

Democratization in South Asia: A Case Study of India and Pakistan (1988-1999)

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Abstract

Free and fair elections are pre-requisite in democratization. The electoral process is quandary with rule of law, supremacy of Constitution with basic rights of peoples and socio-economic justice and accountability of leaders who are exercising state power. Democratization process ensures the opportunity of equality in social economic and political domain. The political leaderships enunciate the commitment but question is to make operational. The authoritarian pattern also provides elected bodies for legislation but not awarded power to institutions and the people holding key positions in them. It is question to create and sustain institutions which are reflecting the spirit of democracy and participatory government in India and Pakistan. The most accepted and preferred system in the modern world's democratic system. It is able to integrate the needs of the maximum people's partaking and rational in the legislative process. The public of India and Pakistan has wished to establish democratic system.

Keywords: Democratization, Coalition Government, Confrontation

I. Introduction

Demographically India consists of different symmetry in composition. Utter Pradesh is the largest state with population of 116 million as compare to Skkim with 540493. The area wise Goa has 3702 square kilometers as smallest, Rajasthan is 342239 square kilometers. Andoman and Nicobar Island are small. There are huge disparities of linguistic, ethnic, communal and economic situation within and across the states. Many tribes, communities were fighting for their identities issues. Many states had conflict with federal government for the autonomy. Pakistan consists of Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa, Ghilget Bultistan and FATA.

It covers democratization process of India and Pakistan which started journey of democratic process according to modern democratic norms. India promulgated first constitution in 1950 while in Pakistan in 1956. First competitive general election held in 1952 in India and in 1970 in Pakistan. India managed to conduct the general elections after proper interval.ⁱ The majoritarian democracy has itself less capable of handling problem of multicultural heterogeneous societies. The institutions of representative democracy is designed for homogenous societies. Coalition government remained fail to provide the governing system for full tenure.

Pakistan had to face challenges in institutional and constitutional development for democratic process. Political parties were not mature. Media had no effective role in society to develop awareness of rule of law. The rule of law binds different segments to co-ordinate for democratic government. Without representative parliament, it was hard task to develop democratic institutions. The frequent military intervention affected process of democratization and institutional development in Pakistan. The validations of military coups were challenges for Judiciary in Pakistan. In this situation judiciary validated the coup in the view of controversial jurisprudential source.ⁱⁱ Pakistan's Superior Court introduced controversial approach on the base of the Professor Kelsen's theory of revolutionary legality.ⁱⁱⁱ Judiciary had a specific and vital role in the development of democratization. The decisions of courts were followed in the political governing system. There were many landmark judgments in response of validity, legitimacy and legislative capacity of extra-constitutional regimes. The questions arose about political validity, which shows personal integrity of Judges. There are political implications of their sweeping holdings.^{iv}

“We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic and to secure all its citizens:

- Justice, social, economic and political;
- Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
- Equality of status and of opportunity;
- And to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation.”^v

India is the largest democracy of world. India has federal government with parliamentary

system having bicameral legislatures, judiciary and executive. There is separation of power between federal and state governments under union of India.

2. The Elections of 1989 and Coalition Government in India

The young leader Rajiv Gandhi failed to fulfill the aspirations of people. Under the charges of corruption on young leadership of Congress ninth general election held on November 1989. Many issues rose during election campaign as murder of Indira Gandhi, Sikh riots, and corruption. The restlessness of public was about poor leadership and personality cult. Indian Congress Party elected Ramaswamy Venkataraman as President of India on July 25, 1987. The ruling party was going to defeat but president did not perform illegal practice due to independent election commission. President Ishaq Khan was doing illegal practices at the same time which showed weakness of election commission of Pakistan.

The opposition parties of National Front, BJP and left parties made seats adjustment on 400 seats to compete Congress (I) party. The Alliance was made to avoid the vote spilt into different opposition groups. National Front selected V.P. Singh of Janta Dal as seventh Prime Minister of India on December 2, 1989. He was Congress leader but resigned from Congress Party and Lok Sabha.^{vi} Then Arun Nehru, Arif Khan and V.P. Singh formed Jan Morcha. Janta Dal party was developed by assimilation of Jan Morcha, Janta Party, Lok Dal and Congress (S) in October 1988. V.P. Singh was chosen as president of Janta Dal.^{vii} V.P. Singh of Janta Dal had gained wide support in North India. At same time Islamic Democratic Alliance of several parties was formulated in Pakistan.

V.P. Singh government negotiated Kashmiri freedom fighters to release Mufti Sayeed's daughter. He apologized in response of Operation Blue Star and killing of Sikhs. Their inclination for hostility has contributed to terrorism. It was addressed questions and causes of which unrest since Independence should arise in Punjab the most economic successful state of India.^{viii} V.P. Singh government withdrew IPKF from Sri Lanka which was launched by Rajiv Gandhi.

To combat the societal discrimination effects, V.P. Singh government passed Prevention of Atrocities Act in 1989 to counter crimes against the scheduled castes. The purpose of act to curb violence of harm and humiliation against the Dalits. Two states formulated special courts to implement the Act.^{ix} The quota was fixed for all public sector jobs under the Mandal Commission report. Hindu radical organizations started agitation at issue of Ram Janma Bhoomi under the leadership of K. L. Advani and Pramod Mahajan. The leadership was arrested at accused of disturbing peace and fomenting communal tension. The Kar-Seva of Hindus blocked by stationing troops at the spot which was proposed by Advani on October 1990.^x BJP suspended its support to NF government. Singh did not shake at democratic principles and faced confidence motion got 142 votes out of 346.^{xi} V.P. Singh remained Prime Minister till November 10, 1990. There was lack of religious tolerance in India.

