's political environment has been severely harmed by the decay of democratic institutions, extensive corruption, and ethnic and sectarian warfare, resulting in anarchy in most regions. Benazir Bhutto's government faced tremendous opposition from opposition parties and a critical press during her two-and-a-half years in power. In truth, as the opposition leader in 1993, Benazir Bhutto had constantly pursued a single goal: to destabilize Nawaz Sharif's

<sup>324</sup> Samina Yasmeen, "The politics of dismissal in Pakistan." (Asian Studies Review )17, no. 1 (1993): 82-91.

<sup>325</sup> Sajid Hussain, Sohail Akhtar, Muhammad Madni Asghar, Rafiq Akbar, "ROLE OF ETHNICITY IN ELECTTORAL POLITICS OF PAKISTAN: A CASE OF DERA GHAZI KHAN DURIING ELECTIONS 1982-1997." PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology 17, no. 11 (2020): 116-132.

<sup>326</sup> Mussarat Qadim, "The Role of Judiciary in the Constitutional Development of Pakistan." JL & Soc'y 12 (1993): 9.

administration by any means necessary. In return, Nawaz Sharif became a far more vocal opponent of Benazir Bhutto and became more eager to destroy her government, primarily by agitational politics and a media-driven movement<sup>327</sup>.

On the same grounds that Benazir Bhutto demanded Nawaz Sharif's resignation, her government was mired in essentially identical issues, i.e., political victimization, colossal conspiracy, and political bribery. Nawaz Sharif accused Benazir Bhutto's government of slowing the country's economic growth by targeting her administration for crime in major state-owned firms. Benazir Bhutto now had to revert to many of the same political techniques during her first term in office. PPP and her public image were devalued due to all of the measures. More harm came from her government's use of the higher judiciary to upset rival politicians by bringing corruption allegations against them, a technique she had criticized under the PML regime. As a result, she was overwhelmed by Nawaz Sharif's rallies and walkouts against her administration<sup>328</sup>.

On the other hand, Nawaz Sharif's anti-PPP movement, Tehrik-i-Nijat, was solely motivated by his economic interests. He seemed to feel that the only way to salvage the massive financial empire was for him to reclaim power. A campaign to overthrow a regime, on the other hand, should be justified, either when power was obtained via manifestly undemocratic means or when a government is pursuing policies that are damaging to national interests.

<b>Timeline</b>	
<b>1993</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ On the 18<sup>th</sup> of July – Wasim Sajjad of the “Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Group)” was appointed as the eighth interim President.</li> <li>✓ On the 18<sup>th</sup> of July – Moin Qureshi was appointed as the nineteenth caretaker PM.</li> <li>✓ On October 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>, “General Elections were held”.</li> <li>✓ On the 19<sup>th</sup> of October – Benazir Bhutto gained a slight margin and was appointed as PM. She evolved as the twenty PM.</li> <li>✓ On the 13<sup>th</sup> of November, “the Presidential election was held”.</li> <li>✓ “Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari” of the PPP's candidate gained 168 votes by 274 against the acting “President Wasim Sajjad”.</li> </ul>

<sup>327</sup> M. Reza Pirbhai, "Global Concerns and Pakistan's Domestic Context." *History: Reviews of New Books* 40, no. 2 (2012): 35-38.

<sup>328</sup> Saira Bano, "Women in parliament in Pakistan: Problems and potential solutions." (*Women's Studies Journal*) 23, no. 1 (2009): 19.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ On the 14<sup>th</sup> of November – “Wasim Sajjad resigned, and Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari” of the Pakistan Peoples Party was elected as the eighth President.</li> <li>✓ On the 5<sup>th</sup> of November – “President Farooq Leghari deported Benazir Bhutto government and denounced her “government of corruption and nepotism under Article 58(2) b of the Eighth Amendment”.</li> </ul>
<b>1994</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ On 15<sup>th</sup> Jan, Pakistan TV transmission received “access to 38 countries via satellite”.</li> <li>✓ On 25<sup>th</sup> January: Benazir Bhutto introduced Pakistan’s “first women police station in Islamabad”.</li> </ul>
<b>1995</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ On 4<sup>th</sup> July: “Sindh Government lifts ban on six Karachi evening newspapers”.</li> <li>✓ On July 8, WAPDA said that energy tariffs have increased by a record 14.5%.</li> <li>✓ On 6<sup>th</sup> December: “Lahore High Court terminated appeal against arrest of Maj. Gen. Zaheerul Islam Abbasi in Khilafat Conspiracy Case”.</li> </ul>
<b>1996</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ On the 5<sup>th</sup> of November – Miraj Khalid evolved as the twenty-first caretaker PM.</li> <li>✓ . General Jahangir Karamat is appointed chief of army staff on January 13.</li> <li>✓ On 25<sup>th</sup> April 25: Pakistan Tehrek-e-Insaf (PTI) was launched as Imran Khan’s new political party.</li> <li>✓ On 20<sup>th</sup> September: Murtaza Bhutto was killed in Karachi.</li> <li>✓ On 5<sup>th</sup> November 5: “Farooq Ahmed Leghari dissolves National Assembly sacking Premier Benazir Bhutto. Malik Mairaj Khalid becomes caretaker prime minister”.<sup>329</sup></li> </ul>

<sup>329</sup> Veena Kukreja, "Pakistan's Political Economy, Misplaced Priorities and Economic Uncertainties,' (Pakistan: Democracy, Development and Security Issues ) 2005. 13.

## **Development and Challenges**

### **Speaker and Duty Speaker**

On the second day of Assembly, the elections for speaker and duty speaker were held. The candidate from PPP was Yousaf Raza Gillani who scored 110 and the member from opposition was Gohar Ayub he gained 90 votes. For duty speaker Zafar Ali Shah and Haji Mohammad Nawaz were candidates. Zafar Shah elected as duty speaker with 115 votes.<sup>330</sup>

### **Vote of Confidence**

Prime Minister Benazir under the Article 91(3) got the vote of confidence from the assembly. She got the confidence of members of the assembly. 122 members gave the vote in her support.<sup>331</sup>

### **Women empowerment**

Assembly under Benazir Bhutto governed the establishment of a female government division led by a significant female social servant and a women's bank. She established a chain of "female police stations with female officers" to encourage the female to come forward and record crimes. She formulated "family courts with female judges" to handle child detention and house matters, and she appointed the first "female judges to the Supreme Courts of Peshawar" and Sindh in 1994–95. This all process was passed by assembly.<sup>332</sup> As a member Aftab Ahmed Khan said that 'Zia enacted conservative Islamic regulations to limit women's rights stayed in force; her reluctance to revoke the hudood legislation drew an objection from liberal revolutions and harmed her connections with females and human rights organizations. But this assembly is the first which is doing precious works and serving women under the leadership of BiBi<sup>333</sup>.

A member Chudri Nazeer ahmed said that the PPP Government made dramatic reforms in women's rights.<sup>334</sup> "I nominated numerous women to my cabinet and formed a Ministry of Women's Development," Benazir stated in front of the group. In universities, we established programmes in women's studies. We discovered a Women's Development Bank that only lends money to successful women. Additionally, we supported and allowed women's participation in international sports, which had previously been prohibited during the military regime of Zia. It

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<sup>330</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 2, October 17, 1993. 23-28

<sup>331</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 3, no. 1, October 27, 1993, 3-4

<sup>332</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, no. 19, April 22, 1994.134-155

<sup>333</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. , no. 1, September 3, 5.

<sup>334</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 3, no. 1, October 27, 1996, 7

was a good beginning in a nation where Islam had been used for a cruel generation to limit women's status in society. Bhutto on her government's advancements in women's rights ”<sup>335</sup>

### **14<sup>th</sup> Amendment**

*14<sup>th</sup> amendment was a great achievement by the assembly. This Amendment is dealing with the seats of women in Assembly. Which was passed by assembly by both willing of opposition and government members.* <sup>336</sup>

### **Domestic affairs**

After the elections, Benazir appeared in assembly and said:

“We are unhappy with the manner in which tampered electoral lists were provided in a majority of constituencies; our voters were turned away.” Conservative drew electors by the religion community MMA, which had seen its support dwindle. Benazir Bhutto protested about the number of Urdu speakers in the 1993 elections in private official documents, claiming that she had no “Urdu-speaking sentiment in her sphere” and that prejudice began again even in her government. She said that Her opinion on the problems was interpreted as the aspect of a growing trend of “racist” by Altaf Hussain.<sup>337</sup> Her political opponents dubbed Benazir Bhutto the “Iron Lady” of Pakistan because of her tenacity and authoritarian behaviour. Bhutto did not respond, but she quickly became synonymous with the word.<sup>338</sup> While speaking about domestic affairs Ayub Gohar said, Benazir increased the authority of the “Police Combatant Force” and interim governments, which fiercely combated local resistance. Through her Interior Minister Nasrullah Babar, Bhutto increased internal safety operations and actions, deliberately suppressing “opposition political rallies” while not abandoning the reconciliation strategy entirely. “There was no justification for strikes<sup>339</sup>.”

### **Armed relations with the government**

In assembly the opposition often tried to do debates on nuclear program. Once Nawaz Sharif said, Benazir is spreading false news that Nawas Sharif during stopped the nuclear programme. Though this topic is not must be discussed openly, but Benazir is using this nuclear as a political tool.<sup>340</sup>

In the Benazir times, nuclear power generated 17.6% of the electricity. Benazir had faced political unrest because of her poor relationship with Army. In her second term, Benazir

<sup>335</sup>The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 11, April,28, 1994.1989.

<sup>336</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 3, no. 11, April 28, 1994. 1983-99

<sup>337</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 8, May 12, 1996.13

<sup>338</sup>Faraz Ali Bughio, "Critical analysis of political discourse: A study of Benazir Bhutto’s last speech." Balochistan Journal of Linguistics 2 (2014): 79-95.

<sup>339</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 18, March, 1995. 318-334.

<sup>340</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 4, no. 1, June 25, 1994. 188

tried to stay away from Armed affairs. De facto, the Army oversaw nuclear programme coordination, albeit the Prime Minister had de jure control (the chief executive under the parliamentary system). According to legislative rules, the President must act on the PM's suggestion, but the authority of remove the government made him far more than a ceremonial figure. However, this power would merely be exercised if, in the President's opinion, both the Army and Pakistan's supreme court were willing to oust the prime minister. By putting on the possibilities and her prior understanding as PM Benazir chose not to flutter any feather with the "military-civil bureaucratic-scientific nexus" in charge of the nuclear programme. This arrangement was politically acceptable to all. As a result, allowing GHQ to remain the centre of coordination and resources suited both the President and the Prime Minister. Despite this implicit knowledge, the military lacked the legitimate right to interfere with the scientists' autonomy, as they had direct access to all three members of the troika of power. This dispersion because of General Musharraf's coup, institutional supervision of scientific associations was brought about beneficial by de jure and de facto procedures; however, no single body had final oversight. Moreover, anti-terrorism law was also passed in the regime of Benazir Bhutto.<sup>341</sup>

### **Cancellation of privatization institute**

As like other major issues the matter of privatization of institution was also discussed in the assembly. Opposition even did walkout upon this issue.<sup>342</sup> Because The PPP government went even further, cancelling a contract awarded by the Nawaz Sharif government to a Turkish firm, Baysinger, to construct the "Peshawar-Islamabad Motorway". The corporation was eventually compensated, and the program turned out to be a massive success in terms of both time and money. While electing Naveed Qamar from the PPP as the chairperson of the Privatization Commission, the administration had all of Nawaz Sharif's privatization deals examined. Simultaneously, the administration started to shut several private division power generation arrangements, the largest of which was a 1200 Mega Watt agreement with Hub Power Company.<sup>343</sup> This arrangement was exceptional because Karachi's power deficit was only 300 MW. Furthermore, the corporation was allocated a tariff rate three times greater than any other program. The "Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA)" generated urgent operations to attain relief. Still, the tension between "international financial institutions and the so-called sanctity of investment agreements" stopped them from receiving a tariff drop.<sup>344</sup>

### **Independence of Judiciary:**

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<sup>341</sup> Kamran Adil, "Amendments to Anti-Terrorism Law of Pakistan: An Overview." *Pakistan Journal of Criminology* 5, no. 2 (2013): 139.

<sup>342</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 3, no. 13, August 2,, 1995.248-255

<sup>343</sup> Ms Mubeen Irshad, "An Overview Of Pakistan's Foreign Policy (1971 to 2003)." *Al-Siyasa* (2005): 17.

<sup>344</sup> Mohammad Zakir Abbasi, "POLITICAL DEVELOPEMENT AND DECAY IN PAKISTAN: 1988-2008." PhD diss., 2015.

Benazir for the independence of Judiciary once herself said in assembly,

“To protect the judiciary from political pressure, it was important to separate the judiciary from the executive branch. Under political and administrative pressure, the magistrate with judicial authority continued to function.”<sup>345</sup>

The Constitution guaranteed the separation of the judiciary and the executive (after fourteen years of the 1973 constitution’s implementation);<sup>346</sup>

Despite this, governments have failed to execute it. Under Article 175 of the Constitution, the Supreme Court set March 23, 1994 as the deadline for judicial separation. However, the separation of the judiciary did not occur until the stated date. The separation of the judiciary and the executive was supposed to take place on September 1, 1995, but Benazir postponed it just because she wanted it to happen simultaneously in the centre and the provinces. To set a precedent for provinces, the federal government had to achieve separation before them.

The District Management Group (DMG) opposed independence, and a dispute between the DMG, police, and court caused the split to be postponed. While NWFP and Balochistan were excluded due to exceptional circumstances in those provinces, Sindh and Punjab missed a deadline. The Supreme Court ruled that the magistracy should be divided into the judicial and executive branches. According to the ruling, executive magistrates will be given powers under the Criminal Procedure Code to preserve law and order, while judicial magistrates would examine matters in which evidence is recorded under oath. Judicial magistrates are expected to work under the supervision of the High Court.<sup>347</sup>

The time frame was ultimately stretched to March 23, 1996, but the Supreme Court rejected provinces' requests for an extend until April 23, 1996.<sup>348</sup> For the implementation of its verdict, the government adopted the Legal Reforms Ordinance (LFO).<sup>349</sup> Following this ordinance, more ordinances were promulgated every fourth month until the Act was passed on July 3, 1997.<sup>350</sup>

The PPP intended to avoid conflicts with the bureaucracy this time because it had learnt from previous incidents that it was the real government. The administration had selected DMG candidates for District Courts. Punjab appointed DMG candidates as session judges. These selections demonstrated a lack of separation between the executive and the judiciary. The administration was instructed by the Supreme Court to remove the notifications. “The

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<sup>345</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 9, June 15, 1996.110

<sup>346</sup> The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, January 7, 1994.

<sup>347</sup> The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, January 4, 1994.A. J. Khan, “More Power to DCs: Who Wants It?”, The News, Islamabad, December 23, 1993. Dawn, Karachi, September 2, 1995.

<sup>348</sup> Dawn, Karachi, January 25, 1996.

<sup>349</sup> ‘Dawn, Karachi’, March 21, 1996.

<sup>350</sup> Khan, ‘Political History of Pakistan’, 777.

government was under relentless pressure and criticism from the judiciary,” but the decision was not implemented.<sup>351</sup>

## **Challenges**

### **Ethnic violence**

Sher Afghan a senior member of assembly said, Benazir Bhutto attended as PM of Pakistan during high racial tension. Despite the law making process this assembly is dealing the many other issues as, Sindh, ethnic violence erupted as muhajirs, mobilized by the MQM, revolted in a riot against what they viewed as their mistreatment. In Karachi, kidnappings, bombings, and killings became more regular.<sup>352</sup> Benazir gave her internal minister "Naseerullah Babar" permission to launch Operation Blue Fox, a bloody crackdown on the MQM, in order to calm the unrest. Authorities stated that three thousand people had perished in Karachi when the operation was officially over, but the actual death toll may have been significantly higher. According to an Amnesty International study, torture, rape, and arbitrary killings were common in Pakistani jails despite Benazir's pledge that her administration would end human rights violations.<sup>353</sup>.

