

## **Revival of Democracy in Pakistan 1988-1999: An Analysis**

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### **Abstract**

*The demise of Zia was the beginning of a new era and the dawn of democracy after a long interval. The partial democracy established in during Zia regime was a paradox. It suppressed rather than solving problems thus maintaining a status quo. The decade long authoritarian rule had damaged the fabric of the democracy. A new democratic era 1988-99 started with a hope that it will bring prosperity to the people and will strengthen democratic machinery but was not up to the mark of people. With the fast changing governments, corruption, unstable political parties and high presidential powers of the president democracy does not flourish its roots. During the era 1988-1999 the army played the role of a silent spectator. They got benefit of the weaknesses of successive governments and ultimately appeared on the sky of democratic set up in the shape of a bloodless coup in 1999. This paper is an attempt to highlight the performance of democratic rule, its problems and prospects and causes of its failure.*

**Keywords:** Democracy, Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif.

### **I. Introduction**

General Zia's sudden death in plane crash on 17 August 1988 changed the picture of the political scene. Commenting on this incident Benazir Bhutto said, "Zia's death has removed the shadow under which myself and all those dedicated to democracy have been living". (Mali Syed, 1992.) After his death, General Aslam Beg took over as the chief of the army staff. Ghulam Ishaq Khan became the president of Pakistan being the then chairman of the senate. He announced general elections in Pakistan. Elections were held on party basis. The main rival political parties were Pakistan People Party, led by Benazir Bhutto and the (JI) *Islami Jamhori Ittehad*, (Talbot, 1999) led by Nawaz Sharif. When elections were held in 1988, Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. But her government was short lived as the President dissolved her government under the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment. In 1990 general elections were again held and Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister but his government was also dissolved by the same president Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Again in 1993 and 1996 both Benazir and Nawaz Sharif became the Prime

Ministers respectively but they were unable to maintain cordial relations with the top military commanders. (Rizvi, 2008)

## **II. Democracy in Pakistan in Historical Perspective**

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947 as an independent sovereign state. It was among the first of the new countries to be born after the World War II. Of the then independent Muslim states, it was the largest in population and destined to play a significant role in Islamic world as well as in the changing international order. (Ziring, 2007) Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah became the first Governor General of Pakistan by a decision of the Constituent Assembly taken even before the passage of the Indian independent Act. (Ahmad, 1988).

Most of post-Jinnah political leaders had regional and local stature and did not have a nationwide appeal which regionalized and localized politics. This made it difficult for the political parties and leaders to pursue a coherent approach towards the problems and issues of the early years. They were unable to develop consensus on the operational norms of the polity and took eight and half years to frame a constitution which did not enjoy the unqualified support of all the major parties, leaders and regions. By the time the constitution was introduced (March 23, 1956) a strong tradition of violation of parliamentary norms was established, the political parties were divided and the assembly was unable to assert its primacy. The effective power had shifted to the Governor General/President. (Rizvi, 2008).

On October 7, 1958, Iskander Mirza abrogated the Constitution of 1956, the central and provincial Assemblies were dissolved, and the central and provincial cabinets were dismissed. This was the first phase of Martial law. (Rizvi, 2000). The chief justice of Pakistan, Muhammad Munir, was asked to prepare a new constitution more suited to "the genius of the Pakistani people". (Mirza, 2000). By the time of Ayub's coup two critical issues had been settled. First, parliamentary democracy would not be allowed to function in Pakistan. Second, a strong central executive would dominate the provinces. Pakistani politics have never recovered from these twin setbacks. (Nauman, 1988).

General Yahya Khan assumed the power of chief Martial Law Administrator and president of Pakistan on March 25, 1969 without facing any opposition. He followed Ayub Khan's course very closely. (Rizvi, 2000) The 1962 constitution was abrogated and assumed control for the direction of the nation's life, the country, by any reckoning, presented a situation of great complexity and danger. (Yousaf, 1999).

