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Labour Movement in West Pakistan 1947-1958: A Perspective on Punjab

Shahbaz Ahmad¹

Abstract

This paper explores the growth and development of Trade Union activities in post-colonial Pakistan from 1947-58 and to address the problems of workers in newly established Pakistan. The pioneering role of Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim is highlighted who was the president of Pakistan Trade Union Federation and Railway Workes Union of Railway Work Shops, Lahore. This research is based on the analysis of the authentic material in the form of literature from scholars and Government documents. At that time state was not ready to accept the burden the demands of the workers. The state used various coercive methods to prevent the struggle of the workers. The elitists' state allied with United States of America to the issues of radical labour movement and radicalization of workers struggle in Pakistan. This study recommends that proper facilities and proper education should be provided to the workers.

Key Words: Leftist; Trade Unions; State; Progressive

Introduction

This study focuses on trade union activism in Pakistan during 1947--1958. Within this time span the period between 1947 and 1954 constituted very crucial phase for the labour and trade union movement as the left-wing trade unions spearhead the trade union movement in Pakistan, in terms of its expansion in new terrain as well as filling the vacuum that egression of Hindu and Sikh trade union workers and leaders had created.

It argues that the Establishment, right after Pakistan's provenance, had been pursuing such policies, of nation and state building, which allowed no space for alternative vision which Pakistani Left had been presenting. Thus in this sense it takes trade union activism as one of the avenues/ sites of articulation of this vision. Therefore, the Establishment began to perceive threat from this phenomenal growth and expansion of this trade union movement; in the similar stripe it had considered the growth of radical influences in politics, literature and print culture inimical to its interests. Hence, quite understandably, it suppressed the left-wing trade union movement through both direct and indirect ways. This suppression consequently culminated in placement of ban on the Pakistan Trade Unions Federation (PTUF) in July 1954. In order to develop this argument I have drawn on the works of Anushay Malik, Sadia Toor, Talat Ahmed, Kamran Asdar Ali and Taimur Rehman, which present Left as progenitor of alternative visions.

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Apparently, I have addressed a broader theme as the scope, content and period of this paper shows. A cursory look on the major scholarly works of the Labour Movement in Pakistan adequately testifies the broader dimensions of this subject. As the Table 1 shows that the works of K.Mahmudcover the broader area and the works of Z.Shaheeddeal with case studies of few industries in Karachi. A.Malik’s unpublished work makes a micro study of labour movement in Lahore it also provides a larger view of the role of labour movement in the political resistance. The period that this paper deals is relatively critical as it coincides with the phase when the foundations of the labour movement had been laid. It throws light on the activities of trade union, just after Pakistan came into being. It also explains both various aims and key developments during the abovementioned phase. It brings into focus broad trends in the realm of trade unionism as well as responses it elicited. It shows that how the Establishment created hurdles that placed rigorous limitations on thegrowth of trade unionism in the country.

Trade Unions in the Pre-1947 Period

Before presenting the details of trade unionism in Pakistan during 1947-58 it would be useful to provide a brief background of trade unionism in the pre-1947 period. The major industrial centers of Bombay, Ahmadabad, Kanpur and Patna were the nucleus of trade union activities in India. These: All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) and Indian Federation of Labour (IFL), two central organizations which were active in pre-partition India organizing industrial workers. The majority of the stalwart leaders and dynamic workers of trade unions flee for India. They were from the areas which were now part of Pakistan. One third of the workers from the Punjab and Sind left for India. Table 1 shows the number of unions and their membership in different areas.

Table 1: Union Membership in Selected areas in 1946

Federations	Bengal		Sind and Punjab	
	Number of unions	Membership	Number of unions	Membership
All India Trade Union Confederation (AITUC)	112	139000	32	2000
Indian Federation of Labour (IFL)	41	106000	23	95000

Source: Government of India, Central Labour Commissioner Report on the representative character of the AITUC and IFL by S.C Joshi, cited in B.A.Khan, *Trade Unionism and Industrial Relations*, Karachi, 1980, p.124.

