**Democracy without Democrats 1988-1999.**

***Benazir's 1st Term 1988-1990.***

Benazir Bhutto, the first woman prime minister of a modern Muslim state. Although she inherited her father’s party, the PPP, and, beneficiary of dynastic politics and of the emotional ties of a large section of the electorate to her charismatic family has proven to be a mixed political blessing and has led it to victory, the party won a very narrow plurality in the 1988 elections and was therefore forced to enter into a coalition with the MQM and several other parties in order to form a government.

Benazir wanted to repeal the Eighth Amendment in order to strengthen her position as prime minister but soon abandoned the effort. Benazir also faced not only the old problems of the political role of the military forces, the division of power between the central and provincial governments, and the role of Islam, but also pressing new ones, including a large budget deficit and growing ethnic violence.

Initially on December 2, Benazir Bhutto formed a coalition government with MQM. To maintain her power and implement her programs, Benazir would have needed to maneuver successfully between a powerful president and the military elite and to reach a political accommodation with MQM and Nawaz Sharif. Instead, she pursued a course of confrontation, including unsuccessful efforts to overthrow Nawaz in the provincial assembly. In addition, the failure of the PPP to share power and spoils with its coalition partners caused further alienation, including the withdrawal of the MQM from the government in October 1989.

Benazir took the office in the crucial decade of Cold war. During her first government, Benazir Bhutto’s foreign policy revolved around Afghanistan, India, and the United States. On the Western front, Benazir Bhutto also authorized further aggressive military operations in Afghanistan to topple the fragile communist regime and the Soviet influence in the region. She also wanted friendly relation with India.

During her first time, Benazir Bhutto established the separate but integrated nuclear testing programme in the atomic bomb programme, thus establishing a nuclear testing programme where the authorizations were required by the Prime minister and the military leadership.

Benazir Bhutto launched and supervised the clandestine project, Integrated research programme (IRP) a missile programme which remained under Benazir Bhutto’s watch and successfully ended in 1996. Pakistan’s first military satellite, Badr-I was also launched under her government through China. With launching of Badr-I, Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto, became the first Muslim country to have launch and placed the satellite in Earth’s orbit. She declared the “1990”, an year of space in Pakistan and conferred national awards to scientists and engineers who took participation in the development of this satellite.

Midnight Jackal was a political intelligence operation launched under President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and the Chief of Army Staff General Mirza Aslam Beg, with the objectives to bring the Vote of no confidence movement in the Parliament by bribing the members of Benazir’s own party. Because of the Semi-presidential system, Benazir needed permission from Khan for imposing new policies, which Khan vetoed as he seen to moderate or contradict to his point of view. Benazir, through her legislators, also attempted to shift parliamentary democracy to replace the semi-presidential system, but Khan’s constitutional powers always vetoed Benazir’s attempts. This brought power struggle between prime minister and president. The unemployment and labor strikes began to take place which halted and jammed the economic wheel of the country and Benazir Bhutto was unable to solve these issues due to in a cold war with the President. In November 1990, after a long political battle, Khan finally used the Eighth Amendment to dismiss Benazir Bhutto’s government following charges of corruption, nepotism, and despotism. Khan soon called for new elections in 1990 where Bhutto conceded her defeat.

***Benazir Second Regime 1993-1996***

On 19 October 1993, Benazir Bhutto was sworn as Prime minister for second term as in 1993 election the PPP won the majority of the seats. Benazir Bhutto learned a valuable experience and lesson from the presidency of Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and the presidential elections were soon called after her re-elect. After carefully examining the candidates, Benazir Bhutto decided to appoint Farooq Leghari as for her president, in which, Leghari sworned as 8th President of Pakistan on November 14, 1993 as well as first Baloch to have became president since the country’s independence.

When Benazir became the prime minister that was the time of great racial tension in Pakistan and If Bhutto’s government fails, everyone knows there will be no new elections. The army will take over. The racial violence in Karachi was reached at peak and became a biggest problem for Benazir Bhutto to counter. The MQM attempted to make an alliance with Benazir Bhutto under her own conditions, but Benazir Bhutto refused. Soon the second operation, Operation Blue Fox was launched to politically vanished the MQM from country’s political spectrum. The results of this operation remain inconclusive and resulted in thousands killed or gone missing, with majority contains Urdu-speaking.

The corruption grew during her government, and her government became increasingly unpopular and corruption scandals became public. One of the most internationally and nationally reported scandals was the Agosta Submarine scandal. Benazir Bhutto was an economist by profession, she took the charge of economic and financial affairs on her hand. During her second term, Benazir Bhutto continued to follow former Prime minister Nawaz Sharif’s Privatization policies. The process of privatization of the nationalized industries was associated with the marked performance and improvement, especially the terms of labor productivity. However, the privatized money was avoided not spent on people’s living standard, and it was in 1997, when it was founded that the amount gained in privatization had gone somewhere else and it was nowhere to be found in government’s account.

Benazir Bhutto sought to strengthen the relations with socialist states, and Benazir Bhutto first visit Libya to strengthened the relations with then-Socialist People’s Republic of Libya. Benazir Bhutto also strengthened relations with communist state Vietnam and visited Vietnam to sign the mutual trade and international political cooperation between both countries. She also wanted to have good relations with India but due to Kashmir issue and Indian nuclear programme she failed to get desired results.

During her second term, Benazir Bhutto’s relations with the Pakistan Armed Forces took a different and pro-Benazir approach, when she carefully appointed General Abdul Waheed as chief of Army Staff and other Army official. She worked with Army on different issues.

The year of 1996 was crucial for Benazir Bhutto’s policy on Afghanistan when Pakistan-backed extremely religious group, the Taliban, took power in Kabul in September 1996. It was during Benazir Bhutto’s rule that the Taliban gained prominence in Afghanistan and many of her government, including her authorization, had backed the Taliban for gaining the control of Afghanistan. She continued her father’s policy on Afghanistan taking aggressive measures to curb down the anti-Pakistan sentiments in Afghanistan. Under her government, Pakistan had recognized the Taliban regime as legitimate government in Afghanistan, allowing the Taliban to open an embassy in Islamabad.

In November 1996, Bhutto’s government was dismissed by Leghari primarily because of corruption and Murtaza’s death, who used the Eighth Amendment discretionary powers to dissolve the government. Benazir was in shocked and she turned to Supreme Court hoping for gaining Leghari’s actions unconstitutional. But the Supreme Court justified and affirmed President Leghari’s dismissal.