Chandra Shekhar was nominated as eighth prime minister on November 10, 1990 after V.P. Singh. Congress Party was withdrawing support from the government for conducting new election. The experience of coalition government failed in India. There were personality

clashes of political leadership of different parties. The objective of stability of democratic system was not priority of coalition government leaders.

When no-one party gained majority in Parliament the coalition government was formed. It might be formed at emergency in the country.^{xii} The smaller parties had the grip on the balance formation of government. The process of democratization was in the hands of coalition makers or the party heads. The coalition government was less transparent because the benefits of interest groups were kept in view. There was vast gape of ideologies between different parties. So there was no possibility for long term planning in coalition government. Each partner wanted the popular decision for the political advantage. It was not stable form of government. The different leaders having opposite political approach gathered under the umbrella of coalition government

3. P.V. Narasima Rao Regime

Chandra Shekhar failed to sustain majority in parliament after withdrawal of support from Congress party and announced general election. The tenth general election held in 1991 and Congress party gained 244 seats. Rajiv Gandhi was murder in May 21, 1991 during election campaign.

Pamulaparti Venkata Narasimho Rao was elected as Prime Minister who developed a paradigm of mixed economy. The government set in motion in process of macro-economic stabilization pooled with fiscal adjustment and structural transformation to manage balance of payment. Political development linked with economic development. Liberal policies attracted the foreign investors in India. In this regime reformed capital markets, deregulating domestic business and reforms of trade. To reduce the fiscal deficit, privatization of the public sector were the targeted goals of this regime. These economic policies were framed in parliament. Shanker Dayal Sharma was elected ninth President of India on July 25, 1992 by the Indian National Congress.

The devastation of Babri Masjid on December 6, 1992 by 150000 Karsevaks raised communal violence.^{xiii} Nearly 2000 peoples were killed in communal riots. The Liberhan Commission was formulated on December 16, 1992 to probe the situation of demolish. This was quest for the political gains under the cover of such tragic incident by the political parties in the contemporary era. TADA rules were introduced after a series of bombs blasted in Mumbai in 1993 to counter terrorist attacks. It was criticized against democratic norms. Human rights organization criticized law; it was verged against political opposition.

The consciousness was among the voters who judged the behavior of political parties in respect of performance. It was possible to discern almost participation in the political process, combined with an emerging mobilization on some issue. The democracy was now claimed below by the peoples. Polity did not transform the society. Caste did not wither away. Reservation led to politicization of caste. Secularism did not dispense with religious identities. The significance of linguistic or cultural or cultural differences did not diminish. It persisted as ethnic identities and regional movements became an important form of dissent in politics. The politics turned into caste and religion or other forms of social identity rather than class,

democracy did, in a sense bring politics among peoples. Intra party democracy gradually diminished. The politics in political parties became personalized so that the ideology was less and less a point of reference. The democracy was related to institutional frame work. It was not shaped political process and rooted in social reformation. This provided the constituencies in polity and society. It was the era which witnessed an accentuation of conflict both in economic interest and political interest. The economic liberalization was also hurts the poor in the material sense.

4. Atal Bihari Vajpayee Regime

The eleventh general elections were conducted in May 1996. In Mumbai session of BJP held in November 1995, party declared Atal Bihari Vajpayee candidate of Prime Minister in coming election. In the election BJP was at victory stand in the Lok Sabha. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was nominated as Prime Minister.^{xiv} He was not in the position to get the vote of confidence from the Lok Sabha. He had to resign within thirteen days from Prime Minister. He governed India from May 16, 1996 to June 1996.^{xv} This time was also a hung parliament. Now it was formed a coalition to make stable political system of government.

It was adequately well understood that minority discontent in India relates, in large measure, to resistance against identical centralizing forces. Thus Sikhs were in effect protesting against being classed as Hindu, while many Muslims finding it thorny reconciled their Islamic Identity with being treated as secular Indians. In a complex federal system that differs significantly from United States.

Democracies in free market countries have no requirement for all groups of citizens to receive equal benefits from government or to pay equal taxes. Political equality is an important principle in democracies. Mostly people admit veracity that market economies spawn financial disparity. Economic parity could be achieved only within a different economic and political structure. There were special factors which sponsored vigor of BJP radical rightist party. BJP got fame at demolish of Babari Masjid of Ayodhya in 1992. The issue stimulated Hindu Nationalism in India. National Front government accepted Mandal Commission Report. There was started caste and class politics. This variance undermined solidarity of all Hindus culture. The catchphrase of Hindutva was branded with religion and also ways of life. BJP developed better position in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Gujarat and converted into battlefield with other parties.

It was good sign for the democratic norms when government could not manage the vote of confidence. It withdrew from the formation and organization of government in the favor of other parties. In shame democracy governing party used malpractices and maintained the power game. There were no moral ethics. In Pakistan it was possible for the governing parties get vote of confidence easily. Opposition parties were disintegrated into different groups and get of their support.