### **Return of Murtaza**

Murtaza Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto’s brother, was also a source of contention for her, particularly in Sindh. In late 1993, the “return of Benazir Bhutto’s brother, Murtaza Bhutto, to Pakistan” sparked fierce resistance to her leadership. Asif Ali Zardari, the former leader’s spouse, was unsettled by his reappearance. Some dissatisfied PPP supporters gathered around him, causing the prime minister further stress. His ill mother, who was agonizing at the schism between her two eldest children, was having a rough time now. Murtaza Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari did not get along, with the last feely criticizing Asif Ali Zardari’s dominant role in the party. When Nusrat Bhutto decided to assist her son, “Mir Murtaza Bhutto, within PPP”, a rift emerged among the Bhutto family. Murtaza Bhutto declared himself to be his father’s legitimate heir. Benazir Bhutto deported her mother from the co-chairpersonship of the PPP, ostensibly to prevent Nusrat Bhutto from saying Murtaza Bhutto as her successor.

A political alliance formed by Nawaz Sharif and Murtaza Bhutto worked assiduously to challenge Benazir's authority and begin an anti-corruption campaign throughout the nation. Nawaz Sharif and Murtaza Bhutto started a "train march" from Karachi to Peshawar in 1994 and 1995, following in the footsteps of Z. A. Bhutto. Large audiences, including those who marched and gathered at the stations, heard the remarks of their leaders. A sizable audience

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<sup>351</sup>Dawn, Karachi, January 7, 1996.

<sup>352</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 12, no. 5, August 9, 1996. 1590-92

<sup>353</sup> Muhammad Imran, "Public transport in Pakistan: a critical overview." (Journal of Public Transportation) 12, no. 2 (2009): 4.

gathered along the route to see the ferocious campaigning and hostile strategies that were typical of politicians and these two key opponents. Additionally, Nawaz Sharif had a key role in controlling "labour and industrial employee strikes." in 1994 across Pakistan. As a result, Benazir Bhutto struggled to form a functional government and solve the country's challenges. The government imprisoned several opposition leaders who took part in the protests, prompting international censure.<sup>354</sup>.

### **Political unrest**

The events which accord On November 2-11, 1994, deeply discussed in assembly. Nawab Zada Ghanzafar ali and Mahmood Khan Achekzai passed motions upon this. political violence killed over 200 people in Malakand and Swat. From the 11<sup>th</sup> of November to the 26<sup>th</sup> of November 1994, forty people died in Karachi due to political violence. In December 1994, political unrest in Karachi resulted in the deaths of 170 people. In June 1995, political turmoil in Karachi resulted in the deaths of almost 300 people.<sup>355</sup>.

### **Economic crisis and Budget presentation**

The budget of 1995-96 was presented on 2 June 1995. For 13 days assembly did debates on the budget. After all assembly passed the budget. The economic catastrophe engulfed Pakistan during Benazir's three-year presidency only exacerbated the situation and fuelled widespread popular anger. The budget deficit has surpassed 5% of GDP, inflation is in double digits, the trade deficit is alarmingly large, and the foreign exchange reserves situation is precarious.<sup>356</sup>.

### **Tax implementations**

The minister of Finance Raja saib, said that due to previous government Metro and Peli Taxi scheme the economic system of country down to fall. In the manufacturing sector, growth has slowed to less than 1% per year in the last three years, down from a continuous average of 7%. Benazir recently increased taxes to cover rising government spending. However, it simply exacerbated the slump and fuelled public outrage over her government's poor economic management.<sup>357</sup>

### **Federal Government-Opposition Relations:**

The PML (N) and the MQM have been rude and aggressive toward the PPP ever since the federal government was established, according to General Abdul Hameed. The administration had previously received criticism from Nawaz Sharif for its nuclear strategy and Kashmir

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<sup>354</sup> Ms Sumbal Tariq, Iram Khalid, Rehana Saeed Hashmi, "Benazir Bhutto as an Administrator." *Journal of Law & Social Studies (JLSS)* 3, no. 2: 165-173.

<sup>355</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, no. 13, May 28, 59-66

<sup>356</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 6, June 2, 1996. 23.

<sup>357</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 9, no. 6, June 18, 1996.13 381-12.

policy. In rerun A N-league member alleged that the PPP was following orders from America on delicate national matters.<sup>358</sup>

The opposition requested that the Speaker take its agenda into consideration during the requisitioned session (including the nuclear programme problem). The Speaker rejected the request, stating that it was against House procedure for him to take the opposition's agenda into account. The opposition started to leave meetings and denounce the administration as undemocratic when the Speaker declined to accede to their requests. The turmoil in the lower chamber erupted from the walkouts, shouting, and accusations. The opposition and Treasury benches displayed no discipline or tolerance in practise. Representatives from both benches used harsh words to call out each other's transgressions.<sup>359</sup>

The PML (N) set up roadblocks from the start, preventing the newly established PPP-led coalition government from functioning properly. Nawaz began assaulting the PPP leadership on all fronts, accusing them of having ties to the drug cartel.<sup>360</sup>

Giving ground to India on the Kashmir issue, surrendering on the nuclear programme, adopting a dictatorial mindset, and ousting Nusrat Bhutto from the PPP chairperson without first having a private conversation with her, according to a PPP member. The government invited the opposition to constructive conversation through formal letters. Nawaz ignored Benazir's invites to discuss national issues twice (once at a presidential speech and once during a meal), despite numerous requests from her to avoid confrontational politics, especially in the National Assembly. Nawaz was twice invited by Leghari to meet with him (once in Islamabad and once in Lahore), but he turned them down.<sup>361</sup>

By January 22, 1994, Nawaz had been approached by the executive (premier and president) at least six times to negotiate the future collaboration between the government and the opposition, and he had declined each time. Nawaz indicated that he did not believe it suitable to talk with the ruling party because of Benazir's conflicting agenda. And that negotiations could only take place on solid ground.<sup>362</sup> The upshot of Nawaz's attitude was an impasse between the government and the opposition, which appeared to be Nawaz's goal.

The Kashmir dispute, the nuclear program, political stability, security, and law and order were among the urgent issues that the government needed to address. The opposition's task was to assist the administration in addressing these issues; nevertheless, the opposition opted for a confrontational stance and refused to work with the government on crucial national issues. Two

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<sup>358</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 12, March 9, 1995.799

<sup>359</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 11, August 30, 1994.1348-1355

<sup>360</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 13, December 1, 1994. 69

<sup>361</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 11, no. 15, November 06, 1995. 1754

<sup>362</sup> The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, January 22, 1994.

significant major parties, the PPP and the PML (N), received mandates from the people, demonstrating their maturity on the political scene. The PML-N and PPP might have worked together to keep democracy stable. Problems ties, Pakistan-US relations, and Pakistan's nuclear program—were seen by the Benazir regime as requiring a shared posture from the opposition and the government.<sup>363</sup>

The PML (N), on the other side, was dissatisfied with the PPP for abandoning the programmes and efforts undertaken by the last administration. Even after 100 days in office, the federal cabinet remained unrepresented. After a hundred and a half days, eight new ministers and three distinct ministers were appointed, increasing the total number of ministers in the government to 18.<sup>364</sup>

The PPP's 100-day performance, which mainly focused on economic and diplomatic issues, was criticised by the PML (N). The information secretary for the PML (N), Mushahid Hussain, asserted that the nation was being isolated as a result of poor foreign policy and that its economic plans were resulting in instability and a decline in growth.<sup>365</sup>

The PPP governed the nation using ordinances rather than first obtaining the approval of the National Assembly. The government's anti-democratic posture was so repugnant that even the President voiced his disapproval.<sup>366</sup> According to the constitution, an edict can only be published if there are no upcoming National Assembly sessions; nonetheless, the ruling party released seventeen ordinances just one day before the session was set to begin.<sup>367</sup>

#### **Law and Order Situation in Sindh:**

Nawaz claimed that Operation clearing to PPP plan against the M-Q-M and the army. The army had been advised by Nawaz to halt the operation.<sup>368</sup> The dialogues held between leadership of the PPP and the MQM but due to disagreement over two portfolios no fruitful results were achieved.<sup>369</sup> Nawaz done everything he could to undermine the government's credibility and agitate the populace against it. Benazir had dismissed the MQM's inclusion in Sindh administration as inconsequential, believing that Nawaz had given the MQM provincial authority in the previous government in the hopes of ensuring provincial cohesion, but no such development occurred.<sup>370</sup>

When MQM workers in Sindh desired an independent province, the ethnic gap widened.<sup>371</sup> The MQM leadership argued that it was the people's sentiments that any leader did not understand

<sup>363</sup> Dawn, Karachi, May 27, 1994.

<sup>364</sup> Mohammad Farooq Qureshi, "Benazir Hakoomat Kay 100 Din", Chattan, (Urdu), Lahore, February 9, 1994, 8.

<sup>365</sup> The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, January 30, 1994.

<sup>366</sup> Dawn, Karachi, January 2, 1996.

<sup>367</sup> Qureshi, "Hakoomat Kay 100 Din", (Urdu), 8-9.

<sup>368</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 4, August 18, 1994. 439

<sup>369</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 13, February 7, 1995.1397-99

<sup>370</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 13, February 7, 1995.1394-95

<sup>371</sup> Hassan Mujtaba and Mohammad Hanif, "Sindh: Divide and Rule?", Newline, March 1994, Karachi,

clearly.<sup>372</sup> The MQM leaders said that if mohajirs were regarded as 2nd citizens, there would be no other choice than to demand a separate province, which they claimed was constitutional.<sup>373</sup> Dacoity, abductions, and assassinations were rampant in Sindh, thus the government agreed to continue the army's tenure until June 1994. The extension was made to ensure that all criminal aspects were removed. She said that the MQM had joined up with Indian elements to undermine the province's stability. The MQM's absence from the Sindh government meant that the urban Sindh was not represented.<sup>374</sup>

The army had initiated extensive action against the MQM's leadership and workers, 'aking a solution between the PPP and the MQM impossible. The MQM's top leaders were imprisoned in large numbers. The MQM demanded that the cases against its leaders be dropped immediately because the operation had put the MQM's existence in jeopardy. The MQM was enraged by the PPP's criticism of Altaf Hussain, and it blamed the PPP for Sindh's dire state. Because it had amassed automatic weapons, the government and army did not trust the group (MQM).<sup>375</sup> Benazir ruled off the notion of starting the conversation with Altaf Hussain and demanded negotiations without him. Altaf Hussain believes that if the MQM is suppressed and mistreated, the provincial administration will be unable to deal with the problems in Karachi and Hyderabad. "Some type of mayhem would undoubtedly occur in the context of an unattended ethnic split."<sup>376</sup>

The operation "sindh was ended on December 2, 1994. The end of the operation resulted in major issues with public security and safety.<sup>377</sup> The government tried hard to reach an agreement with the MQM through negotiation, but the MQM declined. Leghari wanted the situation in Sindh to be examined with all political parties.<sup>378</sup>

Finally, the standoff between the MQM and the PPP was broken; yet, only four days later (July 11-14, 1995), the following incidents against the MQM occurred: MQM leader Saeed was kidnapped and eventually assassinated; police raided party offices on a regular basis; five workers were killed; members of the All Pakistan Mohajir Student Organization (APMO) were arrested; and 18 MQM workers were arrested.<sup>379</sup> Benazir tried to justify by stating that the law and order problem in Karachi existed since 1985 and it did not improve because of criminal wings of political parties.<sup>380</sup> Several talks between the MQM and the PPP were held, but to no avail. The issues in Karachi were multifaceted. It had political, economic, social, and ethnic difficulties that could not be resolved without the MQM's involvement. The law and order

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<sup>372</sup> Aftab Ahmad interview by Sheik by O.T. Siddiqui, Newslines, March 1994, Karachi, 38

<sup>373</sup> Mujtaba and Hanif, "Divide and Rule?", 39.

<sup>374</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 3, August 17, 1994. 294-325

<sup>375</sup> Mohammad Waseem, "Turmoil in Sindh", Dawn, Karachi, May 9, 1994.

<sup>376</sup> M. B. Naqvi, "The Sindh Situation: What Altaf Thinks", Dawn, Karachi, May 6, 1994.

<sup>377</sup> Dawn, Karachi, December 23, 1994

<sup>378</sup> M. H. Askari, "Promises and Realities" Dawn, Karachi, December 21, 1994.

<sup>379</sup> Dawn, Karachi, July 16, 1995.

<sup>380</sup> Benazir Bhutto Interview by Kamran Thapar, Dawn, Karachi, August 27, 1995.

situation had deteriorated further by the end of 1996, and the rate of murder had skyrocketed. In Karachi, almost 2000 people died in 1995. Vehicle snatchings and assassinations were common occurrences.<sup>381</sup> The federal and Sindh administrations did nothing but blame the killings on the MQM. The sides were busy trying to profit from the situation. In fact, both parties (the MQM and the PPP) used the Karachi issue to attack one other.<sup>382</sup>

#### **Imposition of Governor's Rule in NWFP:**

Benazir and Asif Ali Zardari, according to Nawaz claimed during assembly working time, were involved in horse-trading. He chastised Leghari for persuading lotas to join the PPP and for his biased treatment of the ruling party. Leghari attempted to demonstrate his neutrality toward all parties but failed due to his PPP connection. Leghari argued that a conventional connection between the Treasury and opposition benches was necessary for political stability.<sup>383</sup>

On February 6, 1994, Aftab Ahmad Sherpao filed a motion of no confidence against Chief Minister Sabir Shah. Nawaz had warned the Premier that if the PML (N)-ANP alliance was ousted by a no-confidence resolution sponsored by the PPP, he would convene a nationwide march against "anti-democratic and anti-constitutional elements."<sup>384</sup> He criticised the administration for abducting and imprisoning MPAs in Sindh and other regions of the nation,<sup>385</sup> and that each Member of Parliament earned one crore rupees for supporting the vote of no confidence. Nawaz used Benazir as an example of the detrimental consequences horse-trading had on her government when he declared that his party and supporters will use "danda (force)" to stop it. On the same day (February 6, 1994) that the caretaker government's floor-crossing ordinance was declared null and unconstitutional (October 7, 1993), the PPP had filed the motion of no confidence.)<sup>386</sup> The motion of no confidence had triggered a numbers game. Sabir Shah said that the PPP was only able to gain 42 votes in favour of the motion, contrary to Sherpao's claim that the PPP had 49 MPAs on board.<sup>387</sup> Acting Governor Khurshid Ali Khan called a special session of the NWFP Assembly on February 26, 1994, to vote on the no-confidence resolution. However, under Article 234, the President had suspended the NWFP Assembly for two months the day before (February 25, 1994). The Governor Rule was put into effect, allowing the Parliament to carry out all of the Assembly's authority while the Governor handled NWFP duties on the President's behalf. In protest to the dissolving of the NWFP Assembly, the PML (N) and the ANP declared a statewide long march.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>381</sup> M. H. Askari, "Karachi and its travails", Dawn, Karachi, January 3, 1996.

<sup>382</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 14, February 7, 1994, 1808-1812

<sup>383</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no.1 February 16, 1994. 11-26

<sup>384</sup> The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, February 7, 1994.

<sup>385</sup> The News, Karachi, March 3, 1994.

<sup>386</sup> The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, February 24, 1994.

<sup>387</sup> The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, February 10, 1994. The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, February 14, 1994.

<sup>388</sup> The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, February 27, 1994.