Z.A. Bhutto asserted civilian primacy over the military during his rule (December 20, 1971 to July 5, 1977) against the backdrop of the serious damage to the military's reputation in the wake of the military debacle of 1971. Initially, he retired several senior officers and changed the military's command structure. However, his ability to assert his primacy over the military eroded when he began to cultivate the military's support to pursue his strident policy towards India and employed authoritarian methods to deal with the domestic opposition. When the opposition launched anti-Bhutto agitation on the pretext that the government had rigged the 1977 general elections, the military led General Zia-ul-Haq, Chief of the Army Staff, had no problem in dislodging Bhutto and assuming power on July 5, 1977. The opposition parties welcomed the military take over because it removed Bhutto from power. (Rizvi, 2008).

General Zia-ul-Haq's martial law from July 1977 to December 1985 was the longest period of direct military rule in Pakistan. These trends continued after he civilianized his military rule in 1985 by introducing far reaching changes in the 1973 Constitution and co-opting a section of the political elite to ensure his continued centrality to governance and political management. (Ibid).

#### **A. Benazir's First Term**

In the 1988 elections, PPP got majority seats and secured 92 of 205 seats. The IJI, on the other hand, won 54 seats, emerging as the second largest political group in the Assembly. (Selochan, 1992) Ghulam Ishaq Khan on 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1988 paid rich tributes to Benazir Bhutto by saying that, she is a young educated, decent and capable lady. She has immense love for the country and has the spirit of service to the masses. (Pakistan Times, 1988) On assumption of power Benazir Bhutto said our government would strive for building a progressive and democratic Pakistan, free from all kinds of exploitation. Her speech infused a new hope and spirit in people that democracy may be restored effectively. (Ibid) As far as provinces were concerned, PPP formed its government in Sindh with Syed Qaim Ali Shah as Chief Minister, coalition government in Baluchistan was formed with Mr. Zafar Ullah Khan Jamli as its Chief Minister Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan was sworn as Chief Minister of N.W.F.P and Nawaz Sharif took over as Chief Minister of Punjab. PPP claimed that it stands for the cause of democracy and democratic traditions but unfortunately, a defeated man from Rawalpindi General Tikka Khan was appointed as the Governor of Punjab, obviously a man who did not command confidence of his own constituency how could he command the confidence of the whole province. Similarly another defeated candidate Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar was made the Attorney General and this showed PPP's love for the defeated persons. (Yaseen Rizvi, 1988) Another mistake of the PPP government was the dissolution of the Baluchistan Assembly just after three weeks of its setting up. In Baluchistan impartial caretaker government was installed by December 22, 1988. However the High Court declared the act of Chief Minister unconstitutional. Nawab Akbar Khan Bhugti became the new chief minister of Baluchistan. (Pakistan Times, 1988).

On December 12, 1988 Ghulam Ishaq Khan was elected as the President of Pakistan for a term of five year. Even after the appointment of Benazir Bhutto and his election, as President Ghulam Ishaq Khan never reconciled himself to be a neutral umpire in the country's unfolding political scenario. Ignoring the expected role he began to indulge in shady political deals with the opposition parties for the purpose of undermining the authority of the federal government. (Maluka, 1995).

Ghulam Ishaq Khan adopted the policy of divide and rule. He played a prominent role in center province relations in the country. The government of Benazir Bhutto became the target of conflicting and contradicting crises especially those related to the government of Nawaz Sharif in Punjab. Democracy cannot succeed unless the political leaders develop a tolerant attitude towards each other. In democratic government the opposition plays a key role. But the opposition leader Naas Sharif refused to accept the authority of the government. (Lamb, 1991). It was not easy for the federal government to run administration with a hostile opposition committed to create difficulties. Democracy has finally been restored and democratic institutions were functioning, but the return of democracy brought with it a remarkable campaign of blackmail, bribery and arrests. (Ibid)

Opposition also accused Zardari family of taking commissions on every business deal approved by the government. (Pakistan Times, 1988) Ms. Bhutto had announced general amnesty to all the prisoners. Hundreds of rapists, murderers and saboteurs were also set free through Prime Minister's executive order. (Jilani, 1991).