5. Coalition Government 1996 -1998

A coalition government was formed in the result of eleventh election after the defeat of Congress party. Atal Bihari Vajpayee had the resigned that had not the majority support in the

parliament. Haradanahalli Doddegowda Deve Gowda of Janata Dal was elected as eleventh Prime Minister of United Front of 14 political parties since June 1, 1996 to April 21, 1997. First time Head of State of China Mr. Jiang Zemin visited India. The foreign policy initiatives were taken by the government. Prime Minister H.D.Deve Gowda minority government was on the verge of collapse.

There was something new in the political history of India in post-independence. The United Front federal government was dominated by the lower-castes, regional parties and leaders. It was not only the defeat of Congress party but also minimizing upper-castes dominance in the Indian political order. It was progression of regionalism and decentralization as well as lower casts in the Indian Politics.

The Congress Party president Sitaram Kesri announced withdrawal of party support to U.F coalition government. The politically wavering was not in assortment to organize by U.F government. President Shanker Dayal Sharma asked to prove preponderance in the parliament on April 11, 1997 after meeting with Congress president. Now 13-party coalition government desired a vote of confidence to uphold parliamentary majority.

I K Gujral was also leader of Congress party. He resigned from Congress in mid 1980s. He joined Janata Dal party. He was elected parliamentary member of Lok Sabha in the 1989 elections. Next Inder Kumar Gujral of Janata Dal elected twelfth Prime Minister since April 21, 1997. In the start he had no trouble in working as Prime Minister from Congress side. The issue rose against Lalu Prasad Yadav in the fodder corruption case. Governor of Bihar A. R. Kidwai gave permission to Central Bureau of Investigation to arraign against the Chief Minister. Further it was demanded resignation from the Chief Minister of Bihar inside of United Front. Gujral exhorted to step down without action taking against him. Gujral transferred the C.B.I director Joginder Singh to protect Yadav. Yadav was not feel better inside party, so resigned from party and shaped a new party with 17 members of Janata Dal out of 45.

The coalition government elected Kocheril Raman Narayanan tenth President of India on July 25, 1997. There was controversial decision of President Rule in Uttar Pradesh. BJP led Kalyan Singh took a vote of confidence in the state assembly and there were unruly scenes took place in state assembly on October 21, 1997. President K R Narayanan gave reverse to government for reconsideration. The High Court of Allahabad gave decision against the President Rule in Uttar Pradesh. The State organs were functioning autonomously in this intense situation. There was no interstate organs conflict as in Pakistan.

Congress Party again withdrew his support to Inder Kumar Gujral government in November 1997. New elections were conducted in February 1998 and Prime Minister performed his job till March 19, 1998. Sonia Gandhi came in politics and started to lead Congress Party in 1998. Rahual Gandhi son of Rajiv Gandhi was took the status of secretary of All India Congress Committee.

This period was significant in India and Pakistan. In 1996 Pakistan had a coalition government which proved as frail government. There was variance between state organs. The

Judiciary was also playing role in power sharing. President and Prime Minister were once more in conflict. The results were not constructive for the idyllic democracy. The conflict had ghastly effects on the democratic government. In democratization all matters were decided on the platform of Parliament. There was no space for rumors or maneuverings in the drawing rooms. Pakistani political decisions were made in drawing rooms. Backdoor decisions made the parliament fragile and its institutional role was lessened. In India parliament was performing a significant role in the democratization.

6. Atal Bihari Vajpayee Regime

The twelfth general elections were held in February 1998 in which B.J.P gained chance for formulation of Indian federal government. B.J.P had to compromise with regional parties to form government. It also had to compromise with lower caste leaders which posed problems of internal cohesion of the party. There was conflict to dominate the party by the elite class. BJP government had done nuclear tests on May 11 and 13, 1998. Indian Prime Minister frazzled about the filtration of activist in the Kashmir. Indian prime Minister came to Pakistan and met with Pakistani Prime Ministers at Lahore. Lahore declaration was signed by both Prime Minister. It was fine indication to peoples of subcontinent. There was effort to diminish the apprehension between both countries. The bus service was ongoing between India and Pakistan. B.J.P led coalition government was again failed and next 13th general election held in September 1999.

At Kashmir issue small scale war was fought between India and Pakistan. In the end India made his position better at Kargil front. In this situation there was a wave of popularity in the country. There was election campaign B.J.P and its allies benefited the situation. N.D.A gained 303 seats in which B.J.P gained 183 seats. Now B.J.P enjoyed full term federal government. It was a coalition government of National Democratic Alliance. Again B.J.P formed government in October 22, 1999.^{xvi}

The reference to parliamentary democracy and basic structure were not changed and there was no alternative as presidential may be considered for alternative. In Delhi leaders come to terms with fact that India was committed Parliamentary.^{xvii}

India was painstaking replica of democratic states. The democratic institutions were functioning appropriately. Indian society was based on discrimination, class and groups. It was pessimistic impact on Indian democracy's face. To some extent Pakistan has group divisions on some factors. In modern democracy all the citizen of the state have equivalent rights.

