

Politics of Opposition in Pakistan: A Study of Benazir Bhutto

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my personal research and is not being submitted concurrently to any other University, for any degree what so ever.

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CERTIFICATE BY RESEARCH SUPERVISOR

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Supervisor.....

Examiner.....

Chairman.....

I dedicated my whole work and efforts to my parents and family members especially my mother who support me to throughout the life.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|----------------------------------------|
| ANP | Awami National Party |
| B.N.P | Baloch National Party |
| BB | Benazir Bhutto |
| COAS | Chief of Army Staff |
| C.M | Chief Minister |
| FATA | Federally Administrated Tribal Areas |
| I.M.F | International Monetary Fund |
| IJI | Islami Jamhuri Ittehad |
| IJM | Islami Jamhuri Mahaz |
| J.I | Jamat-i-Islami |
| JWP | Jamhuri Watan Party |
| MQM | Mahajar Qaumi Mahaz |
| MRD | Movement for Restoration of Democracy |
| N.A | National Assembly |
| N.W.F.P | North Western Frontier Province |
| ODGCL | Oil & Gas Company Development |
| P.D.A | Pakistan Democratic Alliance |
| P.M | Prime Minister |
| PIF | Pakistan Islamic Front |
| PML (J) | Pakistan Muslim League (Junejo) |
| PML (N) | Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) |
| PPP | Pakistan People Party |
| PTCL | Pakistan Telecommunication Company Ltd |
| PTI | Pakistan Tehrek e Insaf |
| U.S.A | United States of America |

Abstract

Benazir Bhutto was the first Muslim female Prime Minister of a Muslim country, but most of her political career she was in opposition, even in the tenure of Zia, Nawaz Sharif or Musharaf, to Pakistanis she had become a hope for better future; she had become a symbol of freedom to the world. She would have thoughts that she would like Pakistan to emerge out of the darkness of illiteracy as she had judged our country on its merits and talent.

Being a leader of opposition she always opened those issues which were in favor of Pakistan's public. She always discussed the issues of military involvement and non-democratic alliance against the policies of democratic governments. She openly spoke the issues on federal budget, she highlighted the image of Pakistan in her lectures to foreign countries, she suggested government on foreign issues like Pak India relationships, Pak America relationships, and the relations of Pakistan with other countries. Being opposition leader she highlighted the corruption of government, threat to the public property of Pakistan, effort on quest for the peace process with India, Kashmir issue, privatization of government properties, long march on election riggings, government negligence to control the border issues with India, amendments in constitution by Nawaz government, non-democratic steps by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. She has proved herself as true leader of opposition.

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Introduction

Political instability is the problem of many developing countries. Different political experiments were taken place in those countries where development is always a problem. Pakistan is also one of those countries. Political parties tried to test both parliamentary and presidential systems of government. Martial Laws were imposed in Pakistan for number of times and in the country. For fewer numbers of years democratic governments were given chances but they could not perform as they could, this was due to their inexperience approach and non-availability of environmental support which they need at that time.

Scholars and political historians tried to explain the problems of these inexperience democratic parties to find out the reasons for instability of democratic system in the country. Some of them explained it in very authentic way, and some of them failed to capture the clear picture of the problems. Some of them focused on the role of government and some of them explained the role of different institutions like military and bureaucracy. The role of military could not be ignored because it always tried to solid its impact on democratic setup of the country; this was due to the negligence and ineffectiveness of these democratic systems. These weaknesses were due to economic instability and dependence on other financial institutes of the world. Some of scholars called it national movement's problems and other has said it's colonial legacy. The role of conflict and contradictions inherent between, democratic and non-democratic forces, in the history of Pakistan the role of opposition parties is always very significant in surviving the democratic government¹.

In modern history Benazir Bhutto was the first female prime minister of a Muslim country. She was the women who represented a brilliant family unit with a capacity to lead

¹ Kausar Parveen, *The politics of Pakistan role of opposition 1947 to 1958* (Karachi: Oxford University Press,2013),16

the nation and a commitment to execute the needs of the common man. Her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the originator of people's politics and the founder of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). He sacrifice his life for the masses of country. After the demise of her father, Benazir Bhutto had to take on the mission of not only to lead PPP, and the nation of Pakistan, but also to tackle grave challenges that would have deterred another person. Her exceptional leadership abilities not only brought her to power twice but also for the third time in unusual circumstances but it cost her life.

After the loss of Z.A.Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto's leadership was challenged by her political rivals as well as by some members of her own party. The forces which created terrific problems for her were innumerable, including a cruel dictator, fundamental religious groups, civil society organizations, and leaders from inside and outside and some international organizations.² All these forces tried to create hurdles for her. But she successfully met the challenges and achieved what she was aiming at. She was prepared with amazing capabilities, determination and purpose which enabled her to face so many enemies, rivals, and trials. Due to her strange capability, she was able to resist and overcome all the challenges and restored democracy in country.

The path that brought her to power had led through expel, captivity and huge political conflict. There were gigantic adversities, challenges, opposition, and trails for Benazir Bhutto to prevail over before she got into the mainstream politics of the country. It was her spirit and her logical abilities which enabled her to survive with all sorts of situations and create and era making event not only in the in the history of Pakistan but for the entire Muslim humanity³.

² Jahangir Badar, Political Leadership: A Case Study of Benazir Bhutto un-published PhD thesis, (Lahore: University of the Punjab, 2013),4

³ Ibid.

Benazir Bhutto became the chairperson of PPP after the death of her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, she faced many problems in the era of General Zia from 1979 to 1984 as she was self-exiled several times, she suffered a period of detention. In 1986 she landed in Lahore and led a mammoth procession even bigger support than her father. This was the new face of the power of the people of Pakistan. PPP boycotted the elections held in 1985 under Zia's Regime as Zia tried to take elections on non-party bases. Later on she realized that it was a mistake, and she was elected the first female prime minister of Pakistan after the death of General Zia and elections were held in 1988.

After winning the election the agenda of PPP remained the same as they promised to end poverty, eliminate slums, illiteracy and ill health, social and economic injustice and to unite the nation which was divided into sectarian differences and ethnic groups. Before launching the campaign for office, her father had ten years of cabinet experience as a minister under the tenure of Ayub Khan. But Benazir Bhutto was not aware as much about the governmental issues. She failed to put a check on corruption in her first tenure as her first tenure was a great disappointment for the people of the country.⁴ She had also a weak position to keep parliament busy in its activities. According to some media reports, her husband Asif Ali Zardari was a person who had serious allegations of corruption upon himself and became the most notorious figure of her party. Both at the center and provincial level the economy also suffered due to the prevailing uncertainty.

Her government was dismissed by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan as she failed to maintain the relationship with the power structure of the country. Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed her government on the charges of corruption, nepotism, and incompetence.

⁴ Newspapers Reports

Benazir Bhutto was failed to restore the constitution of 1973 as she promised in her campaign⁵.

After her dismissal, new elections were taken place in 1990, but this time *Islami Jamoohri Itthad* (IJI) won the election and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was elected as prime minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto was elected as leader of opposition. During this time period she played the role as her best, she highlighted the negligence of government, on parliamentary issues but supported the government on national issues and continued her effort for best democratic system. She bear the attitude of Nawaz Sharif and other leaders in government, especially the behavior of Jaam Sadiq⁶, she highlighted the image of Pakistan by giving lectures in foreign countries, against the non-democratic and corruption issues of Nawaz Sharif she openly discussed these issues with public to aware them about the activities of the government.

People supported her opposition in every aspect, her call for long march against Nawaz Sharif government was one of the evidences when people came out and supported her very well. At the end, Nawaz government was dismissed in same way as President Ghulam Ishaq Khan done with Benazir earlier.

Again in 1993, she was lucky when elected as Prime Minister again, this time she was experienced and had best opportunity to demonstrate her political as well as her administrative abilities. This time due to corruption charges and inability of handling the issues President Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari dismissed her government.⁷

In general elections of 1996, she was defeated by Nawaz Sharif with heavy mandate, but as per past, losing party blamed rigging on wining parties once again Benazir Bhutto had to sit opposition benches in assembly, she again focused on the issues of government

⁵ Nazo Bibi, *Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister of Pakistan 1993 to 1996* (Islamabad: Department of History Quid e Azam University Islamabad, 2007), 5

⁶ He was Chief Minister of Sindh Province

⁷ Dawn, November 6, 1996.

but this time different challenges were faced by both government and opposition, the danger of atomic war between Pakistan and India, after atomic blast from both countries. This time Nawaz Sharif was again faced corruption charges by opposition and Nawaz government has been dismissed by General Pervaz Musharaf.

Pervaz Musharaf took the country as chief executive than president of the country but this time Benazir Bhutto was not opposition leader, she had to face exile by Musharaf and all of her political activities were controlled from abroad. PPP was the third party in assembly after surprising victory of PML (Q), a party supported by establishment of the country. Their opposition party was *Muthida Majalas e Amal* (MMA), a group of religious parties. During this tenure, Nawaz and Benazir joined their hand against Musharaf signing the Charter of Democracy (COD) in London and agreed to work for democracy in Pakistan. Due to their effort Musharaf was forced to allow participation of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. He provided the route of NRO to both leaders and they were allowed to participate in election but unfortunately Benazir Bhutto was shouted in Liaqat Bagh Rawalpindi on 27 December 2007.

Statement of the Problem and Hypothesis.

The role of opposition leaders was not clearly understood before this role was adopted by Benazir Bhutto, there were almost eleven years of dictatorship by General Zia, in two years of her government there was not a significant opposition party except Pakistan Muslim League. Benazir Bhutto was the strongest opposition leader in the parliament throughout the history of the country.

Significance of the Study:

A lot of research work has been done on political character of Benazir Bhutto including her prime mastership, party leader, and legislative role in parliament but little and

scattered work has been available on her role as leader of the opposition. So the present work is the pioneering effort about her role as opposition in the democratic and military governments in Pakistan. In the politics of Pakistan, this work focuses on the general pattern of the political opposition. In the context of government opposition relationship, this work purely shows an understanding on the democratic environment of Pakistan. To make Pakistan an independent state, this work is an effort to show the importance of opposition, its general function in democratic system and specific function in parliamentary democracy. As opposition is an integral part of the democratic system so this study improves the image of opposition with regard to the recognition of its role. This work shows that how opposition works on tolerating dissent, developing consensus and promoting the culture of accommodating viewpoints. This time period is the base for democratic Pakistan, political development and significant directions have been settled in these years of Pakistan. The historical pattern that was developed subsequently to settle down the role of opposition and its understanding in democratic environment has been salted in this tenure of Benazir Bhutto. In any society, political parties are most institutionalized and organized agent of the democratic setup. Political stability of any democratic system largely depends on role of opposition parties in any country. The roots of democracy have been built in this tenure of Pakistan, the trends of patience and tolerance have been settled down by Benazir Bhutto.

Research Questions:

What is the role of opposition parties in constitutional development of Pakistan, does the role of opposition leader have significant impact on political stability?

What factors could play an important role while discussing the political stability in a democratic system of government?

Does opposition character of Benazir Bhutto highlighted the significant image of Pakistan at international level?

What strategy was adopted by Benazir Bhutto to fight against dictatorship and to fight in democratic system for the survival of democracy?

Methodology:

This research is based on historical data, so for the purpose of historical data collection, digital and print libraries are helpful along with, newspapers, research articles, books of historian who worked on the different roles of Benazir Bhutto, research papers, Electronic and print media sources are also helpful to get historical data. National Assembly debates. Research method will be descriptive and analytical. All sources of data collection will used to make a composite and comprehensive file on the role of opposition leader by Benazir Bhutto. Turabian manual has been followed for citation and bibliography.

Organizational Structure:

The whole work will be divided in to four parts/ chapters besides introduction and conclusion, first chapter provides detail about the historical background and family structure of Bhutto family, including their political activities in Pakistan and before partition. This chapter has also explain the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) which was started by Benazir Bhutto after the death of her father in General Zia's tenure, second chapter has based on her first tenure as a leader of opposition, how she deals with government and their activities and how she worked as opposition leader in democratic way. Third chapter has explain about her second tenure as opposition leader. This was the time when she was dismissed second time as Prime Minister and Nawaz Sharif was elected as Prime Minister, this was also second chance of Nawaz Sharif. Fourth chapter based on her role as a part of opposition against dictatorship of Pervaiz Musharaf and elections those were taken up under dictatorship. This chapter further highlight her efforts for the survival of democracy, this was also second time when she had to face a dictator after the regime of General Zia ul Haq.

Review of related literature:

A lot of work has been done on the political effort of Benazir Bhutto and sufficient material is available on this period. The available data based on different aspect of the life and time of Benazir Bhutto but no data hardly available any specific focus on opposition leader's role of Benazir Bhutto. Historian worked a lot on her effort for democracy, restoration of democracy, her voice on human right and many other aspects of life. A biography of Benazir Bhutto named "*Benazir Bhutto: a Political Biography*" by Muhammad Ali Sheikh provide a narrative of her life and challenges as well as her political career. He discussed the problems, dilemmas, confrontations and issues she faced in her first tenure of government. He also explained the circumstances under which she deals the problems in her own democratic way. He mostly focused on her first tenure of government and slightly focused on second tenure. He discussed the issues of her opposition working capacity and this book is useful to understand her methods of opposition in parliaments⁸.

Pakistan in the twentieth century: a political history by Lawrence Ziring provided useful and critical analysis on the issues. He discussed that how Benazir Bhutto served in her life for democracy in Pakistan. Her style of governing and parliamentary style of leadership has been discussed⁹.

A book written by Kausar Parveen titled "*The Politics of Pakistan: Role of the Opposition 1947 to 1958*". This book is written on earlier tenure of Pakistan but this book helped us a lot to understand theoretical framework about the role of opposition in a democratic states.¹⁰

⁸ Muhammad Ali Sheikh, *Benazir Bhutto: A Political Biography* (Karachi: Orient Book Publishing house, 2000)

⁹ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the 20th Century* (Karachi: Oxford University Press Karachi, 1997)

¹⁰ Kausar Parveen, *The Politics of Pakistan Role of Opposition 1947 to 1958* (Karachi: (Oxford University Press, 2013)

Another useful book on Benazir Bhutto has been written by Shyam Bhatia with the name of “*Goodbye Shahzadi: A Political Biography of Benazir Bhutto*” this book helped us to understand the whole life of Benazir Bhutto as the writer of this book was close companions of Benazir Bhutto.¹¹

A book named “*Benazir Bhutto*” has been written by Mercedes Padrino, she discussed her life throughout and Benazir Bhutto being opposition leader has also been discussed by the writer. This book explains her earlier days of political as well as her efforts for women rights in Pakistan.¹²

Leading Women: Benazir Bhutto written by Corinne J. Naden, she discussed the issues of her government and opposition, her exile and assassination, a specific chapter included with the name of Benazir Bhutto as opposition leader¹³.

Katherine M. Doherty and Craig A. Doherty discussed her earlier life, her efforts for democracy and they also discussed her working efforts in her first tenure of government in their book named *Benazir Bhutto*¹⁴.

“*Pakistan: A Modern History*” written by Ian Talbot, he worked on critical analysis on the history of Pakistan and his work included the government and opposition tenure of Pakistan¹⁵.

Libby Hughes discussed Benazir Bhutto in his book named *From Prison To Prime Minister*, as Benazir Bhutto had to face hurdles while she was just entering in politics, so Hughes discussed the whole scenario in which she was poisoned several times in her life

¹¹ Shyam Bhatia, *Goodbye Shahzadi: A Political Biography of Benazir Bhutto* (New Dehli : Lotus collections, 2008)

¹² Mercedes Padrino, *Benazir Bhutto* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004)

¹³ Corinne Naden, *Leading Women Benazir Bhutto* (New York: Marshal Cavendish Benchmark, 2011)

¹⁴ Katherine Doherty, *Benazir Bhutto* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1990)

¹⁵ Ian Talbot , *Pakistan: A Modern History* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1999)

when she was fighting for democracy in Pakistan and then elected as youngest Prime Minister of Pakistan¹⁶.

Constitutional and political history of Pakistan discussed by Hamid Khan, he focused on the constitutional amendments in constitution of Pakistan, election results in Pakistan and how political structure take place in Pakistan¹⁷.

Bashir Riaz wrote *Bhutto Khandan: Jahid e Musalsal* focusing on efforts of Bhuttos, Martial laws in Pakistan, East Pakistan tragedy, Benazir Bhutto's efforts on MRD and on the assassination of Benazir Bhutto¹⁸.

Rana Zia ul Haq discussed the issues in *Jamoriat: Talwar se Teer Tak*, he encompasses the efforts of Bhuttos, while they are in government or in opposition, he tried to cover all areas of Benazir Bhutto's life including her efforts for democracy and the circumstance in which she become prime minister two times and opposition leader. His writing style was very positive as it was in favor of Bhuttos¹⁹.

¹⁶ Libby Hughes , *From Prison to Prime Minister* (New York: Dillon Press Backinprint , 1990)

¹⁷Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and political history of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press , 2011)

¹⁸ Bashir Riaz, *Bhutto Khandan: Jahid e Musalsal* (Lahore: Book Home Publisher, 2009)

¹⁹ Rana Zia , *Jamoriat: Talwar se Teer Tak* (Bawalpur: Usman Publishers, 1994)

Chapter 1

Early Life of Benazir Bhutto

Before analyzing the role of Benazir Bhutto as opposition leader, it is appropriate to know about her political family background because her entire family and her ancestors were full involved in politics throughout their whole life, even from Mir Ghulam Murtaza Bhutto senior, and Sir Shahnawaz, the grandfather of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Father of Z.A Bhutto were also significant politicians. This was also important that how Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto guided her daughter for politics even from her student life to be a best politician. So to know about her family background is important as the importance of her role of opposition, she was very young when she had to start Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) when her father was hanged till death. She had to work for MRD and this was the time when she was practically preparing herself for the role of opposition leader in parliament.

Bhutto Family in historical context:

Throughout the history of Sindh, the women of the Sindh province have been noted for their grace and beauty. To the beauty and the charm of the Sindh's women, both Alexander the Great and Chengiz Khan paid glowing tribute to this area. Furthermore, from this land most of the folk stories revolve around the female character. By the most popular sufi / mystic poet of the Sindh have been sung these poems by Shah Abdul Latif Bhattai, Like struggle for the justice, patience, love, honors and pride, his heroines have been the virtual representation of all noble values. They were the general population of solid spirit and courage²⁰.

²⁰ Sheikh, *Benazir Bhutto*, 4

This family, initially a Hindu Rajput of Rajasthan, India, embraced Islam in the administration of Great Mughals as an issue of conviction. They rendered yeoman's services to the cause of Islam and become the part of the Muslim army after their conversion to Islam. To Bhutto and tribal chief, the mogul emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir (1658-1707) accorded regal title of "Khan" in the seventeenth century²¹.

The family of the Banzir Bhutto owned much of the land in Sindh and also considered as one of the largest employers of the region in the agriculture sector. Their land was measured in square miles not in acres like those of other landlords of the Sindh. With a variety of fruits and vegetables, they produce many crops like cotton, wheat, sugarcane and cereal. Even they were peace loving people but they never tolerated any slight to their honors or possessions. In Sindh (1740 - 1786) a local tribe related to the ruling dynasty attempted to grab the fertile agricultural land of Bhuttos during the rule of Kalhoras. They recovered the lost territory and reestablished their power and authority in this area as the physical attack was not tolerated by the Bhuttos who fought back with those force. Honor and property become a distinguishing mark of the next generations of the Bhuttos, the spirit of back against any on slaughter on their dignity²².

Almost the center of the Sindh Benazir Bhutto's native place is Larkana. It is also known as Nukhlustan that meaning the oasis due to the fertility of its soil. It houses the ruins and the remains of Mohenjo-Daro the capital of the five thousand year old Indus Valley Civilization as the area has yet another unique distinction. In 1920, under the supervision of Sir John Marshall established beyond any doubt that civilization belonged to third millennium BC and it was a contemporary as archaeological excavations carried out in the region, if not older than those of Mesopotamia, Persia and Egypt²³.