Nawaz had urged his party's legislators to cultivate strong ties with ulemas in their various constituencies after the suspension of the NWFP Assembly, convincing them that the PPP's control was a threat to the country's security. Nawaz hoped that the government will be decommissioned in six months. The ANP-PML (N) began their anti-government demonstrations in Peshawar.<sup>389</sup> Later, anti-government protests were abandoned because some PML (N) members realised they couldn't succeed in the current political climate.<sup>390</sup>

The PML (N) stated that they had previously informed Ishaq Khan of their issues, but that they would no longer do so because the opposition did not view him as unbiased and trustworthy.<sup>391</sup>

The PPP was clearly divided on the Governor Rule's enforcement. One camp believed Governor Rule should be maintained until the objectives were met, while the other urged that Governor Rule be removed immediately. Benazir accused the ANP and the PML (N) for the impasse that resulted in the adjournment of the Assembly.<sup>392</sup> After Governor Rule in NWFP blamed the PPP of causing the unrest, Nawaz started a campaign to depose the PPP. The PML (N) accused Benazir of giving Sherpao access to state funding and resources to destabilise Sabir Shah's administration, however she claimed that the federal government tinkered in the affairs of the NWFP.<sup>393</sup> Sherpao, though, asserts that he received no financial support. Illegal techniques (lottery, horse dealing, and floor crossing) were widely used during the NWFP crisis. If the administration had adhered to the floor-crossing statute, the opposition might not be able to accuse it of using illegal methods (enacted by the caretaker government in 1993). Even though floor crossing should be prohibited, the government was reluctant to do so. However, this was a crucial step in ensuring political maturity and genuine democracy.<sup>394</sup>

If Sabir Shah's government is reinstated, Nawaz has stated that he will begin a negotiation with the government. His demand was regarded by the PPP as "blackmail politics." Nawaz has gotten resignations from the PML (N), the ANP, and the JUP (Ni), and has stated that he will utilise them when the time comes.<sup>395</sup> Benazir urged Nawaz to hand over the leadership of her party to someone else if 72 members of the opposition quit. Nawaz saw it as an opportunity to get rid of Benazir, but he held off on submitting resignations to the speaker until the 1994-1995 budget was passed.<sup>396</sup>

### **Controlled Media:**

Opposition claim was that the state of the media throughout the PPP's reign was no different than it had been under any prior administration. The electronic media consistently reported pro-

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<sup>389</sup> The News, Karachi, March 2, 1994.

<sup>390</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 2, February 17, 1994. 84-106

<sup>391</sup> Dawn, Karachi, March 12, 1994.

<sup>392</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 1, February 16, 1994. 11-26

<sup>393</sup> The News, Karachi, March 2, 1994.

<sup>394</sup> Dawn, Karachi, April 22, 1994.

<sup>395</sup> Dawn, Karachi, April 26, 1994.

<sup>396</sup> Dawn, Karachi, May 27, 1994. Dawn, Karachi, May 28, 1994

PPP news while avoiding anti-PPP viewpoints. One side of the tale was told on television. In general, every political event was portrayed as a victory for the ruling party. Anti-opposition propaganda was broadcast on a regular basis. People began to rely on foreign broadcasts due to the prejudice of national media. Although the PTV remained under government control, the opposition gained access to new channels under the PPP/IJI regimes of 1988-1993.<sup>397</sup>

During the PPP's term, journalists were harassed. For example, Farooq Aqdas, a senior journalist and Secretary General of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, was arrested by the Islamabad Police while in Rawalpindi (it was capital police interfering in Punjab territory), reportedly at the request of a journalist friend of Asif Ali Zardari who had some frustrations against Aqdas.<sup>398</sup> Journalists boycotted the National Assembly sessions in protest of the restrictions on their movement and the detention of Aqdas. "This is your sweet will; and I would not force you to cover the activities of the legislature," said Minister of Information Khalid Kharal in response to these incidents. The PPP repeatedly stated that the press had been granted independence and that no press guidance had been placed upon it. The government has also abolished the newsprint tax.<sup>399</sup>

The ruling party has accused the print media of lying. Benazir claimed that the media had misrepresented Law Minister Iqbal Haider's blasphemy statement. She said that the Irish publication had failed to interview him about blasphemy laws and had instead published a bogus news story.<sup>400</sup> Leghari further chastised media for spreading misleading information on the Mehran Bank scandal, claiming that Younus Habib was a close friend of Leghari's and had offered him two hundred million rupees for the election campaign. Some ministers were uneasy with the loose reporting style. As a result, the government has stopped placing advertisements in national newspapers that continue to criticise it.<sup>401</sup> On the other side, perks such as overseas trips, monetary and professional benefits were routinely granted to journalists who backed government policies; journalists who wrote against official policies were considered enemies of the country.<sup>402</sup>

Benazir was particularly sensitive to news portrayal of law and order in Sindh, which had deteriorated following the army's pull-out. She chastised the media for reporting the truth, claiming that the security situation in Karachi had improved. Benazir did not like journalists who were constantly monitoring the situation in Sindh; she referred to them as "traitors" who wanted to spread "alarming" reports about the state of law and order in Sindh. Six Karachi-

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<sup>397</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 9, no. 12, April 9, 1994. 777

<sup>398</sup> Shaheen Sehbai, "PM's Media Disaster", Dawn, Karachi, April 27, 1994.

<sup>399</sup> Dawn, Karachi, July 9, 1994.

<sup>400</sup> . Dawn, Karachi, July 12, 1994.

<sup>401</sup> Safdar F. S. Lodi, "Let the Press Suffer No Curbs", Dawn, Karachi, September 11, 1994.

<sup>402</sup> Shaheen Sehbai, "Wither BB's Media Policy?", Dawn, Karachi, September 23, 1994,

based evening newspapers have been banned by the Sindh government. Because the government did not trust the media, it imposed stringent controls on it.<sup>403</sup>

The government's attitude toward the press was conflicting. Benazir said that Pakistan's media was more free than it had ever been. She claimed that the government had no control over the media, despite the fact that the media had consistently attacked her government's performance. The government and opposition colluded against the press when the press exercised its freedom to provide the names of bank-loan defaulting lawmakers (opposition and Treasury benches). They blamed the press and the bureaucracy for working against politicians, but none of them questioned the facts. "Democracy refers to accountability and duties," Benazir said, but when the press demanded accountability, politicians did not tolerate it.<sup>404</sup>

The judiciary was equally dissatisfied with the media attention; the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court took note of all statements and publications criticising the makeup of constitutional benches, bench rulings, judicial appointments, and judges' professional conduct. As in other democratic nations, the press had a right to advance the debate on the judicial system.<sup>405</sup>

### **Mehrangate Scandal:**

This scandal was used by politicians as a political tool both in assembly and outside of the assembly. The Mehrangate Scandal was a heinous financial scandal in Pakistan's history that exposed the country's long-standing culture of political corruption.<sup>406</sup> According to Aslam Baig, during the period of September to October 1990, the President's Planning Cell directed Yunus Habib, the president of Mehran Bank, to provide him 140 million rupees. According to Aslam Baig, this cash was delivered to Assad Durrani, the director of Inter - services intelligence Intelligence (ISI), who utilised 60 million rupees for "election objectives" and put the rest into ISI's Special Funds. He stated that the president (Ishaq Khan) rigged the 1990 elections, and he was unaware that Habib had embezzled and made financial contributions.<sup>407</sup>

Habib asserted to have gathered enormous quantities of cash from his neighbourhood, which he then dispersed to politicians, top government figures, and military intelligence at the behest of the President's Planning Cell. The disclosures made by Baig have opened yet another Pandora's Box. The ISI had engaged in unlawful behaviour. According to Baig, Ishaq Khan knew about the illicit donations and actions.<sup>408</sup>

To investigate the matter, the government formed a judicial commission led by Justice (Retired) Durab Patel. President Leghari was also targeted by Nawaz, who asserted that he had "exorbitantly" paid Habib for his "useless agricultural properties" (before to the 1993 elections).

<sup>403</sup> M. H. Askari, "Promises and Realities" Dawn, Karachi, December 21, 1994.

<sup>404</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, no. 1, August 20, 1995. 344-381

<sup>405</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 8, no. 3, April 26, 1996.

<sup>406</sup> Zahid Hussain, "Guilty or Innocent?" Newslite, Karachi, June 1994, 29

<sup>407</sup> Dawn, Karachi, April 23, 1994. Dawn, Karachi, April 23, 1994.

<sup>408</sup> Eqbal Ahmad. Karachi, "The Nation is at Risk", Dawn, May 1, 1994.

Leghari, however, had disclaimed all liability.<sup>409</sup> It was “erupted false smears against the President,” according to Benazir. Nawaz blamed Leghari of not informing the country about the 2.4 million rupee penalty imposed on Mehran Bank. Leghari insisted he did it to aid the bank, but Nawaz thought since it wasn't a government bank, it didn't need such help.<sup>410</sup>

He stated that several of the judges on the judicial commission had ties to the ruling party, and that this was why the parliamentary committee was necessary. He requested the President's resignation and trial. If the President did not leave voluntarily, he added, the country would be mobilized. When he was implicated in the cooperatives controversy and the panel was investigating him, Nawaz (in his previous government) did not resign from the premiership.<sup>411</sup> Even though Leghari played a constructive part in mending the government-opposition relationship, the opposition had accused him of being dishonest.<sup>412</sup> Naseerullah Baber described Nawaz's rejection of a judicial commission and request for a parliamentary panel as “spoilt child” conduct.<sup>413</sup>

Whatever the circumstances, it was evident that everyone in positions of authority and power—including the President, DG ISI, COAS, Nawaz, Leghari, Benazir, Ijmal Haider, Roedad etc.—had participated, directly or indirectly, in unlawful and anti-democratic activities during the 1990 elections.<sup>414</sup>

### **The Anti-Democratic Outlook of the Opposition:**

The opposition urged that a private bill to amend the Pakistan Penal Code filed by Maulanan Tariq Azim of Sipah-i-Sahaba be approved. The opposition was not willing to play by the rules when it came to the discussion of the issue of Islamabad's water shortage. There was a commotion in the House when the Speaker vetoed Tariq's bill (which had the support of the opposition).<sup>415</sup> The Speaker called the House to adjourn, and Tariq took his position. Tariq presided over the meeting, presented his measure, and announced that the House had approved it. Tariq made an effort to justify his conduct by asserting that his bill was crucial and that the House's work would be impossible to complete if it was not considered.<sup>416</sup>

### **undemocratic Demands by opposition.**

By September 11, 1994, Nawaz requested the PM and President to resign, and new elections to be called. If elections also weren't held under a temporary situation, the PML (N) and its allies threatened the government that protests will start. On September 11, 1994, Nawaz started a rail march from Karachi to Peshawar with opposition leaders and political workers to compel the

<sup>409</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, no. 2, December 26, 1996, 587-595

<sup>410</sup> Dawn, Karachi, June 18, 1994.

<sup>411</sup> Dawn, Karachi, July 2, 1994.

<sup>412</sup> Farooq Leghari interviewed by Zahid Hussain, ‘Newline, Karachi’, June 1994, 44.

<sup>413</sup> Dawn, Karachi, June 18, 1994.

<sup>414</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, no. 3, December 23, 1996, 477.

<sup>415</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 7, no. 1, November 16, 1994. 37-45

<sup>416</sup> Dawn, Karachi, June 8, 1994.

government to leave.<sup>417</sup> When he arrived in Peshawar on September 13, 1994, Nawaz described the movement's success as far exceeding expectations and a major demonstration of the PPP's disfavour. The PML (Nagitation)'s was a carbon copy of the PPP's tactics against Nawaz Sharif's government in November 1992. He may have believed that by worsening the political situation, the army would intervene to remove the administration.<sup>418</sup> As a result, on September 12, 1994, he called a statewide strike against the administration, which was followed by a public assembly in Karachi. The strike was deemed a semi-success in Rawalpindi and Lahore, a big success in Quetta, Karachi, Peshawar, and, and a failure in Islamabad, according to official sources. Nawaz Sharif planned to hold his next public meeting in Karachi, but the Sindh government had barred him from entering the province until October 7, 1994. Nawaz disobeyed the ruling and stated that he would attend at the place on September 29, 1994 regardless of the circumstances, which he did.<sup>419</sup>

The opponents announced a statewide wheel-jam strike on October 11, 1994. Prior to the strike, the government had imprisoned a large number of MNAs and MPAs. Sharif had cautioned the police not to abide by orders from the government since they were illegal and extremely constitutional (the government had ordered abduction and arrest of the opposition). Nawaz asked the police to defy the government's directives. In truth, he intended to create a schism among the institutions in order to destabilise the administration. Violence broke out during the strike, resulting in the deaths of 12 people. The strike had an impact on economic and industrial activity across the country. The country had lost billions of rupees as a result of the strike.<sup>420</sup>

Additionally, Nawaz caused the administration diplomatic problems. In one of his open anti-government rallies, he claimed that Pakistan possessed nuclear weapons. In an interview with *The Washington Post*, he said that under his former government, the military and ISI had provided me a strategy for drug smuggling, and that Assad Durrani and Aslam Baig had contributed to its formation. Because of Nawaz's admission, the US was concerned about the future of the country. Later, the PML (N) leadership stated that Nawaz had not granted the news organisation a similar interview. Members of the US Congress asked for a reassessment of US policy toward Pakistan after the interview. Such comments revealed a person's immaturity since they showed carelessness and insincerity.<sup>421</sup>

The PML (N) was unwilling to develop working relations with the government in Parliament. To avert turmoil during the National Assembly's next session, the President authorised the release of political detainees (scheduled on October 29, 1994). However, the yelling and disorderly behaviour continued throughout the meeting. The opposition mostly targeted Asif

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<sup>417</sup> Dawn, Karachi, September 12, 1994. Dawn, Karachi, September 14, 1994.

<sup>418</sup> Mohammad Wasseem, "The 'Train March' stratagem", Dawn, Karachi, September 12, 1994.

<sup>419</sup> Dawn, Karachi, September 29, 1994. Dawn, Karachi, September 30, 1994.

<sup>420</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 7, no. 2, November 21, 1994. 49-124

<sup>421</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 8, no. 1, December 22, 1994. 68

Ali Zardari, Benazir, Leghari, and Zulfiqar Mirza for criticism. The PPP leaders were not permitted to respond to the opposition's criticisms on the House floor.<sup>422</sup>

### **Political Blackmail by the Opposition and Treasury Benches:**

The President wouldn't be able to address the joint session of Parliament, according to the opposition, if opposition MNAs who had been detained were not freed. The government jailed Mian Muhammad Sharif (Nawaz's father) shortly after issuing this warning in an effort to blackmail him and destabilize the opposition. Police operating under FIA directives made the arrest without a warrant. When the opposition and its counsel asked for an arrest warrant, neither the police nor the FIA could provide one.<sup>423</sup>

The opponents took advantage of the President's speech in Parliament on November 14, 1994, to cause a ruckus. Anti-Leghari chants could be heard during the address, and some audience members even started shoving one another. The opposition claims that the government gave "trained commandos" full access and intentionally tortured the opponents.<sup>424</sup>

### **Politics of Vengeances:**

In reaction to the protests of the opposition, the administration brought numerous legal actions against them. Nawaz was charged with fraud and bribery (taking commission from the contractors). Following a quick trial, Sheikh Rashid Ahmad of the PML' was found guilty also send for 7 years to jail. Nawaz asserted that the Peoples part had politicised the judiciary. The opposition had submitted three elections petition, he said, but nothing had changed. In addition, the Supreme Court received election petitions brought by the government (against by the opposition) very away.<sup>425</sup>

### **Rubber Stamp Assembly:**

Both the opposition and the government were negligent, and as a result, the National Assembly did not do its legitimate role. Due to a quorum issue, its sessions were regularly put on hold. The ministers, as well as the Speaker to House and the leader of Opposition, were regularly absent from the meetings. Iqbal Haider, the Law Minister, used to respond to every issue asked in the House (whether relevant to his ministry or not). The National Assembly sessions were effectively converted into PPP Parliamentary Party gatherings as a result of the PML (N) boycott.<sup>426</sup> The principle of democracy dictated that all legislation be passed after extensive inspection and debate in the house, but this tradition was eroded by the use of ordinances.<sup>427</sup> In 1994, the Parliament passed about 25 laws, with at least 95 of them being ordinances issued

<sup>422</sup> Dawn, Karachi, October 28, 1994.

<sup>423</sup> Dawn, Karachi, November 14, 1994

<sup>424</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 7, no. 5, November 27, 1994. 302-331

<sup>425</sup> Sayood, "Summary Perspective", 6.

<sup>426</sup> Mazdak, "The Politics of Resignation", "Dawn, Karachi," May 28, 1994. Shaheen Sahabai, "PM's Media Disaster", 'Dawn, Karachi', April 27, 1994.