7. Martial Law and Constitutional Engineering in Pakistan

The non-party elections of 1985 were transition to democratic system. Authoritarian regimes used constitution as tool to govern. Amendments 58 (2) (b) type articles were injected to constitution to controlled the democratic institutions. On the contrary some advocates of articles 58(2) (b) favored for the reason as safety valve against the annoyance of martial law resolve a constitutional stalemate.^{xviii} The nascent democratic process which was started in 1988 derailed many times. The dismissal of government effected on the independent role of

Judiciary. The dissolution of assemblies was challenged in the High Courts and Supreme Court of Pakistan. Supreme Court of Pakistan legitimized dissolution and implementation of 58(2) (b).

The constitutional engineering did not function of the military, as it was happened in Pakistan. It is power and function of parliament to legislate. It was the obligatory duty of parliament to legislate according the aspiration of masses. In modern and sophisticated world judiciary has power of judicial review. It is in the context of protection of basic human rights. In the case of infringement of basic right and the basic spirit of Constitution, the judiciary made judicial review. The supremacy of constitution and parliament has vital role in democracy.

8. First Regime of Benazir Bhutto

General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq died in airplane crash incident in August 1988. This occurrence changed the political scenario of country. The judiciary blocked the un-constitutional interference in the political system. There was a vacuum in the political system for the politicians and they rushed to fill it. Benazir Bhutto was spirited, popular and visionary leader. Under the Eighth Amendment Prime Minister was nominated by President. Such types of decisions affected the political system which was controlled by the dominating players for the decisions making authority. It was not according to norms of democratic government.

The elected government was dissolved on May 29, 1988 on the charges of corruption. Benazir Bhutto gratuitously declared the act of General Zia-ul-Haq constitutional. The non-party election date of polling was set July 20, 1988. On accidental death of President of Pakistan on August 17, 1988, political situation changed. The date of general election was announced to hold on November 16 and 19, 1988.

It was estimated that Pakistan Peoples Party will get 82 seats and Islamic Democratic Alliance 61 seats. The survey was conducted concerning election.^{xxix} Non-political party election introduced lower cadre of Electoral College in politics in General Zia-ul-Haq regime. This political cadre fostered the Id of PPP.^{xxx} The Pakistan Peoples Party appeared as a single largest party in the parliament. According to the results of polling 55 seats were won by Islamic Jhemori Ittehad. Islamic Jhemori Ittehad won majority seats from the Punjab.^{xxxi} The turnout of general election was 43.5 %.^{xxxii} The general elections resolved the crisis of legitimacy of government.

Pakistan Peoples Party with the support of MQM and independent MNA's formed coalition government.^{xxxiii} Benazir Bhutto was designated first female Prime Minister of a Muslim country on December 2, 1988.^{xxxiv} PPP also formed provincial government in Sindh, coalition governments in Baluchistan and Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa (NWFP). Main Nawaz Sharif formed provincial government in Punjab.

Benazir Bhutto made Nusrat Bhutto as senior federal minister and her father-in-law member Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee.^{xxxv} It was reliance of family members and level of nepotism. Benazir Bhutto' government was a coalition government. First time coalition government formed after general election. Pakistan was in serious economic catastrophe and

might be at risk of bankruptcy. To avoid this crisis concession by the International Monetary Fund for the loan program was given. She wanted to focus on the problems of health care, education, housing and land reforms. The civil rights and freedom of press were also fundamental issues of the democratic society. The drug problem was needed a special attention of the state. Drug trafficking was happened from Afghanistan. There was civil war in the Afghanistan. Heroin and Kalashnikovs culture was increasing in Pakistan. It was challenge to civil society. It was not a door but window through which fresh air entered after long suffocation. As a Prime Minister her first order was to release hundreds political prisoners.

International situation for Afghanistan had changed. Pakistan military had its own policy for this issue. Millions of Afghanistan refugees were living in Pakistan which was creating economic, law and order problems for Pakistan. America had concerns about the nuclear program. Benazir Bhutto civilian regime had logical imperatives in power structure. Many constrained issues were existed operational with India. Indian point of view historically perceived about the civilian government of Benazir Bhutto which had strong domestic political base.^{xxvi} SAARC conference held at Islamabad on December 29-31, 1988. Regional issues were discussed. There was bilateral agreement not to attack on the nuclear installments of both countries.

Both the leaders started confrontation politics. It was not matched with Constitution of 1973 which focused on the understanding of political leaders to develop a political consensus and reconciliation. It was anticipated from both leaders interested to flourish the parliamentary democracy. Both parties agenda correlated about the parliamentary democracy, free market economy, deregulation and denationalization of industries and financial institutions.

The Peoples Party which ruled Pakistan is a democracy to extent after the election in which state apparatus is elected by adult universal suffrage. In this process Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, and opposition leader are elected. This shift from authoritarian to democratic was fundamentally flawed. For this evolution Benazir Bhutto was accepting military control over domestic and foreign affairs. In this situation it was not possible to meet the constraint of peoples who voted their representatives. To curvature the key rival of PPP for the military bureaucracy, military was de-established through its associates IJI.^{xxvii} The democratic institutions stability depends upon the rule of law which provided the institutional scaffolding to a political system and social base of democratic consciousness. Expectations would be unrealistic for the significant departures from the historically determined rules of the game which are set by the entrenched power structure.

There was bitter altercation between two leaders of PPP and IJI. There was personal rivalry for the power than the difference on national policy. The Federal government built pressure on the Punjab government. The Punjab government retaliated, engaging in open defiance of the federal government. Pakistani political culture was polarized for the long time because of degeneration of political institutions and authoritarian rule. These institutions could be mediating such conflicts. Federal government has to be more responsible for the promotion of political stability. Benazir Bhutto wanted to capture power in Punjab through bribes. In this

struggle there was misuse of authority of federal government's institutions on the other hand. The state and federal government relations were tolerable in India in case of opposite parties. There was democratic institutional maturation in India.