²¹ Abdul Ghafoor Bhurgri , *Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto: The Falcon of Pakistan*(Karachi: Oxford publishers,1990), 29

²² Sheikh , Benazir Bhutto, 5

²³ Ibid, 4

When Kalhoras were administering in Sindh under the suzerainty of Mogul Emperors, the Bhutto family moved to Sindh during the reign of Moguls. They settled and built up themselves in Taluka Ratodero, District Larkana where rice, cotton and sugarcane was produced in plant and possessed immense tracts of fruitful area in the District of Larkana, Jacobabad and Shikarpur. In this manner the Bhutto family was greatest and wealthiest landowner in Sindh and their style of living and acting was very surprising from rest of their class in Sindh; they at long last put stock in dignity display, poise and power, they could confront any circumstance any enemy and respect, and not at all like numerous different proprietors had. Even the fiercest of their foes and battled their approach to triumph they never submitted or surrendered. Accordingly they were treated with honor by the leaders of Sindh Indeed, even the leaders of Sindh were a few times uneasy of their rebellion, including the courageous Talpurs²⁴.

Zulfiqar's ancestors were owned thousands of acres of land in Sindh as they were rich and powerful. You could travel the countryside on horseback for an entire day and never leave Bhutto owned property as local Sindhi legends had it. Mir Ghulam Murtaza Bhutto, the subsequent taking away of his family property and his enforced exile in neighboring country Afghanistan, he was the grandfather of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and still remembered in Sindh for his love affair with an Englishwomen. He was died at the age of 30 in 1899 when return back to Larkana after one month exile²⁵.

From an early age, his son and Zulfiqar's father, Sir Shahnawaz born in 1888, he was an active political worker from his early age. Shahnawaz was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi at the age of 31 in 1919, before this, he took charge of his family estates at the age of 21 and was chosen as a leader of the Muslims of Sindh at the

²⁴ Sheikh, 5

²⁵ Bhatia, *Good Bye Shehzadi*, 12

age of 25. Until 1934, he remained the president of the Larkana District Board. He was elected as member of Bombay legislative council in 1936. He was invited to participate in the London round table conference on India between 1930 and 1933 as leader of Sindh Muslim community²⁶.



Zulfiqar attended secondary school in Bombay before being accepted at the University of California from where he was graduated in political science and he was the lawyer by profession. Zulfiqar's marriage was arranged according to local customs of Sindh at the age of 15 years only with a fellow Sindhi named Shireen Amir Begum In 1943, she outlive him by 24 years. The couple spent no time together in practice. Zulfiqar enrolled in university at the age of 19, to read for a law degree he then moved to Oxford University. He married to Bombay born Nusrat Ispahani when he was still student there in 1951²⁷.

²⁶ Bhatia, Good Bye Shehzadi,10

²⁷ Ibid, 11

Early Life Spam of Benazir Bhutto:

On June 21, 1953, Benazir Bhutto was born at Pinto Hospital in Karachi, Pakistan. Her mother Nusrat Bhutto, previously was Nusrat Ispahani, is the younger daughter of an Iranian representative businessman. Her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, an Oxford taught legal counselor, a bureau minister was an individual from one of Pakistan's wealthiest landowning families. Benazir Bhutto was the elder child of Zulfikar and Nusrat Bhutto. They had three other kids: Mir Murtaza was born in 1954; Sanam, younger sister was born in 1957; and Shah Nawaz was born in 1958.²⁸

At childbirth, Benazir Bhutto's skin was rosy pink, which is irregular among the typically dim complexioned Pakistanis. Her pink look during childbirth turned into the ground of her deep rooted family mark: Pinkie. Her given name Benazir signifies "without parallel." She was named after a close relative (aunt) who had died while in her initial high school. Lady Khurshid Bhutto gave one hundred rupees to a poor man when she went in the city upon the day off her birth, her fatherly grandma²⁹.

Both of Benazir Bhutto's parents were Muslims, most Pakistanis have a place with the Sunni branch of Islam, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and whatever remains of the Bhutto family. Nusrat Bhutto, as most Iranians, has a place with the Shiite order. Benazir Bhutto was raised and was a Sunni Muslim. Her family, be that as it may, was significantly more lively in their perspectives than most of the general population in Pakistan.

This dynamic state of mind drove her parents to give her the best education available. Going to the Lady Jennings Nursery School in Karachi, she began nursery school when she was three. Keep running by Irish Catholic, at the age of five she was enlisted at the Convent of Jesus and Mary School, made no effort to change over their Muslim understudies to

²⁸ Doherty, Benazir Bhutto, 23

²⁹ Ibid

Catholicism, They instructed in English. Notwithstanding her school work, Benazir Bhutto got private mentoring at home in both scholarly and religious subjects. She needed to learn Arabic as a major aspect of her religious commitments. The Quran, the Islamic sacred book, must be perused in Arabic by Muslims³⁰

Her attachment to politics in Student Life:

She was just sixteen, two years younger than the greater part of her schoolmates, at the point when Benazir Bhutto enrolled at Radcliffe in the fall of 1969. She was the first Bhutto lady to go to school in the West. Her mom went with her to the United States and stayed in Cambridge for two weeks helping her to get settled. Muslims are required to say prayers five times each day confronting Mecca, their blessed city, situated in Saudi Arabia. Nusrat Bhutto learned Mecca's course so that her little girl's supplications would be done properly.

Benazir Bhutto was a part of the anti-Vietnam War campaign at Harvard. She walked against the Vietnam War on Boston Common and Washington, D.C. She showed in spite of the way that she knew she could have been extradited for doing as such. Her restriction to the war more likely than not been on political grounds since, she was a staunch guard of her nation's entitlement to utilize military power to attempt and stop the division of the nation when Pakistan battled its common war in East Pakistan³¹.

Benazir Bhutto additionally got to be interested with the ladies' development; it is to some extent from this deception she was much later ready to consider herself to be the pioneer of a nation. When one of her educators, Michael Walzer, censured Pakistan and its military approaches for its part in the common war in East Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto stood

³⁰ Ibid, 5

³¹ Sheikh, Benazir Bhutto, 65

up in class and discredited his announcements. Her energetic resistance of her nation was the principal sign of what a moving and intense open speaker she would get to be.

Political grooming:

Benazir Bhutto had initially expected to study Psychology research at Radcliffe but she moved to look for a degree in comparative government. After graduation her plan was to enter the diplomatic corps of Pakistan. Her father regularly include her in his official visits to foreign nations during her school vocations, this desire was powered by her father³². General Yahya Khan sent Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to the United Nations in New York, at the point when Benazir Bhutto was a junior student at Radcliffe. On behalf of East Pakistan fight for independence, Bhutto tried and negotiated a settlement to the Indian military intervention. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto called his daughter and invited her to join him when he was on the way to New York. Benazir Bhutto expected Pakistan to be blameless and India to be condemned by the United Nations Security Council with the idealism of a college student³³.

The superpowers were sided with India and Bangladesh was created for a variety of the reasons that had nothing to do with what is just or unjust. In the meeting of United Nations she was with her father. Benazir Bhutto also met with the person who could be the next president of US and she could be the next prime minister of Pakistan being an ironic outcome of her visit to the United States. Benazir Bhutto was introduced to the President Nixon's ambassador to the United States named George Bush. Bush offered Benazir that her son is also at Harvard with Benazir, she could look him up if she needed any help.

³² Hughes, *From Prison to Prime Minister*, 12

³³ *Ibid*, 15

Simla Accord:

Just on suggestions of her father she took the subjects of Politics, Economics and Philosophy and stayed there for a long time to finish her studies, finally she moved from Harvard to Pakistan. It could be said that Benazir was there in US just because of military legislatures³⁴. In June 1972 when Benazir Bhutto came to Pakistan for spending her vocations at home; her father took her with him to participate in 'Simla Accord'. So she was included into her dad's official delegations to India. Z.A. Bhutto at the end of the day proposed her lesson of diplomacy while going up against the board, 'Everybody would search for indications of how the meetings are going on, while our soldiers were still in Indian as prisoners of the war of 1971, so you need to be more careful. And you should be serious looked rather than the feeling of joyful³⁵.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi met away in closed doors to settle their issues. Due to some degree to the mystery of their discussions, the eye of the media was turned on Benazir Bhutto. As she turned out to be increasingly imperative in the legislative issues of her nation she encountered the investigation that would proceed.



³⁴ P.LBhola ., *Benazir Bhutto, opportunities and challenges*, (New Delhi: Yuvraj Publishers, 1989), 163

³⁵ Doherty, *Benazir Bhutto*,29

Visit to China while she was student at Radcliffe:

While at Radcliffe, Benazir Bhutto likewise went with her dad to China and set in on his meeting with Chairman Mao, which made her liberal, scholarly and intellectual companions at Harvard green. Benazir Bhutto likewise went to meet President Nixon in White House when her dad was in Washington, D.C. on a state visit³⁶.

Graduated from Radcliffe

In 1973, Benazir Bhutto graduated cum laude from Radcliffe, which has since been consumed by Harvard University. She had learned and experienced much in her four years at Harvard in the turbulent mid-1970s. Regardless of the progressions she may have experienced two things stayed enduring: her commitment to Islam and her dedication to Pakistan. The two things were knotted in this lady who was bound for authority. Pakistan exists as a country for the Muslims on the subcontinent, and Benazir Bhutto speaks to the original to be conceived Pakistani³⁷.

Student life at Oxford:

To an official visit to the quantity of European nations which was a decent affair for her, on landing to Pakistan she at the end of the day ran with her dad. She was in Pakistan when new Constitution of 1973 was applied to the legislative affairs in Pakistan on 14, August 1973. During those days she moved to England in Oxford University for doing her graduation. In an unofficial discussion she reviled that while doing her graduation at Oxford she was known as "Benazir" however when she was learning at Harvard she was known as 'Pinkie'³⁸.

She met with President Nixon and the Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at a White House Dinner, while studying at Oxford University in September 1973 she visited with her

³⁶ Zain Omer Farooq, *Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto: A Hagiography*, (Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS) Vol. 29, No. 2, December 2009), 355

³⁷ Doherty, Benazir Bhutto, 30

³⁸ The New York Times, 02 December 2, 1988

dad on a visit to the US. Kissinger was particularly inspired by the personality of the Benazir Bhutto. At dining table he talked to Z.A. Bhutto and told him that her daughter is even more intimating than him³⁹.

Z.A Bhutto taking to Benazir Bhutto on visits to foreign countries and discussed the strategy about foreign countries with her, he considered the point of views of Benazir Bhutto at whatever point he could. Intentionally or unwittingly, he was preparing her for politics. So she flew from London to Lahore to participate in second Islamic Summit at Lahore in which the top most leaders of Muslim Ummah were partaking, in February 1974⁴⁰.

Oxford Union Debating Society:

Essentially her desire was to join Pakistan's remote administrations, not to end up a government official, she was of the conclusion that her propensity was not towards legislative issues, and it was her dad to whom she needed to please by joining oxford union.⁴¹

On the British House of Commons, from Oxford Union Debating Society, which was framed in 1823 and is demonstrated, this society was said to be a preparation ground for future politicians. Benazir Bhutto joined at her dad's suggestion and soon she was interesting in the affairs of the society. During the numerous civil arguments she took an interest in, her forces of rhetoric, which had just started to develop at Radcliffe blossomed⁴².

She additionally got to be dynamic in the affairs of the union. She served on its standing panel and as treasurer. Her first effort to wind up president of the Oxford Union Debating Society finished in defeat

³⁹ Sheikh, Benazir Bhutto, 70

⁴⁰ Ibid, 70

⁴¹ Amir Ahmed Khuhro, "The Role of Benazir Bhutto in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy: An Analysis" (International Journal of Social Science and Humanity, Vol. 3, No. 3: May 2013), 275

⁴² Hughes, *From Prison to Prime Minister*, 19

She had finished her second Bachelor of Arts degree in philosophy, economics and politics. She then chose to remain focused one more year to study international laws and diplomacies to make another year for the membership of the union. Her sibling, Mir Murtaza Bhutto, went along with her at Oxford during her fourth year. In December 1976, Benazir Bhutto was elected president of the Oxford Union, after an exceptionally energetic struggle. The first Asian lady to serve as president, she served a three-month term which started in January 1977. Her dad had been the principal Asian individual to hold that office. Ironically it would be eleven years before Benazir Bhutto would keep running for another chose office and that her second political triumph would make her prime minister of one hundred million Pakistanis⁴³.

After completing her studies she decided to go back to Pakistan, so that she could participate in politics and help her father in state affairs.

In Islamabad when she stepped off from airplane into the arms of her father, he said, “thanks God my daughter have completed her education and now at home, now she can help me”. Those were the words of her father that wanted to listen after spending eight years in school. She was ready to work for her country.

Death of her Father:

During the mid-year of 1977, each of the four Bhutto youngsters came back to Pakistan from different parts of the world. They met at their dad's official house, at white mansion set in attractive grounds in Rawalpindi near Islamabad⁴⁴.

Just few days in going along with her obligations in the Prime Minister's Office, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq organized an Army coup, that coup rushed on Bhutto and arrested

⁴³ Sheikh, Benazir Bhutto,72,73

⁴⁴ Hughes, *From Prison to Prime Minister*,25

her with other leaders of PPP. Without her dad, the obligation of running the battle against Zia was fallen on the shoulders of her mom and herself. To take up the duties as co-chairperson was assigned to Beghum Nusrat Bhutto till Z.A was arrested Benazir herself was relegated the obligation as the political secretary to co-chairperson. This decision was taken on behalf of The Central Executive Council of the Pakistan People's Party⁴⁵.

Finally she was also captured in Sahiwal, during these days Benazir and her mother was arrested several time and captured in different jails in Pakistan to stop the party activities by General Zia but Party workers continued at legal front and also on the fronts like political weight. On the military ruler to end the exploitation of the laborers, Global media assessment was additionally there to measure the pressure on party.

Benazir Bhutto and her mother were detained in Karachi, Sukkur and Sahala central jails. During her jailed days, she required to write letters, assist her interviews, write to be statements to be released on her behalf, do the meetings and arrange the party schedules⁴⁶. After her mother's illness she was elected as co-chairperson of the party with responsibilities to organize the party disciplines and issues related to the politics. For next twenty years she was appointed a full-fledged chairperson of the Pakistan people party.

MRD:

General Zia ul Haq imposed martial law in the country on 5th July 1977; it was the third martial law in the history of Pakistan. Before addressing to the nation on 15th September, he had promised to the nation that the election would be held in 90 days but now he was postponing the election by saying that to the 70 million people it would be great injustice if we held election without completing the process of accountability. Elections would be necessarily postponed to complete the process of accountability⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ Zain Omer Farooq, *Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto: A Hagiography*, 7

⁴⁶ Hughes, *From Prison To Prime Minister*, 29

⁴⁷ Doherty, Benazir Bhutto, 22

On the charge of conspiracy to the murder of Ahmad Raza Kasuri, Z.A. Bhutto's trail began on Oct. 24. On April 4, 1979 Bhutto was hanged on regarding this case. After this execution his family including Benazir Bhutto and Nusrat Bhutto were remained under house arrest. On the other hand this was the sudden shock for the Bhutto's family as well as the nation, than Pakistan People Party decided to make chairperson to Nusrat Bhutto and co-chairperson to Benazir Bhutto for PPP. This was the tough time for Benazir Bhutto as her mother was under pressure and unable to make party decisions due to the death of her husband.

According to Islam, for a widow it is necessary to remain for four month and ten days in Iddat so Nusrat Bhutto could not meet the other people except his family and she was unable to take an active part in politics. There was a great responsibility on the shoulders of Benazir Bhutto to hold her family as well as the party circumstances. Including ten month in solitary confinement she spent five years in detention. She started to struggle against the martial law regime of General Zia and restoration for democracy from Jail as she wants to continue her father's politics⁴⁸.

Efforts:

In the name of Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) a political alliance was made in 1981 during this martial law, this movement was also known as MRD. On 6th February 1981, leaders met first time in Karachi and agreed on formation of alliance. The main purpose of this alliance was to restore the constitution of 1973 as well as parliamentary elections, end of martial law, and transfer of power to the public representatives⁴⁹

⁴⁸Ahmed Hussain Shah, *Historical Perspective of Democracy in Pakistan: An Analysis of Benazir Bhutto's Role in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy*, (Berkeley Journal of Social Science Vol.3, Spring :2013), 5

⁴⁹ Ibid, 3,4

On started the movement she was arrested several time and sent to jail, once again just two days before Independence Day, General Zia took a summersault. General Zia announced the non-party basis election in 1983 and these elections were to hold in March 1985. Zia had considered that if the election would be taken on party basis, PPP would win the election and Bhutto can make the government and they can take the revenge of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's murder⁵⁰.

For the elections on non-party basis, all parties except Jammat-e-Islami, announced boycott. In opposition of MRD, this party was being supported by General Zia ul Haq. Benazir Bhutto was in jail that time as on 14th August 1983, her party from jail she contributed to MRD as it was launched again its new movement. In the name of Nusrat Bhutto, the chairperson of Pakistan People Party, Benazir drafted an appeal, in which she addressed the party worker to raise their struggle against the martial law administrator and his dictatorship. People of Pakistan arose against his dictatorship for the first time in the history of Pakistan. In agitation against Zia not only the big cities but small and rural areas of Pakistan also joint their hands. Especially people from Sindh rural areas showed the concern of the masses for democracy.

She choose to proceed with the mission of her dad, so for this reason she at the end of the day wanted to rebound to Pakistan, to pressurize General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq for rebuilding of Democracy in the country. She arrived in Lahore on April 11th 1986 to satisfy her guarantees, "The joyful young lady who first left home in 1969 to learn at Harvard had now transformed into a lady with an iron will, to battle the fight left fragmented by her dad". Benazir Bhutto was warmly welcome by many groups at Lahore air terminal, General Zia had dread from it and because of his trepidation he played a card of Islamization and

⁵⁰ Amir Ahmad Khuhro, *Personality as a factor in foreign policy making a case study of Pak-US relations during Benazir Bhutto period*, (Multan Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan: 2009), 51

reported for choice, Benazir Bhutto sought after change for majority rules system in Pakistan yet Gen. Zia-ul-Haq likewise made his unmistakable goal that force would be exchanged to just those people which are religious minded, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's supposed majority rules system avoided down when on 14 August 1986 Benazir Bhutto was captured at her home in Karachi, when she was simply get ready to go to serene mobilizes on Pakistan's Independence day. She was given thirty days detainment request and at the end of the day she was send to imprison. On other hand, aside from Jamat-i-Islami the various political gatherings had officially joined the organization together (MRD), they again and again emerged against the ruthless executing of guiltless people groups in singular amount and capture of a large number of people groups by their own particular military. Furthermore, Zia was concerned on the grounds that he was considering, if Benazir Bhutto came in force then what will be his position? So each time he maintained a strategic distance from the races in Pakistan, while giving a meeting General Zia answered, "It is Miss Bhutto's superfluous unreasonable desire and her disposition towards obtaining power which is shocking"⁵¹.

Manifesto:

This was the main concern of the political parties from the start of the government of general Zia ul Haq to restore the democratic Political structure of the Pakistani politics, as time passed, the movement of MRD struggled for the following points to achieve their main objective to restore the Democracy on the basis of constitution of 1973⁵².

1. The military official announced twice about the general election in Pakistan (1977 & 1979) but failed to do so due to circumstances created by them. The Manifesto of MRD was to take free and fair elections in Pakistan

⁵¹ Ibid, 276

⁵² Abdul Qadir Mushtaq, *Political Alliances & Movements in Pakistan* (Faisalabad: Misaal Publishers, 2014), 122, 126

2. Political parties were the main players of democracy but political activities were strictly prohibited in the country to stop the challenges against dictatorship.
3. The third demand of MRD was to revival the constitution of 1973 that created by elected political government. But General Zia wanted to change the political structure from parliamentary system to presidential government.
4. MRD was against the foreign policy of Pakistan that caused to create the image of Pakistan as non aligned state especially the relationship with the USA.
5. On 31 May 1983, political parties designed a 31 point programme in favor of autonomy of government institutes regarding fundamental rights, press, judicial, religious issues including women right and trade unions.
6. The major motive for all parties was to unset General Zia to restore the process of democracy.
7. In 1986, MRD under Pakistan people party's leadership demanded for mid-term election but targets were not achieved⁵³.