The province of Baluchistan which is the largest in area also had adjustment problems with the central government. The Chief Minister Nawab Akbar Khan Bhugti having his own grievances against PPP and boosted by Ghulam Ishaq Khan joined hands with over ambitious Nawaz Sharif in destabilizing the centre. (Sarwar, 1994) While responding to the opposition in her defense was the purchase of more F-16's from the United States. This statement presented government's hallmark in foreign policy, instead of concrete action programme on Kashmir issue, Afghanistan, Siachen or relations with Soviet Union. (The Nation, 1988) Pakistan people's party talked about the poor, it envisioned Pakistan as a social welfare state but none of its functions were held in places other than five star hotels. The reality is that PPP is just sticking to power, and evolved its policies in accordance with the circumstances. (Ibid).

In fact, she allowed herself to be distracted by two things. First, the desire to govern all the opposition parties. Two, she allowed her husband to use the political power and he possessed for personal financial gain. Keeping in view the circumstances Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the government of Benazir Bhutto under the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment. Although, Benazir Bhutto's government elected Ghulam Ishaq Khan as the President for the next five years but after the dissolution of her Assembly in 1990, she admitted that this was her biggest political mistake. (MID ASIA, 1991) Ghulam Ishaq Khan formed interim government under Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. The election dates were announced as 24 and 29 October for the National and Provincial Assemblies respectively. (Pakistan Times, 1988) The IJI decided to contest elections with the same symbols and alliance, on the other hand PPP decided to form an alliance consisting of four political parties by the name of PDA (People's Democratic Alliance). (Sarwar, 1994).

### **B. Nawaz Sharif as the Prime Minister**

In 1990 general elections were held in Pakistan. The PPP's allies, however, were unable to win a single seat. The PPP won 46 seats while *Islami jambooriitehad* [Islamic democratic alliance] led by Nawaz Sharif won 105 seats in the national assembly. The performance of IJI in the provinces of Punjab was also remarkable, but it was able to form government in all the four provinces. (Yousaf, 1999) From the very first day Benazir Bhutto began to voice that the elections were rigged and the national Assembly was bogus, while later she also took the oath of member of national Assembly and became the leader of the opposition. (Dawn, 1990).

Nawaz Sharif was unanimously nominated as leader of the IJI parliamentary party and took the oath as Prime Minister of Pakistan on November 6, 1990. He enjoyed a clear parliamentary majority, his IJI either formed governments in all the provinces or was in partnership with allies he had the establishment's unreserved backing both of the President's and of the military. Nawaz Sharif in his first speech said I invite all to participate in fostering an era of understanding unity, cohesion and commitment to national cause. He pledged to accord the status and treatment to all in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and law. His government would not hesitate to frame new laws to effectively establish peace and protect life, honor and property of its citizens.

Being the country's first Prime Minister belonging to the business class, Nawaz Sharif declared his intention to push Pakistan towards a free market economy through a programme of deregulation and privatization. (Lodhi, 1994).

Nawaz Sharif claimed that the IJI government wanted to set long lasting, refined and positive democratic traditions both inside and outside the house. Unfortunately, these hopes have not yet materialized. The government frequently resorted to lawmaking by ordinance from 1990 to April 1993, a total of 78 ordinances were promulgated out of which 28 were not even referred by the government to the cabinet which is a statutory obligation. The heavy reliance on ordinance making authority in fact, demised parliament role, reducing the Assembly to a rubber stamp rather than a body to shape and reshape the laws. (News, 1991).