The PPP government wanted to eliminate eighth amendment but Benazir Bhutto did not gain two third majorities in the Parliament.^{xxviii} The PPP government had countered a new development of ethnic conflict between Muhajirs and rural bases Sindhis. There was yet time required to understand the issue of Sindh. Benazir Bhutto's government was an autocratic arrangement which did not adopt the democratic practices. PPP government did not deliver much which was promised. It was said that not a single purposeful legislation was done through parliament. It was matter of fact which Parliament did not perform meaningfully. It was not performing its basic function of legislation.

The coalition government experiment did not give democratic results in Pakistan. India had in 1990s trend of coalition government. It was proved un-stable political system under the coalition government in India. V.P Sing of Janta Dal and Chandra Shekhar were elected Prime Minister India. Both Prime Ministers had to leave office of Prime Minister due to political behavior of partners. It was a characteristic of democracy, there was possibility of change of regime. Comparatively in the authoritarian rule there was no chance of easy transition from one regime to other regime. It might the life of government be short in the democracy in the case of coalition. Pakistan had not matured democracy. Here it was an authoritarian pattern of government under the cover of eighth amendment. In India government announced new elections. In Pakistan President with his will dissolved the government and announced the election for next democratic government. It was evolution period in which political leaders had to execute healthy manners to established democratic norms.

9. First Regime of Nawaz Sharif

There was confrontation between the government of Punjab and Federal government. The institutions were reeling under the weight of unimaginative schemes and policies. Confusion was at unprecedented level. It was hideous consciousness on the parliamentary political system of Pakistan.^{xxix} Under the cover of 8th amendment President GhulamIshaq Khan dissolved the government with charges of corruption, incompetence and mismanagement at August 6, 1990.^{xxx} In the election mostly political personalities were criticized without keeping moralities in the mind. Overall issues of economic development, administrative reforms, social and welfare were absent from the election campaign. In the democratic system these basic issue were bone in political system.^{xxxi}

In the election IslamiJamhooriIttehad won 105 seats in the national assembly and became prevalent party in the assembly. Pakistan Democratic Alliance won 44 seats, MQM got fifteen and ANP got six seats. Some other parties got single or double seats in the National Assembly in the National Assembly Election.^{xxxii} President made offer to Mr. Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister after the election 1990.^{xxxiii}

On the other hand PDA issued white paper about rigging allegation made on these election.

The caretaker government at federal and provincial levels violated the election rules and misused state machinery for the election. There was election cell in President House whose duty was to ensure defeat of PDA candidates.^{xxxiv} The officials were pressurized to favor IJI candidate and to make rigging for them.^{xxxv} Foreign agencies also confirmed that there were complaints of rigging in the election.^{xxxvi} All these issues were against the principles of democratization. It showed that free and fair election was conducted by the independent and autonomous election commission which was not made constitutionally.

First of all president supported the government as it done in the mid July Nawaz government headed towards the fallout during the drafting of Twelfth Constitutional Amendment. National Assembly rejected the bill and logically government had led to fall. It had effect on the democratic parliamentary system. If president gave support one day, for the next day it swung against it.^{xxxvii} The attitude about democratic norms was not developed. These examples were setup by the democratic institutions. Debates at different issues were forced by the opposition parties. The flood of 1991 was damaged the economy of the country. The hundreds thousands peoples were disturbed by the flood. The co-operative scandal came at scene when BCCI scandal came at international level. The Bank of Credit and Commerce International was cited for its worldwide abuses particularly greedy and corrupt banking practice. The operation cleanup in Sindh was debatable issue in the democratic government. It could be seen that parliamentary institutions had not started to play a vital role in the democratization.^{xxxviii}

The Nawaz government was exposed by political parties, especially economic development with special correspondence of privatization scheme as loot and plunder. Economic scandal was inevitable in the shift from public to private sector. The private programs were started for the production of electricity, construction of roads and development of communication. The private involvement was in the development of airlines and shipping industries. The rising cost of daily commodities affected the middle class peoples. Due to carelessness of planning inflation spiral caused the effect on the social life of peoples.

Nawaz Sharif wanted to expand the role of ECO. He wanted to develop a Muslim Block for economic development. He expanded the membership of ECO for these objectives.

Eighth amendment laid impact on the power sharing and mutual relationship between two organs of state. President had determined to maintain a domineering role and authority.^{xxxix} Different appointments issue widened the gap due to which Prime Minister attempted to strip the power of President. Pakistan Peoples Party made deal with Ghulam Ishaq Khan as President for next term.^{xl} At response president dismissed the government and National Assembly^{xli} under the cover of 8th Amendment on April 1993 on the charges of corruption and called for new election on July 14, 1993. The dismissal of government was challenged in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court gave a historic decision with restoration of Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister on May 26, 1993.^{xlii} The court declared 10 to 1 the dissolution as illegal and unconstitutional and president exceeded his powers. The decision confirmed the authority of Supreme Court and the domination of constitution. Benazir Bhutto opposition leader threatened government to lead a march on Islamabad called for new election.^{xliii} All

this was musical game of power played in Islamabad. Game players wanted to grip the government by power. No one had intension to ply power game against the principles of democratization. Modern democratic world watched the happening in Pakistan with keen interest.