Government of General Zia admitted that about 189 persons were killed, 126 were injured and thousands of people were arrested, this was proving to crash the movement at any cost from General Zia. Against the views of her mother she decided to start the movement from London base camp for struggle against the dictatorship after release from jail upon international pressure on General Zia as her mother was living in Geneva. To crash the movements General Zia announced referendum on the issue of Islamization to remain in power for five more years. MRD again boycotted the referendum, this time General Zia again announced the election in the fall of 1984 on old pattern of non party basis. This time political parties once again boycotted the election. Benazir herself was interested in taking

⁵³ Mushtaq, *Political Alliances & Movements in Pakistan* 122, 126

part in elections but that must be considered on party basis. For her colleagues, she had to agree to the unanimous decision⁵⁴.

Causes of failure of MRD:

- A plan of Pakistan international airline was high jacked on March 1981, terrorist killed the son of an army officer Major General Qazi Rehman. This incident gave a reason to government to arrest the leaders of MRD, Benazir was house arrested and many others were arrested and locked in jail. Pakistani media also tried to link the terrorist with PPP leaders. A terrorist organization named Al-Zulfiqar was called responsible for the high jacking of this plan, on the other hand terrorist demanded to leave the PPP leaders. So media give the whole attention to terrorist, Al-Zulfiqar and PPP rather than MRD. Mir Murtaza was the in charge of the Al-Zulfiqar that was the armed wing of PPP. Murtaza believe that violence could be responded with violence but Benazir Bhutto believes that this response is harmful so these views divided the Bhutto family.
- One of the Zia's ministers was murdered name Chaudry Zahur Elahi, this was the other incident. He was the person, who accepted Zia's pen as a gift, that pen was used to sign the death order of Z.A. Bhutto.
- After these incidents opposition parties showed the lack of unity due to trails against PPP.
- The Nawa-i-Waqt broken the news on 14th may 1981 that Khawaja Khair ul din that was the president of an opposition party Qasim Mulim League, released from jail and joint the Pagara JUI alliance who was government supported party. The role of Ghulam Mushtafa Jatoi and Tehrik-e Istaklal was also doubtful.

⁵⁴ Sheikh, *Benazir Bhutto*, 95

- MRD also failed to get support from Muslim League, Jama-t-Islami and Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan.
- The government decided to give reward to those parties who were in opposition of MRD.
- Government announced for elections on 3 June 1988 and Benazir Bhutto decided to take part in election without consultation with the leaders of MRD.
- At the end the death of General Zia dispartate the unity of MRD⁵⁵.

Impacts of MRD on Pakistani politics

- The government called PPP responsible for plan high jacking and compelled the two leading ladies out of country from January 1984 to 10th April 1986.
- The stand of MRD on the amendments in constitution created a pro government circle in judiciary.
- Zia decided free and fair non party base elections and elected caretaker to Muhammad Khan Junejo from Sindh to get the support of PPP and people of Sindh.
- New force like Sindh Awami Tehrik was brought forward due to agitational politics of MRD.
- Zia divided the Sindh into Muhajirs, Pashtoons and Urdu speaking as this province was the center of MRD.
- So called militant in jungles provided a chance to Zia for operation of military and permanent military presence in Sindh.
- MRD was breaking even Benazir Bhutto joint hands with establishment and this situation created difficulties for MRD in Peshawar and ANP gave strong challenge on it.

⁵⁵ Mushtaq, *Political Alliances & Movements in Pakistan* ,160

- MRD could not develop itself into dynamic Force during the whole movement⁵⁶.

Her Efforts for the Cause of Democracy:

It was the specialty of Benazir Bhutto that she always raised the voice for democracy, not only within Pakistan but also outside the country. She always emphasized and worked for the arrival of democracy. For this purpose, she created an image of Pakistan, her speeches in USA, Great Britain, and Canada, she focus the Muslim community in these areas and speeches about the imposition of democracy. For Benazir Bhutto, she called it great opportunity to meet with the elected officials and Muslim community in western countries. She discussed the return of democracy in Pakistan while addressing to the print and electronic press in western countries. ⁵⁷

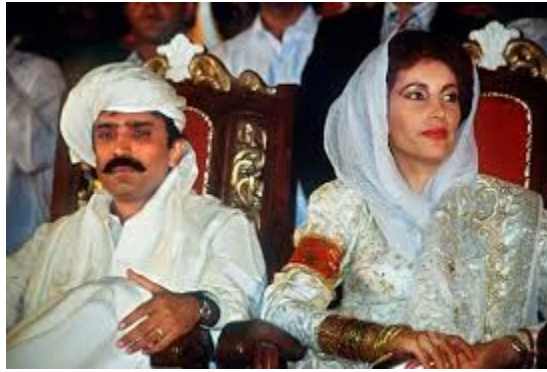
Marriage of Benazir:

In an orthodox society where the religious leaders talking about the situation that a women could lead or not an Islamic state? It is not possible for a single young lady to remain single for a long time. On the other hand the view of General Zia was: it would be difficult for Benazir Bhutto to carry her political life being a house wife after marriage. Benazir Bhutto a foreign qualified lady decided to get married with a landlord from Sindh, Mr Asif Ali Zardari on 29, July 1987 but it was completely arranged marriage held in very simple way of Islamic traditions. Asif Ali Zardari was well educated, a good golfer and businessmen, the son of Hakim Ali Zardari who was political leader of ANP Sindh⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 161

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Khohro, *Personality as a factor in foreign policy making a case study of Pak-US relations during Benazir Bhutto period*, 5



Furthermore, the rumor spreading about Benazir Bhutto, she was well aware about it. People considered that marriage means the end of her political career. On the marriage day she expressed her opinion that today on an occasion so personal and solemn for her, she wanted to reaffirm her public pledge to the people of Pakistan and restate her most solemn vow to devote her life towards the welfare of each citizen, and freedom of this great nation of ours from dictatorship⁵⁹.

Death of Zia ul Haq:

On 17th August 1988, the rule of Zia ulHaq ended abruptly when his C-130 Aircraft was crashed shortly after flying from Bahawalpur Airport, this incident also taken the lives of five on duty Generals, one squadron leader, five Brigadiers, fourteen members of crew and an American ambassador.

Benazir Bhutto's response on the passing of Gen. Zia-ul Haq was not all that unique. The New York Times however cited Benazir's appearance that, "life and demise is in the hands of God" however, with the end goal of keeping Benazir Bhutto (PPP) far from force, a gathering of political gatherings shaped Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) which included fundamentalists and Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's dedicated, on that night Chairman Senate Ghulam Ishaq Khan took reins of the nation.

⁵⁹ Daily The Nation, 30 July ,1988

On 17th August 1988, Ghulam Ishaq Khan became the seventh president of Pakistan after the death of Zia, new president commented that the elections would be held on 16th and 19th November of 1988. In this way the eleven years of Zia's regime were ended and Benazir succeeded in her efforts to restore the democracy. It was the first time in the history of Muslim countries that young lady with the aged of 35 years only become the prime minister of the country⁶⁰. We can conclude that the early life of Benazir Bhutto was full of political activities as her father brings her in most of his visits to abroad and she sits with him in important meetings so that era knows as her political grooming.

⁶⁰ Ahmad Hussain, Shah *Historical Perspective of Democracy in Pakistan*, 6

Chapter 2

Benazir Bhutto's journey as Leader of Opposition (I)

Before going to describe her role as opposition leader, it is necessary to understand the circumstances under which she has to sit on opposition benches in the parliament. She had worked as Prime Minister from 1988 to 1990, but could not patch up with president and other establishment pillars to run her government properly so those power did not support her as Prime minister even she was elected by the people of Pakistan. After the removal of her government general elections were take place and due to unfavorable election results, she had to play the role of opposition leader. Here first those circumstances have been discussed in which she was prime minister and then the major issue of opposition leader has been explained.

Introduction:

On December 2, 1988, Benazir Bhutto was nominated as the Prime minister of Pakistan, to lead a modern Muslim country, she was the first lady. Through absolutely open and free election she was the principal individual to lead Pakistan. Also, in all over the world she turned into the most youthful current head of state. As she expected her position as the appropriately elected leader of Pakistan many individuals in the country were in her support and played their role to elect her prime minister. Benazir Bhutto had ever held this was the first paying occupation⁶¹.

P.M Bhutto's mission at keeping up balance in Pakistan met with opposition parties. Every group had its own thoughts regarding how things ought to be finished as in every political circumstance. Provincial government lead by Nawaz Sharif, the religious fundamentalists and the Islamic Democratic Alliance were most genuine opposition groups.

⁶¹ Doherty, *Benazir Bhutto*, 19

Prime minister's seat was tried by religious parties and they were the biggest opposition for Benazir Bhutto.

As to case that a lady, under Islamic law was ineligible to lead a nation, the most conservatism among the religious pioneers went so far. They required the prompt removal of Prime Minister Bhutto. Islam is a religion, not a government; the Prime Minister met the challenge head on announcing that. She would do her best to see that the ladies of Pakistan would get equivalent rights under the law, she likewise went ahead to express her opinion⁶². A challenge from Nawaz Sharif was from various perspectives more serious, who was seen many time with the religious leader. Nawaz Sharif controlled the biggest, most crowded, and wealthiest piece of Pakistan as the leader of the provincial administration of the Punjab. General Zia was from the Punjab and the most grounded remaining supporters for what he remained for; the Punjab was likewise the home of most of the military. Nawaz Sharif among them was to be found in the Punjab, on the other hand, P.M Bhutto and the Pakistan People's Party individuals in the provincial assembly get together attempted to unseat Sharif and his Alliance Party yet were defeated and Sharif still want to get the vote of confidence from parliament by Benazir⁶³.

Clashes with establishment:

In the midst of the political battles, Bhutto's term as prime minister ended as it has begun. When Benazir failed to carry out its promises to the other parties, the coalition she has forged with the Muhajir Quami Movement to form her government broken up with PPP. This was resulted in losing the majority in parliament by PPP so they faced problems to pass any legislation in national assembly. President Ishaq Khan refused to sign the issuing ordinances when Benazir tried to govern them. The chief minister of Punjab Muhammad

⁶² Doherty, 93

⁶³ Ibid

Nawaz Sharif also refused to cooperate with central government as well as the prime minister and president clashed over various other issues⁶⁴.

Army has also many problems with Bhutto, although she had regular briefings from top leaders, corps commanders were kept away from Bhutto and she could not establish good relations with many decision makers. For example General Aslam Baig and president made the decision to enhance the working on nuclear bomb without consulting Prime minister, Bhutto herself admitted these issues⁶⁵. Not all of the country's problems were political, the economic condition of the country was also declined during the government of Bhutto, there were loan agreements with International Monetary Funds (IMF) that made it difficult to modify the economic policies of the country. On the other hand Persian Gulf countries' oil business was reduced and their earnings from Pakistan were also reduced. There were fewer jobs as compared to the previous period. The mistakes were so horrible that the government created clashes with army chief, president and other government employees to whom she had to work with. On eighth amendment to constitution, she tried to shift the power of President to Prime minister. When she had the chance, she could not understand the structure of intelligence agencies and bring them under some civilian control. Benazir also considered enemies to those people who served under Zia and supported inexperienced people, those inexperienced people supported their friends and corruption was on the rise while political leaders bent the rules to help allies⁶⁶.

Dismissal of her Government:

On 6 August 1990, army decided the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto with President Ishaq Khan, and he went to Islamabad to address the nation on television; he read the charges against Benazir and tried to prove her inappropriate and incompetent government due to

⁶⁴ Padrino, *Benazir Bhutto*, 71

⁶⁵ Interview

⁶⁶ Zia ul Haq, *Jamhooriyat Teer se Talwar Tak*, 204

corruption. He also dissolved the national assembly appointing the caretaker government and announced for elections in October⁶⁷.

The news of the dismissal of her government spread like jungle fire, at the hands of trusted establishment, Ghulam Ishaq Khan. As Pakistan again entered into a phase of uncertainty and once again the world was given a chance to think of Pakistan as failed state. The history of the country showed that nearly four decades, Pakistan remained under the army rules being in state of emergency even forfeiting the fundamental rights of the helpless citizens. At all the federal and provincial level opposition had been inducted into governments. Victory had been staged without fought by opposition. In politics morality has not been finding by a respectable place. Through the backdoors, opposition was jubilant over their assumptions. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi who could not secure his own seat in general election was declared as care taker Prime Minister, most commonly it was said that “dreams come true” even called his “perpetual prime minister in waiting”⁶⁸.

Her Reaction on Dismissal:

On the news of her dismissal she received it calmly, there was not new to her as she had been grown with it but her mother was quite disturbed over her dismissal. Her husband had to face the trail and tribulations but stood with him all that time, in Prime Minister House she immediately called a press conference that evening saying that the government selected by the people has been insulted and an unrepresentative government has been installed, she also claimed that the constitution has been abrogated. But she was confident and calm saying her workers to remain calm and composed. She also said that the dismiss charges are just a pack of lies⁶⁹.

⁶⁷ Mushtaq, *Political Alliances and Movements in Pakistan*, 183

⁶⁸ Sheikh, *Benazir Bhutto*, 187

⁶⁹ Ibid, 189

Charges on her Government:

Day after her dismissal, on 7th August, the caretaker prime minister order to take trail over the PPP government and to start accountability of PPP leaders upon charges of corruption and nepotism, the accountability was just for her party even others were not to be touched⁷⁰.

Shortly after Benazir Bhutto was stripped of power, Pakistan's President Ghulam Ishaq Khan made a set up a number of special courts to investigate corruption in the PPP government, led by Benazir Bhutto⁷¹. Three types of special courts were set up at that time: special courts for speedy trial, having provincial jurisdiction and able to restrict appeals, courts to punish misconduct, introducing the presumption of guilt, and courts of disqualification with power to exclude elected officials from public positions, even in absentia. The National Assembly passed the twelfth constitutional amendment enabling the creation of special courts for speedy trial⁷².

Election Campaign:

After the dismissal of her government, she and her husband were charged with a number of corruption and other charges. So, this was very crucial time not only for herself but also for her family and party. So, things were going not in her favor at that time. She was engaged in a lot of issues, in spite of these problems she went for her election campaign and visited different cities and also organized her party structure. The caretaker invested a lot to dent her reputation in the country but she was welcomed with open arms in the whole country during election campaigns in different parts of the country including all four provinces. She had to work not only for herself but for her husband and other party

⁷⁰ Daily Dawn Karachi, 8 August, 1990

⁷¹ International commission of jurist 1991, 89

⁷² Amnesty International, 1991

candidates So, in her election campaign she tried her level best and tried to come in power again, but unfortunately this time her party could not get majority and lose the election by heavy mandate.⁷³.

Election 1990, Results:

Election was held on the same date which was given by the caretakers. In order to understand the different party positions and results of 1990 election a table is given under:

National Assembly

| Table Results of the National Assembly Election | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Parties/Province</i> | <i>Punjab</i> | <i>Sindh</i> | <i>NWFP</i> | <i>Baluchistan</i> | <i>F.Capital</i> | <i>FATA</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| <i>IJI</i> | 91 | 03 | 08 | 02 | 01 | | 105 |
| <i>PDA</i> | 14 | 24 | 05 | 02 | | | 45 |
| <i>MQM</i> | | 15 | | | | | 15 |
| <i>JUI-F</i> | | | 04 | 02 | | | 06 |
| <i>ANP</i> | | | 06 | | | | 06 |
| <i>JUP-N</i> | 03 | | | | | | 03 |
| <i>JWP</i> | | | | 02 | | | 02 |
| <i>PNP</i> | | | | 02 | | | 02 |
| <i>PMAP</i> | | | | 01 | | | 01 |
| <i>INDS</i> | 06 | 04 | 03 | | | 08 | 21 |
| <i>Total</i> | 114 | 46 | 26 | 11 | 01 | 08 | 206 |

Source: *Dawn* , Oct 26, 1990⁷⁴

⁷³ Sheikh, Benazir Bhutto, 198

⁷⁴ Dawn Karachi, Oct 26, 1990

No political pundit has predicted before this election that provincial and national assembly would show interesting surprise. This was the political disaster for PPP, as IJI got 105 seats wherein past election of 1988 showed that only 55 seats were taken by IJI. There were 50 additional seats in national assembly including 45 seats only in Punjab, on the other hand only 3 seats were won by IJI in 1990 as compared to 1988 election's zero. In NWFP it won 9 seats in 1988 and 8 in 1990, there was a loss of 1 seat. In Baluchistan it stood with 2 seats in both elections.

IJI have total 128 seats including its allies as MQM had 15, ANP had 6 and Bugti's JWP had 2 seats. On the other hand FATA's 8 seats were almost assured and they need only 9 seats to get 1/3 majority⁷⁵

Provincial Assembly:

PPP got a humiliating defeat not only in national assembly but also in all four provinces of Pakistan, and IJI make government in Center All four provinces of Pakistan, where IJI could not get majority with the help of their allies. PPP could only be able to get majority in Sindh with the help of her Allies.

So, to understand the results of provincial assembly a table is given below.

| Table Results of the Provincial Assemblies Election | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------|-------|------|-------------|-------|
| Province/Parties | Punjab | Sindh | NWFP | Baluchistan | Total |
| IJI | 214 | 06 | 33 | 07 | 260 |
| PDA | 10 | 46 | 06 | 02 | 64 |
| MQM | | 28 | | | 28 |
| ANP | | | 23 | | 23 |
| JWP | | | | 10 | 10 |
| JUI-F | 03 | | 02 | 06 | 08 |

⁷⁵ Hussain, *Historical perspective of Democracy in Pakistan*, 191

| | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| BNP | | | | 05 | 05 |
| PMAP | | | | 03 | 03 |
| BNM | | | | 02 | 02 |
| PDP | 02 | | 03 | | 02 |
| SNA | | 01 | | | 01 |
| INDS | 14 | 19 | 16 | 05 | 54 |
| Total | 114 | 100 | 80 | 40 | 460 |

Source: Dawn , Oct 2, 1990⁷⁶

Markedly greater in intense than on October 24, the IJI all settled to make governments in all four provinces with the help of of its allies. In Punjab IJI got 214 seat out og 240, in NWFP both ANP and IJI have totlaed 56 as 23 by ANP and 33 by IJI in house of 80 seats. It was redically change in punjab from 108 seats to 214 seats in Punjab as compare to election 1988. Over all analysis showed that parlimentary seats of IJI were doubles in elction of 1990 as compare to the elections of 1988. It has 6 seats in Sindh in elections of 1990 as compare to 1988's 3 MPAs. There were only 07 MPAs in Baluchistan for IJI.

On the other hand PDA (Pakistan Democratic Allaince) got majority only in Sindh having 46 seats out of toal 100 seats. They ssucceded to make coalation with other parties for provincial government⁷⁷

So, Benazir Bhutto accused the Election Commission for rigging and She diclared this election as the most rigged election in the history of pakistan. Election rigging has its roots intensely in the history of Pakistan, so these elections proved that the money had been accurately exercised for the absolute victory of Sharif's supported group IJI. Calling the

⁷⁶ Dawn Lahore, October 2, 1990

⁷⁷ Hussain, *Historical Perspective of Democracy in Pakistan*,192

election results as fraud, Benazir Bhutto held a press conference in Larkana and demonstrated over the election rigging. She also declared that the coming parliament would be not be people's parliament, that would be President's selected Parliament⁷⁸.

Benazir Bhutto as Opposition Leader:

So, after the humiliating defeat in elections, Benazir Bhutto decided to sit in opposition benches to challenge the government policies that were against the democratic norms and also against the will of Pakistani people she decided to raise her voice for women rights also.

People party failed to get any majority not only in central government but also in all four provinces of Pakistan, so here Benazir Bhutto got a chance to work as opposition leader in national Assembly. Being opposition leader she played like a matured political figure. This could be said that the elections of 1990 were rigid at large scale from PMLN. But she used diplomatic approach only for the purpose of democratic system of the country. PPP leadership claimed that there were pre-poll rigging by PMLN; Benazir Bhutto decided to protest against the election. In a meeting of her party's central executive council it was decided that party would discharge its duties as opposition party in the legislature but its elected MNAs would take oath under protest. There were circumstances that another martial law could be imposed on nation if protest was taken in negative sense⁷⁹.