<sup>427</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 4, August 18, 1994. 460

with the President's consent. 45 new laws were passed by the federal government in the first four months of 1995. The federal administration greatly impeded the legislative activity of the Parliament by abusing the President's arbitrary powers.<sup>428</sup>

### **The Suspension of the Punjab Assembly:**

Watto-PPP disputes were put on hiatus with the creation of a governing coalition in Punjab; however, they resurfaced when the PPP moved to replace him with a PPP chief minister. Watto's politics dissatisfied Punjab PPP legislators, particularly when it came to power sharing and funding allocations. Watto commanded the entire institutional infrastructure of the Punjab administration; the PPP, despite its electoral supremacy, had no place in the provincial structure.<sup>429</sup>

Following two days of frantic political activity in Punjab, the President suspended the Punjab Assembly under Article 234 after consulting with Benazir. Watto's cabinet members, including all PPP members and four non-PPP members, resigned. According to the Presidential proclamation, "it was obvious that the scenario had arisen in which the affairs of the Punjab could not be carried out according to the Constitution" based on reports from the Governor and other sources. With backing of Peoples party, Arif Nakai of the PDF was elected CM of province of Punjab.<sup>430</sup> However, under Article 234, the Governor's powers were expanded. The opposition demanded that the Chief Minister be given executive powers previously reserved for the Governor.<sup>431</sup>

The PML (N) emphasised its readiness to speak with the government in exchange for guarantees of fresh elections. After realising that it was up to him to utilise the Eighth Amendment against the government, Nawaz adjusted his attitude toward the President and tried to establish good rapport with him.<sup>432</sup>

### **Events that Leading to Fall of the Government:**

Corruption allegations against the government, particularly against Prime Minister Asif Ali Zardari's husband (in business agreements), were extensively disseminated. The President took notice of them, causing the President-Premier relationship to suffer. The younger brother of Bhutto, Mir Murtaza Bhutto, and his six friends were murdered on the evening of September 20, 1996, by the police of Karachi. Just one day after that Murtaza was slain, Farooq Khan made a reference to the Court asking that the March 20 ruling in the law referring to the

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<sup>428</sup> Munib Akhtar, "Legislation without Parliament", 'Dawn, Karachi', May 19, 1995.

<sup>429</sup> Dawn, Karachi, July 18, 1995.

<sup>430</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 1, September 13, 1995. 77

<sup>431</sup> The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 3, September 17, 1995. 356-400

<sup>432</sup> Mohammad Malick, "All the President's Men, and of Nawaz as well", Dawn, Karachi, December 24, 1995.

jurisdiction of appointing judges in higher courts be applied.<sup>433</sup> After Benazir objected to the reference file, she and Leghari exchanged letters in which Leghari criticised Benazir's behaviour and the government's policies.<sup>434</sup>

To support their demand that the administration resign, a fifteen parties alliance was made by opposition. The coalition chose to stage widespread anti-government demonstrations in order to provide the President a justification to invoke Article 58. (2). (a) The PML (N) called for a strike, which was extensively observed throughout Lahore; the alliance's rallies were successful; and JI, another significant political organisation, urged protesters to keep up their demonstrations until the government was overturned. As time passed, Nawaz and Leghari became friends. When they finally got together after Leghari was elected president, Nawaz gave him advice on how to enforce the Article 58 (2) (b) for the benefit of the country.<sup>435</sup>

### **Dissolution of the Assembly through the 58 2(B)**

The Governor dissolved the Assembly on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1996, after it failed to fulfil its five-year term. It met for 174 sittings across 40 sessions and approved 25 Acts during its last session, from the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1996 to the 16<sup>th</sup> of November 1996. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1996, President Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari dissolved the Assembly. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February 1997, elections for the eleventh National Assembly took place. Although the removal of Benazir may have brought solace to most Pakistanis, political commentators fear that the situation will become more combustible once the accountability process begins. The election is likely to be jeopardized if Benazir, her husband, and other politicians are disqualified. The problem appears to have been exacerbated by the interim government's weakness, manifestly incapable of handling the matter<sup>436</sup>.

### **Presidential Declaration**

According to the Presidential proclamation, the government had violated a number of Constitutional provisions, including corruption, poor management, extrajudicial killings, degrading the impartiality of law enforcement organisations, and delaying the execution of a judge's decision. Additionally, it said that Benazir had damaged the reputations of the President and intelligence agencies by accusing them subtly of being responsible for Murtaza's murder.<sup>437</sup>

### **Benazir Declaration**

Benazir claimed that the overthrow of her government was planned, that she was aware of the conspiracy, that she made an effort to stop it but was unable, and that her dismissal was illegal

<sup>433</sup> Muhammad Ali Shaikh, 'Benazir Bhutto: A Political Biography', Karachi: Orient Book Publishing House, 2000, 227.

<sup>434</sup> Zaffar Abbas, "The Pir, the President and the Pindiwalas", The Herald, Karachi, September 1996, 30.

<sup>435</sup> Dawn, Karachi, October 30, 1996.

<sup>436</sup> Paul Staniland, "Armed groups and militarized elections." International Studies Quarterly 59, no. 4 (2015): 694-705.

<sup>437</sup> Dawn, Karachi, November 6, 1996.

and undemocratic. Nawaz viewed the overthrow of the government as a success for his party's three and a half year campaign on behalf of the country. Benazir challenged the Supreme Court's decision to dissolve her administration, but the Court decided in favour of the National Assembly's removal.<sup>438</sup>

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<sup>438</sup> Dawn, Karachi, January 30, 1997.

## Chapter No. 05

### Second Tenure of Nawaz Sharif (1996-99)

Following the expulsion of the government and National Assembly on November 5, 1996, Mr. Malik Miraj Khalid (a previous Speaker of the Laghari National Assembly) served as the nation's temporary prime minister. Leghari guaranteed fair and free elections on February 3rd, 1997. Without notifying the Prime Minister, Malik Meraj Khalid, on January 6, 1997, the President amended the 1973 Constitution's rules and created the Council of Defense and National Security (CDNS)<sup>439</sup>. This council, which is chaired over by the President, is comprised of the Prime Minister, the Ministers of the Interior, the Monetary, Foreign, and Defense, as well as senior military officers. To "suggest" the government on questions of national security was its stated objective. The Army was permitted to participate in decision-making by the CDNS. The CDNS was established through a "statutory takeover."<sup>440</sup>

The Legislative Assembly enacted the Thirteenth Amendment on the 4th of April, restoring Pakistan's parliamentary form of governance in its original spirit. This was followed by the fourteenth Amendment, which prohibited floor-crossing in the legislature. Nawaz Sharif became a mighty prime minister due to all of this. Nevertheless, he promised that his government will uphold democratic ideals in the nation and avoid making the mistakes he did during his previous term in its address to the National Assembly. He also declared that the restoration of Pakistan's institutional framework and its economic growth would be his exclusive priorities..<sup>441</sup>.

<b>Events from 1996 to 1999</b>	
<b>1996</b>	President Farooq Leghari has dismissed Benazir's Government. Interim Prime Minister Malik Meraj Khalid has been appointed.
<b>1997</b>	Elections are one example. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was re-elected. Farooq Leghari, the President, has resigned.
<b>1998</b>	Pakistan has detonated five nuclear weapons.
<b>1999</b>	General Pervez Musharraf takes over the 1999 Pakistan Government.

#### Results of Elections of 1997:

<b>No. of registered votes</b>	55,068,025
<b>Voters</b>	35.4%
<b>Valid votes</b>	35.16%

<b>Parties</b>	<b>Seat distribution</b>	<b>Voting percentage</b>
<b>PML-N</b>	137	44.88
<b>PPP</b>	18	21.29
<b>Haq Parast</b>	12	3.92
<b>Awami National Party</b>	10	1.83
<b>Jamiat-e-Ulma Islam</b>	2	1.67
<b>Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf</b>	0	1.61
<b>Balochistan National Party</b>	3	0.64
<b>National Peoples Party</b>	1	0.44
<b>Jamhoori Watan Party</b>	2	0.34
<b>Independents</b>	21	13.80
<b>Non-Muslim seats</b>	10	2.22

<sup>439</sup> Riaz Ahmed Shaikh, "Politics in Pakistan: Parvaiz Musharaf's Military Rule in Perspective." A Biannual Journal of South Asian Studies 11 (2010): 11-22.

<sup>440</sup> Nasir Islam, "Democracy and governance in Pakistan's fragmented society." International Journal of Public Administration 24, no. 12 (2001): 1335-1355.

<sup>441</sup> Shaheed, Farida. "Contested identities: Gendered politics, gendered religion in Pakistan." Third World Quarterly 31, no. 6 (2010): 851-867.

## Majority led Government

The PML (N) won 137 of the 207 seats, while the PPP took home 18. The PML (N) was elected with a resounding majority and became the government. The election results were disputed by Benazir Bhutto. Nawaz Sharif won 177 votes on February 17, 1997, to Aftab Shaban Mirani's 16, making him the future PM of Pakistan. The hubris of the two-thirds majority in assembly enflamed the Nawaz regime. No other party has ever obtained a significant majority in Pakistan's electoral history. Using its legislative majority, the PMLN changed the Constitution in two significant ways<sup>442</sup>.

By the amendment of thirteen and fourteen to the constitution of Pakistani, The Muslim League reinforced the parliamentary government system by restricting the President's powers, which had been increased by the 13th Amendment, which eliminated the Head Assembly, and by outlawing lawmakers' ability to acquire or switch party allegiances (floor-crossing). The Government was momentarily strengthened after these constitutional modifications. The Government was no longer afraid of the President dissolving the legislatures or shifting political allegiances.<sup>443</sup>.

On the 17th of February, With a "heavy mandate," Nawaz Sharif took the oath of office as prime minister for the second time. His party's members were also elected Chief Ministers of Punjab, Sindh, and the NWFP, while his BNP ally Akhtar Mengal was elected Chief Minister of Balochistan. Nawaz Sharif was fortunate that the Senate elections occurred barely a month after taking office. He could secure an absolute majority in the upper chamber because of his popularity in national and provincial Parliament. Nawaz Sharif was in a position to eliminate the contentious 58-2 (B) from the Constitution since he had two-thirds support in both chambers.<sup>444</sup>.

### Main Developments Major Challenges and Developments of the Assembly

{A glance to Assembly under the terms; Differentiation, Durability, Autonomy, Complexity and Adoption of Rules.}

Timeline	
<b>1997</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Nawaz Sharif was appointed as the PM for the second time.</li> <li>✓ On January 29, the Court approves President's declaration decomposing the NA and deporting the Government of Benazir.</li> <li>✓ By 3<sup>rd</sup> February, the Nation went to the polling stations, and PML obtains 135 seats.</li> <li>✓ On 17<sup>th</sup> February: Sharif was appointed as the 19th PM.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ On 23<sup>rd</sup> February, Nawaz Sharif inaugurated "Qarz utaro Mulk sanwaro." He announced, "Sunday as a public holiday and convert Friday into half-day."</li> <li>✓ Nuclear weapons are tested successfully in reaction to rival India's atomic program.</li> </ul>
<b>1998</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ By 1<sup>st</sup> January, "Rafiq Tarrar is sworn in as President of Pakistan."</li> <li>✓ By 8<sup>th</sup> March Population survey started up in the country.</li> <li>✓ By 28<sup>th</sup> May, Pakistan performed nuclear trials in Baluchistan's Chagai hills.</li> <li>✓ By 29<sup>th</sup> May, State Bank prohibited "opening new foreign currency accounts and suspending withdrawals."</li> <li>✓ By 4<sup>th</sup> June, "UN Security Council denied nuclear power status to Pakistan and India."</li> </ul>
<b>1999</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ By 21<sup>st</sup> February, Lahore Declaration is endorsed by "Nawaz Sharif and A. B. Vajpayee."</li> <li>✓ By 15<sup>th</sup> April, "Pakistan conducts test of a nuclear-capable short-range ballistic missile, Shaheen."</li> <li>✓ By 26<sup>th</sup> July, the "Kargil War ends between Pakistan and India. India won the war".</li> <li>✓ By 12<sup>th</sup> October, Nawaz Sharif was overthrown from power and positioned under house charge after striving to tackle General Pervez Musharraf.</li> </ul>

### **Walkout of Minorities MNAs**

Tariq C Qaisar stood up on a point of order and said, a bad discrimination is going on with Minorities. On the first day of assembly, we were not given equal place as like other members. Oath had not taken us from us, secondly, our documents were not accepted for the nominees of Speaker and duty speaker. Same was done with us during the first era of Nawaz Sharif in 11993 Assembly. And today history is repeated. Therefore, we are going to a walkout to record a protest.<sup>445</sup>

<sup>442</sup> Khan, Hina. "Democracy, Authoritarianism and Military Rule in Pakistan and Bangladesh: A Comparative Study." (Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies) 42, no. 4 (2019): 40-58.

<sup>443</sup> Naheem Jabbar and Usman Ali. "Education as self-government: the Minhaj Education Society's answer to managing violence in Pakistan." Postcolonial Studies 22, no. 4 (2019): 523-544.

<sup>444</sup> Pirbhai, M. Reza. "Global Concerns and Pakistan's Domestic Context." History: Reviews of New Books 40, no. 2 (2012): 35-38.

<sup>445</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, No. 1, February 16, 1997, 12-13

### **Speaker and Deputy Speaker' Election**

The election of speaker and duty speaker was kept secret. The election was on ballot. Each member has only one vote. Mr. Ilahi Bakhsh Soomro and Syed Khurshid Ahmed Shah were candidates for the speaker. But PPP withdrew its member's name. Therefore, Ilahi Bakhsh and Mr. Jafar Iqbal unanimous elected as a speaker and deputy speaker of the Assembly.<sup>446</sup>

### **Atomic policy**

Nawaz Sharif stated, "The subject of atomic capacity is a fact," during a discussion of Pakistan's defence policy in the Assembly. Therefore, the discussion over this atomic issue should be finished. Pakistan has made great advancements since 1972, and we have well outgrown that developmental level. By signing the CTBT before India, Pakistan will not become a hostage to India.<sup>447</sup>

Nawaz promised to uphold his nuclear secrecy policy and use nuclear energy to boost the economy during the 1997 election. But on September 7, Nawaz acknowledged in an interview with "STN News" that Pakistan has had an atomic weapon since 1978, ahead of a state trip to the United States.<sup>448</sup>

On December 1st, Nawaz said in the "Daily Jang and The News International" that Pakistan would unite shortly if India approved and ratified the "Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT)." During their government, nuclear project has evolved as a fundamental element of Pakistan's economic strategy<sup>449</sup>.

### **Economic policy**

The budget for the year of 1997-98 presented by finance minister Sartaj Aziz on 13 June 1997.<sup>450</sup> Assembly members took keen interest in debates 20<sup>th</sup> June both opposition and treasury benches members remained active in discussion. For two times opposition did walkout. But on 20<sup>th</sup> June speaker ordered to adopt the budget.<sup>451</sup> The M2 Motorway (3MM), sometimes known as the Autobahn of South Asia, was built by Nawaz. It was Pakistan's first major highway. This US\$989.12 million public-private partnership project was finalized in 1997 by November. His detractors questioned the highway's layout, its excessive length, its remoteness from major cities, and the lack of connector highways connecting major cities. It also granted money to the "Peshawar–Karachi Indus Highway," which will benefit "Punjab and Kashmir" at the expense to more provinces. Sind and Baluchistan provinces were particularly dissatisfied, and Nawaz confronted a shortage of financial commitment to fund more projects. Nawaz Sharif eased foreign trade restrictions and allowed foreign money to trade on the Karachi Stock Exchange, but the Government lacked the cash to invest.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>446</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, No. 1, February 16, 1997, 13-15

Nawaz cancelled the country's space program because of financial constraints. The "Space Research Commission" was obliged to postpone the take-off of Badr-II(B), a satellite that was finished in 1997. The scientific community was enraged, and Nawaz was chastised for his incapacity to promote science. Engineers, and Senior scientists linked this to "Nawaz's corruption," which harmed national defence.<sup>453</sup>

### **Foreign policy**

According to a recent letter exchange between the prime ministers of Pakistan and India, it was decided to hold Foreign Secretaries talks from March 28 to March 3, 1997. Mr. Ayub Gohar, the foreign minister, stated that he would like to inform the House of this decision and that he is moving under Rule 287. For the meetings in New Delhi, our delegation has already gone. I would like to notify the august House that the Prime Minister is fully mindful of the necessity to liberate our area of the tensions and conflicts which it has remained maned in four decades. The Prime Minister is of the opinion that Pakistan and India should settle any lingering problems that have harmed their relations rather than wasting their valuable resources. We desire a olitical settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir issue.<sup>454</sup>

The Government was under pressure to adopt legislation as soon as possible due to its numerical majority. In 1997, a Family Court Bill was introduced, granting the court the power to look into dowry matters. The opposition was not permitted to address the law since it was passed so quickly. Due to its majority in the National Assembly, the administration was able to delay the law. The Repayment of Bank Loans and Accountability Bill, which was brought to the Assembly in 1997 and swiftly approved, was similar.<sup>455</sup> "Nawaz Sharif enhanced Pakistan's connections with the Muslim and European worlds," Ayub Gohar said in the parliament. In order to discuss economic cooperation, Nawaz hosted "Chinese President Jiang Zemin and Premier Li Peng in February 1997." Two meetings were started in "Beijing and Hong Kong" to promote Chinese investment in Pakistan. A trilateral free trade pact that Nawaz struck in 1997 with Singapore and Malaysia was followed by cooperation in the

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<sup>447</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 3, No. 19, September 7, 1997, 53.

