Second Democratic Interlude (1988 – 1999)

**Islami Jamhoori Ittehad:**

Islami jamhoori ittehad was founded by Ghulam Mustafa jatoi in 1988. This movement was leaded by Nawaz Sharif. It has headquarters in parliament lodges Islamabad. Its ideology was conservatism based and official color was Green. It was the largest Right wing conservative alliance formed in September 1988 to oppose the democratic socialism, primary the Pakistan People’s Party in elections that year. The alliance comprised nine parties, of which the major components were the Pakistan Muslim League, National People’s Party, Jamaat-e-Islami and ANP with PML accounting for 80% of the IJI’s electoral candidates.

It won only fifty-three seats in the National Assembly, compared with ninety-two won by the PPP. Most IJI seats were won in Punjab. Nawaz Sharif emerged from the 1988 elections as the most powerful politician outside the PPP. In December 1988, he succeeded in forming an IJI administration in Punjab and became the province’s chief minister. It was from this power base that he waged the political battles that eventually led to his becoming prime minister in 1990. In the supercharged atmosphere of the 1990 elections, the electorate surprised observers. Neither the IJI nor the PPP was expected to come up with a firm mandate to rule. Yet the IJI received a strong mandate to govern, winning 105 seats versus forty-five seats for the Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA), of which the PPP was the main component in the National Assembly. Opposition groups alleged large scale selective rigging of seats to not just ensure an IJI victory but also prevent those opposed to Military influence from being elected.

In the 1993 national elections, the IJI coalition no longer existed to bring together all the anti-PPP forces. The religious parties expended most of their energies trying to form a workable electoral alliance rather than bolstering the candidacy of Nawaz Sharif, the only person capable of challenging Benazir Bhutto.

**Benazir’s First Regime:**

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.

**Nawaz Sharif’s First Regime:**

The IJI formed governments at the center and all the four provinces and Nawaz sharif became the prime minister of the state. Nawaz Sharif’s cabinet initially included eighteen ministers: nine from Punjab, two from the Islamabad Capital Territory, six from Sindh, and one from Balochistan. His cabinet was later expanded to include representation from the North-West Frontier Province. Of paramount importance to the new government was implementation of Nawaz Sharif’s program for strengthening the economy. Goals of the program included self-reliance, deregulation and denationalization, taxation reform, foreign- exchange and payment reform, administrative and law reform, and increases in agricultural productivity and exports. The government’s economic strategy rested on streamlining the institutional framework for industrialization and on starting a new partnership with the private sector in order to promote common objectives. Nawaz Sharif regarded unemployment as Pakistan’s major problem and believed it could be solved only by rapid industrialization. However, it also decided to dismiss all employees appointed by PPP government in grade 5 and above. He said his government was considering special incentives for rural industrialization and agro-based industries and was fully committed to a policy of deregulation.

Nawaz Sharif, during his first term, founded difficult working with PPP and the Mutahidda Qaumi Movement (MQM), a potent force in Karachi. The MQM and PPP opposed Sharif widely due to his focused on beautifying Punjab and Kashmir while neglecting Sindh. The clash between liberalism and conservatism soon forces soon erupted in 1992 when political tension began to arise in which both party renegading ideological war against each other. Nawaz Sharif’s government members passed the resolution in the Parliament, to launch the paramilitary operation to end the cold war between PML-N and MQM. Paramilitary operation in Sindh Province was launched in 1992, violence erupted in Karachi and brought an economic halt in the country.

In 1993, Sharif survived serious constitutional crises when it was reported that Sharif developed serious issues over the authority with another national conservative President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Before 1993 Parliamentary election, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan on 18 April 1993, with the support of the Pakistan Army, used his reserve powers (58-2b)  to dissolve the National Assembly, the lower house. Khan appointed Mir Blake Scher as the interim Prime Minister. Nawaz Sharif, moved to Supreme Court of Pakistan. In May 26, 1993, Sharif returned to power after the Supreme Court ruled that the Presidential Order as unconstitutional and reconstituted the National Assembly on its immediate effect.

The power struggle and war between Nawaz sharif and president khan started.   Finally, on July 1993, Sharif resigned under pressure from the Pakistan Armed Forces but negotiated a settlement that resulted in the removal of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan as well. In July 1993, Chief of Army Staff General Abdul Vahied Kakar and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee General Shamim Allam forced President Ishaq Khan to resign from the presidency and subsequently ended the political standoff. Under the close scrutiny of the Pakistan Armed Forces, the new interim and transitional government was formed and new parliamentary election were held after three months.

Benazir’s Second Regime:

On 19 October 1993, Benazir Bhutto was sworn as Prime minister for second term as in 1993 election the PPP won 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 become 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 vanish the MQM from country’s political spectrum. The results of this operation remains 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 programe 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.

**Nawaz Sharif’s Second Regime:**

Elections were held on February 3, 1997. Pakistan Muslim League won with an overwhelming majority with absolutely light and slight opposition. The Muslim League was able to obtain a two-third majority in the National Assembly and Mian Nawaz Sharif was re-elected as Prime Minister. He obtained a vote of confidence from the National Assembly on February 18, 1997.

A number of very important Constitutional Amendments were introduced during Nawaz Sharif’s second term. These include the termination of the Eighth Amendment, passing of the Thirteenth Amendment and the Ehtesab Act, 1997. Nawaz Sharif faced a serious confrontation with the Judiciary and the Executive, which eventually led to the resignation of President Leghari on December 2, 1997. . On August 28, 1998, Nawaz regime introduced the Fifteenth Amendment. The Bill generated heated debate throughout the country but was passed on October 9, 1998, by the members of the National Assembly. The Bill, however, was not put before the Senate within 90 days as was required by the Constitution. The Bill was held back, as Nawaz Sharif did not had the required two-third majority in the Senate.

During the Benazir Bhutto’s period, the country suffered the terrorist attack on Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad that led the rift between relationship between Pakistan and Egypt. He took initiatives against terrorism when on 17 August 1997, he passed the controversial Anti-Terrorist Act which established Anti-Terrorism Courts.

It was during this term that Pakistan carried out its nuclear tests on May 28, 1998, in response to the Indian detonation of its five nuclear devices. The Nawaz Government had found it imperative for Pakistan to carry out these nuclear tests, in order to provide an effective defense, and to deter Indian adventurism. The Nawaz Government proclaimed an emergency on May 28, 1998; the day these nuclear tests were conducted. All fundamental rights were suspended and all the foreign currency accounts in Pakistani banks were frozen. The Fifteenth Amendment was presumed to be an effort by Nawaz Sharif to acquire additional powers for himself. Soon a serious conflict and confrontation emerged on the scene between him and the Military Generals. This confrontation led to the resignation of General Jahangir Karamat on October 7, 1998. General Karamat was replaced by General Pervez Musharraf. Sharif then also appointed General Musharraf as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee despite Musharraf’s lack of seniority to Admiral Bokhari.

The Kargil Operation in its aftermath again led to tense relations between Nawaz Sharif and the armed forces. This tension culminated into the removal of Nawaz Government by General Pervez Musharraf on October 12, 1999, thus bringing to an end the second term of Nawaz Sharif’s Government.