First session of national assembly was called on 3 Nov 1990. At that time Asif Ali Zardari was captured in Lodi jail, Karachi. He was also elected member of national assembly. Government did not allow him to participate in national assembly session. PPP considered this against the democratic principles. At last on 6, November Asif Ali Zardari was taken to Islamabad by a special plane. To keep away from national assembly session to

⁷⁸ Talbot, *Pakistan a Modern History*,287-288

⁷⁹ Sheikh, *Benazir Bhutto*,201

Asif Ali Zardari was the effort of government to pressurize opposition and work according to their own thoughts. But very soon government knew that this steel hearted lady could not be bow down at any cost.

Keeping in mind all of the circumstances, on first week of November she rose to address the national assembly as an opposition leader of newly elected national assembly: she remind that between August 6 and November 4 of 1990, she was not oblivious in her mind of the dark and confounding nights and enveloped the entire nation in gloom and despair, she also said that she did not intend to enter into any allegation that day⁸⁰.

To extend the support of opposition, she proposed only to welcome the new administration, to remain it as its express electoral commitment to the people to the extent that its policies are designed to further national interest and only to caution it in some respects to avoid the policies of its immediate caretaker predecessor and its invisible and visible patron. In the hope that it will try to increase the democratic peace available to civilian representatives institutions and not be deterred by fact that other before its time may have fallen in perusing this goal that she welcomed the new administration. Hope to work for new government in national interest and peaceful resolution to Kashmir issue with full support of opposition benches⁸¹.

Opposition will act as a conscience of this august house as the new government can rest assured this. The spokesman of the poor, the toiling and the landless as it will be the voice of the reason. She said that she hope, it will custodian of the rights of the women and minorities of the disadvantaged and disenfranchised. She also noticed to Mr. Speaker, there were millions of voters who feel today that they have been deprived of their right to franchise. By the will of one man on 6th august 1990, they felt that when a government

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ Ibid ,202

chosen by them was dismissed. She called herself the opposition and the voice of those people, and declared that day a dawned in the history of the parliament and democracy. She again notice Mr. speaker that the people asked many questions but no answered, constituting most of the IJI candidates wining with 15000 to 20000 votes, on the other hand a difference of only 0.02% in the total vote tally of the two major contesting alliance transforms itself into 145 seats of national assembly for IJI and 45 national assembly seat for PDA, based on this fact why should a candidate be denied that rights of an instant official count right to inspect all the ballots⁸².

Gulf War:

The first challenge for Pakistan, after election was to face the consequences of Gulf War. To stand shoulder to shoulder with allies Pakistan sent its soldiers to Saudi Arabia even that the people of Pakistan were fully against the Allied forces but PM sent a message to Iraqi president Saddam Hussain for peacefull solution of Gulf crises. Benazir Butto had also problem with Gulf war as she stated in her lectures in US tour, she said that the Gulf war could turn into “West versus Islam War” here party was delighted with Sharif’s Problem but she supported the Americans. The three leading power structure were on different point of views on Gulf crises including Army, civil bureaucracy and political leadership. To approach the nation non of these three pillars had clear policy over the war⁸³.

On third week of January 1991, American’s alliance forces attacked on Iraq to rescue Kuwait from Iraq. Benazir Bhutto was on the visit to western countries on the invitation of different unions and societies when American’s alliances attacked on Iraq. On this issues Benazir Bhutto’ s statement was very clear, she said that the alliance forces should give more time to Muslim countries, while she was addressing to the American TV Network.

⁸²Zia ul Haq, *jamhooriat Talwar se Teer Tak*,203

⁸³ Hussain, *Historical Perspective of Democracy in Pakistan*, 1994

She said that American forces had no other options to do so; she mentioned that President Saddam always remained neutral on the issue of Kashmir and that's not fair with Pakistan. Conclusively her views were not much in favor of Iraq. Same like situation was seen from Pakistan government. The political workers of PPP were not in favor of American's forces. On the time of Iraq war, government of Pakistan and opposition were on same page but the reaction of Pakistani public was entirely different. But Benazir Bhutto filled this gap with her political and diplomatic policies. In those days when she was on the visit to western countries, she addressed to Carnegie institute. She was brought from Canada to America and Pakistani ambassador in America welcomed her. She again cleared her stance on Iraqi war while addressing to the news conference in California. Answering to the questions, she said that as own religious scholars thought about Islamic Laws, the women would remain half. She was pointing towards the half voting right of women in Islam. Parties and politicians against Benazir Bhutto used this statement like propaganda against Benazir Bhutto, but she remained stood on his statement. When she started her visit, her plane only includes western countries but after the Iraq war, she moved to Palestine where she met Mr. Yasir Arafat in Tunis, her meeting with Yasir Arafat was continued till three hours.

At the end of 1990, she was again invited from different societies from western countries; she again went to western countries for delivering lectures. According to the newspaper sources, she was given 12000 dollars remuneration for one lectures, her lectures were listened with highly interest, because she had fight against dictatorship continuously eleven years. The New York agency Harry walker arranged her lectures; this also arranged the lectures of former American Presidents like Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and former British prime minister Edward Death. She delivered lectures in University of New Hampshire, University of California, and Foothill college of California, in a church in sent pal and in programs of Parliamentarian for Global Action. Her lectures covered the issues

of third world countries and women rights. During these days she was awarded “International Notil Foundation United Nation’s Development Fund” for women. This award was only given to Margret Thatcher, Gorham Brent lend (former prime minster of Norway) and Miss Cozen Akeno.

For the completion of her dreams, government nominated Jam Sadiq Ali former worker of PPP for the Chief Minister of Sindh. As the husband of Benazir Bhutto was under the custody of Sindh government so Jam Sadiq tried to black mail by tooth and nail, even the children of Benazir Bhutto could not go to school easily. For this purpose Benazir Bhutto have to make special arrangements for her children.

In starting of 1991, Prime Minster raised the issue of privatization of the institute; it was finalized in September 1991 when 27% shares of Allied Bank were transfer to private ownership. Along with ABL, Muslim commercial Bank and Pakistan Telecommunication Authority were also decided to privatize. The government argues that it’s best for the economy, it also disconnect his government from managing the financial issues of the country.

The leader of opposition Benazir Bhutto opposes the decision of privatization. According to Benazir, its anti-people plan and government will transfer these assets to their favorites. But under her premiership, surprisingly she supported the decision of privatization⁸⁴.

On 16 February she return back to Pakistan and went to Londi Jail to meet her husband. These were the days when the relationship between government and the opposition were in crises. On the other hand the attitude of the government was also bitter with opposition. In Sindh, Jam Sadiq was totally out of control of PPP. Benazir Bhutto again went to foreign country visit at the end of April. She returned back to Pakistan on 7,

⁸⁴ The News Lahore,1991

May, 1991 and addressed to press conference at Bilawal House and mentioned the negligence of Sindh government. She demanded that Sindh government must be dismissed and caretaker government should be appointed. She said that Sindh government is totally failed to maintain law and order in the province and its only work is to attack on PPP. This was the first time when she demanded the dismissal of Sindh's government. On 16 June, 1991, she addressed to the press conference with leader of PDA Mr. Asghar Khan and Malik Qasim, she issued a letter of 250 pages showing the evidence of election riggings on 70 seats of National Assembly whose results were totally changed. She blamed on government for direct involvement of rigging and she said these assemblies fake assemblies.

She again visited to London on the invitation of the BBC channel; she focused on the democratic system applied in Pakistan. She was still in London when Mumtaz Rathor and his companions were arrested from Azad Kashmir as this was only the state of Pakistan where PPP had its government. All other parts of the country were under the government of IJI. She reacted strongly on the dismissal of government of Azad Kashmir from London. She cited that the dismissal of this government remember the earlier uneducated history of human beings. She said that this was the historical mistake of the government of Pakistan. She also added that this decision would show negative impact on the issue of Kashmir; even Pakistan can lose its control over the border of Kashmir. She also reacted on the twelve amendments, she said that the government wanted to appoint judicial system in Pakistan according to their own thoughts and ideas to get the decisions of their own occur. This would abolish the judicial identity in Pakistan. She said that the basic human rights have been abolished after twelfth amendment.

By the latter half of 1991, the sign of change started appearing on the political horizon. In every matter the prime minister was getting increasingly wary of the dominance of the president. At the time of retirement of the chief of army staff Mirza Aslam Baig the

things came to head in August 1991. The appointment of new army chief was the bone of contention for prime minister and president. The prime minister has his own list of candidates while the president wants to appoint the man of his side. General Asif Nawaz Janjua was selected as new army chief as in final count the choice of president was prevailed, Janjua was corps commander of Sindh, this left bad taste in prime minister house. The president came to address the joint session of the parliament four months later in December 1991. By raising slogans of “Go Baba Go” the opposition leader Benazir Bhutto staged protest inside the parliament house. This construed an insult and humiliation as former bureaucrat like Ghulam Ishaq Khan. President expected to come forth by Prime Minister Nawaz Shariif to rescue him but he did not do so giving enough reason to president about the doubtfulness of loyalty of his handpicked prime minister⁸⁵.

She directly blamed to President Ghulam Ishaq Khan that he told the atomic programs’ secret to foreign powers of the world. She demanded that President must be dismissed and Chairmen Senate should be appointed as President of the country. Even that chairman Senate Wasim Sajjad was also the part of Lobby working against Benazir Bhutto. But she talked about constitutional powers.

In country’s politics, this win by any tactic method was not unknown. Benazir said that it was merely a way of getting rid of undesirable government even that Sharif’s people called her terrorist. During this period Benazir was returning to her home in Larkana in 1992, a missile was fire on the her security team with her, resulting killed six police officers mistakenly, as the target was the car of Benazir Bhutto⁸⁶.

Furthermore, the new government changes over many issues and plans those were started in government of PPP, being opposition leader Benazir Bhutto could not only

⁸⁵ Sheikh, *Benazir Bhutto*, 207

⁸⁶ Padrino , *Benazir Bhutto*,72

questioned the government official but also to the prime minister. She fought against the change taken place in government like ban imposed on student unions in whole country prohibiting the approach of opposition to the media. Decision regarding budget of government were moved from social issues to armed officers who assured his victory in elections. Programmers regarding education and women rights like banishment of women health and population control center to were stopped in favor of religious companions of IJI⁸⁷.

The big scandal of Nawaz Sharif's government was the cooperative banking scandal which was placed in his home town, in this scandal depositors lost their 20 billion rupees and this was the great humiliation for government including National Industrial Credit and Finance Corporation (NICFC) and the Services Cooperation Credit Corporation were involved in this scandal. Under this scandal, these societies bypassed the laws of cooperative society's act 1925 by financing million of rupees to the finite companies of IJI's owners. Commission formed by the Prime Minister but it failed to find the actual criminals involved in it. On the other hand this commission cleared Ittefaq group who tried to payback loan to the NICFC but this decision could not recover the political damages caused to Nawaz Sharif. Benazir Bhutto said that this issue turns the Pakistan into a Banana State while addressing to a press conference on this issue⁸⁸.

A new phase of dialogue was open by Nawaz Sharif when offered a hand of friendship towards the opposition leader which was accepted by the opposition leader; both leaders were expecting great deals from each other. Money lost in corporative banking campaign has been demanded by opposition leader in order to return the money to the people of Pakistan. The Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif expected to end this campaign from

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ Talbot, Pakistan: A Modern History , 320

opposition leader. PPP expected that prime minister would help them to control the issue of Jam Sadiq Ali and appointment of new chief minister Ghous Ali Shah as CM Sindh in place of Jam Sadiq Ali. They also demanded the elimination of cases against PPP top leadership. Behind this prosecution of PPP in Sindh, President Gulam Ishaq Khan was involved.

Some kind of settlement was expected because both of the leaders underground the meeting without the knowledge of president even Benazir Bhutto's mostly verbal attacks were against the president. She thought that the main cause of confrontation between the prime minister and opposition leader was due to president. After this meeting, the husband of the opposition leader was released from jail and she was elected the chairperson of Foreign affairs Committee in the National assembly⁸⁹.

She arranged a hunger strike on 4th August in front of parliament. This decision was made under the PDA alliance by Benazir Bhutto in challenge against the foundation of new unique courts for quick trial of a many sympathizers. These courts were now and again used to convey PPP individuals to trial, particularly in Sindh. The strike, rather than urging the government to discharge PPP political detainees, prompted to the capture of more Party workers⁹⁰. The hunger strike was also arranged on national assembly and in all provincial assemblies. After this step the distance between government and opposition has been increased. Benazir Bhutto criticizes the policy of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

Benazir Bhutto and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif addressed to gathering in Lahore. On 14th August Nawaz Sharif addressed to gathering in Walton and spent about 400 million Pakistani rupees, but government sources denied this. Benazir Bhutto addressed to gathering at Mochi Darwaza Lahore and this gathering was much bigger than the gathering by government with government resources.

⁸⁹ *Dawn: Karachi*, 1991.

⁹⁰ Shaikh, *Benazir Bhutto*, 20

A killer attack was made on Benazir Bhutto when she was going to condemn the death of her worker in Karachi, near Orangi town her car was attacked but fortunately she was saved. On 16 September she addressed to gathering in Nishtar park Karachi, this was the big enough to clear the position of PDA in front of government. After this, the government felt the power of PDA in Sindh. Media also credit to opposition upon this gathering. On the next day, all parties in PDA met at Bilawal House and decided not to participate in local government elections, and PDA remain on its decision till end.

In the month of September 1991, there was flood in Pakistan and Benazir Bhutto demanded a helicopter from government to participate in relief activities but it was denied by saying that there is no any historical evidence to provide such type of facility to opposition leaders. On the other hand if such type of facility would be given, it could be a plus point for democracy of government. As in western countries, these types of facilities are available. Benazir Bhutto ordered her workers to stop all type of other political activities and to participate in relief activities. On the other hand government was busy in advertising its campaigns more than relief works. In those days of flood, Iranian consulate general had to address the national assembly, Benazir Bhutto showed her desire to address with him but this was also denied by government saying that there is not any evidence of such types of facilities in democratic government.

Government was in full potential to use Murtaza Bhutto against Benazir Bhutto and government wanted to take him back to Pakistan. Benazir said that if he came back, he had to face trail as any other person in the country could face, and this was done in her own government when Murtaza Bhutto was returned to Pakistan, he was arrested on airport for trail. This step crashed the sayings of government that organization named Al-Zulfiqar was supported by Benazir Bhutto. This step gave a clear stance on the sovereignty and solidarity of the law and order in the country.

In November 1991, a companion of Benazir Bhutto, Farhana (Veena) Hayat, endured a gang attack obviously composed by the police and Irfanullah Marwat, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's son in-law. Amid the offense, she was inquired about PPP individuals and their exercises⁹¹.

Veena Hayat was the daughter of Sardar Shaukat Hayat, who was adept leader of Muslim league. She was also close friend of Benazir Bhutto. According to Veena Hayat, Irfanullah Marwat sent the men for gang rape. This was the only for horrifying Benazir Bhutto. Nawabzada Nasrullah started the protest by combining the opposition parties with PPP and other opposition parties. This protest demanded the resign of alleged president and Irfanullah Marwat who were defending the case secretly. In Dec 21, while demanding the withdrawal of Marwat PPP members again shouted “Go Baba Go”⁹².

Situation in Sindh:

It’s always a problem in Sindh regarding law and order situation as compare to Punjab. The real threat in front of Nawaz Sharif’s government in racial animosity between Mohajirs and Sindhis, Crimes expanded in the whole Sindh due to these ethnic clashes. A number of people have been kidnapped or killed in order to get money. Its dimension to control the law and order situation, even the capture of two Japanese students and three Chinese engineers disclosed the security weaknesses of the government⁹³.

Karachi operation 1992: With an extra help from the Pakistan Army and its related insight offices, arranged by the FIA, Intelligence Bureau and propelled under the orders of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in 1992, the program was all the more generally sought for coming Prime Minister Bhutto in 1993–94, as a feature of her inside approaches, Operation

⁹¹Asia Week, 1992

⁹²Sadaf Iqbal, *Political leadership of Benazir Bhutto*(Lahore:The university of Punjab , 2011

⁹³ *AFP News*, 1992

Clean-up (other codename: Operation Blue Fox), was an equipped military intelligence program drove by the Sindh Police and Pakistan Rangers,.

Its goal was to "wash down" Karachi city of "hostile to social" components. The program focused on the Muttahida Qaumi Movement over the contention with respect to the Jinnahpur program for which knows anticipated having the city of Karachi split far from Pakistan.

In June 1992, the Pakistani armed force propelled Operation Blue Fox, whose goal was to capture "terrorists and bandits" in the region of Sindh. The armed force was sent into Karachi, Hyderabad and different urban areas and into country zones to reestablish peace; troops continued to disassemble the MQM and captured individuals from different gatherings involved in political brutality. In July 1992, on the eve of a show called by the PPP, powers restricted exhibitions and political mobilizes in Sindh, and restricted political leaders to travel abroad. The armed force guaranteed to be unprejudiced in the contention between the MQM, the PPP driving restriction, Sindhi patriot gatherings and Pathan and Baluchi associations in Sindh, and expressed that its sole point was to punish terrorists⁹⁴.

To demonstrate the fair-mindedness of the security drives, the commonplace government rejected or exchanged many cops in Karachi and the Sindh field in Operation Clean-up. The presidential order of 19 July 1992, gave immunity to military insusceptibility from any thoughtful or criminal obligation in this operation. Pakistan's Minister of the Interior, Chaudhary Shujat Hussain, attested inflexibly on 6 October 1992 that the armed force would not pull back from Sindh until the lead of law was reestablished. Notwithstanding the armed force control of Sindh, the PPP stays lawful all through the nation⁹⁵.

⁹⁴ *The Economist* 1992

⁹⁵ *BBC Summery*, 1992

In August 1992, a serious blame in a country such as Pakistan, the Minister of Religious Affairs, Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi, declared that Benazir Bhutto was an "infidel to Islam" and encouraged people to kill her and other members of the opposition. In October 1992, the political atmosphere in Pakistan deteriorated gravely after Benazir Bhutto announced that she would lead a "long march" to claim the resignation of Nawaz Sharif.

NWFP, Baluchistan and Kashmir:

PPP workers in Baluchistan, the NWFP and Kashmir were becoming scarcer. In Kashmir, taking after the June 1991 decisions which the restriction considered fake, the Premier of Kashmir was captured and taken to Islamabad; the PPP government of Mumtaz Hussein Rathore was removed⁹⁶.

Mr. Rathore was the last PPP leader was still in office after Benazir Bhutto's government had been broken up. In August 1992, the Kashmiri Premier formally told Benazir Bhutto that she would be welcome in Kashmir yet ought not to sort out antigovernment shows there. In Baluchistan, just a single critical occasion including PPP individuals was accounted before the November 1992 long march. In May 1992, a PPP neighborhood authority was executed amid conflicts amongst Balochis and Pathans in Baluchistan. Likewise, exhibitions were sorted out by the PDA in July 1992 in each territory with the exception of Sindh, and numerous workers were captured amid these occasions. A mass rally was composed in Swabi in the NWFP in October 1992⁹⁷.

Plan of long March:

In November 1992, Bhutto endeavored to play out a 10-mile walk from Rawalpindi to Islamabad. In any case, she was compelled to cease the rally because of a risk of capture from Prime Minister Sharif. The show was a hostile to government rally that furious to

⁹⁶ *The New York Times*, 1992

⁹⁷ *Reuter*, 31 August 1992

Pakistan authorities. She was set under house capture but still promised to cut down the Pakistani government. The "long march" between the twin urban areas of Rawalpindi and Islamabad, to require the resignation of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif Benazir Bhutto declared a skillet national exhibit for 18 November 1992⁹⁸.

PPP completed its silver jubilee (25 years). A Seminar was arranged by cultural wing of the party in Lahore which was presided by Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto. Speakers included Mazhar Ali Khan, Mehdi Hasan and cultural wing president Fakhar Zaman.