<sup>448</sup> Hinrich Gronemeyer and Miturski Roman "Molecular mechanisms of retinoid action." Cellular and Molecular Biology Letters 6, no. 1 (2001): 3-52.

<sup>449</sup> Alemán, Eduardo, and Daniel Treisman. "Does fiscal power sharing exacerbate or alleviate tensions in." Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars (2005): 173.

<sup>450</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, No. 2, June 13, 1997. 50-90

<sup>451</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, No. 7, June 20, 1997. 990-1046

<sup>452</sup> John Bray, "Nawaz Sharif's new order in Pakistan." (The Round Table ) 80, no. 318 (1991): 179-190.

<sup>453</sup> Hasan Askari Rizvi, "Pakistan in 1998: The polity under pressure." (Asian Survey) 39, no. 1 (1999): 177-184.

<sup>454</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 1, March 27, 1997, 61-63

<sup>455</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, No. 9, January 2, 1998. 116-125.

defence sector. The decision by Malaysia to grant Pakistan access to its space technology was one of the most divisive issues.<sup>456</sup>

### **Amendments to the Constitution**

After his government removed some of the controversial parts of the law, the National Assembly authorised and passed the Act on October 10th, 1998, by a vote of 151 to 16. With a majority in Parliament, Nawaz transitioned from a semi-presidential to a more parliamentary government. These actions made Nawaz the nation's most resolute and freely chosen prime minister.<sup>457</sup> Nawaz suggested a proposal in late August 1998 to build a legitimate network established on Islamic impressions. His idea came a week after the late President Zia ul-10-year Haq's anniversary.<sup>458</sup>

### **Speedy Lawmaking**

The Government was under pressure to adopt legislation as soon as possible due to its numerical majority. In 1997, a Family Court Bill was introduced, granting the court the power to look into dowry matters. The opposition was not permitted to address the law since it was passed so quickly. Due to its majority in the National Assembly, the administration was able to delay the law. The Repayment of Bank Loans and Accountability Bill, which was brought to the Assembly in 1997 and swiftly approved, was Confrontation with Judiciary.

By various bills and amendments Assembly under the Nawaz took reforms in judiciary. Like the ‘‘The federal judicial Academy Bill’’ and other.<sup>459</sup> By meddling with the higher courts, the Nawaz Sharif regime made history. Two significant problems have sparked tensions between the judiciary and the Nawaz Sharif government.

- **Anti-Terrorism Law Enforcement**

- **The Chief Justice of Pakistan, Sajjad Ali Shah, has proposed the appointment of five judges.**<sup>460</sup>

The NS issued a letter/notification decreasing the number of judges on the S CP from 17 to 12 after objecting to the Chief Justice's suggestions. The Chief Justice declared the notification to be invalid as a result. It was assumed that Nawaz Sharif would reject the Chief Justice's recommendations, and Justice S. Sajjad Ali Shah's response would be equally strong. The Supreme Court also put the Fourteenth Amendment on hold. According to Article 190 of the Constitution, the President nominated the judges, therefore CJ won this case. The

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<sup>456</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, No. 9, January 2, 1998. 116-125.

<sup>457</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 8, no. 23, July 10, 1998. 2332.

<sup>458</sup> Sharif, Nawaz. "Technology change management: Imperatives for developing economies." *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 47, no. 1 (1994): 103-114.

<sup>459</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 13, no. 5, March 2, 1998. 459.

<sup>460</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 11, no. 9, November 28, 1997, 457-481

Supreme Court officially filed notifications of court contempt on eight legislators, including Nawaz Sharif.<sup>461</sup>

In November 1997, MNS and others were charged with contempt of court when some governing party activists assaulted the Supreme Court, demanding that the Chief Justice quit. Nawaz Sharif plotted the attack on the judiciary, according to Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, and his people were lodged at the Punjab House. The problem was eventually addressed, and Justice Mian Ajmal was appointed Chief Justice of Pakistan. Later, President Leghari disclosed that the Army was dragged into the entire process as an influential entity that might play a meaningful role in averting disaster.<sup>462</sup>

### **Policy on anti-terrorism**

On the day May 28, the bill was presented to the assembly, with in 30 minutes without any proper debate assembly passed the bill on the same day.<sup>463</sup> On the 17th of August 1997, Nawaz ratified the contentious "Anti-Terrorist Act," which inaugurated "Anti-Terrorism Courts." The Act was eventually declared illegal by the Supreme Court. On the other hand, Nawaz made changes and got Supreme Court approval to establish these courts.<sup>464</sup> <sup>465</sup>

### **Nawaz Sharif and Army**

On the floor, Khurshed Shah asserted that Sharif's personalization of power, success in nominating his nominees for president and provincial governors, and efforts to humanise the judiciary increased his antagonism to the Army.<sup>466</sup> Nawaz Sharif's second stint in the office is also seen as a legislative dictatorship. The 13th Amendment likewise damaged the CDNS.<sup>467</sup>

In 1998, Army Chief Jehangir Karamat gave a lecture in Lahore at the Pakistan Naval War College. The COAS voiced worry about the polarising effects of political dispute, ineptitude, and fiscal collapse in his presentation. This statement was seen as a warning for impending military participation since coups d'état are "usually preceded by some form of pronouncement," as "Kooning's and Kruijt" note. The Chief of Army Staff was then forced to resign by Nawaz Sharif, and Pervez Musharraf was named in his place. Senior Army officers disapproved of Nawaz Sharif's compelled resignation as Chief of Army Staff.<sup>468</sup>

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<sup>461</sup> M. Nawaz Sharif, "Technological innovation governance for winning the future." *Technological forecasting and social change* 79, no. 3 (2012): 595-604.

<sup>462</sup> Farooq Rasheed, Eatzaz Ahmad, and Aqdas Ali Kazmi. "An Evaluation of the Performance of Government of Pakistan [with Comments]." *The Pakistan Development Review* (2006): 831-841.

<sup>463</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 15, May 28, 1997. 1749-56

<sup>464</sup> Teresita C Schaffer, "Pakistan and the United States." *Asia Policy* 23 (2017): 49-56.

<sup>465</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 8, no. 2, December 30, 1997, 80-91.

<sup>466</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 8, No. 33, June 18, 1998, 712

<sup>467</sup> Iftikhar H, Malik. "The state and civil society in Pakistan: From crisis to crisis." *Asian Survey* 36, no. 7 (1996): 673-690.

<sup>468</sup> M. K Akbar, *Pakistan Today*. Mittal Publications, 1998: 210-250

Another occurrence, known in history as the Kargil conflict, occurred in the same year when Pakistani soldiers crossed the LOC and invaded Indian-controlled territory, starting combat between the two armies. The crisis ended with US participation when President Barack Obama asked Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to withdraw his country's military, and Pakistan has received considerable international censure. Since the Pakistani Army allegedly carried out the operations without the Prime Minister's knowledge, the occurrence led to an uncomfortable situation. Pervez Musharraf however asserted that the action had the consent of the civilian government.<sup>469</sup>

Because it was difficult to get things back to normal, the military's relationship with the civilian government worsened. It was noted that the Army did not back Nawaz Sharif's decision to dismiss Pervez Musharraf as Chief of Army Staff in 1999 since the Army was already against him for the following reasons:

1. General Jahangir Karamat, the COAS, was forced to resign.
2. MNS blame the Kargil incident on the Army<sup>470</sup>.

Pervez Musharraf declared martial law in Pakistan and toppled Nawaz Sharif's administration. Nawaz Sharif was arrested for treason by Pervez Musharraf. The state's Constitution and assemblies were suspended, and the state's emergency was declared. Pervez Musharraf has declared himself the country's leader. Thus, another democratic administration in Pakistan ended, and Nawaz Sharif could not secure a five-seat majority in the elections.<sup>471</sup>

#### **The Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment:**

The bill was presented before assembly on March 31,<sup>472</sup> Only in one proceeding all members were seen agree to amend the constitution. On next proceeding assembly passed the bill with a large number. The day was called ‘ ‘ day of Democracy’ ’ by Benazir.<sup>473</sup> Syed Zafar Ali Shah called a golden gift by Nawaz government to Pakistan.<sup>474</sup> Ghulam Mustafa Jatoe said, today we are going to sovereign our parliament and today we are going to finish indirect marsala from Pakistan.<sup>475</sup> On March 31, 1997, Nawaz addressed the people and declared that 58 (2) would be repealed by the government (b). Nawaz stated that Leghari agreed to the cancellation of the article when he was seen by him (in his Dera Ghazi Khan town of Choti Zireen). Nawaz allegedly requested that Article 58 (2) (b) be immediately repealed due to the

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<sup>469</sup> Cheema, Moeen H. "Pakistan: The state of liberal democracy." *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 16, no. 2 (2018): 635-642.

<sup>470</sup> Muhammad Riaz Raza, Hayam Qayyoom, Tabinda Sadiq, 2021. A Speech Act Analysis of the Speech of Nawaz Sharif, Ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan. *Multicultural Education*, 7(3).

<sup>471</sup> Sean P Winchell, "Pakistan's ISI: The invisible government. " *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 16, no. 3 (2003): 374-388.

<sup>472</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 3, March 31, 1997, 178

<sup>473</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 4, April 1, 1997, 262-63

<sup>474</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 4, April 1, 1997, 261

<sup>475</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 4, April 1, 1997, 263-65

President's decision to deliver a speech of his own creation before the joint parliamentary session in place of one that had been authored by the administration.<sup>476</sup>

Asfandyar wali said, Mr. Speaker Sir that need to be touched upon, that need to be rectified. I hope the bold decision that he has taken today will be repeated. in the next few months. we could have a proper Constitutional Package that could satisfy not only people sitting on this side of the House but also people sitting on that side of the House, The people of all four federating units that comprised the State of Pakistan.<sup>477</sup> The 13th Amendment Bill was adopted by both chambers of Parliament on April 1, 1997, with a two-thirds majority. The Thirteenth Amendment eliminated two clauses from the Eighth Amendment: first, Articles 58(2)(b) and 112(2)(b), and second, Articles 101(1) and 243(2). (c). The President no longer has the power to dissolve the National Assembly, and the Governor no longer has the power to dissolve the Provincial Assembly as a result of the repeal of Articles 58 (2) (b) and 112 (2). (b). The wording "after consultation with the Prime Minister" was changed in Article 101(1) to "on the proposal of the Prime Minister," which relates to Governor nominations. The President no longer has the authority to name the commanders of the armed forces and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee due to changes made to Article 243 (2). (c). Leghari disregarded the notion of martial law and any political crises following the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. Any alteration, in his opinion, would be advantageous.<sup>478</sup>

Speaker adjourned the house with these words, Thank you very much. I am also allotting myself a few minutes to congratulate this House for having taking such a momentous decision. I believe that today is truly a historic day for us since it marks the start of true democracy in this nation. The House Leader deserves praise for making a brave choice and acting so quickly in the face of the danger to dissolve this House or the Government. I must admit that everyone has been discussing the removal of the Eighth Amendment. And I congratulate him and the entire House for having supported this amendment. And also I thank Mohtarma for supporting this amendment because I am also a member of this House and I am happy to see this threat removed. And I aslo thank her for creating happy and congenial atmosphere because hitherto the atmosphere has been little threatening.<sup>479</sup>

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<sup>476</sup> Sartaj Aziz, "Between Dreams and Realities; Some Milestones in Pakistan's History" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 172.

<sup>477</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 4, April 1, 1997, 266

<sup>478</sup> The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, April 8, 1997.

<sup>479</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 4, April 1, 1997, 278

### **The Fourteenth Amendment:**

The fourteenth amendment was presented in the assembly on 7<sup>th</sup> April.<sup>480</sup> Just 3 days after the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment. Before the presenting 14<sup>th</sup> amendment opposition did walkout. And The minister for parliamentary affairs syed Zafar Ali shah said, we have just 2 days to pass this bill otherwise this is going to be expire.<sup>481</sup> As a result, the measure was passed by the assembly the same day. Due to the opposition's absence from the Assembly, there was no discussion over this amendment. The administration sponsored the Fourteenth Amendment Bill, which would have inserted Article 63(A) to the Constitution, to forbid floor-crossing in Parliament. On June 30, 1997, the Senate and the National Assembly both adopted the modification. The change made it illegal for members to oppose their party's position in the Commons. They were required to vote in accordance with directives from the legislative leaders of their party. The result of violating party rules was a seat loss.<sup>482</sup> This legislation, Nawaz felt, had permanently eliminated "lotatism" and horse-trading from politicians. The amendment allowed the party's parliamentary leader a lot of influence because the future of his members was in his hands.

### **The Fifteenth Amendment:**

The fifteenth amendment bill was presented to the assembly On August 28, 1998.<sup>483</sup> Nawaz Sharaf addressed the country from the House floor, saying that his administration will propose a measure to ratify the fifteenth amendment, making the Quran and the Sunnah the paramount laws of the realm. Article 239 of the Constitution was suggested to be changed to a different mechanism for changing the Constitution in Parliament. In subjects pertaining to the Quran and the Sunnah, it had removed the requirement for a two-thirds majority to modify the constitution. A legislation pertaining to the Quran and Sunnah may be introduced in any house of Parliament and submitted to the other house if it obtains a majority vote, per the amendment. The resolution would be delivered to the President if enough people voted in favour of it. The federal government would be in responsible of implementing zakat, salat, and the elimination of corruption, according to another provision of the proposed legislation. According to the Quran and Sunnah, the government also had a duty to uphold amer bil ma'roof wa nahi anal munkar (Quran 3:110) and to ensure social and economic fairness.<sup>484</sup> To combat those who opposed the bill, Nawaz needed the help of ulema and religious leaders.<sup>485</sup> The opposition, NGOs, and human rights organisations all slammed the bill.<sup>486</sup>

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<sup>480</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 7, April 7, 1997. 585

<sup>481</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 7, April 7, 1997. 587

<sup>482</sup> Aziz, *Some Milestones in Pakistan's History*, 173

<sup>483</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 8, No. 3, August 28, 1998. 300

<sup>484</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 8, No. 3, August 28, 1998. 287.

<sup>485</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 15, no. 3, August 28, 1998, 300

<sup>486</sup> Dawn, Karachi, September 6, 1998

The bill was also met with opposition from some members of the ruling party. Smaller provinces would have no chance if the Constitution was amended by a simple majority, Abdul Hameed Jatoi of the PML claims (N). He said that the combined strength of the other three small provinces was inferior than the Punjab's strength in the lower house. He added that smaller provinces could have trouble defending their rights if the measure is enacted. Asfandyar Wali of the ANP claims that the measure is against the principles of provincial autonomy. He said that if a law was enacted by the NWFP Assembly and the federal government issued an order against it, the federal government's order would take precedence.<sup>487</sup> The Fifteenth Amendment, according to Sajjad Ali Shah, led to the Islamization of society. He said that these revisions weren't necessary because of Article 2 (Islam is the official state religion), Article 2 (a), Article-31 (laws must be passed to support the Islamic life), and Article 228 (the rules for Islamization) (the establishment of a Council of Islam comprised of religious scholars).<sup>488</sup>

The bill passed on 9<sup>th</sup> October 1998. Assembly adopted the bill after a long discussion.<sup>489</sup>

The proposed modification to Article 239 was taken out of the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment Bill by the ruling party. The measure was approved by the National Assembly and forwarded to the Senate on October 14, 1998. To get the necessary number of votes, the ruling party had started an aggressive campaign.<sup>490</sup> <sup>491</sup>

### **Accountability Act of 1997:**

The Ehtesab 1997 Act eventually took the place of the Ehtesab Ordinance of 1996. The authority of the Commissioner and the Accountability Cell were then modified, along with the day on which accountability should begin. Benazir and others criticised the management of responsibilities.. She asserted that the Act encouraged "character assassination of adversaries through media trial" and had turned courts into rubber stamps. She questions the transparency of the accountability process.<sup>492</sup> The Treasury Bench has not been accused of extensive corruption, only the PPP. The preponderance of cases were against the PPP's leaders because, according to the government, there was significant corruption during the final three years while it was in power. The government's credibility quickly declined as a result of its skewed view of the prior administration. Nawaz asserted that if the investigation campaign against Benazir and her spouse was halted, people would think he had struck a deal with them. Additionally, Benazir began Nawaz's corruption prosecution. Its establishment

<sup>487</sup> Asfandyar Wali, interview by Faraz Hashmi, *The Herald*, Karachi, September, 1998, 42.