Pakistan had another coalition and allied government. Again president of Pakistan used power gained under the eighth amendment and dissolved the democratic government. Pakistan judiciary showed variation in the used of Doctrine of Necessity. President was still doing effort to weaken the federal government. At last both the President and Prime Minister should have to resign. At this stage Indian democratic system showed maturity. There was no tension between the different organs of state although having different parties' representation. PamulapartiVenkataNarasimhoRao government was showing maturation at federal government against the different state governments.

10. Second Regime of Benazir Bhutto

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan both have to resign to resolve the altercation among two organs of state. The assemblies dissolved and election schedule was announced for October 6, 1993.^{xliv} Pakistan main political parties participated in the general election. Political parties had their manifesto and slogans for the election campaign. The parties focused on the maintenance of law and order, human rights, economic development, administrative reforms, and poverty.^{xlv} The main battlefield was between Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. There were clash of personalities with both political parties. Nawaz Sharif stood on performance of government as privatization and development projects and pledged to restore a yellow Taxi scheme.^{xlvi} Benazir Bhutto promised price support for agriculture, pledged a partnership between government and business and strongly campaigned for female vote.

Pakistan Peoples Party was the largest party with eighty six seats. Nawaz Sharif claimed that his party had won a popular vote.^{xlvii} Pakistan Islamic Front won only three seats but the instrument in the defeat of Pakistan Muslim League-N. There was close competition at least fourteen seats between Pakistan Muslim League-N and Pakistan Peoples Party. PIF took away enough votes from Pakistan Muslim League-N to ensure it defeats at the hands of PPP with narrow margin.^{xlviii} In the 1990's masses of Pakistan also saw coalition governments in Pakistan.

Taking oath as Prime Minister and formation National and Provincial governments. Asif Ali Zardari campaigned vigorously full time to muster support for party candidates against the Nawaz's candidate. There was presidential election in which Farooq Ahmad Leghari defeated Waseem Sajid by 247 to 168. President, Chief Justice and four chief ministers were having their own choice. It was seemed that Benazir Bhutto will be a strong Prime Minister for full term in the office.^{xlix}

Benazir Bhutto had no time for the honey moon of new government's responsibilities. There were multiple socio-economic problems that burdened the nation. Nawaz Sharif suspended long enough to new government the opportunity to assemble functioning organization to

chart the government. Murtaz Bhutto came to Pakistan after self-imposed exile and won the provincial assembly seat in Sindh. Benazir accused her mother for engineering his election and further said it done to embarrass and discredit her.

Benazir political behavior changed into bitterness. Nawaz Sharif started a campaign of vilification against the government. Benazir Bhutto started extra-legal actions against leagued government of Sabar Shah in Khyber PukhtoonKhwa. PPP made intrigue against coalition government. PPP operators with huge sum money bring down the Provincial government. First of all imposed the Governor Rule and then PPP formed his government. Demonstration and riots were started at the award of PPP government. Nawaz Sharif declared that it was unconstitutional and travesty of democracy. The opposition party boycotted the National Assembly and took protest to the streets to exposed fusillade of charges against government.

It was said that Bhutto government failed at foreign level. The opposition forces were exposed and unrevealed files on Benazir Bhutto's personal excess. India was taking advantage at expense of Pakistan. Her public pronouncements on different issues revealed her duplicitous action in foreign policy.

To strengthening the democracy Judiciary has its significant role. Political leader should have to steps about independence of Judiciary. In Pakistan Judiciary and administration was not separated. All the organs of state and institution were developed and became mature. It was be good sign for democracy. Both leaders of main political parties were disregarding the judicial matters. Benazir Bhutto violated the merit principles in the appointment of Chief Justice of Pakistan in 1994 in case of Justice Sajid Ali Shah. Later on Judiciary gave decision about the appointment issue of Chief Justices of Superior Courts in Al-Jehad Trust Case in 1996. Next this Chief Justice and Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister had tension between different issues.

Pakistan is divided society. A movement was acknowledged as Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Mohammadiin Malakand division in late 1994. T.N.S.M stressed Benazir Bhutto government sought to spread Islamic laws and principals of Sharia. It was demanded to self-govern in these according to their rules and principles. The seriousness of situation gave the unrest in the country.

The positive sign of Bhutto government was slight increase in the foreign exchange reserve. There was also the reduction of trade deficit. It was seen sizeable increase in foreign investment. It was focus on the energy sector in which American, South Korean and Hong Kong Chinese companies invested. Pakistan was taking loan from IMF, World Bank and Asia Bank. USA also voted to lift the ban of economic and military sanctions.

In this period Benazir Bhutto also formed coalition government with MQM and Independents MNAs. But these coalitions could not survive for full term government. When it was studied about coalition governments, it revealed that there was spirit of accommodation in the power sharing was remained missing. There was lack of trust between the allies of government. There was wide gap between the political approaches of different groups. Many groups

existed who were the supporter of military governments. No one multiethnic or grand coalition pattern governments survived in Pakistan. Internal disputes of parties also caused of disintegration of coalitions. Coalition partners should have to control the members of parties. Discipline of parties was also basic element for the survival of coalition. There was ought to be specific mechanism for the implementation and permanently watch the mutual agreements.