Most of the policies adopted by the IJI government lacked proper planning and formulation. Thus the steps taken by this government like the introduction of yellow cab taxi scheme, in which most of the people who possessed these cabs were not eligible for them as there was not official check on the proper distribution of these cars. In the absence of concrete plan the scheme was bound to fail. Similarly, the introduction of *Bait-ul-Mal*, vigorous drive against food adulteration and a campaign against the possession of prohibited and unlicensed weapons were all short lived and brought no change in the plight of the ordinary citizens because the plans were unorganized and haphazard. Similarly, quite a few pronouncements of the Nawaz Sharif government lacked contents. The Prime Minister announced a grant of Rs. 175.00 million for Sindh; it was above the normal share of the province. If it was not already budgeted the Prime Minister was supposed to consult his cabinet as well as the National Economic Council but his announcement was rendered meaningless because the budget for 1990-91 was approved by the Benazir Bhutto cabinet. Corruption seems to have acquired social respectability in our society. The Nawaz Sharif government was no exception to the same old blame of corruption. Hire and fire of provincial officers on the criterion of loyalty and use of favored appointees for carrying out politically motivated functions remained as usual. Democracy is a success only if we respect its fundamental conditions which are essential for its survival. (Ibid).

The IJI era was also blamed for following the policy of favoritism and lack of rule of law. Favoritism was also given with regards to arrests who is to be arrested, who is to be spared, against whom an FIR has to be lodged, who is to be kept in police station without information to the concerned legal forums. The Government MPAs and MANs were hardly caught even if found guilty. There was housing societies established on questionably allocated state land and at questionable rates by the officers to develop schemes, making millions. Similarly, the cooperative Banks and Finance companies were a source of benefit for those who could get the blessings of the registrar. The difference of money was cleaned off in the book where these cooperatives were registered by the registrar and were later audited by the office. The government as usual on the 13<sup>th</sup> April 1991 set up a 12 member special committee to probe into the malpractices and frauds done by the cooperatives Finance Companies during the past suggest remedial measures to deal with the situation but nothing more positive was done a few checks were distributed to the affected on the Television and it was followed by a large number of blames and counter blames by both the government and the opposition for the large

amount of money lost, which actually belonged to the people. Nothing concrete was done on the issue. (Maluka, 1995).

The economic policies of the IJI government were not as successful as inflation, budgetary deficit, unemployment remained very high. The economic conditions were not satisfactory despite large number of taxes; the government was unable to reduce budgetary deficits. The basic problem is that our economic elite do not pay their legitimate share to the government in the form of taxes. The government exempted industrialists from taxation and the Chief Minister declared that rural elite will not be put to inconvenience through the imposition of agricultural income tax. In these circumstances self-reliance became a far cry and reduction in budgetary deficit a dream and above all such exemptions could prove to create chronic budgetary problems in the long run because the country already suffered a great economic set back due to the Gulf war of 1992. The government also exempted the foreign exchange accounts from income tax and Zakat. Later the Shariat Bill was introduced which aimed at introducing interest free economy in Pakistan within three years, but there were entrepreneurs with whom IJI government promised not long ago that if they opened foreign exchange account in Pakistan they would be offered high interest rate than the one offered by foreign banks. The people of Pakistan were made to believe that self-reliance was round the corner provided the IJI government remained in power. (Ibid). Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif shared power under a diarchy. Now elected government seemed to control the levers of the government. The troika (President, P.M. and Army Chief) was a legacy of military rule the unique power sharing arrangement between the executive, the head of state and the army chief. The diarchy worked as long as Nawaz Sharif refrained from challenging the establishment. The problem between the President and the Prime Minister began in January 1993, when the army Chief General Asif Nawaz died and question arose who would succeed the General. The President appointed his own choice, the new army chief general Abdul Waheed Khan. In February Nawaz Sharif openly announced that he intended to remove the eight constitutional amendments but politically Nawaz Sharif was isolated. He miscalculated the PPP by thinking that the opposition would help him in removing the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment despite a history of anti-pathy, acrimony and lack of trust. (Ibid).

PPP government on the other hand played a Machiavellian role in real politics for the dismissal of the Nawaz Sharif government. Benazir Bhutto who was fully involved in the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif government by the President of artfully manipulated the difference between Nawaz Sharif and Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Benazir Bhutto on one hand was withholding support for Nawaz Sharif's effort and on the other hand opened channels of communication with her adversary, the President, working on the maxim that my enemy's enemy is my friend. Another miscalculation of Nawaz Sharif was that he assumed that the President was a lame duck because he hopes to seek his re-election as the next President. The disintegration of the cabinet Minister who started clustering around the President made Nawaz Sharif weak, they ranged from Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Tariq Chaudhari and a group of Jonejo loyalist. The Political position of Nawaz Sharif began crumbling down. (Ibid).