<sup>488</sup> Sajjad Ali Shah, interview by Idrees Bakhtiar, *The Herald*, Karachi, September, 1998, 38.

<sup>489</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, No. 31, October 9, 1998. 3033-3067

<sup>490</sup> Dawn, Karachi, October 15, 1998.

<sup>491</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 15, no. 31, October 9, 1998, 3033-3067

<sup>492</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 4, No. 13, December. 1997, 820.

continued in levelling charges against the PPP in general and Benazir and Asif Ali Zardari in particular.<sup>493</sup>

### **Situation of Law and Order:**

The situation of law and order was a hot topic between opposition and government in the assembly. As a member claimed that ‘Due of their extensive network, the government has been unable to uproot such anti-state elements. During the first 100 days of the new elected government in Karachi, 7,132 offences were reported. To deal with the lawlessness, security agencies remained impotent.’<sup>494</sup>

Sectarianism, terrible crimes, terrorism, assassinations, and deteriorating law and order continued to plague Karachi. In Sindh, the collaboration between the MQM and the PML (N) was strained due to the MQM's dissatisfaction with the sluggish execution of the power-sharing agreement. At the time, Pakistan was expected to have 400 and 800 terrorists and criminals on its books, correspondingly.<sup>495</sup>

The coalition partners were irritated by the ongoing killings in Karachi. When five MQM men were gunned down on June 16, 1997, it exacerbated divisions among coalition partners. The MQM closed all of its party offices in Karachi and announced that they would reopen after Nawaz provided a security guarantee. Leghari was briefed on the law and order situation by the MQM, who asked him to help normalise the situation.<sup>496</sup> The government set up a judicial group to look into extrajudicial executions in order to placate the MQM. Nawaz met with the MQM group and gave them his assurance that Sindh will not be placed under Governor Rule by the government. A political strategy to address the issues in Sindh was also promised by him. Terrorism, sectarian violence, and criminality swept the country. The Supreme Court has begun a suo motu investigation into the causes of Karachi's law and order problems. For normalcy in Karachi, Nawaz asked that the PML (N) and the MQM work together and integrate. 99 The PML (N) and the MQM have been at odds over the removal of rangers and the establishment of no-go zones.<sup>497</sup>

13 persons were killed in Karachi and five in Punjab on October 1, 1999. Several political parties' leaders blamed the government for sectarian massacres. Two bomb blasts occurred in Hyderabad on October 4, 1999.

The operation has been condemned by Atlat Hussain. He claimed that the operations had upended the MQM's political structure. He stated that Nawaz had vowed under oath that he

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<sup>493</sup> Dawn, Karachi, January 11, 1998.

<sup>494</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, No. 7, July 12, 1997, 34-35.

<sup>495</sup> Dawn, Karachi, May 10, 1999

<sup>496</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 8, no. 7, November 7, 1997, 910

<sup>497</sup> Dawn, Karachi, July 9, 1997.

would resign if he was unable to cease targets against the MQM. The operation was then expanded to include Sindh's interior..<sup>498</sup>

**The ruling party and its coalition partners are at odds:**

With the president's speech to the joint session of Parliament on February 23, 1998, the political climate took a dramatic shift. MQM and PPP lawmakers left the chamber while yelling anti-government chants.<sup>499</sup>

The debate over renaming NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa escalated tensions between the ANP and the PML (N). After the PML (N) supported the Kalabagh Dam project and refused to rename NWFP, the PML (N)-ANP alliance was about to break apart. The ANP failed to win over other political parties including the MQM, the Balochistan National Movement (Mengal Group) (BNM) (M), and the Jeay Sindh Party on the name of the NWFP and provincial rights.<sup>500</sup> On February 24, 1998, the ANP made the decision to end its affiliation with the PML (N). The split had eliminated the ruling party's two-thirds majority in the Senate. The PML (N) had to uphold the deal since the ANP had 30 seats in the NWFP Assembly and was necessary to keep the coalition government of the NWFP intact. On February 26, 1998, the ANP's ministers decided to leave their positions in the National and NWFP parliament and join the opposition benches. Later, the PML (N) established a government in NWFP with the aid of private citizens.<sup>501</sup>

The MQM's anti-government attitude embarrassed the ruling party. Benazir wanted elections to get the nation out of this situation. Altaf Hussain also warned the government that the MQM will exit the partnership if the ruling party did not fulfil its commitments.<sup>502</sup> Disagreements between the PML (N) and the MQM compounded the problems facing the administration. The MQM was worried about no-go areas and widespread worker mortality. The MQM said that the organisations in Karachi's eastern region were utilising its rivals against its workers. The agencies' support for the MQM (H) in its conflict with the MQM was disputed by the MQM (H). On March 17, 1998, the MQM declared that it would leave the coalition if no-go zones did not stop within 48 hours. Following a round of discussions between the ruling party and the MQM, the issue was settled. The administration resolved to do away with no-go areas in a month. On April 18, 1998, a new agreement between the PML (N) and the MQM was reached following discussions between the two parties. The deal made sure that the coalition would continue, that a new working relationship would be created, and that Karachi's Governor Rule would be lifted.<sup>503</sup>

<sup>498</sup> Altaf Hussain, interview by Idrees Bakhtiar, *The Herald*, Karachi, November-December, 1998, 34.

<sup>499</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, no. 18, February 23, 1998. 320

<sup>500</sup> Naseem Wali Khan, interviewed by Rizwan Qureshi, 'The Herald, Karachi', 1998, 59.

<sup>501</sup> Dawn, Karachi, February 27, 1998.

<sup>502</sup> Dawn, Karachi, February 28, 1998.

<sup>503</sup> Dawn, Karachi, April 19, 1998. Mazhar Abbas "Terms of Endearment", *The Herald*, Karachi, April, 1998, 52.

### **Problem of the Kalabagh Dam:**

On June 11, 1998, Nawaz Sharif spoke before the Assembly and suggested building the Kalabagh Dam. The Kalabagh Dam has been a point of conflict between the Punjab and several minor provinces since 1984. On June 17, 1998, the Anti-Kalabagh Dam Action Committee organised a protest against the declaration. The demonstration was sponsored by a number of social, political, and religious organisations.<sup>504</sup> Motions against the Kalabogh Dam were adopted by three small province assemblies (Sindh, NWFP, and Balochistan). The management for the Kalabagh Dam was criticised by three senators from less populated areas. Benazir and Wali Khan made the decision to stage anti-dam protests on August 1, 1998. Protests from Sukkur to Obara and from Attock to Nowabshera were scheduled for August 10, 1998. The first rally was headed by Benazir Bhutto, and the second by Wali Khan. Nawaz's resignation and the establishment of a federal government were top priorities for the opposition.<sup>505</sup> Nawaz changed his mind on building the Kalabagh Dam in response to intense criticism and said that the dam will only be built with the formation of a national consensus. Nawaz changed his mind on building the Kalabagh Dam in response to intense criticism and said that the dam will only be built with the formation of a broad consensus.<sup>506</sup>

### **Ban on Student Organizations:**

Mullana Fazal Rehman said on the assembly that Nawaz authorised Federal Education Minister Ghous Ali Shah to prohibit all student organisations with illegal plans from operating in educational institutions to ensure a conducive academic environment. Consequently, I disagree with the choice made by the majority of student organisations, including Pakistan National Students Federation (PNSF), Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT), All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization and Peoples Students Federation (PSF).<sup>507</sup> As part of the educational strategy, students had to present affidavits promising not to engage in politics while enrolled in classes. However, political organisations were still able to have student wings at educational institutions despite the lack of affidavits.<sup>508</sup>

### **Article 245 is imposed:**

The "Pakistan Armed Forces (Acting in Aid of Civil Power) Ordinance, 1998"—which made reference to the in question Constitutional Article 245—was published by the federal government on November 20, 1998. The order was sent to every neighbourhood in Karachi where the military was assisting local government. The law provided the military the power to hold terrorists and criminals in custody, interrogate them, and bring them to justice without the need for bail. Military tribunals may be established by the COAS or anybody else he

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<sup>504</sup>National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 7, no. 17, June 11, 1998, 503.

<sup>505</sup> Dawn, Karachi, August 2, 1998

<sup>506</sup> Dawn, Karachi, August 3, 1998. Dawn, Karachi, August 14, 1998. Dawn, Karachi, August 15, 1998.

<sup>507</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 2, no. 3, August 1, 1998, 19

<sup>508</sup> Dawn, Karachi, August 7, 1998. Dawn, Karachi, August 8, 1998.

authorises (who must be at least a Brigadier or comparable rank), in accordance with Section 3 of the ordinance. Civil offence proceedings could be heard in military court. The military courts took three days to resolve the case;<sup>509</sup>

Later, it was determined that the courts might take longer time if they thought it was necessary. The legislation provided that an appeal from a military court ruling might be heard by any court. On November 26, 1998, the President changed the previous decree to allow the military to examine into terrorism-related issues. The modified law replaced the language of Section 5 of the "Pakistan Armed Forces (Acting in Aid of Civil Power) Law, 1998," which said that "the armed forces may oversee any inquiry on the instruction of the federal government." The new clause states that "investigation of all offences included in the schedule to this code should be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898 (Act V of 1898)".<sup>510</sup>

The COAS underlined that military courts would conduct the proceedings in an unbiased way, with no political parties being targeted. On January 23, 1999, the federal cabinet agreed to establish military tribunals across the country, believing that such courts in Karachi could restore peace and order. The Supreme Court's nine-member bench found on February 17, 1999 that the establishment of military courts was unconstitutional and unlawful, as was the ability of military courts to try civilians. The Supreme Court established a system for expediting terrorism-related proceedings. It overturned the sentences handed out by military courts and ordered that such cases be referred to anti-terrorist courts. The Supreme Court verdict was well received by the opposition and the general public. Following the verdict, the government chose that the army will continue to carry out its responsibilities in Karachi pertaining to criminal investigations.<sup>511</sup>

#### **Address by the President to the Parliament:**

On March 11, 1999, Rafique Tarar addressed a joint session of Parliament. Throughout the president's address, the opposition, particularly the PPP, demonstrated their disdain for him by raising chants, slamming desks, and standing. Nawaz Sharif and Saif-ur-Rehman were accused of corruption by Benazir. Initially joining the PPP, the MQM quickly withdrew. While preparing to return to government, the ANP stayed mute. Due to the loudness, the President's speech could essentially be heard. Nawaz criticised the PPP for meddling with the event and referred to their actions as "undemocratic and immoral."<sup>512</sup> Benazir spoke at a press conference after the President finished speaking, and she predicted that the Pakistan Muslim

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<sup>509</sup> Dawn, Karachi, November 21, 1998.

<sup>510</sup> Moenuddin Haider, interview by Idrees Bakhtiar and Azhar Abbas, *The Herald*, Karachi, November- December, 1998, 37.

<sup>511</sup> Dawn, Karachi, February 24, 1999

<sup>512</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, no. 5, March 18, 1999, 521-533

League-Nawaz will soon launch a large-scale uprising against Nawaz at the district and tehsil levels. To help her overturn the government, she appealed to the entire nation.<sup>513</sup>

### **Kargil problem:**

In the Kargil region of occupied Kashmir, the mujahedeen took control of a few high peaks in May 1999. India accused Pakistan of breaching the line of control, occupying Indian peaks, and invading Kargil. Indian diplomacy used the conflict to distance Pakistan from the rest of the world.<sup>514</sup> Nawaz outlined the situation in letters to the leaders of the G-8 nations and asked Bill Clinton for help in reestablishing order. Pervez Musharraf, the Chief of Army Staff, reprimanded India for twisting the truth in order to harm Pakistan and its armed forces. Nawaz suggested that the problem be settled by dialogue, but India resisted. While India was not there, Nawaz signed an agreement with the US on July 4, 1999, guaranteeing that Pakistan would withdraw its soldiers from Kargil and respect the Line of Control.<sup>515</sup>

Later, the Kargil incident strained Nawaz's relationship with Pervez Musharraf. Nawaz Sharif stated that he was not taken into confidence regarding Kargil's decision, however Pervez Musharraf said that the PM was aware of the situation and was on hand.<sup>516</sup> Musharraf did not trust the Navy Chief or the Air Chief, in addition to Nawaz. When Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee called Nawaz during the Kargil incident to address the situation, Nawaz said he didn't know anything. Musharraf saw the Kargil operation as a triumph for Pakistan since the mujahedeen carried it out well and the Indian army suffered huge losses. As a result, there were disagreements between Nawaz and Musharraf. While Nawaz accused Musharraf of scheming against him, Musharraf was concerned that Nawaz would remove him. The Prime Minister failed to resolve disagreements and reestablish trust between two influential positions.<sup>517</sup>

### **Protests by the opposition continue:**

The opposition, especially the PAI and PPP, launched a significant anti-government campaign in August 1999. The PTI helped the PPP overthrow the government while the MQM and JI organised anti-government protests calling for Nawaz Sharif to quit.<sup>518</sup> In September 1999, the Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA) was founded with the express purpose of overthrowing the government. Among the 19 political parties that comprised the GDA were the PPP, MQM, ANP, HJ, IDF, JM, JUAH, MKP, MUF, Pakistan Christian Party

<sup>513</sup> Dawn, Karachi, March 12, 1999.

<sup>514</sup> Shahid M. Amin, "Kargil: The Unanswerable Question" Dawn, Karachi, July 25, 1999.

<sup>515</sup> Dawn, Karachi, June 23, 1999. Dawn, Karachi, June 20, 1999.

<sup>516</sup> Pervez Musharraf, "In the Line of Fire A Memoir" (London: Simon and Schuster UK Ltd, 2006), 136. Rai Asad Khan, "Sachha Kon?" 2 ed, (Lahore: intelligence Publishers, 2001), 12.

<sup>517</sup> Saeed Mahdi interviewed by Mazhar Abbass, ARY News, "Do Tok", May 30, 2010' (broadcasted). Pervez Musharraf interview by Kamran Shahid, Express News, "Frontline Exclusive", October 4, 2011, part. 2, (broadcast). Senator Javed Ashraf, Personal Interview.

<sup>518</sup> Dawn, Karachi, August 4, 1999. Dawn, Karachi, August 5, 1999.