Benazir Bhutto trapped into Banking Scandal. President of Mehran Bank Younis Habib was arrested at this issue. It was seemed that he diverted huge money to political leaders and as well as ex-army high official. The investigations were started which led to President House and Farooq Leghari.

The situation of Karachi was becoming worse. The contest had degenerated into life and death struggle with brutality in the streets which were paralleled officially organized. In 1995 in Karachi 2000 peoples were killed. Those were arrested in the accused difficult to prove guilty. Political leaders were murdered including the brother and nephew of Altaf Hussain of MQM. Bhutto government from the vantage point of her adversaries had become to pursuit the total power. It was seen in the selection package of Chief Justice and additional judges to follow her directives. It was effort to bring all institution under the control of Bhutto.

In 1995 it was considered that all opposition parties embrace Manzoor Wattoo as alternative to Nawaz Sharif who belonged to PML- Junjo group. Nawaz Sharif was facing his business issues which were created by the government. Fifteen Ministers were resigned from Wattoo government against his illegal actions. On this ground the provincial government was dismissed and Governor Rule was imposed till the arrangement of pro-PPP government formed in the Punjab. It was represented the intolerable passion about the opposition parties.

The tussle started between President Farooq Leghari and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. The President felt uncomfortable with the constant intrigue, the plotting and mayhem. He was observing constantly dismantling the institutions became the fashion to perform the nation's business at national and international level. Benazir Bhutto had perceived as using all the instruments at her command only to survive in the power. For this party and political system both were scarified. There was speculation in the press about the dismissal of PPP government. There was idea to establish an interim government consisted of clean technocrats which eradicate corruption and planned for economy back in order. Benazir Bhutto without taking measures Pakistan interest planned to follow IMF and World Bank advice. This was more disastrous period than first. The situation of collision course followed by President and Prime Minister was obvious everywhere. The relationship period of fifteen years was ranged over between the top leadership of PPP. Benazir was questioning in the appointments of Judges of Superior courts at without consulting cause for rancor. President's meeting with opposition leader Nawaz Sharif opened the window of dialogue. President acknowledged the need of repair of political system. The dialogue was opened with the competing faction of the political system. President wanted to establish an inquiry commission to examine the charges of corruption on the political figures of the society. Interior Minister of Government cited that comprehensive level commission to scrutinize all

fields of life officials. To promote the democratic norms and abrupt the corruption from the state offices it was pre-requisite condition.

It was studied the Benazir Bhutto government on the democratic norms. There were flaws between the democratic principles and process of action of government. Allegations of corruption in full swings but there was no possibility to verify or denial of charges on principles. There was no impartial institution developed for this purpose.

The Punjab coalition government was not tolerated and replaced by the Governor Raj for next arrangements. It was painful news bulletin of September 21, 1996 that police had shot down Murtaz Bhutto. It was shocking news for Pakistani nation. It was said that Murtaz was bitterly against Benazir Government. Given the discrepancies were in the stories and public outcry for the facts in case of murder of Murtaz. It was felt publicly that it was intentions of Zardari to destroy the Bhutto clan in order to inherit its legacy.

11. Second Regime of Nawaz Sharif

President Farooq Ahmad Laghari dismissed the Benazir government on November 5, 1996 for the allegations of corruption and abuse of power. The allegations included destroying of judicial independence, extra judicial killings, violation of Constitution and financial mismanagement. There was allegation on Asif Ali Zardari taking commissions and official deals.¹ Former speaker of PPP appointed as Care Taker Prime Minister. The Superior Court of Pakistan declared that the dismissal of government was legal. The general election was held between two major parties on February 3, 1997.

Imran Khan's party Tehrik-e-Insaf also participated first time in general election. The political parties focused on Islam, democracy, agriculture development, industrialization, parliamentary sovereignty, law and order situation, human rights and elimination of poverty in the election of 1997ⁱⁱ. Major issues were corruption, the economy, ethnic and religious conflicts and growing terrorism. The turnout of election was showing in surveys about 20%.^{lii} The Pakistan Muslim League won a land slide victory but turnout was 35.42% lowest in history of Pakistan.^{liii} Nawaz Sharif was credited with having amassed two-third majority in National Assembly. Benazir was surprisingly gracious, it was humiliating defeat. Although Benazir claimed that elections were engineered. Mr. Nawaz Sharif was confirmed Prime Minister with 177 votes of National Assembly against 16 for P.P.P candidate Aftab Shaban Mirani. He took office on the February 18 but new cabinets named on the February 26, 1997. It was remarkable scene for cordiality when sworn by Nawaz Sharif. All participants focused on the need of co-operation and pledged their adherence to principles of parliamentary order and democracy.

P.M.L-N gained majority in Punjab Provincial Assembly and formed its government. P.M.L-N and A.N.P got majority in Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa. P.M. L. (N) and A.N.P formed coalition government. Baluchistan had new trend in the election in which Baluchistan National Party and Jamhoori Watan Party merged into single largest party in the Assembly. P.M.L-N and M.Q.M balanced P.P.P in Sindh province. Here coalition government developed at state level like Indian states. The behavioral development about the

democracy was not matured like Indian political system. The mandate of opposition was not tolerable in Pakistan.