At the silver jubilee of the party Benazir Bhtto redefined the party program, under the supervision of Benazir Bhutto, On Nov. 10th Pakistan democratic alliance gave the call of long march, Jahangir Bader, Iftikhar Gillani, Khurshid Kasuri and Fakhar Zaaman held a convention for preparation of long march. On Nov, 12th Benazir Bhutto also declared that people of Azad Kashmir would also participate in log march, she also cleared that army would remain neutral in this struggle, Yahya Bhakhtiar, one of her companion was not agreed on decision of long march and resigned on the same date. On 15 Nov, 1992: Benazir Bhutto said that if politicians did not play their role, some other will react and finish the government of Nawaz Sharif. Thousands of PDA workers were arrested and rally place (Liaqat Bagh) was sealed by the government to stop the protest after sealing the central secretariat of PPP. On 17th Nov, police raided many places in Lahore to arrest Baghaam Nurat Bhutto, Leader of opposition said that this would be harmful for democracy and government was inviting martial law⁹⁹.

Reaction of Government on Long March Call:

Notwithstanding customary police powers relegated to Islamabad with 5,000 officers, Nawaz Sharif brought in 5,500 cops from the powers of different urban areas in the

⁹⁸ *The News* 6, Nov. 1992

⁹⁹ *Ibid*

Punjab, 4,000 Rangers (outsirt police) and two armed force regiments as fortifications. Many police, commandoes and Para-military strengths were shouted to obstruct the marchers all over the country. Many PPP workers were captured in defensive swoops. Course allows for transports were quickly wiped out. Rationale, hence, would propose that some kind of "progress" might be unavoidable at some point or another.

Gatherings of more than five individuals were precluded in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. On 18th Nov, the top leadership hands of opposition were arrested by government including Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Qaim Ali shah, Jahangir Bader, Aftab Sherpao, Salman Taseer and Aitazaz Ahsan. Police assaulted the PPP head office in Islamabad, where they guaranteed to have discovered battle arms; Benazir Bhutto, then again, kept up that these articles were just flagstuffs¹⁰⁰.

She and a few thousand of her supporters in any case figured out how to begin the showing, however police let go on the group and utilized tear gas to scatter the many demonstrators. Police assaulted the PPP head office in Islamabad, where they guaranteed to have discovered battle arms; Benazir Bhutto, then again, kept up that these articles were just flagstuffs. She and a few thousand of her supporters in any case figured out how to begin the showing, however police let go on the group and utilized tear gas to scatter the demonstrators.

Benazir Bhutto reached Liaquat bagh crossing all hurdles and she was also arrested and deported to Karachi, banned from going to Islamabad, Rawalpindi and the whole NWFP for a time of 30 days with Baghum Nusrat Bhuto, Initially showed that her home in Karachi had formally been assigned a "common jail", in spite of the fact that the government denied this. Yet keeping away from the urban areas she had been banned from entering inside the system of her battle intended to oust Nawaz Sharif's government. She approached her

¹⁰⁰ *Radio Pakistan*, November 16, 1992

sympathizers from everywhere throughout the nation to go to the funding against the government. To keep the banned exhibit from occurring, powers attempted to square escorts of PDA sympathizers on the way to the capital by capturing a huge number of individuals (more than 2,000 in the Punjab alone), catching whole convoys, remarkably in Quetta, subjecting voyagers to street checks, crossing out transport administrations for a couple of days, setting up security fencing on get to streets to the capital and notwithstanding going so far as to explode connects on the edges of Islamabad. Some were beaten and others genuinely harmed. Notwithstanding the unsettling influences in the capital and Rawalpindi conflicts happened in Peshawar between PDA demonstrators and police, a show in Lahore was separated and PPP individuals were captured in the Baluchi capital of Quetta. Taking after the show, police additionally captured eleven individuals from the Human Rights Commission, a Pakistani par governmental association, who were endeavoring to examine the occasions and PSF individuals who kept exhibiting in spite of the boycott. In late November 1992, the legislature declared the arrival of somewhere in the range of 2,000 individuals who had been kept since these episodes, however the quantity of demonstrators still in jail stays suspicious. In January 1993, the press was still not reporting any number of confinements of political detainees. Long march was called a success and it left a great impact on Nawaz Sharif's government¹⁰¹.

Circumstances After Long March:

Whether Benazir Bhutto's "long march" to Islamabad finished with a blast or fuss doesn't much make a difference, what makes a difference is that, even before the "long march" commenced, she had as of now prevailing with regards to authorizing a psychological hit of Islamabad. This attack is not going to be lifted in a rush and may show itself in various structures in the days and weeks ahead.

¹⁰¹ *The Friday time*, 19 November, 1992

Mr. Nawaz Sharif along these lines has a running emergency staring his face. Confirmation of his sensation a week ago can't be questioned. For quite a long time before the march, the administration quit working and went into a group to diffuse the march. It investigated every possibility to upset the social affair swarms. MS Bhutto was firmly aggressive. On the off chance that she has gotten a "signal" from some place, as intrigue scholar's demand, she surely isn't letting on. Anyway, her thinking is basic. Mr Sharif was in no temperament to when in doubt refrain from interfering. Despite what might be expected, on the off chance that he unites control it is practically sure that he will attempt one year from now to see the back of the President and the COAS with a specific end goal to set up autocracy. With respect to Bhutto herself, she would most likely be "tore up into pieces and tossed into the ocean", as Mr Sharif once broadcasted and as Mr Ghulam Haider Wyne never feels worn out on undermining. With exclusion a small margin away and Asif Zardari's trial hinting at no decreasing, she has everything to offer for standing up and being checked. Therefore she will attempt to intensify existing pressures inside the troika (and the ones between the PM and the COAS are something to expound on) with the expectation that something or somebody will surrender way and open some breathing space for her.

The circumstance of removal of Nawaz Sharif's government was started after the eighth amendment in favor of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. This amendment transferred the rights towards the president, the appointment of CAOS, chief election commission, judiciary and to dissolve the national assembly¹⁰².

On 8th January 1993, Genral Asif Nawaz Janjua was died under enigmatic circumstances which was called heart attack. The prime minster wants to appoint his own

¹⁰² Dawn 4 Jan, 1992.

choice but president appointed General Abdul Waheed Kaker as new COAS by extorting his eighth amendment power¹⁰³.

This decision leads Nawaz Sharif to think to cancel the eighth amendment. Opposition leader Benazir Bhutto opposes the thinking of Nawaz Sharif even she was in favor when she was on the seat of prime minister. At that time Nawaz Sharif did not take it seriously¹⁰⁴. At that time there election of president was another issue and this election was expected to be held in December. President also wanted to be secured for next term. In both cases there was a need of opposition for both pillars but she enjoyed the situation outside. Benazir Bhutto was in London for the delivery of her third child a banquet of flowers was sent from Nawaz Sharif to get favor but President and opposition leader had settled down their issues before this. It was decided that the husband of opposition leader would be next caretaker prime minister and Benazir Knows that only the president is only the person who can reopen the doors for her to get power again.

A day ago of Prime minister's dismissal Sharif went on national television to address the nation about conspiring to dismiss him. The next day president dissolve the national assembly and dismiss the prime minister, he also announce that the election would be held on 14 July. Prime Minister was accused for corruption and for the death of COAS. Mir Bulk Sher Mazari was elected new caretaker and PPP become his companion¹⁰⁵.

After only one day, on 19th April Nawaz Sharif filed a petition against his dismissal, Supreme Court took immediate action and case was taken by Chief Justice Naseem Hassan Shah and handed over verdict about a month's time. On 26 May, Supreme Court decides the case in favor of Nawaz Sharif declaring in a 10-1 verdict by panel of 11 members, further explained that President has no right by constitution to do so. But Nawaz Sharif could not

¹⁰³ Zuhra, 17 January. 1993

¹⁰⁴ Akhund ,311

¹⁰⁵ Sadaf Iqbal, 87

stand further because there was clash of interest between President and Prime Minister. At that time there was a meeting arranged by corp. commander officers in president house to sort out the matter but could not find any reasonable solution. At this occasion, establishment wanted to get rid of both, so it was agreed by both parties (Benazir and Nawaz Sharif) that a third party president and prime minister would be appointed as caretaker. On 18th July 1993, Mr. Nawaz Sharif resigned and resign was also taken from President Ghulam Ishaq Khan by establishment's pressure. Mr. Moeen Qureshi was called from World Bank as he was the senior vice president of World Bank as neutral Prime minister and Mr. Waseem Sajjad was appointed as president who was chairman senate. The opposition leader and Nawaz Sharif were consulted during the whole process and new elections were announced on 6th October 1993 under entirely neutral caretaker government¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁶ Shaikh, *Benazir Bhutto*, 212-213

Chapter 3

Benazir Bhutto as Leader of Opposition (II)

Elections were to be held on 3rd February 1997. About the feasibility of the election postponement, various cabinet ministers created serious doubts. Against the dissolution of her government Benazir Bhutto filed a petition in supreme court which discharged two times only on the accusing that a spotted language has been used in this application. Finally, court decided to hear the petition of the previous government. Just three days before elections after hearing of three and four days Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah decided that the verdict declaring the dissolution order as legal and justifiable.

At these horrible called elections, it was considered that the turnover would be low but the turnover was even less than expectations. On 3 Feb 1997, turn over by Laghari's statement was 26% on rural areas and 27% in urban areas of Pakistan. Laghari was appeared on the Pakistan television to give his statement. Subsequently, It was much more as he retiled and stated. Analyst said that his initial statement was correct and later he announced high turnover was the result of falsehood and padding. A two third majority in National Assembly, about 90% seats on Punjab assembly was the great won by PML(N) and a near majority in NWFP assembly. In Baluchistan and Sindh, no party could get two third majorities, but in Sindh PPP have more seats as compare to any other party. As being engineered, Benazir denounced the election results. The results of the elections were tabulated as fellows¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁷ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*,449

| Parties | NA | Punjab | Sindh | NWFP | Baluchistan |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| PML(N) | 135 | 212 | 15 | 31 | 5 |
| PPP | 18 | 2 | 36 | 4 | 1 |
| Haq Prast Group | 12 | 0 | 28 | 0 | 0 |
| ANP (Awami National Part) | 9 | 0 | 0 | 28 | 0 |
| BNP (Baloch National Party) | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Other Political Parties | 6 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 17 |
| Independent | 21 | 21 | 15 | 11 | 8 |
| Total | 204 | 240 | 100 | 77 | 40 |

Source: Khan, 2011 ¹⁰⁸

For winning the election, this judgment damaged the future expectations of the PPP. On appointed day, the elections were held. Results which entirely based on rigging, Benazir decided to reject the results of the elections. She notifies that vote rigging has been taken in 65 seats of the National Assembly by PML (N) candidates. The president of PPP Punjab blamed that the president of Pakistan illegally supported PML (N) and improvised the party from a number of seats through computerized rigging. To increase the number of votes rigging has been applied according to new comer Imran Khan by certain constituencies. The elections complain of 1997 was more corrupt and rigged than 1990 as absolute success of PMLn was declared according to PPP official the largest political party of the Pakistan could win only 19 seats out of 207 NA seats. On the other hand it could get 3 seats from Punjab, 36 from Sindh, 4 from NWFP and only 1 seat from Baluchistan provincial assembly. PML(N) won 135 seats from 207 seats with a crushing victory in these elections. On 17th Feb. the newly elected Prime Minister of Pakistan takes the oath from president. The way of common trust and tolerance was announced to adopt with the opposition.

¹⁰⁸Ibid,450

In coming session of the national assembly the government announced that Benazir Bhutto as leader of the opposition to the PPP chairperson Benazir Bhutto. On the same day PPP members also confirmed this news. Speaker Elahi Buksh Sumro said to Benazir Bhutto to get five more votes from any other party to be nominated as leader of opposition. Members of the National Assembly were making hue and cry over the issue for the past couple of weeks claiming that speaker was setting bad precedence by not appointing Benazir as leader of opposition despite her legitimate expectancy. But very soon she was appointed as opposition leader.

After starting her work as leader of the opposition Benazir Bhutto said that Pakistan is facing serious crises and there is need of national government to save Pakistan. She proposed that the political parties, Bureaucracy, armed forces, intelligence services and judiciary must take steps to save Pakistan. Addressing to the meeting of all Pakistan representative on national security, seminar was attended by all political leaders of Pakistan people party. She said that she completely believe in democracy and could not favor martial law. The basic aim is to pull the country out of crisis. She said that the most unfortunate aspect of our country is the democratic system reversal and unacceptability of the intelligence agencies. She directly blamed that the intelligence agencies paid rupees 14 billion in 1991 and in 1997 agencies paid rupees 17 billion to defeat her party. Furthermore, she said that a campaign was started against her that she had sold Gowader and allowed Americans to open a station in Chakwal. She comes to know that her telephone was trapped by agencies.

Meanwhile, The National Assembly session was held on 17 Feb.1997. Benazir Bhutto addressed to national assembly in her first speech as she said to Mr. Speaker that she was thankful to give her a chance to speak there. It's surprising for her to be elected in eight years because it is said that there could be elected in twenty years for four terms. She further

said that we should learn a lesson from elections again and again in our country. There are chances of lengthy discussions if elections could not be held under neutral government. It is necessary in their country to make electoral laws and these laws should be published before elections. There should be computerized voter lists and electoral books should be published before elections to show the names of voters. It would make easy for presiding officers to allow only those people for votes. In this way returning officers could also complete their work. The duty of returning officer was told before election but that not as it was told to complete their count.

Furthermore, Benazir Bhutto said that both parties have point scoring ability but she want favors in national interest, she said that this game should be ended, she said that her party fought but that chance was not giving to her party as other got it. She said that parliamentary system should be strong as PPP is trying to make it strong since thirty years as Quaid-e-Azam thought about it but some people want presidential system. We tested government of Junejo, two times Benazir and Nawaz Sharif each. If Benazir had coalition, Nawaz Sharif had 2/3 majority or 95% majority. If Nawaz Sharif could not solve the problems like corruption, barberry, inflation and unemployment than parliamentary system could not be run. Rather than to finish the parliamentary system we should work to make it stronger and leader of the house should be like chief executive. He should not blackmail, pressurize or threatened the house¹⁰⁹.

Benazir Bhutto spoke on different forums about the policies of government. She admitted that the opposition will welcome all positive steps taken by the government, On another occasion , At the residence of the Rao Sikander Iqbal, president of PPP Punjab, Benazir Bhutto the Chairperson of PPP said that her party would not desert the members and people with working class. She makes these remarks with the journalist. She said that

¹⁰⁹ *National Assembly Debates*, 17 February, 1997

her party would criticize the dumping from government and would appreciate the positive steps. Benazir Bhutto said that the present government claims big victory but we are not agreed with the claim challenged by the government¹¹⁰.

Thirteenth Amendment:

Thirteenth amendment was passed on 1st April 1997. This amendment repealed the blatant eighth amendment in which president has right to withdraw the Prime minister and dissolution of the national assembly. Without any restriction for abolishing this deplorable piece of constitution Benazir Bhutto supported her rival.

Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari emerged very powerful after the general elections; the government of his own choice was introduced as he had dismissed the government of Benazir Bhutto. Apparently against the choice of Nawaz and his colleagues in the parliament, Laghari appointed the governor of Punjab as he assumed an assertive air and got an old friend and civil services colleague. Laghari did not realize that his position was in danger with Nawaz having two third majorities at both houses of parliament. Using his overwhelmed power in the parliament Nawaz struck soon and did away unrestricted power of the president.

On 4th April 1997, by relaxing the usual rules regarding the constitutional amendment, particularly those concerning advance to the considerations and repeat regarding, the constitution (13th amendment) act 1997 was moved and passed in a matter of minutes. To dissolve the National Assembly, the most significant power was the omission of Article (58) (2) (b) of the constitution vesting unrestricted power in the President. To dissolve the Provincial assembly under the article 112 (2) (b) the corresponding power of the governor was also done away with. To appoint the governor, the power of the President was also watered down. After the consolation with the Prime Minister these appointments

¹¹⁰ *The Muslim Lahore*, May ,1997

were made by the President. Now after the 13th amendment, these powers are exercisable on the advice of the Prime Minister. Because the advice of the Prime Minister is binding on the President, this change made all the difference. The discretionary power of the President to appoint the Chief of Army Staff was also taken away by the amendment of Article 243 of the constitution¹¹¹.

In accordance to 13th amendment, the opposition leader Benazir Bhutto said that she is grateful to all parliament members and speaker on this historical day that here we gather to eliminate 58 (2) (b) to reestablish the power of parliament. This decision is moral success of parliament for every worker and martyred who worked in favor of democracy who served their life for parliamentary system. She said that the whole nation deserve for the success of parliamentary system on golden jubilee and to stay on the way of Quaid e Azam.

She further said that People who worked for parliamentary system since 20 years they can survive and save the system, people who are in support of parliamentary system deserve congratulations. There are lot of challenges in Pakistan cold war time has been ended and trade time has been started but it could not be work properly until or unless the power of parliamentary system .

If assemblies are removed after every two or three years than we could not fullfil the requiremennts and demmands of the poor people. This step also demoralise the political leaders and workers as well as. On one side there are PML (N) and on other side there is PPP. In past there is conflict of intrest in past and it could remain in future but PPP is thankfull to PML (N) who worked to eliminate 58 (2) (b)¹¹².

¹¹¹Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* ,451

¹¹² *National Assembly Debates*, 1st April 1997

Ehtesab Law:

Benazir Bhutto being leader of opposition and former prime minister has criticized the Ehtesab Law Redco Cell's assertion. To initial legal proceedings against the Ehtesab cell and its chief senator Saif ur Rehman for defaming opposition leader through the charade of media trail, she claimed to have uncovered fraud worth billions of rupees in the PPP government's power policy involving the former Prime Minister and her husband Asif Ali Zardari and directed her counsel Babar Awan. The legal notice to be severed in Ehtesab Cell was prepared by the Babar Awan and Benazir Bhutto signed the *wakalat nama*. Allegations of Ehtesab Law Redco Cell with regards to the PPP government's power policy no more than a drama according to the former prime minister and present opposition leader of that time, on the other hand she said that the political stunt aimed at victimization of political opponents and defaming the opposition leader and her husband were also the same case from new government formed in 1997. She also noticed that she was victimized on loan defaulter, tax evader and drug pushers by the coterie of bank loan defaulters because previous government of Benazir Bhutto had exposed these bodies and decided to close the circle around them¹¹³.

Accountability speech

Furthermore, on different issues and on accountability the Opposition leader and former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto addressed to a seminar on 27th May 1997. She said that the economic problems are due to luxury expenditures of the government like motorway loans, foreign aid amounting to \$4.2 billion during Nawaz Sharif's three tenures since 1985. With the help of finance act 1992, dollarization in the economy cause and increase in debts ratio to GDP, lack of investment in social sector and population growth rate, ignoring the global trends related to agricultural productions and failure to transfer from textile state to

¹¹³ Aurangzeb, *The Nation* May, 1997

software state were the main cause to crash the economic conditions of the country. She also moved the attention of people towards the wealthy improvements in Nawaz Sharif's family, his coverage to the criminal activities were the greatest threats to the country. According to the report of State banks the family of the Nawaz Sharif, was defaulter up to the 5 billion rupees to the banks in Pakistan and later on these loans were written off saying unrecoverable. There were more threatening cases regarding corruption as about 124\$ to 160\$ were missing and was short fall was shown in the revenues of the government¹¹⁴.

Sweet and Sour Budget:

On the first budget of Nawaz Sharif's second regime, the opposition leader Benazir Bhutto called it sweet and sour budget and she also said that it's only a game on numbers rather than facilitating public sector. Budget was sweet from the business and industry and sour from the perspective of the common man of Pakistan. There was tax reduction on the business sector to support business of Pakistan. Black-markets and carpet baggers have been destroyed by the first budget of the new government. Due to overall deficit of 144 billion this was not in favor of *Qarz utaro mulk sanwao* scheme because the entire deficit would need to recover from loans and foreign remittance. On the other hand there were repayment of 62 million of loan and total deficit was increased to 206 billion. There was nothing except to gain and repay the loan, overall borrowing of the government may exceed from 230 billion but Sartaj Aziz Finance minister of government said that there would be only 5% deficit in the budget. Benazir Bhutto called it *Qarz barhao mulk bigharo* budget¹¹⁵.

A bitter verbal clash between leader of opposition Benazir Bhutto and team of treasury stalwart on September 2 1997 in national assembly witnessed lead by Minister Mushahid Hussain.