(PCP), PDP, PLM (C), PML (J), PML (Q), PML (Qayyum), PSF, UDF, PAT, and PAI. The GDA organised protests around the country to exert pressure on the administration.<sup>519</sup>

After the GDA organised a number of protests in Karachi on September 10, 1999, the government forbade meetings throughout Sindh. The PAI and PAT criticised the government's choice. On September 11, 1999, federal authorities issued warrants for the arrest of the GDA's top officials. The combined opposition announced a two-day walkout in protest to the detention of prominent figures in Sindh. On September 25, 1999, the GDA sought to organise a demonstration from Schon Chowrangi to Regal Chowk, but the government refused to provide its consent, and over a thousand political activists were detained in Karachi. On September 27, 1999, PPP activists attempted to organise anti-government protests in Sindh but were stopped by police.<sup>520</sup>

### **Curb over Freedom of Press:**

Yousaf Raza Gillani said on the floor that when Nawaz was in opposition, he made declarations in support of press freedom, but once in power, he made pronouncements to the contrary.<sup>521</sup>

The government passed the Press and Publication Ordinance (PPO) on March 11, 1997, less than a month after assuming office. This law gave the government the authority to seize any book, newspaper, or publication if it thought that:

1. Any work included false information.
2. Attempts to harm Pakistan's relations abroad.

3. Make an effort to convince a military or police officer to forego their obligations and rules.. Any magistrate could impose a sentence of imprisonment (varying from six months to one year) for the specified offence. The Ordinance made it illegal to report on any proceedings of Parliament or provincial assemblies that could jeopardise public peace. Interestingly, the ordinance's promulgation was not the responsibility of any ministry or authority. The PPP has chastised the government for enacting the Ordinance.<sup>522</sup>

As ‘‘Human Rights Watch’’ reported, despite the government's assurances of press freedom, a number of journalists have been arrested and newspaper offices have been closed on government demands. Good governance was ensured by a strong interaction between the government and the media, but the electronic media was kept under government influence.<sup>523</sup>

<sup>519</sup> Syed Ali Dayan Hasan, ‘‘Understanding the Opposition’’, *The Herald*, Karachi, October 1999, 32-33.

<sup>520</sup> *Dawn*, Karachi, September 26, 1999, *Dawn*, Karachi, September 28, 1999.

<sup>521</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 1, no. 4, June 2, 1997, 9

<sup>522</sup> *Dawn*, Karachi, March 12, 1997.

<sup>523</sup> *Dawn*, Karachi, January 7, 1998.

In January 1999, the government's relationship with the Jang group deteriorated after the latter published information on a court judgement (in London) against Nawaz's cousin. The government ceased providing the Jang group with print quotas and advertisements. The government accused the company of selling news print quotas on the black market and set unrealistic requirements on the Jang group, including the resignation of some prominent journalists and support for the Shariat Bill, in order to revive it. When the group did not comply with the terms, the government increased its pressure, including blocking its accounts and issuing income tax notices. Journalists were enraged by the attacks on the press.<sup>524</sup>

Meanwhile, three Karachi dailies, Jang, Amn, and Percham, have been charged with running an advertisement for the MQM's subsidiary "Khidmat-e-Khalq." Journalists sought to talk to the Premier about the situation, but he was unavailable. The journalists warned that the boycott would continue unless the government changed its anti-press stance and the lawsuits against the three newspapers were dropped.<sup>525</sup>

I. A. Rehman, the director of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), stated that the government's goal was to regulate freedom of expression rather than damage Shakil ur Rehman (Jung Group). He explained that the basis of the problem was the government's incorrect approach to freedom of information.<sup>526</sup> The HRCP published a report in 1998 that documented the government's unfavourable attitude toward the press, among other things. Mushahid Hussain, the Federal Minister of Information, questioned the report's accuracy, and his critique was widely broadcast by the government-controlled electronic media.<sup>527</sup>

In 1998, Freedom House (a non-profit organisation based in New York) started a research on press freedom that surveyed 68 nations. According to the report, the government in Pakistan controls the electronic media, which is used to suppress opposition and promote its programmes. Violent attacks on reporters, threats to journalists, murders of journalists, banning of eight newspapers, and raids on newsrooms were all highlighted as examples of press freedom violations. On May 5, 1999, the combined opposition staged a symbolic walkout from the Senate in protest at the government's hostile attitude toward the press. Another major incident was the kidnapping of Najam Sethi, the editor of *The Friday Times*, from his home on May 8, 1999;<sup>528</sup>

It was suspected that the government or the ISI were involved. The opposition rallied against Sethi's detention, and the Sindh Assembly chastised the administration for treating

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<sup>524</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 14, no. 2, April 3, 1998, 765-771

<sup>525</sup> Sajjad Ali, 'Law Courts in a Glass House; An Autobiography' Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001, 601-603.

<sup>526</sup> I. A. Rehman, interview by Syed Ali Hasan, *The Herald*, Karachi, February 1999, 43.

<sup>527</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 4, no. 17, May 9, 1999, 101

<sup>528</sup> Dawn, Karachi, May 9 1999.

journalists with such vengeance. Due to worldwide pressure, Sethi was released after a few days.<sup>529</sup>

Nawaz was accused of having a hand in the affair and of promoting lifafa politics in the media. The JI conducted an All Parties Conference (APC) on May 25, 1999, which issued a resolution expressing displeasure of the government's attitude against press freedom and journalists, as well as emphasising the necessity for laws to defend journalists' rights.<sup>530</sup>

### **Media Trial of the Opposition:**

For the media-trial of politicians, the government developed a unique programme called "Ehtesab" on Pakistan Television. The PPP chastised the government for using the programme to spread bad information and character assassinate its leaders.<sup>531</sup> Both the opposition and the administration, however, used the programme to accuse and blame each other for misdoings.<sup>532</sup> While Benazir used media apparatus to narrate transgressions of During Nawaz's previous administration, members of her former network emerged on television and admitted to allegations of corruption in her prior administration (1993-1996). Pro-Nawaz propaganda was all-consuming on Pakistani television, which tried to present him as a leader committed to ensuring national growth and enforcing justice.<sup>533</sup> A newspaper named Daily Ummat, published baseless data about a MNA. This issue was raised in Assembly.<sup>534</sup>

### **The Government-Opposition Relations:**

Benazir Bhutto-Zardari criticised the government's approach to the economic, India, and Kashmir. She demanded the establishment of a national government that encompassed political parties, the judiciary, the administrative branch of government, the military forces, and intelligence agencies. Since political parties alone cannot resolve the present crises, she thinks it is essential to develop broad consensus on them. She criticised the part that agencies play in undermining civil governments.<sup>535</sup> Benazir put out this proposal after acknowledging the establishment's role in the political system in an effort to promote consistency and open communication between politicians and the establishment; conversely, she intended to keep the establishment out of politics. Her proposal was denied by the administration.<sup>536</sup> She said that she was ignorant of the fact that if these organisations had toppled and subverted elected governments, they should be taken before the courts rather being given authority. In actuality,

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<sup>529</sup> M. Ziauddin, "Where is Najam Sethi?", Dawn, Karachi, May 11, 1999.

<sup>530</sup> Dawn, Karachi, May 26, 1999.

<sup>531</sup> Dawn, Karachi, June 11, 1997.

<sup>532</sup> M. Ziauddin, "Back to Square One", Dawn, Karachi, July 14, 1997.

<sup>533</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 4, December 30, 1998, 385

<sup>534</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, no. 7, March 22, 1999, 692

<sup>535</sup> Dawn, Karachi, June 30, 1997.

<sup>536</sup> Dawn, Karachi, June 30, 1997

the establishment engaged in its own games in the 1990s, favouring particular individuals and groups at different times. Democracy has been undermined by the establishment's blue-eyed men frequently changing.<sup>537</sup>

Nawaz addressed the nation on June 11, 1997, to commend the first 100 days of service of his government. He overstated his accomplishments and ascribed responsibility for the "wheat catastrophe" to the previous PPP administration. Benazir defended herself by attributing the crisis to the temporary government.<sup>538</sup>

### **Hasty Legislations:**

The government's total mandate in the Assembly pushed it to introduce legislation and have it passed as swiftly as possible. The federal judicial Academy Bill and the State Bank Pakistan Bill both were presented on the same day and also passed on the same day.<sup>539</sup> On April 8, 1997, the Family Courts (Amendment Bill), 1997 was presented and enacted by the National Assembly.<sup>540</sup> The Pakistan Standard and Quality Control authority Bill 1997 and The Pakistan Rangers Bill 1997 both bill was passed again on the same time.<sup>541</sup> Under the Act, the Family Courts were given the power to hear dowry cases. The opposition was not given enough opportunity to discuss the law since it was passed quickly. The administration was allowed to ignore the house's rules since it held a majority in the lower house. On May 26, 1997, the National Assembly passed three legislation to recover outstanding bank loans. These measures were once again defeated by the PML (N) majority.<sup>542</sup>

The government needed to deal with the quorum issue. The government failed to add 50 MNAs and over 19 Senators to the Treasury benches in the Senate and National Assembly during the second legislative year. The opponents also failed to properly respect the legislative process.<sup>543</sup>

The lack of quorum was also noted in the government's final year (1999).<sup>544</sup> Nawaz was unreachable to lawmakers in his chamber during the proceedings. He barely attended any of the meetings. He used to participate in important parliamentary meetings like the budget session, joint meetings, and constitutional amendment votes. In contrast to the previous administration (1993–1996), which convened twice-monthly meetings of the cabinet, these meetings were infrequent. A new session of the National Assembly or Senate did not begin

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<sup>537</sup> Dawn, Karachi, November 6, 1996

<sup>538</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 2, December 26, 1998, 217

<sup>539</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 9, No. 5, October 3, 1997. 138

<sup>540</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 7, April 8, 1997. 712

<sup>541</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, No. 11, May 22, 1997. 1283-1290

<sup>542</sup> The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, April 9, 1997.

<sup>543</sup> M. Ziauddin, "The Question of Quorum", Dawn, Karachi", January 23, 1999.

<sup>544</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 5, no. 15, January 15, 1999, 1465

with the customary parliamentary party gatherings. The parliamentary party meeting was conducted in June 1999 after ten months.<sup>545</sup>

### **1997 Constitutional crisis**

Sardar Akhtar Mengal addressed in assembly that Nawaz used his position as a senior judge to depose two close judges. This is an act like dictators did in past.<sup>546</sup> On the 26th of November 1997, the ousted judges filed a case in Quetta High Court challenging Nawaz's rulings on procedural grounds. Alishah was barred from hearing the case against the prime minister by his colleague's justices. Nawaz appeared at the Supreme Court on the 28th of November and defended his conduct, citing evidence against the two ousted justices. Alishah temporarily overturned the "Quetta High Court's judgment, but the Peshawar High Court" quickly followed suit, dismissing Alishah's closest judges. Judge Saeed uzaman Siddiqui, the assistant chief justice of the High Court of Peshawar, has appointed himself interim chief justice.<sup>547</sup>

### **Social Indicators of Poor Governance**

Opposition strongly condemned the policies of Nawaz in assembly by these words, "PM Nawaz Sharif's government was up against an uphill job on the social front, where there was a great need for advancement. The country's general predicament made a living a decent existence with all of life's amenities difficulties. Ethnic and political violence, sectarianism, and terrorism erupted, and life had lost all meaning and significance. Unemployment, poverty, and inflation were all factors that added fuel to the fire. Education and health care were in short supply for the average person. Suicide attempts, police torture, and extrajudicial executions have all risen. All of this has placed the administration on the defensive."<sup>548</sup> Without question, life is a gift from God, and suicide is the ultimate rejection of that gift. In Pakistan, the suicide rate has increased dramatically since 1997. Around 1000 suicides occurred, and the most serious condition of anti-government protest was self-immolation in many of these cases.<sup>549</sup>

### **Poor state of the education and health sectors**

During Nawaz Sharif's second term as prime minister, the former education minister brought up the fact that Pakistan too experienced subpar quality of teaching and a growing gap in student-teacher ratios. Teachers' training received just 4.9 percent of the entire financial allocation for education. This was a relatively low figure in a country like Pakistan, where educational standards are substantially below international standards. In 1990, the student-teacher ratio was 36 children per teacher; by 1999, it had risen to 52 kids per teacher.

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<sup>545</sup> M. Ziauddin, "The PM has Changed it All" Dawn, Karachi, June 23, 1999

<sup>546</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, no. 5, March 18, 1999,

<sup>547</sup> Farzana Shaikh, "Pakistan between Allah and army." (2000): 325-332.

<sup>548</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 9, no. 16, November 9, 1998, 285-294.

<sup>549</sup> Naveeda Khan, "Flaws in the Flow: Roads and their Modernity in Pakistan." Social Text 24, no. 4 (2006): 87-113.

This disparity was much too significant to have a favorable impact on the country's total education ratio.<sup>550</sup>

### **The State of Unemployment**

Ameen Fheem a senior parliamentarian brusted in hanger and shouted on the Rafique Ahmed Mehar that ‘‘the country's growing unemployment rate has particularly severely struck Pakistan's youth. In the late 1990s, 40.7 percent of young people were unemployed, compared to 23.6 percent of employed. The problem of underemployment was also a source of worry. Working fewer than 35 hours a week is considered underemployment. This increased from ten percent in the 1980s to 11.5 percent in 1997. Pakistan's unemployment painted a bleak image, as it bred a slew of other societal ills such as poverty, crime, and a low standard of living, among others.’’<sup>551</sup>.

### **Politics of Patronage and Personalization**

The elites' dominance in politics severely harmed the country's governing structure. They obstructed all improvements because they were staunch supporters of the status quo. Furthermore, the structure in existence was created solely to support their interests. People have often expressed their dissatisfaction with the country's political system, which they claim provides no cure for its poor. They didn't have any expectations of their elected political leaders in many circumstances. Pakistan has also been plagued by the problem of having the same political actors alternating between them, without someone who has the ability to make positive changes and enhance the conditions on the ground. The very same prime ministers have led the nation on several times.

### **Pakistan Taliban Policy 1997-1999**

Pakistan's domestic political crises had little impact on the country's Afghan strategy, as the ISI and military continued to support the Taliban. As a result, Nawaz Sharif's new administration continued to back the Taliban in Afghanistan. Even though the Government in Islamabad changed from February 1997 to October 1999, the substance of Pakistani policy toward Afghanistan remained the same. In their myopic vision, the Pakistani elite overlooked the local and regional consequences of supporting an irregular Islamist militia made up of a jumble of Afghan, Arab, and Pakistani factions with varying political ambitions<sup>552</sup>.

### **Army's Coup**

On the day of martial law in October 1999, Pakistan undoubtedly faced a significant governance crisis. There were issues of law and order; the poverty index was rising;

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<sup>550</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 7, no. 3, April. 1999, 61-80.

<sup>551</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan Debates: Official Report, vol. 6, no. 11, November. 1997. 23-31.

<sup>552</sup> Breheny, Emma. "Post-Election Terrorist Violence in Pakistan and the Quest for a New National Security Policy." *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 5, no. 10 (2013): 3-6.

corruption was rampant; institutional tussle, while undesirable, was a fact of life; unemployment hit the people hard; there was a sense of alienation and disturbance in smaller federating units, and nepotism and favouritism politics had tarnished the elected Government's very image. This benefited the armed forces, waiting for the right moment to strike. On the 12th of October 1999, while still in the air aboard the jet, Musharraf masterminded the coup that deposed Mian Muhammad Nawaz Shareef, the elected Government of Pakistan. The death of the elected Government saddened no one, and the reason was simple: the civilian Government's failed administration system.<sup>553</sup>

### **Dissolving of the PML {N} Government:**

The tensions between Nawaz and Musharraf first surfaced on October 12, 1999, in the late afternoon. When Musharraf returned from a business trip to Sri Lanka, Nawaz sacked him and replaced him as COAS with Lieutenant General Zia-ud-din Butt, the head of the ISI.<sup>554</sup> Nawaz ordered his jet to be diverted to Muscat when he realised it would be impossible for Musharraf to return, but due to a fuel shortage, he instead decided to lend it to him at Karachi.<sup>555</sup> Senior Generals were displeased by Nawaz's decision to remove Musharraf and replace him with a junior General who reacted swiftly to a plan Musharraf had drafted. Just a few minutes before General Butt was named the new COAS, the army captured PTV. All key structures were taken under military control, and Nawaz was given house arrest.<sup>556</sup> Nawaz was charged with meddling in military issues, politicising and weakening the army, and sowing discord among its personnel. On October 14, 1999, Musharraf became the presidency and proclaimed a state of emergency in accordance with the Provisional Constitution Order (PCO). Under the PCO, the Constitution was dissolved, but the President continued in office, the Provincial Assemblies and the Parliament were also suspended, and the governors, ministers, and advisers were all removed from their positions.<sup>557</sup>

Musharraf resigned after it was discovered that Nawaz had designed a plan to overthrow the government. However, it was asserted that Nawaz's departure had been planned in advance. A sizable component of brigade 111 was stationed at Bara Kaho (Islamabad), which was close to the Prime Minister's residence, before to the coup date. The brigade received walkie-talkies so they could interact with visitors to Prime Minister House. The administration appeared to be powerless, while the army remained a true power centre. Transfers of governments, but not of power, are believed to occur in Pakistan.<sup>558</sup> In truth, The

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<sup>553</sup> Umbreen Javaid, and Amir Latif. "Historical Analysis of Successive Governments in Pakistan: A History of First Six Decades, 1947-2007." *Pakistan Vision* 18, no. 1 (2017).