The migration of the non-Muslim workers to India created a vacuum of leadership for Pakistani workers. Several dynamic leaders of All India Trade Union Congress left for India.

The partition of India proved a catastrophe for the trade union movement because it weakened the Pakistani branches of the leftist and socialist groups. The people who migrated to India were experienced in the field of labour movement. All they were associated with the left leaning groups of the workers

At the time of partition, there were almost 450,000 industrial workers in Pakistan. Among them one third were organized or semi-organized. While on the other hand there was not any important association or coordinating agency.

Trade Unionism and Workforce in Pakistan on the Eve of Partition

Pakistan lacked a strong industrial base right from its beginning. The North-Western parts of India and the East Bengal had very few industries as the Table 2 shows.

Table 2: Industries and their Numbers

Industry and its Nomenclature	Number of Units
Cotton Mills	16
Sugar Factories	9
Jute Mills	0
Iron and Steel Mills	A small iron factory used to exist in Lahore. Its function was to develop rod iron and many other instruments to be used in farming. Even this small unit in Lahore in a much depilated state.
Engineering Factories	0
Chemical Plants	0
Cement Factories	5
Textiles Mills	14

Another measure of gauging any country's industrial strength was its total electricity production. The situation was gloomy in this area as well. For instance, from the power houses which the country inherited, Pakistan just produced 72,700 KW electricity, out of which East Pakistan's share was 15,600 KW. Rafique Afzal, a scholar of history of Pakistan in one of his works informs "Of 14,677 registered factories Pakistan inherited only 1414 (9.6 percent of the total), out of which 41.2 percent were small scale establishments".

There was no big industrial unit like: Railway workshops, engineering manufacturing equipments and several chemical factories. There were 335 industrial units in East Pakistan at that time. All the big businesses like tea gardens and jute were owned by English men and Marwari Hindus of Calcutta. East Pakistan's economy was entirely dependent upon Calcutta because it was the capital of united Bengal. While on the other hand, it was a biggest port as

well the centre of all trade activities. Ninety percent manufacturing units were within Calcutta.

All these facts and figures show that the country lacked strong industrial base, which was directly related to the workforce that the nascent country's industries employed. For instance, the numerical strength of labour force in India was 31, 42,000 (3.1) million, out of which Pakistan's share was 2, 06, 000, that constituted a meager 6.5 percent. Out of this workforce the share of labourers was even more disproportionate. It ranged 26,000 to 45,000 according to various studies.

By the same token, the number as well as the membership of the trade unions remained enormously low. The population of Pakistan at that time was 32 million. In 1947, there were seventy five (75) registered organizations in Pakistan having members 58,150 and majority of them were in West Pakistan. I have extracted these figures from Karmat Ali's work; whereas Khalid Mahmud in his important work on trade unionism in Pakistan has put these figures as 55. It would be significant to add, on the eve of partition, there were 1725 registered trade unions in the United India which claimed nine lace union members.

As Sardar Shoukat Ali, a well-known Leftist leader and trade unionist wrote

“In Pakistan the bourgeoisie class was very dormant, and was at the mercy of the Government bureaucracy and feudal lords. Within the country, ways and means for capital formation and its movement was very limited and the ripened feudal system was a great obstacle in its growth.”

Two important scholars of Pakistan, K.Asdar Ali and Yunus Samad, on Pakistan's politics and society put it more meticulously,

“The fragmented and low concentration of industrial capital was mirrored by the weakness of organized labour. The growing Pakistan government followed an import substitution model to vigorously industrialize the economy. Within these policy parameters, labour was continuously asked to play its “appropriate and subordinate” role in relation of industrial development.”

Trade Unions and Leadership after Partition

Up till Pakistan's independence, the trade unions had been functioning in the sectors and utilities like Railway, Karachi Port Trust, postal and electricity departments. However, the trade unions had been formed in the other industries all over the country. In addition to these a trade union had been formed in the Batala Engineering Company (BECO). Batala Engineering Company (BECO) was established following the division of India.