¹¹⁴ *BB Speeches*, 132

¹¹⁵ *Federal Council Seminar* by Ms Benazir Bhutto June 20, 1997

Ms Bhutto rose to lambast the government and her speech was lengthy on while treasury member started attacking the PPP. This was the response to Mr. Hussain who said, used that a language unbecoming of him. To charge and draw a comparison between the governance of the PPP and the PML(N), Ms Bhutto immediately stood up. To the flag hosting ceremony on Aug 14, she said that the Nawaz Sharif government had taken took the credit for inviting in the ceremony. But on the other hand she said that this credit goes itself to the PPP for attending the ceremony and to express it solidarity. Mr. Nawaz Sharif did not attend any ceremony in the tenure of PPP. PPP also decided to attend the function in spite of the government's policy of vendetta.

Ms Bhutto disclosed that she had decided to return Pakistan when she was told that government was due to hold joint setting of parliament on the occasion of golden jubilee celebration of the country. The idea was dropped when they cancelled the plan. The Muslim world does not possess the delivery system of nuclear which was given to the nation and this year government also claimed that they have nuclear capability. Benazir said that PPP has given this gift to the nation when they had no capacity to deliver. The opposition leader said that the Nawaz government has not ability to control the Kashmir issue and resolution passed in the assembly. She said that she would write a letter to the UN Secretary General on the violation of human rights in Kashmir if needed. Benazir Bhutto said that the government was angry with the PPP because they don't want the veil removed from the black faces. Benazir Bhutto wanted to know that how her letter violated the nation laws on writing a letter. She said that people were sick with the policies of the government and government should wake up to see the realities. She said that the government had isolated the president who was once titles towards the PPP. Alienating its own colleagues and annoyed the judiciary¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁶ *Dawn Lahore* 13September, 1997

The government considered that her letter to the UN secretary general was against the national interest and it damaged the position on Kashmir issue with India. On 15 September 1997 she reacted upon the call of government, Rejecting all criticism from government of Pakistan she again said, human rights violations are deeply rooted in Pakistan, she also requested to call the experts of human rights from abroad to observe the situation in Pakistan. She said that her letter to UN secretary General had been perceived wrongly. The letter was written upon the human rights commission upon the situation of Pakistan directly notifying to the government of Pakistan. She said that she was born not to self-serve, she has mission to work on human rights at home and abroad as her husband and other party members were torched in the jails of Pakistan¹¹⁷.

As the conditions were too tough so Benazir Bhutto as leader of opposition asked Nawaz Sharif to not accept the loan from the IMF. She also rejected the idea of talk between India and Pakistan on Kashmir issue on secretaries' level from both countries to normalize the dispute. Ms Bhutto told foreign correspondents that Nawaz Sharif should not sign the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) of the fund. After meeting with Nawaz Sharif's economic managers the IMF team was granting 1.6 billion dollar loan to Pakistan whose first installment was to be given in July of dollar 500 to 700 millions. This could be granted after the final approval of the IMF Washington in August. She added that this step would press the button of unemployment, devaluation, inflation and instability in the country due to very tough conditions of loan and that why she refused to sign the ESAF¹¹⁸. Talking on Kashmir issue in Boston she said that the governments of Pakistan and India could not solve the issue of Kashmir, America should step forwards to resolve the issue. She said that there is danger of war in south Asia and the policy of bilateral talk between two

¹¹⁷ *The News*, 12 September, 1997

¹¹⁸ *The daily Dawn Lahore*, September 5, 1997

countries has been failed. To stop the violation of nuclear laws, American aims could be achieved if they create the environment of solution the issue and Kashmiri people should also be part of the table talk¹¹⁹.

Over the death of Mother Teresa Benazir Bhutto express her feelings of sad and sorrow to the world. In her message of condolence she said that she is grieved to hear the demise of Mother Teresa, she said that she was shocked when she thought that how Mother Teresa served the down trodden and helped the poor¹²⁰.

On September 8, 1997 being opposition leader she demanded that the wage rate should be increase up to 30%, regarding this issue she cited the ODGCL, PTCL, Pakistan railway and other department should not be privatize, she said that the PPP government lifted the ban from trade unions to secure the interest of the workers in Pakistan. She also said that the present government could do nothing except to raise the prices of the commodity.

She announced that the district level meetings would keep the record and this would be presented to the Benazir Bhutto in next central executive committee. She also decided that the central executive committee would discuss these meetings in detail to measure the performance and achievements of the works, She courage her workers that this ways their political activities would remain live in the minds of the people. The final selection of the candidates would be based on the discussions of the central executive committee. This process is expected to take six months. This was the second time to choose the candidates on performance base, before this the selection criteria was failed before the elections of the 1991¹²¹.

¹¹⁹ *Nawai Waqt Lahore*, 6 September, 1997

¹²⁰ *The Pakistan Times*, 7 September, 1997

¹²¹ *The Nation*, 22 September, 1997

She was with her children who were studying in Persian Gulf State and has to return Pakistan but consulate of Pakistan informed her to go to London. For legal consultation, Senator Aetzaz Ahsan was directed to reach in London who was already in United States. Benazir decided to rush to London because her Pakistani legal counseled her that she must Sue the Swiss banks which either from Switzerland or those with conversant with Switzer banking law should be engaged for law suit.

To institute law suit in court of law Benazir Bhutto was leaving for London from Dubai, this was to be heard in Switzerland. The banks had been frozen the accounts of the former prime minister and she need to attend law sue from four Swiss banks which according to allegation leveled by the government. Through the diplomatic channel a request was made to the Swiss banks to close four accounts regarding herself, her mother Nusrat Bhutto and her husband Asif Ali Zardari. The banks were a union banks attached to SA Citibank of Geneva, the Barkley Bank and the Contrad, Ormand, Barrus Banque, Privee SA are also instituted according to the source of news agencies. The leader of the opposition had already sent her message to London to arrange lawyers from Switzerland to defend her case. She also expects to go to Geneva and Switzerland in connection with her legal battles¹²².

Benazir Bhutto challenged open public debate to new government on the energy policy developed by the PPP government as US energy secretary Hazel O,leary declared that policy best for third world countries in the world. She also focused on the plan of restoration of peace in Karachi during her second term of government. She was in favor to support the private sector in energy production. She also support to the tariff level for 14.3 to 18.1as per requirement of WAPDA. And this tariff could be adjusted as new projects in stream completed time to time. On the other hand tariff was necessary to complete the new

¹²² Mehmood Zaman, *The Nation* 26 September, 1997

projects. Regarding the new projects, 24000 MW applications from private sector were received for 3000 MW project. As Pakistan's per capita consumption were 435 MW as compare to 1150 from Turkey and 1100 from Iran and 850 from Egypt. In November 1995, privatization of Ghazi Brotha could add 5000 to 6000 MW capacity in the system if her government would not be eliminated. Talking on the allegations of sale of Kot Adu power plant, she asked Nawaz Sharif to go through the files carefully and he can see the transparency of transformation from government to private institute. She demanded to show the letter to John Major on T.V, written by Nawaz Sharif, her companions were off loaders during her visits to foreign countries, many fictitious cases were created against her and her companions but strongly replied all those allegations saying that these tactics could afraid her¹²³.

Discussion on International Issues

Benazir Bhutto discussed on the issues related to global interest as she participated in international women's leadership forum in San Francisco California on 25th September 1997, on clash of civilization on 25 Oct 1997 on the island of Cyprus discussing the effects of soviet invasion of Afghanistan, human rights violations in Burma, same issue in Pakistan and Kashmir. She also addressed in fall tour of United States at John F. Kennedy School of Government on 7 Nov 1997 and Dowmel Foundation Salem College Pitney on November 11, 1997 regarding the human right violations on Muslim world.

Benazir Bhutto met with Hilary Clinton and prime minster of Canada Mr. Kristin; she attended her invitation and talked about two hours on the issues of Pakistani politics. She also discussed the misbehaves of PML(N) government with party workers of the PPP in Pakistan, she requested to first lady Mrs. Bill Clinton to pressurized the government of Pakistan on ravenous activities.

¹²³ Benazir speeches, 53

The Supreme Court Bench Headed by the Chief Justice took up the contempt case against the Prime Minister on 28th November 1997. Thus the preventing the bench from hearing, PML (N) workers storms the Supreme Court building. Obviously sponsored by the government and led by the ministers and members of the parliament and provincial assembly, this was indeed one of the most despicable assaults on the court in judicial history. Under the leadership of their MNAs and MPAs, PML (N) workers from various places in the Punjab were taken to Islamabad in buses, they attack the buses and police contingent present there stood aside like spectators. The chief justice wrote to the president requesting army protection after the storming of building. The faces had been recorded by the close circuit cameras inside Supreme Court building, Chief Justice alleged in his letter to president that the attack was led by the government ministers. The attackers were addressed and of course applauded by the Chief Minister of the Punjab as if they had just won a war, after the attack the assailants were asked by the PML (N) leaders to have lunch at Punjab house. To send a reference against the five Supreme Court judges at the Quetta and Peshawar Registries to the Supreme Judicial Council for misconduct was also asked from the president¹²⁴.

Economic Crises:

Due to economic crises Pakistan government had taken the loans up to three thousands million rupees, but there was still worst situation in the country. Government was making plan to cut down its expenses. On this occasion Benazir Bhutto said that to cut down the expenses Government will send hundred thousand army forces to different departments of the country and this downsizing will be permanent, on the other hand employees from WAPDA, KESC and Pakistan railways would permanently fired. She said that rather than focusing on spare issues government should think about serious issues. She added that there

¹²⁴ Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 457

is government of non-taxpayers and they work non taxpayers. She said that party workers should not be worried about the allegation on her, while she was addressing to the party works through news agency. These allegations would prove wrong very soon¹²⁵.

Prime minister requested emigrants of Pakistan to deposit a thousand dollars to Pakistani banks from two to five years to rescue the county from loan but unfortunately those types of schemes could not be succeeded and economic problems were remains same as it was.

The PPP leadership decided to mobilize its allies wings and organizations and they rejected with a majority vote to the idea to launch a mass agitation against the government, the central executive committee of the party met on Friday in Karachi and a proposal to choose PPP candidates for National Assembly and provincial legislature at least three years ahead of the next general elections in Pakistan. The purpose of this call was to mentally prepare the candidates and organizations attached with the candidates. On the other hand it was targeted to assign the task to the people of good reputation in working with close collaboration. Benazir Bhutto asked to the nominators to call the meetings ate local level, to meet the legislatives and district leadership.

To check the freedom of legislator and to put the accountability in his control Nawaz Sharif government passed the fourteenth amendment. Nawaz government and judiciary started the time of confrontation. In the declaration of the judicial activism the root cause of the conflict was enclosed. Nawaz government was handling the issues agreement of wheat shipping from USA and Chief Justice took the notice of certain charges. Cases relating to the illegal allocation of the residential plots by Nawaz Sharif, chief justice order to reopen those pending cases. In August when Nawaz government introduced a parallel justice system of summery trail counts, this conflict was more aggravated. To kill and arrest without

¹²⁵ *Nawai Waqt* Lahore, Dec ,1997

warrants, the law was empowered to the police and other security forces including many other rights. Supreme Court disapproved this and condemn on these authorities.

Indo-Pak Relationship on Kashmir:

Benazir Bhutto suggested that there should be open border policy between Pakistan and India on the issue of Kashmir; she said that Kashmir on line of control should be allowed to meet each other across the border. She also cited the example of Israel and Jordan on this open border policy. She criticizes on Nawaz Sharif to meet the president Clinton on the issue of Kashmir in Washington rather than meeting in Islamabad. She also blamed to military on this issues as per her opinion military was dividing the nation on this issue¹²⁶.

Benazir Bhutto was also criticized on launching internet in the country, it was called a step towards the vulgarity and obscenity but she supported her decision saying that this was the great step towards the communication resolution of the country. She explained that this was the main communication line to connect her workers with her and all workers with each other through email system¹²⁷.

Addressing to the conference upon quest for the peace she mentioned that Nawaz Sharif had badly interrupted the three pillars of the nation like, insulation of Supreme Court, stripped the presidency for all powers and attempted to politicize the armed forces¹²⁸.

On December 2 due to this confrontation, the chief justice Sajjad Ali Shah and president Farooq Laghari were eliminated and this was the result of this longstanding and dramatic fight between Nawaz Sharif and Chief Justice. This 'victory' further strengthened the position of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The family friend of Nawaz Sharif retired Justice Rafiq Tarar was appointed new president of Pakistan In order to appply Sharia as supprime law of pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif decided fifteenth amendment in contitution.

¹²⁶ Dawn Lahore,25 July 1999,

¹²⁷ Benair Bhutto ,Speeches, 25, 26

¹²⁸ Ibid, 34

This amendment gave the power to Prime Minister as Amirul Momenin of the country and further this was approved by the bill of Islamization in the country. Prominent parties of Pakistan oppose this bill specially MQM. This concept was moved toward the *Talibanization* according to minorities and women wings of Pakistan, this step would be lifted toward conservatism. Afghanistan was devised the Taliban for moderate government during the government of PPP. But now Taliban rejected this agreement for signing this agreement after the withdrawal of PPP government. Under the Nawaz Sharif Government they completely changed their appearance. Taliban stated attacks on Iranian diplomats. In 1998, Taliban leader Usama bin Ladin announced war in west of Afghanistan after formation of Al Qaida organization. As the Opposition leader Benazir Bhutto forced Nawaz Sharif to break the relationship with Taliban due to refusal to follow the rules of international relations by Taliban. For the safety of Pakistan this step was necessary according to the leaders of opposition Benazir Bhutto.

On 23 May 1998 Indian Prime Minister openly talked to attack on Siachin, and Indian atomic scientist threaten Pakistan that they have capacity to prepare 200Kg ton atomic bomb, reacting their statement Benazir Bhutto discussed with *Jang* newspaper that if Indians tried to attack, being leader of opposition me and my party workers would fully support the government. She also met with minister of foreign affairs and showed her commitment over the unity of the nation and next plan for government to be united¹²⁹.

Once again the relationship between Pakistan and India were seriously destroyed and both neighbors were come close for nuclear war in the South Asia. In response to five nuclear test of India, Pakistan tested six nuclear explosions on 28th May 1998. United Nations imposed strong economic sanctions on both countries especially on Pakistan after

¹²⁹ *Daily Jung* 23 May, 1998.

these explosions from both countries. When the Prime Minister blocked foreign account, the situation was become more panic¹³⁰.

Due to sanction, Pakistan's economy had badly affected. The president Tarar announced the state of emergency in the country when lot of criticism was faced by Pakistan from international community over explosions. These announcements further strengthen the position of government. After that Prime Minister met with most serious mistake of his tenure to remove the COAS General Jahangir Karamat Chief of Army staff and appointed General Pervaiz Musharaf on 1st October 1998, this was the result of Prime minister's clash with army chief. The morale of Pakistan army was demolished by the resignation of the top commander of Pakistan army¹³¹.

Ms Bhutto leader of opposition working efforts for human rights, especially the voice of the women could not be stopped throughout her life, concerning these issues she visited the whole world to show the positive image of the Pakistan, she visited Canada on 30 April 1998, and she discussed the issue of Vietnam War. On May 1998 she visited the Boston and discussed the issue that "the hottest place in the hell is reserved for those who remain neutral at times of moral crisis". She said that this time is not to be neutral or inaction. This speech gave the great courage and vision to the people who were ready for the help of Vietnam War disturbers¹³².

After the Second World War, Kargil conflict was the biggest blunder in the history of Pakistan it took Pakistan and India at extremely dangerous level being nuclear power to both countries, discussing to media in the house of Lord Nazir in the presence of foreign secretary Douglas Hurd and other government ministers. Without pointing the responsibility of the war Benazir said that whole operation was cost to Pakistan heavily. She also said that

¹³⁰ Bhutto Benazir, *Islam, democracy and the west* (Harper Collin Publishers, 2008),211

¹³¹ Sheikh, *Benazir Bhutto*,245

¹³² BB Speeches, 64, 65

the whole operation turned the focus of the world towards the relation of Pakistan and India lifting behind the Kashmir issue. She felt that Kashmir issue should be resolved first of all other matters. She again pointed that there should be open border policy on both sides of line of control for Kashmiri people. Being opposition leader she notifies that government should signed to CTBT before the incident of 28 may between Pakistan and India. She also said that government should clearly state the policy upon CTBT. If India sign the bill than Pakistan should not hesitate to do so. This step could stop the nuclear race between two nuclear power of the south Asia. Both governments should explain the warhead policies regarding nuclear productions in both countries.

About the nuclear weapons she said that this weapon could never be used. As nuclear power means that to resort to use the forces that it would be suicidal for both nations, there could not be another war between Pakistan and India. Pakistan must revise the foreign policy to cool down the rhetoric, the first and cardinal principal should be a good neighbor policy, we live in a glass houses and do not through stones on each other. We must need to put concentration on fragile economy in order to progressive way.

Campaigning the cause of Democracy:

In order to stop the Prime Minister's policies to turn Pakistan into a theocracy on the name of religion, the opposition leader Benazir Bhutto used the Parliamentary power for two years. She once again started lecturing in foreign countries to keep the Pakistani democracy alive. She and her husband were sentenced five year in prison as convicted of corruption charges in Swiss cases in April 1999. But fortunately she was not in Pakistan, so she, her mother and her children went to Dubai and again directed in exile. In May 1999, Pakistan and India were direct into Kargil conflict that may lead them in nuclear war. In Indian held Kashmir, this conflict was took place in Kargil district. In spring the forces of India and Pakistan again occupied their positions as this district remain deserted in the

season of winter. In the Kargil region, this time conflict caused by the infiltration of Kashmiri Mujahidin, this situation exposed to deteriorate into a full scale war. To end the crises Nawaz Sharif drove to Washington to sought help from President Clinton. Nawaz Sharif expressed after meeting to President Clinton that they demanded to withdraw Pakistan armed forces from Kargil region. Without making a plan with Indians for peaceful elimination, Nawaz Sharif government withdraws independently. When Indian troops recaptured the Mountains, hundreds of soldier lost their live as a result of this decision¹³³. Nawaz said that he was completely unaware of Mujahidin's activities in Kargil but army claimed that he was aware, so this incident spoiled the relationship between Pakistan government and armed forces. Relationship was more deteriorated between Nawaz and General Pervaiz Musharaf. In October 1999, finally Nawaz Sharief decided to terminate Pervaiz Musharaf. The private plan of Musharaf was not allowed to land by Nawaz Sharif when he was coming back to Pakistan from foreign visit of Sri Lanka¹³⁴.

When Nawaz appointed new chief of Army staff, Lt. General Zia ul Din who was junior to his several colleagues, as the formalities of the appointment were somewhat carried out, to over the charge of the new position the army corp. commanders did not allow him. The announcement was soon interrupted after clear announcement of new army chief, the telecasting of national television went off the air for few hours. What was actually happening, people were anxious to know. Nawaz government was dismissed and Chief of Army Staff would address to the nation very soon, this was the announcement on the national TV when telecasting was taking on after few hours. The army commanders were taking over the TV station, governor houses, Prime minster house and all other sensitive places of the country in later transpired on the TV. On the other hand an attempt was being

¹³³ Khan ,*Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 472

¹³⁴ Ibid, 72

made by the Nawaz and his companions; they did not allow landing the plane of Musharaf who was returning to Pakistan from official visit of Sri Lanka. They were stopped to land on Karachi airport and said to take the plane in India or somewhere else. The pilot requested again saying that the fuel is getting low, he moved the plane to nearby airport of Nawab Shah but return to Karachi Airport after the clearance made by army commanders. The plane was landed in Karachi¹³⁵.

In the earlier hours of the 13 October 1999, in a delayed broadcast to the national television, General Musharaf announced that the armed forces have taken the control of the country and the Government of the PMLN has been removed¹³⁶. Once again the military was in control a former armed chief of staff Pervaiz Musharaf took power in 1999 three years after Benazir government was dismissed another coup dictator took place in Pakistan¹³⁷. It was decided by military leadership later on that the martial law would not be imposed and a new setup soon would be announced. Musharaf assumed the office of Chief Executive of Pakistan and proclaimed emergency throughout the Pakistan on 14th October 1999. The president would continue its office and the constitution would be held abeyance. It was also announced that the four provincial assemblies, their speakers, national assembly, Senate, the speaker of national assembly and the Chairman of the senate would be suspended and Provincial Constitutional Order was promulgated¹³⁸.