<sup>554</sup> Khan Kharal, "Sachha Kon?" {Urdu}, 13.

<sup>555</sup> Saeed Mahdi interviewed by Mazhar Abbass. ARY News, "Do Tok", May 30, 2010, part. 2, (broadcast).

<sup>556</sup> Kharal, Khan. Sachha Kon? {Urdu}, 13-14. "The News, Karachi," October 13, 1999. "Dawn, Karachi," October 13, 1999.

<sup>557</sup> The News, Karachi, October 15, 1999.

<sup>558</sup> Khan Kharal, Sachha Kon? (Urdu), 13

proclamation of martial law was prompted by the tumultuous ties between Nawaz and Musharraf and the schemes they were devising against one another. Since martial law was the sole means of saving Pakistan at the time, Musharraf boasted about enforcing it and claimed that doing so had rescued Pakistan.<sup>559</sup>

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<sup>559</sup> Pervez Musharraf interviewed by Aizaz Saiyd Dawn News, "Musharraf ki Wapsi?", April 16, 2011, (broadcast).

## Conclusion

The main aim of this study is to discern the role of Parliament of Pakistan, it also discussed the formation of assemblies from 1988 to 1999 and elaborated on the reasons behind every election and the significant constitutions passed during this era. Every era, 1988-90, 1990-93, 1993-96, 1996-99, has significant developments and challenges. However, we have discussed these developments and challenges in terms of differentiation, durability, autonomy, complexity, and the adoption of rules. As a result of Pakistan's emergence as a sovereign and independent state, the system has grown via reform and development.

Despite Pakistan's dedication to democracy, the country's history has been marked by the military dictatorship and dictatorial rulers. Even eras of democratic administration were not without their difficulties, with elected governments being deposed on various grounds. The period from August 1988 to October 1999 stands out as a test case in this context. In theory, transfer of power entails responsibility in the Parliamentary system of Government, but in Pakistan, the establishment has consistently abused its powers. The establishment gained political clout due to the leadership vacuum and institutional imbalance. There was no actual transfer of power to elected administrations at any point in time.

The return of democracy in 1988 was challenging concerning the establishment, which meant that it would be limited in its direct engagement in government activities. The establishment had a crucial role under military regimes, and it was maneuverer to remain long after elected governments took power. The military and civil bureaucracy worked together to destabilize elected governments. The development of non-elected institutions hampered the democracy process at the expense of elected ones. Non-democratic institutions became a hub of power politics, forcing selected institutions to participate in their power game, becoming the core of conspiracies and undemocratic actions. Throughout the decade (1988-99), institutions were at odds with one another in their quest for dominance. Institutions must help one another complete their roles under democracy, which has been absent in this century. These factors compelled governments to relinquish their powers to the establishment and encourage power politics, resulting in power imbalance and political instability. As Benazir's first administration (1988-90) resulted from a pact with the army, the military gained more influence. It became more politically potent than the civil bureaucracy during her first Government. Furthermore, foreign agencies like the USA had significant influence over Pakistani decision-making and pressed the Government to carry out its agenda. Internal and foreign pressures were constant on the regime. The power of the civil and military bureaucracies was equal in Nawaz's first ministry (1990-93). Nawaz had a tense relationship with the Chief of the Army Staff and a bureaucratic President, resulting in a robust civil-military bureaucracy interaction. Benazir's second Government (1993-97) form of governance was more bureaucratic and less aggressive.

The Government tried to keep the civil bureaucracy on its side by strengthening it, but it was ineffective. Due to government policies and General Jehangir Karamat's non-political attitude, the establishment's influence was limited under Nawaz's second term (1977-1999). Army intervention was resumed when General Musharraf was appointed Chief of the Army Staff. In this decade, the opposition played a somewhat democratic role. The opposition mainly had politicized the legislation and used the situation in their favour. Long marches, protests, and walkouts had thrown democracy into disarray. Every regime has encouraged the army to intervene in politics and overthrow the Government. In Pakistan, the opposition has backed the civil-military establishment in one way or another.

**Autonomy:** it means, the institution having some autonomy in its decision-making and not being dictated to by outside parties. The assemblies from 1988 to 1999 were not autonomous. As it's mentioned that all the 4 assemblies were not sovereign at all. Therefore, the autonomy in all assemblies were not can be seen. Before the elections Benazir as well as Nawaz Sharif campaigned for votes in which they promised that if they came in power, they would take several amendments in which all those undemocratic amendments will finish which limited the assembly and other public institutions. But they couldn't when they came in power. Even the members were not able enough to discuss the foreign policy and nuclear plan in assembly. 58(2)(B) was included in both Nawaz Shareif and Benazir manifesto to take amendments. But till 1996 for two times Benazir and for one time Nawaz Sharif could enjoy amendment in it. In his second term Nawaz Sharif finished 58(2)(B) and passed some new acts, bills, and amendments. In comparison, the assembly from 1996 to 1999 was little much autonomous as to other 3 assemblies.

**Differentiation :** Institutions-differentiation from its environment, the establishment of clear boundary lines that makes it distinctions veteran number, the 4 assemblies were much clear about differentiation. The boundaries of assembly were clear as compared to past one . Though establishment was seen involved in it , but due to international pressure on Pakistan after getting relief from long term of dictatorship of Zia and its emerging islamisation, the western countries specifically America wanted to see a democratic activities in Pakistan. Therefore, the assemblies' boundaries were clear much better than the assembly of Junejo and Ayub khan's assembly.

**Complexity:** In the term of complexity, all 4 assemblies were limited. The assembly were kept not much liberal about its own will. Article 58 (2)(B) was hanging on it like sward. On the other hand, the members were also not given fully freedom to discuss the matters openly. As Mr. Sher Afghan once said “ After a long struggle we rebuild this institution, we got freedom for democracy, we gained liberty from undemocratic, totalitarian, fascist, and long-term dictatorship. But still, we are not sovereign, we can't share openly about some departments and about their deeds that what they are doing still in a democratic government. If any of assembly

members share mistakenly some points. His telephone is traced, and unknown person seen behind them to follow them in the city.” By this statement a thing can be cleared that some departments were still powerful than the assembly and their strong influence were keeping unsovereign the assembly. During the era of Benazir first era (1988-90) Chudri Shujahat Hussain and Sheikh Rashid passed ordinance that they were being followed and their calls are being traced for a long. By such events this is clear that the assemblies from 1988 to 1999 were not sovereign at all.

***Durability:*** In the abilities to persist and adopt to change stable policies making, all the 4 assemblies were seen limited. As in a statement I mentioned before that the first three assemblies were not able to enough make amendments in the article 58(2)(B), due to which the past three assemblies were dissolved. Secondly, to adopt change or make new laws assemblies were not able enough besides the fourth assembly of Nawaz Sharif.

***Adoption of Rules:*** Due to intrigues and power politics by the opposition, Court, and establishment, no administration has been able to finish its constitutional terms in this decade. The governments were governed by the establishment and were not allowed to make choices independently. The civil-military bureaucracy nailed down the fundamental political issues, while political leaders were just utilized to deliver those choices to the public and confront the consequences. Furthermore, only one government channel, one commercial channel, and electronic media had less independence than the press. The press was more unrestrained under PPP regimes than under PML governments. The political process was interrupted five times between 1988 and 1999, preventing democratic progress. Political leadership remained immature due to the periodic toppling of administrations, and a culture of long-term planning did not emerge. The establishment has acted as a scrutineer, probing regimes' weaknesses and blackmailing them. The civil-military bureaucracy of Pakistan was the most skilled institution, advising politicians through political matters. Over time, bureaucracy gained control of the country and influenced political decisions. The military has also understood that it is necessary for Pakistan's survival and may become a player in power politics. When the army collaborated with the bureaucracy, it established itself and eventually became a crucial player in the power struggle. The bureaucracy-military alliance was unavoidable because the military needed a group to replace political parties when it came to power. Power struggles amongst power shareholders persisted during this period. The power disparity between elected and non-elected officials appeared to be designed to preserve power in the hands of the establishment, which impacted democratic institutions. The opposition and the judiciary also bolstered the establishment's stance. For the most part, the press did not have total freedom of expression, albeit it was better than under prior regimes.

## Major findings

- Democratic Government empowers citizens and allows them to live lives of their choosing. Pakistan's democracy, however, has various difficulties. Among these concerns, governance deserves particular emphasis. From 1988 to 1990, the PPP's running the assembly style was shaped by its precarious position in parliament and the country's overall unfriendly working climate. Benazir's assertions and fights for democracy building.
- Due to the frequent interruptions by entrenched interests, a sovereign assembly requires political concord, understanding, and broadmindedness, which have yet to acquire traction. Democratic institutions can be strengthened by political leaders' ethical conduct, spirit, and devotion. Unfortunately, none of these ideas were supported by Benazir's first-term assembly. Benazir Bhutto lacked the authority to do what she intended to achieve, which was to establish a more tolerant climate favorable to disseminating democratic ideals that would have allowed her to stay in power longer.
- The National assembly oversees appointing the President, making laws, assuring that executive fellows accomplish their duties correctly, and procuring a position for nationals' deputies to discuss issues in public. The most significant role of the National Assembly, which it shares with the Senate, is legislation.
- Both Nawaz Sharif Benazir and Bhutto were prime ministers of Pakistan for two terms, but both were deposed because they posed a threat to the military. Once in power, Bhutto attempted to amend the Constitution to limit the military's role. Despite this, the military-backed her opposition party's leader, Nawaz Sharif, to become Prime Minister and depose Bhutto. Therefore, assembly under both Benazir and Nawaz was not sovereign and running about its will. Sharif's relations improved with military assistance, but the army and the "Establishment" saw the economic and political reforms Sharif sought as a danger to their interests.
- The military commanders not only abolished and rejected democratic administration but also altered the Constitution to maintain military rule by devouring legislative, executive, and judicial powers in the present and future. Both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif failed to build democratic norms and ideals in assembly instead of focusing their efforts on weakening the military's control, ending in their exile. Between 1990 and 1998, Pakistan had a back-and-forth in political power between Bhutto and Sharif, which some think was sufficient to establish democratic political institutions. Nonetheless, these leaders exploited their political and military might to demonize opposing politicians.
- Pakistan's internal dynamics and national security concerns are influenced by the regional environment, particularly the fragile international ties with its neighbors. In its true sense, the Constitution should be the country's highest law. The application should be made correctly. In assembly the dominant party should actively participate in opposition party coordination,

especially committees, which opposition parties should share. The parliament's opposition should play a beneficial role in strengthening democracy. Assembly's term should be completed.

- In assembly this was seen that during the democratic decade of 1988-1999, Pakistan appeared to be divided, mainly on ethnic lines, with political parties such as the MQM ‘‘Muhajir Qaumi Movement’’ exemplifying the Urdu-speaking population. The MQM, a long-time opponent, staged an uprising in 1992, which was put down by security forces; the MQM divided and became embroiled in a factional battle. Shariah law was officially introduced into Pakistani law in 1991.
- In terms of economic development from 1988-to 99, it was seen that the Afghan civil war, the Kashmir dispute, and the arms race that India and Pakistan were embroiled in (both India and Pakistan declared nuclear weapons in 1998) were all too expensive. From 1997 the country's GNP fell. Nawaz Sharif's economic reform initiative, which began in 1991, did not provide the expected benefits right away. Pakistan joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995.
- Pakistan's democracy was destroyed between 1988 and 1999, starting with the founding of the nation. Pure democracy could not be maintained because of the inadequate and frail nature of our political party system, especially at a time when the government was moving away from a dictatorship. The military had a significant influence on the political system's base. Most of the time, Pakistani lawmakers carried with the directives of intelligence agencies and army generals. Army generals and governmental entities also utilised political parties, particularly some politicians, for their benefit. • Political leaders have worked to establish the National Assembly as the strong arena for conference today, speech, and ordinance in order to determine a lack of obligation to self-governing moralities. For parliamentary system to succeed, legislators must make improvements to the legislature.
- From 1988-to 1999, both the Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif governments were deposed due to misbehavior, incompetence, and corruption, which effectively eclipsed Pakistan's democratic development.

### **Recommendations**

- Through "debates, adjournment motions, question hour, and Standing Committees," the National Assembly shall maintain a sufficient check on the Executive to ensure that government regulation stays within the bounds of the Constitution and does not infringe on citizens' fundamental rights.
- There is a pressing need to increase public trust in the country's election process to build the National Assembly's credibility as a representative parliament.
- Tolerance can only be defeated by effective, fair, and prompt justice. An efficient judicial system, computerized courts and case-handling systems, an appropriate playing field,

transparency, due process, and judges' independence foster trust and motivate citizens to seek justice. Instead, the most apparent reaction to injustice is violence or corruption.

- The authority or jurisdiction should be consistent with the ability to govern it. Budgets, proper personnel and training, space and facilities, lawyer discipline, the power of contempt, and the decent pay that deters corruption and encourages competent attorneys to become judges are all things that the Court must regulate. Tolerance in society requires the judiciary to manage timely, cost-effective, and intelligent cases. Officials, and court administrators reporting directly to the head judge of the competent Court, conducting investigations, and monitoring the performance of the Court of First Instance can appropriately handle issues relating to its work and administration.
- The legislative must acknowledge the structural issues that exist in society due to social and economic imbalances, which obstruct the fulfillment of constitutionally protected fundamental rights. If these systemic issue behaviors are identified, legislation to adequately tackle human rights abuses will only be prepared.
- As an autonomous pillar of the state, the Court rests exclusively on judgment, and in an ideal world, its authority and satisfaction would come from the people's desires. To rebuild public trust in the judiciary and develop a culture of mutual understanding, we must rely on mediation and alternative conflict resolution.
- Government must operate within the fringes of the Constitution and must not interfere on people's basic rights. Through the activities of the pertinent prestige conferences, the Parliament should analyze public spending and exert oversight over government spending.
- Any portion of the bill that is sent back to the "Provincial Assembly" will be reviewed by that body. Let's say it is once more approved by the Provincial Assembly, either with or without changes, and with the majority of the members present and voting. If so, it must be submitted to the governor for approval. After that, the governor won't refuse to give his or her assent.
- Committees' primary function should be to assist Parliament in holding the Government accountable for its actions, scrutinize all government decisions in light of public needs, and assist Ministers in carrying out their responsibilities and improving their management performance, not only as oversight bodies that participate in policymaking at the highest levels but also as representatives of various political parties.
- Political modernization necessitates the strengthening of democracy, which may be accomplished by: ensuring that elections are held regularly and that no extra-constitutional tactics are used to invalidate such elections; providing incentives for political parties to shift away from religious and ethnic identity politics, and toward the issue, politics focused on economic, administrative, environmental, health, educational, gender, and minority issues; protecting the parliament against demands from other government branches; organizing

political parties to move away from donor-driven management and toward a political strategy based on institutional relationships to diverse parts of society.

The Decade of Democracy in Pakistan is named after 1988 to 1999; when democracy returned to Pakistan after a lengthy absence, it did not thrive considerably. The time was deplorable in various ways, including lousy government functioning, institutional meddling in political matters, etc. There were eleven governments throughout this period. During this time, the economy was weak, and the country was subjected to periodic economic penalties. No doubt, various significant developments remained prominent in this era of 1988-99, but the political mobilization was seen throughout these years. None of the governments has completed their five years. The president possessed a tremendous extent of presidential power under the Eighth Amendment, which he utilized to remove administrations that caused political instability in the state. For eleven years, the army dominated Pakistan; yet, they were no longer actively involved in Pakistani politics, and they did not allow Pakistani politicians to function freely. As a result, phrases like directed democracy and managed democracy were employed to describe democracy. The judiciary once again granted Pervez Musharraf's power legal protection based on necessity ideology. In other words, the army believes itself exclusively patriotic and capable of protecting the nation's most significant interests and establishing the most acceptable political Government.

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