Finally, Nawaz Sharif tried to make a final attempt to improve his position by nominating Ghulam Ishaq Khan as his Presidential candidate but now it was too late. In great disappointment Nawaz Sharif addressed the nation on television and radio on the

17<sup>th</sup> of April 1993 and openly criticized the President Nawaz Sharif disclosed that *Aiwan-i-Sadar* even patronized the intrigues to split the founding party of Pakistan i.e. the Muslim League to weaken government. He further said that the Governor of a province is also involved in conspiring against the mandated constitutional government while sitting in corridors of *Aiwan-i-Sadar* which can hardly be tolerated by the people of Pakistan. Every third cabinet minister was tipped for Prime Minister -Ship by the opponents of democracy and of system for revolting against his government.

Nawaz Sharif pledged that he would never submit to dictation from the President while asserting that he would neither resign nor dissolve the national Assembly on the desire of Ghulam Ishaq Khan and charged the President with intrigues and conspiracies against the federation in general and his government particular. It was the first incident in history in which a Prime Minister challenged a strong head of state. No resignation, no dissolution, no dictation, Said Nawaz Sharif. He further said that I am fully prepared to face my opponents both inside and outside the national Assembly. (Dawn, 1993) On the 18<sup>th</sup> April 1993, in retaliation President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed Prime Minister and cabinet and dissolved the National Assembly by a four page dissolution order.

Gohar Ayub, the speaker of national Assembly challenged the dissolution of national Assembly in Lahore High Court as malafide and a result of personal vendetta. Later Nawaz Sharif filed a constitutional petition in the Supreme Court challenging the dissolution. On 25<sup>th</sup> May 1993 the Supreme Court declared the presidential order of dissolution as illegal and unconstitutional and restored the National Assembly and Nawaz Sharif's government. Supreme Court strikes down Ghulam Ishaq Khan Order in 10:1 verdict, National Assembly, Prime Minister and cabinet restored. (Waseem, 1993).

The order of revival of the national assembly and the reinstatement of Nawaz Sharif government was rendered ineffective when on 18<sup>th</sup> July 1993; the prime minister was constrained to resign and to advise the president to dissolve the national assembly under article 58 of the constitution. The president promptly acted upon the said advice, but in the process he was also obliged to resign, which he did on the following day on 19<sup>th</sup> July 1993. Thus ended one bitterer chapter in the political and judicial history of Pakistan. A care taker government under Mr. Moeen Qureshi was formed. (Dawood, 1994)

### **C. Benazir's Second Term**

After the retirements of Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Waseem Sajjad, the Chairman of the senate, was sworn in as the acting President of Pakistan. The new President was basically assigned with the task of holding fair and free election in the country. The elections of National and Provincial Assemblies were held on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> of October 1993 respectively. Benazir Bhutto's PPP took a decisive lead in Pakistan National Assembly polls and won 86 seats, PML (N) got 72 and 15 were independent seats. MQM boycotted the elections. It was evident from the result that no party was able to get a clear cut majority. Pakistan people's party formed a coalition government with the assistance of PML (Jonejo Group) led by Hamid Nasir Chatta and others in centre. The PPP with its allies also formed governments in Punjab and Sindh. Main Manzoor Watto was elected as the leader of the house in Punjab. In NWFP Pir Muhammad Sabir Shah of PML (N) and NAP coalition was elected leader of the house. Although Nawaz Sharif's party led coalition had formed the government in NWFP, but Benazir Bhutto replaced it with her

party coalition in April 1994. Resultantly, Aftab Ahmad Sherpaow became the Chief Minister while in Sindh Syed Abdullah Shah sworn in as Sindh Chief Minister. (Asian Survey, 1996).