¹³⁵ Ibid, 472, 473

¹³⁶ Ibid, 479

¹³⁷ Naden, *Benazir Bhutto*, 73

¹³⁸ Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 479

Chapter 4

Last Phase of Benazir Bhutto's Political Struggle

Benazir Bhutto's political career reached at its peak when General Musharaf take over the country and terminated the civilian government of Mian Nawaz Sharif in October 1999. Benazir, who has described Sharif's government as a "civilian dictatorship" said that her Pakistan people Party would support effort by the military towards "restoring political and economic stability in the country, Benazir said that if military authorities announced that elections would be held within three months, she would return to Pakistan immediately¹³⁹.

By the General Musharaf, Nawaz Sharif was sent to exile in December 2000. In 2001 Army Chief Musharaf became the President of Pakistan. In April 2002, he called for referendum to declare himself the president of Pakistan. That was the time when Benazir Bhutto became the life time chairperson of PPP. In October 2002, President announced for parliamentary election. In order to prohibit the prime ministers from serving more than two terms President Musharaf amended the constitution several times. Result of this action to stop the participation of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif in general elections. Inspire of threats from Musharaf, Benazir Bhutto was determined to contest the election. By her lawyers, several petitions have been filed against laws. Finally court acted against Benazir Bhutto to stop her to participate in elections¹⁴⁰.

Benazir Bhutto as opposition leader called her party member to go for country wide anti regime agitation to oust General Pervaiz Musharaf proir to New Dehle summit. She said in her message on the occasion of what the party dubs as black day against toppling of

¹³⁹ *Down* Lahore 17 Oct, 1999

¹⁴⁰ Padrino, *Benazir Bhutto*, 86, 87

countries first elected Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Government. On Musharaf, she said that she would not mandate him to hold talk and want him out of power before her schedule visit to India.

Conduct of General election order 2002 was promulgated on 27th Feb 2002. The election commission announces the election schedule on 16 August 2002. 10 October was announced for the polling of national and provincial assemblies. All the political parties decided to participate in the election of 2002. Consisting of dissenters of PPP and PMLn, Military government put together a political party and gave it the name of PML (Q) as well as this party owns its origin and expansion to NAB and the political wing of ISI. All cases related to these parties and leaders of these parties were easily prosecuted and they were free from courts and every type of trails. The pace of prosecutions was reduced or even the cases were withdrawn. With the favorable terms, the defaults from the banks were also let off¹⁴¹.

| Parties | NA | Punjab | Sindh | NWFP | Baluchistan |
|----------------|----|--------|-------|------|-------------|
| PMLQ | 78 | 128 | 10 | 7 | 10 |
| PPP | 62 | 63 | 51 | 8 | 2 |
| MMA | 45 | 7 | 15 | 47 | 13 |
| IND | 28 | 34 | 5 | 14 | 7 |
| PMLn | 14 | 37 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| MQM | 13 | 0 | 31 | 0 | 0 |
| NA | 12 | 12 | 10 | 0 | 4 |
| PMLF | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| ANP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| PPP Sherpao | 2 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 |

¹⁴¹ Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 490

| | | | | | |
|---------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Other Parties | 10 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 11 |
| Total | 268 | 287 | 128 | 99 | 47 |

Source: Khan, 490

PPP once again approaches the opposition seat by achieving large numbers of votes inspire of all difficulties. With the confluence of Musharaf's association, it could also make the government. Musharaf's allies General Hussain, Brigadier Ijaz and ISI dislodged the Parliamentary power of PPP by forcing the ten PPP parliamentarians to vote for Mir Zafar Ullah Jamali as Prime minister of Pakistan when President Musharaf independently suspended the parliament session.

By keeping the opposition divided, the PPP chairperson, Benazir also helped the military government. One of the MMA and other of the PPP, two candidates were put up. On the other hand for first whole years it was undecided that who would be the leaders of opposition in the national assembly. The secretary general of the MMA Maulana Fazal ul Rehman was decided the leader of the opposition after passing the seventeenth amendment in the national assembly with the help of MMA¹⁴².

Without its leader Benazir Bhutto, PPP started its journey as opposition in parliament after the elections. She continuously led her parliament members from abroad, through international discussions she also prepared new policies and participated in parliamentary affairs. By writing papers she routinely instructed her party members on domestic and foreign affairs. For General Musharaf she was become a very fussy personality. Nationally and internationally with the support of people from all four provinces of Pakistan Benazir once again proved herself a famous Pakistani politicians. In several countries she travels and gave lectures. She prominently discussed the women rights in her lectures. In progressive countries she once again discussed the injustice against

¹⁴² Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* ,491

women. She energized the women that they can work and achieve anything like men through her lectures. Only education is the key to success for women was the message of Benazir Bhutto. Women should polish and work on their inner abilities because this is the way through which they can be financially independent. As the most serious issue of the 21st century was the ethnic and cruel of the world¹⁴³.

Regarding the cruelty on human beings, on 11th September 2001 a worst example was seen when two U.S planes were hijacked by the Al-Qaida organization trucked with the twin towers in New York. Thousands of people lost their live in this brutal incident. This incident left deep imprints on the political situation of Pakistan and changed the political landscape of the world. For this terrorist act of 9/11 Bush administration directly blamed to Al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan. Pakistan government came under heavy pressure as a supporter of Taliban regime in Afghanistan which was playing host to Osama. Under threat of dire consequences US government demanded cooperation from Pakistan. The entire burden of taking decision was fallen on Musharaf as Pakistan was running without constitutional government. Musharaf immediately accepted all demands of US without any consultation. He abandons the Taliban regime and completely reverses the policy on Afghanistan. For American military operations against Afghanistan, he agreed to land bases to US. In war against terrorism, he also agreed to share intelligences information with US intelligence agencies.

Train was exploded in London by terrorist on July 2005 as another tragedy took place. For Benazir Bhutto who had spend very important time of getting education in Oxford and Harvard universities, so the news of these incidents were very painful and shocking for her. But the most worrying thing was that the Pakistan had been accused for all that disaster and these attacked were done on the name of Islam. Through the holy Book of Quran Allah

¹⁴³ Padrino, *Benazir Bhutto*, 87,89

has strictly prohibited any type of brutality in Islam. Going in past army chief Zia and US secret agencies laid the foundation off this disaster in Pakistan. Secret agencies of Pakistan and US worked together to strengthen the Mujahiddin in Pakistan during the Russian invasion in Afghanistan. In order to use against Russian troops in Afghanistan, they strengthen Mujahiddin by giving them modern weapons. This strategy changed Pakistan into violated and agitated country of the world. With the political support of religion political parties in Pakistan, today the terrorist spoiled the name of Islam. Military groups trained the spread the animosity prejudice towards the nom Muslin in Pakistan; several political Madrassas has been established¹⁴⁴. By mobilization of Talibaan they had become a serious menace to the safety of Pakistan.

Government of Pakistan signed a peace treaty under the Musharaf rule, which was called Waziristan accord. This accord handed over few tribal areas of Waziristan to Taliban. By closing the girl's school, barbers and video shops, they started to work against accord signed between two parties. With modern techniques and tools they brainwashed the youngster and teenager. They wanted to control the whole country on the name of Islamization when in 2007 swat and FATA were under their control and the government was failed to control these areas of the country¹⁴⁵.

Musharaf fully support the US war on terror, in order to get the elegance dignity of London and Washington which further empower the roots of terror. Further, it intensified the situation in these years by preaching of militants to create war against the government. This time government tried their best to control these activities of terrorist even Benazir also tried hard to control them but it was become very difficult to control. For the deception of

¹⁴⁴ Benazir Bhutto, *The Daughter of the East*, 425, 425

¹⁴⁵ Ibid,430

Pakistan at home and in the west, Zia and President Musharaf were responsible according to Benazir Bhutto.

Not only for Pakistan but for the whole world, equity, freedom and justice is the basis right of the people. The terrorist could not be power or protected under the system of democracy. A democratic system of Pakistan can only control the terrorist activities in Pakistan and it should be free from military rules¹⁴⁶.

Meeting with Nawaz Sharif in Jeddah:

Benazir Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari accompanied by Senator Farooq Naik met with Nawaz Sharif in 2006 in Saudi Arabia and passed her sympathy on the death of his father Mian Sharif, for the pilgrimage. Through negotiation both leaders were agreed to resolve their conflicts on politics. They resolved that they would not act in any way that would help non democratic forces to negate the 1973 constitution and deprived the people of their democratic rights. They further resolve to continue the struggle for the supremacy of the Parliament with federal parliamentary character, independence of Judiciary, rule of law, freedom of media and the will of the people. They called upon all the political forces in the country to agree on a charter of democracy which should become the cornerstone for an end to dictatorships for all times to come and differences on policies and other issues should be set aside for achieving this common and universal goal¹⁴⁷.

It was very important for the both leaders to resolve their conflict in order to establish democracy in the Pakistan.

Charter of Democracy (COD):

Aitzaz Ahsan a Cambridge studied lawyer played a very important role to create a peaceful environment between these two leaders who were serve the country as prime

¹⁴⁶ Benazir Bhutto, *The Daughter of the East*, 430, 431

¹⁴⁷ *Down Lahore*, 11 February, 2005

minister twice both of them, he was also legal representative of Benazir Bhutto and remained a cabinet minister in her second tenure. To create a working relationship between these two leaders was the purpose of Aitzaz Ahsan. Rehman Malik in London was the person who more strengthened the rapprochement between these two leaders; he was also the Security Chief of Benazir when both leaders signed Charter of Democracy.

To struggle against the dictatorship of President Musharaf both leaders committed for the restoration of democracy. Nawaz Sharif called Benazir Bhutto as her sister to make a better Pakistan after that agreement, in response to cancellation all allegation against Nawaz Sharif by Benazir Bhutto. Power sharing formula was the most important point of this meeting. After winning the election with the support of Nawaz Sharif Supporters Benazir Bhutto had an opportunity. The year 2007 was call the year of progress and prosperity by Benazir Bhutto.

The charter commits the two parties to struggle against dictatorship and on coming to power do away with the “distortions” made in the constitution after the overthrow of PML (N) government. This abundant on the national Security Council had also been promised by the charter. Some of the provisions in the original draft of the two parties have been dropped. Provisions that former prime minister be given privileges like those available to former presidents have also been excluded from the documents. The two sides have also pledged not to approach the army to come to power. After putting their signature on the charter Ms Bhutto and Mr. Sharif exchanged the pens with which they had finalized the agreement. Mr. Sharif rejected reports that he could strike a deal with the government saying that it was a calculated weekend the opposition. The former prime ministers reiterated that free and fair elections were not possible under the supervision of General

Pervaiz Musharaf and that both the exiled leaders would return to the country together before the elections. However they did not say that they would return by same flight¹⁴⁸.

After free and fair election this year could become a year of conversion to democracy. For civil society, press, judges' lawyer and electronic media brought popularity and independence for them. Due to foreign pressure and coming election President Pervaiz Musharaf open the doors for PPP and PMLn to participate in election. In 2000, Benazir refused the offer from President Musharaf to quite the politics or ten years in exchange of free to her husband so the investigation of corruption charges was remained as it were. Under Nawaz regime in 1999 Lahore high court proved them captive in SGS/cotecna case. Court removed the punishment in April 2001 when they filed petition in Supreme Court. On the request of Musharaf, cotecna and other cases were reopening. For not appearing in court at that time, Benazir Bhutto was punished three years in jail upon new trail.¹⁴⁹. Due to involvement in different cases like corruption, drugs and murder Asif Ali Zardari was already in jail. He has been kept away from medical treatment even tortured many times. According to Benazir Bhutto her husband was not culprit but may have inaccurate attitude. Benazir Bhutto and her children were not allowed to meet Asif Ali Zardari and this was very difficult time for Bhutto family. They can only talk by exchanging cards and letters and some time through phones but mostly phone talk was trapped. Just for her determination to stay in politics whole family faced very tough situation¹⁵⁰. By Musharaf regime in December 2004 Bhutto family once again united after unconditional freedom of Zardari from jail. It only Benazir Bhutto who always struggled against dictators, Musharaf knew the importance of his post, from the post of chief of army staff PPP wanted resignation from Musharaf. Due

¹⁴⁸ *Down Lahore*, 14 May, 2006

¹⁴⁹ Padrino,90

¹⁵⁰ Naden, *Benazir Bhutto*, 73

to this reason Musharaf never wanted to leave that post at any cost. The basic and important slogan of PPP was the free and fair election to reinstate democracy in Pakistan.

At more extent due to various factors General Musharaf has lost his popularity and the situation in Pakistan was changing very rapidly. Musharaf promised to held election very soon after his takeover to government in 1999 but he could not do so because he resolute to stay in power. By the security forces to organize operation against the extremist to secure Pakistan from enemies, he disparately violated the human rights. Human rights were violated as Pakistani agencies and security forces can arrest, prison and torture anyone. Just for taking the notice of missing people the judges of the Supreme Court were dismissed from their job. At home, according to US survey Masharaf lost his papullarity from 63% to 26%. A new political coherence was decided by United States between Musharaf and Benazir Bhutto¹⁵¹. US considered that only Benazir Bhutto can save Musharaf from this tough time crisis. Benazir Bhutto discussed several issues with her party members like balance of power between Prime minster and president, abrogation of law which prevented to take prime minster office third time and impartial elections.

Musharaf's first secret meeting with Benazir Bhutto was taken on Feb 2007 when Musharaf went to Abu Dhabi. This meeting was the first meeting to break the ice Between Benazir Bhutto and Musharaf. Benazir Bhutto discussed with Musharaf that the elections of 2008 would be under free and fair impartial election commission, restriction on twice elected Prime Minister must be lifted. She also demanded that Musharaf should discard his uniform as president and the response of Musharaf was Positive upon these issues. Musharaf was agreed to resign as Chief of Army Staff after the re-election of President, this was very surprising for Benazir¹⁵².

¹⁵¹Benazir Bhutto, Islam Democracy and West, 114, 116

¹⁵² Ibid, 226, 227

On 3rd July 2007 some of the students and Mufti captured the Red Mosque in Islamabad; this was direct war between Islamic militants and government of Pakistan. After crashing every peaceful effort government arrested about 50 militants and killed up to 154 in this battle. Benazir Bhutto more appreciated this effort of Musharaf to take action against militant even there was criticism on media that hundreds of innocent students have been killed. Many political leaders condemn Benazir Bhutto over her clear stance on the military operation by Musharaf¹⁵³.

Benazir Bhutto announced her return to Pakistan from London in the midst of 2007. She was aware of this threat that she might be murdered in Pakistan. Musharaf refused to give her security even in political meetings in London and Dubai, even he was also aware of the threats to her life. Musharaf wanted that Benazir Bhutto should return to Pakistan after the General elections of 2007 but Benazir Bhutto was consistent to participate in elections as well as elections campaign. She thought that Musharaf had a plane for rigging in elections.

It was suggested to Benazir Bhutto that the enemy is on target to kill her and death is waiting for her. But Benazir Bhutto had only one reply that the death is in the hands God. She said that that the nation is in danger and she must go to Pakistan to save the interest of the nation and to work for the power of the people through the democracy in Pakistan. The danger of death could not stop the way of the Benazir Bhutto to Pakistan. Ultimately she decided to move on Pakistan on 18 October 2007¹⁵⁴.

In last meeting with Benazir Bhutto in Dubai on October 2007, Musharaf signed National Reconciliation Ordinance. Under this ordinance, he dropped all corruption cases against all leading politicians and allowed them to participate in election¹⁵⁵. This ordinance

¹⁵³ Naden, *Benazir Bhutto*, 74

¹⁵⁴ Bashir Riaz, *Bhutto Khandan: Jehde Musalsal*, 210

¹⁵⁵ Bhatia, *Good Bye Shahzadi*, 117

opened the door for PPP as well as Benazir Bhutto to return Pakistan and take part in election. In return to support Musharaf as civilian president of Pakistan was the agreed statement of Benazir Bhutto, after elections she considered to support Musharaf as President¹⁵⁶. Due to this reason she requested her legislatures to not cast vote against Musharaf in presidential election for the next five years. As PPP members do the same in assembly and Musharaf won the presidential election for next five years.

Assassination of the Leader:

Benazir decided to go back to Pakistan after eight years of exile in abroad. Approximately three million people welcomed her in Karachi when she arrived on 18 October 2007. When she saw landed, the love of people for Bhutto family and she touched the land of her birth, her eyes were full of tears and her heart was full of emotions. Before her landing to Pakistan she was informed by Pakistani government and foreign governments that she would face a suicide attack by terrorist in Pakistan. She assured her children that life and death is in control of God and Allah will protect her before saying them goodbye in Dubai. According to Benazir Bhutto Musharaf gave more relaxation to militants and he would be responsible for her assassination if terrorist attacked on her, she informed this to Musharaf by writing a letter from Dubai. On her arrival people welcomed with slogans of dancing in trucks and flowering on her, the streetlight went out when she reached in the center of Karachi. Two powerful bombs were exploded, for soothing her foot which had swollen she arrived in the chamber of truck. The truck was badly damaged in this attack. The night of joys and happiness was turned to deathly silence and all celebrations were finished. A very dreadful picture of bloodshed and slaughter was created when the death bodies were sprinkled everywhere

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 113

Hundreds of others were injured and around 130 were dead in this attack but fortunately Benazir Bhutto was saved.

She gave four names to Musharaf in her secret letter to him including Brigadier Ijaz who was Intelligence Bureau Chief and former chief of ISI General Hamid Gul. She openly told these two names to media after the attacks saying this, they want to kill her. She said that these people were full responsible for this incidence happened in Karachi. Despite alerting her about the danger of suicide attack by the Pakistani Government, General Musharaf alleged that she was openly campaigning among the people. Based on this argument, Musharaf said that she is herself responsible for this incident. Shortly after this incident Benazir returned to Dubai and returned back in earlier November but this time she arrived at her home in Lahore. The people of Lahore welcomed her heartily and excitedly. By suspending constitution, on 3 November 2007 Musharaf imposed emergency. Apprehending thousands of Judges, Lawyers, and political party leaders along with restrictions on electronic and print media, Musharaf crashed the image of the country. The PPP announced to run a demonstration on 7 November 2007.

By the Musharaf regime at least 5000 PPP workers were arrested and imprisoned along with house arrest of Benazir Bhutto. After the proclamation of long march which was arranged by PPP on 13 to 17 November Benazir was house arrested. Even under the dictatorship, democracy will always remain alive in Pakistan; this was the commitment of PPP leaders and workers. This was the message for the world from the PPP workers on struggle against Musharaf. Ignoring the election commission issues, Musharaf announced general elections on 8 Jan 2008 under the pressure from PPP, national and international media. Musharaf also announced that the state of emergency would be lifted on 16 Dec 2007. He withdrew the post of Chief of Army Staff and this was the biggest relaxation for political parties in the opposition of Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto was alert on the pre election

situation like rigging from government, ghost voters, use of government funds for election complain, supervision of ballot papers and deportation of judicial officers.

Pakistan people Party decided to participate in elections on 22 November 2007. An alliance was formed by PML(N) Jamat e Islami, Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf, Pakhtun Khawa Milli Awami Party decided to Boycott the elections. On 25 November, Nawaz Sharif came back to Pakistan and on 29, November; he decided to reiterate the decision. He said that the decision of boycott would be discussed with Benazir Bhutto. Meeting with Benazir Bhutto, decided and Alliance for the Restoration of the Democracy (ARD) was formed under a joint committee. APDM and PPP would make a charter of demands. This charter of demand would be presented to Musharaf government, if these demands were not accepted than the elections would be boycotted. The committee was differed on charter of demand especially the restoration of judiciary on 2, November 2007. PPP has reservations on this point but other APDM parties were in fully support of restoration of judiciary. This was the main reason due to this the ARD and APDM could not agree on the restoration of Judges¹⁵⁷.

In order to pressurize the government for free and fair election she met with Nawaz Sharif on 4 Dec 2007. She assured him that the government could not be succeeded in rigging against them. Musharaf government several time warned her to be reserve during her complain after the incident of October. PPP leadership forced Musharaf to increase her security but he remained silent over this issue.