Nawaz Sharif basked in the glow of an epoch-making return to governing system. Nawaz Sharif was convinced of right ideas and developed personal bona fide as Pakistan major political personality. Nawaz revived his commitment to normalize the relation with India. It was also need to review the policies about the fundamentalist of Taliban. Prime Minister declared views and plane for the revitalization of the economy. The removal of restrictions from the foreign exchange and the scheme of incentives to business community were the trend of economy policy.

Benazir Bhutto asserted Nawaz Sharif to embark upon the issue of eighth Amendment. There was clash between the two powerful figures of political system. One was prevalently elected by peoples and second got power under the cover of constitution like a colonial experience. eighth amendment had changed the constitutional structure. It had to decide who will govern Pakistan. Five general elections were held since 1985 and four elected governments were dismissed through of a controversial articles (58) (2) (b) of the Constitution. Prime Minister presented thirteenth amendment in National Assembly which was approved with majority and signed by President.^{liv} The government addressed the issue of party defection by enacting Articles 63-A of constitution. The government made 14th amendment by the parliament to disqualify a member parliament on the grounds of defiance of party policy matter for vote on the bill of National or Provincial Assemblies. He took steps for the betterment of economy and initiated program to shed foreign loan under the Qarz Utrao Mulk Sanwaro Program. The people of Pakistan participated in this program. The huge amount was collected in this program.^{lv} The construction of long motor way was multi-purpose project.

There was a clash between Prime Minister and Pakistan Judiciary at the issue of special terrorist court for speedy trial. The Chief Justice of Pakistan emphasized it made possible in existing judiciary system. The parliament of Pakistan made law for the establishment of these courts. The issue raised on appointment of judges in the superior court of Pakistan. There was a severe clash between government and judiciary of Pakistan. This situation was alarming for the parliamentary system. The Supreme Court of Pakistan suspended the fourteenth amendment of constitution without hearing government view point. It was against the flour crossing of member parliament.

The Superior Court of Pakistan adopted the principle of judicial activism in Pakistan and summoned Prime Minister of Pakistan in the contempt of court. Some other cases also started for hearing against Prime Minister of Pakistan. Mean-while superior judiciary divided at this time. The case against Chief Justice of Pakistan was heard at Quetta Bench. Chief Justice of Pakistan was suspended in the accordance of decision of Supreme Court March 1996. It was alarming situation in the judicial history of Pakistan.

Pakistani political system and judicial system were difficult situation. The people of Pakistan were worried about the situation. All the system was at risk. Mean-while President of Pakistan met with Pakistan Army Chief and asked support to dissolve assemblies. There was no response for help. President of Pakistan decided to resign. He resigned on December 2,

1997. It ended the clash between institutions.

The presidential election was held on December 31, 1997. Mohammad Rafiq Tarrar was elected new President of Pakistan. Prime Minister of Pakistan was gained powerful position in the system. Now presidency and judiciary were in the pocket of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Pakistan army also supported at this time.

The Interim government was established after dismissal of Benazir Government. The Interim government formed Council for Defense and National Security. It was challenge for democratic government to abolish the military establishment institution. Military establishment dominated politics. If further interference of military and feudal lord was continued how the civilian institutions were developed according to the democratic norms. CDNS formation was challenged in Lahore High Court. Its formation was nullified by the decision of Court. It was declared un-constitutional. The court further stated if it was stand then basic structure of constitution destroyed.^{lvi}

General Jahangir Karamat was a professional soldier. He was leader of the Pakistan armed forces. While he was addressing the Naval War College to army officials, gave idea for creation of National Security Council for the formulation of government policies. The proposal was met hostility and Prime Minister of Pakistan had to ask for resign. Nawaz Government dismissed him. Then new Army Chief had to be appointed. The misunderstanding was developed in army about political government. It was unconstitutional demand from Army Chief of Pakistan. There was no such space in the parliamentary system.

Pakistan officials made a plan of infiltration into Kashmir in the Kargil. Musharraf had a leading role in the plan. The secret filtration was ordered by the senior military official into Kargil district since March to May 1999. This operation was public level disapproved. When India discovered infiltration at peaksof Kargil hills, there was strong reaction in Indian Army official. They started defensive war against Pakistan and threatened to Pakistan a full scale war. There was difference between army officials at this issue in Pakistan. Naval Chief Fasih Bokhari and Air Chief Mehdi was critic of the operation. The civilian government was also withdrawn to support this infiltration. Naval Chief Fasih Bukhari demanded for trail.^{lvii} The situation was tense between India and Pakistan, chance of full scale war. Nawaz Sharif went to America to normalize the situation of Kashmir.

Nawaz Sharif was arrested and put into guest house after coup of October 1999. The charges of hijacking, kidnapping, attempt of murder by preventing flight to land on Karachi airport inserted in November 1999. His trail in anti-terrorism court started in March 2000. It was possible that the court will verdict charges and will sentence him to death. Under pressure Sharif signed agreement with Musharraf government and exiled to Saudi Arabia in December 2000.

India had been facing politically instability and in short period conducted two times elections. It was sign of well-established democracy. It was not the failure of democracy. There were problems of hung parliament because public gave divided vote to different parties, as it happened in 1996 when Atal Bihari Vajpayee of BJP and H.D. Deve Gowda of Janta Dal

were elected Prime Minister. Pakistan had different perspective for this situation. Pakistani political experts might have opinion about the failure of political system.

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