Benazir Bhutto on assumption of power after being elected as leader of the house took oath of her office on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1993. She said the country is facing grave economic crisis and the confidence of the people had also been shaken in the present political system because of the attitude of politicians. They are waiting for change not mere change of faces but change in the system. (Sarwar, 1994).

Benazir Bhutto confronted some serious problems; her party lacked a majority of its own at the centre and in the Punjab where it formed a government in coalition with PML (J). The law and order situation in many urban areas of Pakistan during her regime was at its lowest ebb. One of the biggest problems was the deteriorating law and order situation in Karachi. Open violence between Sindhis and *Muhajirs* continues to leave corpses in the streets of Karachi. The continuous violence and continues unabated as religious confrontation, political terrorism, warring drug cartels, and continuing ethnic conflicts between Sindhis and Muhayirs rampage through the city. However, on November 21<sup>st</sup> 1995, Benazir Bhutto ordered the army authorities to continue with operation clean up in Sindh and to go for the big fish in Sindh involved in Kidnappings, dacoits and other major crimes. (Indurthy, 1996) In 1995 alone, almost 2,000 people were killed in Karachi. The PPP, with its own government in Sindh had the unique opportunity to heal the wounds of ethnic violence in Karachi. But the reconciliation efforts between MQM and PPP failed and the unrest in urban Sindh continued unabated. The level of political violence escalated in April 1994 when the MQM decided to launch a fresh agitation in support of its demands. Up till 1995 the problems of Sindh remained alarming but now in 1996 there seems to be a slight change in the situation. Unfortunately, a new problem has arisen is the large number of bomb blasts in Punjab a few examples. (Sarwar, 1994)

One of the achievements of these governments was the separation of judiciary from the executive when the national Assembly of Pakistan, at last on 15<sup>th</sup> April, passed the bill of separation of executive from the judiciary after a long marathon session. Benazir Bhutto at this historical moment said "We strengthened the institutions and have sacrificed party politics." The most disturbing issue in politics of Pakistan was the confrontation between the PPP and PML (N) led by Nawaz Sharif. This confrontation has defined politics and the broader issue of democratic transition in the country since 1988. The atmosphere of political intolerance, personalized politics and the issue of political power might explain the parties' self-destructive hostility toward each other. (Ibid)

On 5<sup>th</sup> November 1996, President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari dissolved the National Assembly and appointed Malik Meraj Khalid as the care taker Prime Minister and pledged to hold elections on 3rd February 1997. He charged the government of flaunting Supreme Court judgments and ridiculing the judges. It is also alleged that Benazir Bhutto's government tapped the phones of Supreme Court judges, army officers and senior government officials. (Sarwar, 1994) Corruption was one of the charges that president Laghari leveled against Benazir Bhutto in dismissing her government in November 1996. The question to how president Laghari, the party loyalist for more than two decades, turned against the PPP government? And why did Justice Sajad Ali Shah,



who was handpicked by Benazir Bhutto, sided with Laghari? The answer to these questions lies partly in the inability of Benazir Bhutto to maintain a working relationship with persons of stature who showed some degree of independence, and partly in the feudal tradition of intrigues, shifting alliances and the personalized nature of Pakistan political culture. (Mahmood, 2000)

#### **D. Nawaz's Second Term**

Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari fulfilled his promise by holding election on 3 February 1997. The general elections were held on 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 1997. The result of the elections was a surprise for many including the analysts and organizers. PPP which had been well entrenched in the center, Punjab and NWFP for three years got a drubbing which it never expected. With its total of 136 seats in the National Assembly and its strong ally ANP having 10 seats, the PML's two third majority became a fait accompli. Never in the electoral history of Pakistan, had any party secured such a massive vote. The motto, he gave for taking on this scheme was *Qarz Utaro Mulk Sanwaro* (liquidate debts to save the country). The Prime Minister outlined a whole lot of pragmatic steps among them viz (1) guaranteed protection for foreign investment (2) allowing private detective agencies (3) ban on extravagant spending on marriages (4) no concessional plots (5) no more duty free cars for VIPs (6) Sunday to be a holiday (7) restriction of use of government transport (8) withdrawal of police guards (9) National Health Scheme for the poor (10) no flag car except for VVIP (11) reduction of number of ministers in federal and provincial cabinets (12) submission of assets by government employees and confiscation of un declared wealth (13) reduction in government expenditure and (14) Accountability Committees all over the country. (The Nation, 1998)