She was very bold and audacious women according to an article of Parada Magazine. From the threats and troublesome situation she was not scared, that was the main reason due to which she remained in public and avoided security restrictions. She was addressing a campaign rally in Rawalpindi on 27 Dec 2007 when she was letting the rally in her white bulletproof land cruiser. As she stood up, for having hands to the people she open the

¹⁵⁷ Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* ,526

sunroof of her land cruiser, after shooting her neck and head and a gunman exploded the bomb. In this blast about 20 spectators were also killed. First Benazir was seriously injured and rushed into Rawalpindi General Hospital, which is situated about two miles away from the incident. On operating table unfortunately she was passed away in the hospital. Her husband Asif Ali Zardari did not allowed her postmortem after her death. According to the doctors her death was caused by bullets striped in her head. Her skull was fractured when she tried to bow down in her car after the explosion; this was the statement of interior ministry of Pakistan.

Conclusion

Democracy is always a key towards good government but on the other hand dictatorship not only suspended the rights of common people but also the constitution of Pakistan, she had views that democracy is such a form of government in which the rights of the citizenship are secured, unfortunately Pakistan had faced such type of problem and spent much time under military regime as the longest military regime was the time of Zia when she started the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, Zia's time was started from 1977 and ended in 1988, after that military involvements in democratic government was also a problem for Pakistan, during the time of Zia she remained under house arrest and spent most of her time in jail or exile, same was happened in the Musharaf's time but she had dedicated that she would struggle her best level against the military rules of Zia and Musharaf and this was her biggest success to restore the democracy in Pakistan. Even when she was in jail or exile, she stated struggle for democracy and achieved its required goals. She had believed that women must be encouraged to participate in politics, being her own involvement as Prime minister and leader of opposition; she had proved that the role of women is also important. She dedicated her whole life struggling for the people of Pakistan. Benazir was as the time article states, a brave and gutsy woman as most would agree on this statement. She was charting a new course as an Islamic woman was trying to lead an Islamic nation even she was in danger at all the time even she had known this. For attracting huge crowd Benazir had brilliant ability as political leader. She had views that she would bring a new beginning for her country, as a chance for Pakistan to become a truly modern progressive state she promised a better tomorrow.

Especially in the last year of her life, others may remember her fierce independence. She did risk many times her life whether she was fighting because of a true believer in justice or whether she was fighting to uphold her family name.

Most Pakistani and world's leaders have greatly admired Benazir Bhutto in spite of all political troubles with her. "As we are all the creatures of God, the principle of humanity should be promoted and we should reach out to each other" these were the words of Benazir Bhutto. Being respectful to each other in her own life, Benazir Bhutto tried to promote the principles of humanity. She had no bitterness towards those who had imprisoned her for nearly ten years.

As she was in opposition in most of her political career, even in the tenure of Zia, Nawaz Sharif or Musharraf, to Pakistanis she had become a hope for a better future; she had become a symbol of freedom to the world. She would have thought that she would like Pakistan to emerge out of the darkness of illiteracy as she had judged our country on its merits and talent. She had the view that there should be equal opportunities for men and women. It is not easy to say that Bhutto's vision for the struggling nation of Pakistan will be achieved. Her belief in her abilities and in the future of her country would not falter. Being a leader of opposition she always opened those issues which were in favor of Pakistan's public. She always discussed the issues of military involvement and non-democratic alliance against the policies of democratic governments. She openly spoken the issues on federal budget, she highlighted the image of Pakistan in her lectures to foreign countries, she suggested government on foreign issues like Pak India relationships, Pak America relationships, and the relations of Pakistan with other countries. Being opposition leader she highlighted the corruption of government, threat to the public property of Pakistan, accountability issues of government, effort on quest for the peace process with India, Kashmir issue, privatization of government properties, long march on election

riggings, government negligence to control the border issues with India, amendments in constitution by Nawaz government, non-democratic steps by president Ghulam Ishaq Khan, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan always tried to secure himself even taking parliamentary risk, two times in his tenure, he dismissed the governments which were elected through democratic ways. She had spoken against him on assembly floor. These steps showed that she had courage and ability to face the challenges. She always tried to use this ability in favor of Pakistan that why most of her followers and voters had blind trust on her party.

She was not only a politician, she was a charismatic leader, people have blind believe on her abilities even after her death. Most of the people of Pakistan still vote in her favor, they thought that her followers and present party members would work on her goals. They still think that there casted vote would go to Benazir Bhutto, this magical ability had been grown in her character from her father, its saying of the people that Bhutto is not died Bhutto is still live, Benazir is still live. She always remained close to her workers; she always tried to mix up with her workers without status differences. Several times she was attacked on her life; terrorist had open opportunity to kill her due to her familiar behavior with common man. Even at the time of her return to country before death, Musharaf awaked her about the threats on her life but she thought that life is in hands of God, she openly said this to her children when she return to Pakistan. This was the thing for which she was most popular in people of Pakistan. She always remained a biggest threat to non-democratic stake holders; she was irritated with military involvement in politics of Pakistan.

On her return to Pakistan on 18th November 2007, there was attack on her life when more than 150 people were killed but fortunately she was saved, on this occasion she gave the names of four persons to President Musharaf at that time but he could not take any step against those persons. This attack could not abolish her thought for the people of Pakistan, her love for her country, just after a month or more on 27th, December 2007, a terrorist attack

was seen in Liaqat Bagh just after her speech of election campaign, she was killed when she was responding to her party workers, while return back on her car, she opened the roof to communicate with people but two bullets striped her head and neck and she was died in hospital of Rawalpindi due to continuously bleeding.

The study can be conclude that Benazir Bhutto has proved that she was one of the best leaders of the political history of the country and south Asian region as well. She rendered her services in both capacities leader of the house and leader of the opposition, the charter of democracy is one of the best examples in her political acumen through this agreement the country like Pakistan has moving on the path of democracy, almost third parliament going to conclude her legitimate time span behind this stability one of the reasons is charter of democracy.

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Appendix

FELICITATIONS

Mr. Speaker: Now I will invite Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto to address the House.

محترمہ بینظیر بھٹو، بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم۔
میں سپیکر صاحب آپ کی مشکور ہوں کہ آپ نے مجھے یہ موقع فراہم کیا کہ میں اس
اسمبلی سے مخاطب ہو سکوں۔ مجھے کافی عجیب لگ رہا ہے کیونکہ یہ چوتھی مرتبہ ہے جب میں منتخب
ہوئی ہوں اور کہتے ہیں کہ بیس سالوں میں انسان چار مرتبہ منتخب ہوتا ہے۔ مگر ہمارے ملک کے
اندر آٹھ سال کے اندر چار مرتبہ منتخب ہونا پڑا ہے۔ ابھی جو ہمارے ملک میں بار بار الیکشنز ہوتے
ہیں ہم ان الیکشنز سے بھی کچھ سبق حاصل کرنا چاہیں گے۔ کیونکہ ہر الیکشن کے بعد اگر وہ
الیکشن غیر جانبدار عبوری حکومت کے تحت نہ ہوں تو بحث ہوتی ہے کہ کیا یہ الیکشن منصفانہ تھا
کہ نہیں۔ میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ یہ بہت ضروری ہے کہ ہمارے ملک کے اندر ایسے electoral

9.15 in

laws ہوں جس کے تحت computerized voters lists ہوں جس میں electoral books پہلے سے شائع کی جائیں تاکہ جن کے نام electoral books میں ہیں ان کو Presiding Officer ووٹ کی اجازت دیں اور روکیں نہیں، جیسے ہوا۔ اور ساتھ ساتھ کہ Returning Officers final count فوری طور پر کریں اور جیسے ہی Presiding Officer کا کاؤنٹ مکمل ہوتا ہے Returning Officer فوری طور پر کریں۔ ہمیں کہا گیا تھا کہ Returning Officer فوری طور پر کاؤنٹ کرے گا۔ مگر ہم نے دیکھا کہ ایسے نہیں ہوا۔ وہ اظہاری کے لئے غائب ہوئے ہیں اور تراویح کے لئے غائب ہوئے ہیں۔

(مداخلت)

(مداخلت)

محترمہ بینظیر بھٹو، جھوٹ آپ کہیں جو آپ کہنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ہم جھوٹے ہیں آپ سچے ہیں۔ کیوں کہ جن لوگوں نے یہ فیصد کیا ہے یہ اسمبلی کی آواز ہے۔ یہ اسمبلی کی آواز ہے۔

مجھ کو نہیں معلوم کہ جن لوگوں نے، قوتوں نے یہ فیصد کیا ان کی توقعات پر یہ پورے آئیں گے کہ نہیں۔ میں جانتی ہوں کہ ان کی توقعات پر پورا میں نہیں آؤں گی۔ میں جانتی ہوں کہ اگلنے کے لئے بہت کوشش کی گئی۔ مگر میں نہیں آؤں گی۔ Returning Officers اظہاری کے لئے غائب ہوئے ہیں اور تراویح کے لئے غائب ہوئے ہیں۔ جو قوت ہیں،

اس وقت اس انتخاب کا فیصد کیا ہے۔ وہ قوت دوسری مرتبہ دوسرے فیصد کا بھی انتخاب کر سکتے ہیں۔

اگر میں صاحب دو بار وزیر اعظم منتخب ہونے میں بھی دو بار وزیر اعظم منتخب ہونی ہوں۔ اگر میں میں صاحب کے بابا کے ساتھ چل سکی تو میں صاحب بھی میری پیداوار کے ساتھ چل سکیں گے۔ تو اگر ہمیں پوائنٹ سکور کرنے ہیں وہ بھی اس میں ماہر ہیں، ہم بھی اس میں ماہر ہیں۔ اگر کہتے ہیں کہ ہم زیادہ ماہر ہیں تو ہمیں خوشی ہے کہ ان کو ہماری طاقت کے بارے میں علم ہے۔

CONVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL JURISTS
on the trial of Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Dear Bark,

I have enclosed some articles ~~for~~ for your interest. This is ~~the~~ solid news. It confirms Masawat Internationals earlier reporting of PLA.

You can reproduce ~~the~~ some of this and say that there are the beginnings of a ^{new} ~~good~~ new govt. Campaign against the Party and family.

Nawa-wazat has asked the govt to hang us (me, Subair, Roja etc). Posters ~~and~~ offering reward have been plastered all over Pakistan Bus Stops and Train stations with our pictures on it. We are trying to get a copy of this poster and the Nawa-wazat editorial demanding a public hanging.

Every penny of ours is going into Pak for the armed struggle. Those who used to finance us before have decided not to do so anymore. So you will just have to sell those books the way books are supposed to be sold: i.e., in book shops. Most distributors take a 50% commission.

CONVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL JURISTS
on the trial of Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

If you are not prepared to do this you will never sell a book that is much, much more powerful than "If I am Assassinated."

I have asked G. Shahrawaz to take over this project. You can help him by putting him in touch with different book distributors, who can read the book.

Then Shahrawaz can hold a press conference jointly with Professor Trever-Roper or John Mathew or someone like that. Book distributors can be invited to that Press Conference too.

Best of luck. Don't give up the fight.

always
Min

مصنف کا احترام ہے نظیر بشو کا نام خط

Dear Sir,

- 1- Since I am leaving next week this is to say good-bye. I want to thank you for your assistance before I leave.
- 2- However there is a matter which needs to be brought up. I have realised I am not needed here any more. The role I have been asked to play for the last few months is a futile one. I have been told to entertain journalists which I have done but as earlier said it is an exercise in futility because I cannot deliver anything. Of course journalists are my friends but since interview with you or anyone else does not come within my powers, I have no function. Just meeting them socially is embarrassing for me and undermining the position I held. I did it to make you happy but cannot carry on like this.
- 3- I had said that I would always be there to serve you but since the change in my status, I have decided to remove myself rather than prove an embarrassment to you. With this in mind I have applied for long leave to go to London. I will have to come back once again to wind up my house and office in a few months.
- 4- God forbid if there are any bad times, I will be there. Perhaps certain of us are only meant to play a role in those times. Shadow has not disappeared. However, I hope and pray that the good times last for years and years. I wish you all success sincerely.
- 5- I thank you once again for your many kindnesses to me. The struggle wasn't for any rewards or financial gains or plots. It was my commitment for a noble cause and any suffering was part of the struggle which I was proud to go through.

Bhutto's daughter sets test for Zia

by Ian Jack

PAKISTAN's military ruler, General Zia, may soon face his biggest challenge in the eight years since he seized power. The challenge is 32 and unmarried, wears bobbed hair and bright lipstick, talks with a commanding vitality, and, unless General Zia is very clever or very ruthless, or both, she could well become the first woman in the world to lead an Islamic nation.

Benazir Bhutto announced in London last week that she will return to Pakistan in March to head the Pakistan People's party (PPP), which Zia suppressed after he executed her father, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in 1979. Zia himself has made this possible. Over the past year he has hesitantly nudged his regime towards a limited form of democracy by setting up an elected (but non-party) assembly and withdrawing martial law. Later this year political parties, banned for seven years, will be allowed to campaign. Whether this new freedom will be extended to the PPP remains doubtful - parties have first to conform to an ambiguous code before the regime will recognise them - but Miss Bhutto intends to put Zia's democratic credentials to the test.

She knows that she is the only politician he fears. She says it may appear immodest to say so, but adds: "The Bhutto factor dominates the politics of Pakistan. That's not because of me. It's there because of my father, his claims, his courage, his name."

She returns to Pakistan as acting chairwoman of her party. She insists that her mother is the party's real leader but she is the only Pakistani who appears to believe this. Her mother has not been well for several years and will stay behind in the south of France, when Benazir goes back. Benazir is



Pakistan's next leader? Bhutto in London last week

her father's political heir, her party's strategist and the biggest crowd-puller in the country.

Six months ago, however, she came close to quitting politics after her youngest brother, Shahnawaz, died mysteriously at his flat in Cannes. She had spent most of the previous eight years in prison or under house arrest in Pakistan, latterly trying to sort out the PPP's rampant

factionalism from her exile in London. "I was facing continual intrigue, it was politics, politics, politics all the time. So when Shah was killed, I suddenly thought about how much more time I could have spent with him. I asked myself: Why am I going around in circles, why am I leading a life that is physically exhausting, emotionally barren, socially barren. For what?"

The answer, she says, came from the vast crowds that turned up for her brother's funeral at the family home in Larkana in the province of Sind. "When the people of Pakistan gave my brother a hero's funeral, I realised that they were the reason for the sacrifice. It's because of them that we can put up with our pain and grief. One gets strength from one's own country."

French police are still investigating her brother's death. Over the past six months a second post mortem has revealed poisoning, his Afghan wife, Rehana, has been arrested and then released, and the original theory of suicide has been discredited. Benazir is certain that he was murdered for political reasons. She says he was about to return to Afghanistan and restart his guerrilla campaign against General Zia when he died.

There is, nonetheless, a new spirit of generosity (or perhaps pragmatism) in her approach to the general, whom she has frequently accused of "judicial murder" in the past. Domestic and international pressure, particularly from Washington, has compelled him to put on the "plumage of democracy", but she concedes that some of the changes are more than cosmetic. "If he arrests me, I know that I can't be put in solitary confinement again. I know a lawyer will have to come and see me, that I can challenge my arrest in a civilian court. But if he brings in repressive laws, we'll know that democracy has not been restored."

That, she says, is the question she wants to test, which implies that the PPP will seek registration under Zia's new code after the party's central executive meets this week to decide the issue. Many in the party oppose any form of cooperation with Zia, but Benazir's view seems likely to win the argument.

PRIME MINISTER

June 11, 1990.

Dear Basu,

I got your letter of June 6th and the one you gave through the m.s.

Please don't worry about Jahanara. I have instructed Mr. Imani that whatever help is needed for her medical care, we shall take care of it.

As for staying in England and not coming back, neither do I want her to come back and we need you here. I hope as soon as Jahanara gets better, both of you will come back.

With my prayers for both your happiness. Benazir.

محترم بے نظیر بھٹو کی جانب سے بشیر ریاض کو کتاب ڈائری آف دی ایٹ پرائیوٹ گراف

DAUGHTER OF THE EAST

Dear Bashir Riaz,

Who has been an
integral part of our
Party and Nation's
struggle for the peoples
democratic rights and
for a progressive,
prosperous and

Pakistan. Benazir

Shah

June 6, 2007

”ڈاٹر آف دی ایسٹ“ کے پہلے ایڈیشن پر محترمہ نے نظیر بھٹو کا آٹو گراف

DAUGHTER OF THE EAST

BY

BENAZIR BHUTTO

*To Bashir Riaz,
Who has been part of
the struggle and endured
much hardship*

*Benazir
Bhutto*



17/11/89

HAMISH HAMILTON · LONDON

TIP honorary award for Benazir Bhutto

DUBLIN (PR) - Mr Bashir Riaz, the recipient of Tipperary International Peace Award on the behalf of Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, has said that the Mohtarma devoted her life for the strong democratic Pakistan and even she sacrificed her life for this cause and it was great honour for him to receive this award on her behalf.

Following is the context of Bashir Riaz's speech that was delivered on the occasion of the award conferring ceremony held at Tipperary on April 25.

It is my great privilege and honour to receive the Tipperary International Peace Award 2007 on behalf of my late leader and twice elected Prime Minister of Pakistan, martyred Mohtarma

Benazir Bhutto who devoted her life to the very last moment to democracy and dauntless struggle against dictatorship.

Ms Bhutto started her journey for a democratic rule for her people and the country at the tender age of 25 after the tragic judicial murder of her father and the founder of Pakistan People's Party, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto—one of the greatest leader of his time.

As she took the mantle of leadership with a young aspiring mind brimming with enthusiasm, she pledged to avenge the murder of her father by establishing democracy as a way of life for her people. She fulfilled this pledge on December 27, 2007 when she laid down her life for the cause of democracy—a sac-

riifice that culminated in the defeat of the forces of dictatorship in the February '18 general elections.

Today, Pakistan stands on a road to reconciliation and peace as a direct result of Ms Bhutto's determination to contest the general elections against all odds and to uproot dictatorship through the power of the ballot. In the month's before her assassination, Ms Bhutto stood like a rock, staring in the face of crisis, mounting pressures and threats of death—knowing the dangerous path before her. Yet, she firmly moved towards her goal of democracy, dignity and freedom for her people.

Ms Bhutto's faith in the God, her conviction, commitment in

her human beliefs and her remarkable spirit and strength are the hallmarks of her charismatic personality. The hope she ignited continues to inspire the hearts of democratic loving people across the globe. Ladies and gentlemen—Ms Bhutto is physically not there—her courage and spirit continues to rule the heart, mind and soul of the freedom-loving people.

The Tipperary International Peace Award is, indeed, a befitting tribute to the Daughter of the East. I thank the Committee members for conferring this prestigious award on our late leader in recognition of her great visionary leadership.

I would, in my personal capacity, like to add that it has

been honour to know and served under Ms Bhutto for over thirty years. She was my dearest leader and I was her humble worker and 'a shadow,' a title that she gave me herself. I would like to thank the Co-Chairperson of PPP and her husband, Senator Asif Ali Zardari who chose me to receive the award. He told me that Ms Bhutto guided him to nominate me and she would be happy.

Ladies and gentlemen, Ms Bhutto was a wonderful human being. In her martyrdom, the world has lost not only a great visionary but a kind hearted, generous and loving soul. She will be missed for all time to come. May God bless her and may she forever rest in peace.

I thank you very much.





شریک چیئر پرسن پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی صدر پاکستان جناب آصف علی زرداری

Pakistan Peoples Party

To the officials and members of Pakistan Peoples Party I say that I was honoured to lead you. No leader could be as proud of their party, their dedication, devotion and discipline to the mission of Quaid e Azam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for a Federal Democratic and Egalitarian Pakistan as I have been proud of you. I salute your courage and your sense of honour. I salute you for standing by your sister through those military dictatorialships.

I fear for the future of Pakistan. Please continue the fight against extremism, corruption, poverty and ignorance.

I would like my husband Prof. Ali Bardin to lead you in this interim period until you and he decide what is best. I say this because he is a man of courage and honour. He spent 11 1/2 years in prison without bending despite torture. He has the political stature to keep our party united.

I wish all of you success in fulfilling the manifesto of your party and in serving the down trodden, discriminated and oppressed people of Pakistan. Dedicate yourselves to freeing them from poverty and backwardness as you have done in the past.

Benazir Bhutto
October 16, 2007