The Muslim league government has used its parliamentary majority to make two fundamental changes in the post Zia political system. It introduced two significant amendments (thirteenth and fourteenth) in the constitution. The thirteen amendments restored the parliamentary character of the constitution by limiting the powers of the president to that of a nominal head of the state. According to this amendment the president became powerless to dissolve the National Assembly. The fourteen amendments related to the problem of floor crossing, this was a great source of political instability in Pakistan. (Mahmood, 2000)

Muhammad Rafiq Tarar, the new president was a close friend of the Sharif family while the Supreme Court, under a new chief justice, was content to tread with caution. On May 28, 1998, Pakistan responded to the Indian tests with five tests at Chagai. Muhammad Arshad a young man, who had designed the trigger mechanism and therefore had been selected for this job, pushed the button. Within thirty second, the black granite of the RasKoh Hills at Chagai turned white as a result of the tremendous heat of the explosion. Pakistan had matched the Indian five to five. "Today we have settled a score" declared Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. (Nawaz, 2008)

The relation between the Prime Minister and the COAS General Pervez Musharraf became tense on Kargil issue. The Prime minister was in the search of new person who could give him safety. The movement Musharraf got into action his plane was to sack Musharraf and appoints Lt; General Khwaja Ziauddin Director General of ISI and a few Kashmiri immigrant as the new army chief Ziauddin was to be the immediate beneficiary of the conspiracy as well as its most central cog. While flying somewhere over the bay of

Bengal Musharraf lost his job at approximately on October 12, 1999. The same afternoon Pakistan television announced this extremely significant change on a routine manner and showed the new COAS, General Ziauddin and his new badges of rank, While Musharraf was on official visit to Sri Lanka. (Abbas, 2005) Meanwhile Nawaz Sharif had instructed aviation authority to not allow the plane carrying to land at Karachi airport and divert it elsewhere, though the plane was dangerously low on fuel as the pilot, due to the confusing messages from Karachi control tower, was circling the city. Soon the army took over the control tower and the plane landed at Karachi airport. The Musharraf that come out of the plane was the man in charge of Pakistan. As the Musharraf-Sharif thriller unfolded throughout the evening of October 12, 1999, through the early hours of the next day the people of Pakistan awaited the final outcome with baited breath. When finally it transpired that Musharraf had landed had safely and triumphed, and Nawaz Sharif and his government had finally been overthrown, people were relieved. Indeed, every change of government in Pakistan since the very beginning had accompanied by applause by a majority of population, which was both an expression of disenchantment with the outgoing administration as it was that of hope for what the future may bring. Sadly, this hope was never positive. (Ibid)

### III. Conclusion

The era 1988-99 is known as the decade of democracy in Pakistan after a long interval of dictatorship but unfortunately democracy did not flourish considerably. The decade was the worst in many respects: the performance of elected governments was so poor that there were eleven governments over the period. The economy in this era was in a shabby condition and economic sanctions were imposed on Pakistan several times. Highly presidential powers of the president in the shape of 8<sup>th</sup> amendment played a great role in the dissolution of various governments. Corruption was also one of the causes in the destabilization of democracy because various governments were dissolved on the basis of corruption. Relations between the civilian governments and the army were deteriorated and this rift was so tensed that the latter intervened in politics in 1999 hence democracy once again faced with crisis.

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III. *Islami Jamhuri Ittehad*, was a nine-party alliance organized in September 1988 by the military-controlled ISI in order to co-ordinate electoral opposition to Benazir Bhutto's PPP. The alliance included such unlikely partners as the ANP, the PML and the JI, as well as a number of smaller parties. (Talbot, Ian. (1999) *Pakistan a Modern History*, Lahore: Vanguard Books.)

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