The establishment of the Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF), proved a turning point in the history of trade unionism in the post-Colonial Pakistan. Several leftist trade unions were its member. Primarily the activities of the PTUF revolved around West-Pakistan, and it gave a new impetus to the trade union movement, bringing coherence in its activities

It was established on January 14, 1948, in a conference held in Lahore in which fifty representatives of various leftist organizations of Punjab and NWFP participated. Mirza Mohammad Ibrahim was elected president of PTUF. He was a veteran and radical leader in Pakistan. , While on other hand he was also president of North Western Railway Workers Union of Pakistan. Faiz Ahmad Faiz, (a well-known Urdu poet) and Dr.Abdul Malik, trade unionists were elected as its Vice President and General Secretary respectively. A.Mailk left this Union a year later, and Afzal Khan replaced him as the Secretary General. Its other renowned leaders included Dada Amir Haider Khan, F.D.Mansur, Fazl Elahi Qurban, and Sobo Gian Chandani. We can further add the names of Comrade Lal Khan, Sardar Shoukat Ali, and C.R.Asalam in this list. Its headquarter was established in Lahore.

PTUF played an important role in galvanizing the workers of all sections of Pakistan. It also focused on the trade union movement of Pakistan from 1948 to 1954. It strived to mobilize the workforce by rising class vigilance and tried to educate them for the mobilization workers

A significant sign of its mounting influence was the growing number of its associated labour organizations. According to M.Afzal, its Secretary General, the number of its allied organizations had risen to 67 in 1950 ,whereas Anwar Ali, the DIG , C.I.D Punjab prepared a detail report about the actions of the Communist party in West Pakistan provided a list of 36 associated unions, the majority of them belonged to Punjab.

Throughout this period the communists were at the forefront of working class and through there continuous struggle they formed a greater harmony among the trade unions working on all Pakistan bases. In September 1950, a broad coalition of trade union organizations was formed. It was All Pakistan Confederation of Labour. These three major workers organizations, PTUF, East Pakistan Federation of Labour (EPFL) and West Pakistan Federation of Labour (WPFL), become the part of this alliance. The government gave it official recognition. M.A.Khtaib elected its president. While on the other hand Faiz Ahmed Faiz appointed as its General Secretary. However, the Leftists could not remain with this alliance for long as it became increasingly inclined to the Establishment. However, it

functioned as loose confederation of three organizations, the All Pakistan Confederation of Labour (APCOL) and its affiliates and the EPFL and WPFL, the latter two alliances of labour unions were apparently its constituents, put practically to function independently.

It would be useful to show the important developments in the trade unionism between 1948 and 1954 in a tabular form. As table 3 highlighted the background and scope of trade union activities. I will narrow my focus to left wing trade union activism and highlight its major dimensions.

Table 3: Showing the Major Trade Unions in the United Pakistan between 1947--1954

Trade union's Name/Nomenclature	Year of Establishment	Political/Ideological Inclination	International Affiliation
Pakistan Trade Union Federation (P.T.U.F.)	1948	Left-wing/ Communist Party/ Azad Pakistan Party	Prague-based World Federation of Trade Unions
East Pakistan Federation of Labour (EPFL)	1948	Left-wing/Socialist Initially communists were part of it, but they left it developing certain differences in 1948.However, the Union continued to embrace socialist creed.	
West Pakistan Federation of Labour (WPFL)	1947	Reformist/pro-Establishment	
All Pakistan Confederation of labour (APCOL)	1950	Reformist/ It gained official recognition	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICTUF).
Punjab Labour League (PLL)	1951	Reformist/ Pakistan Muslim League	
Pakistan Mazdoor Federation	1951	Initially represented eclectic left-wing influences. But right from its inception treaded on the path of reformism. The Establishment used it to contain PTUF's influence	
Other Independent Organizations which were locally organized. All Pakistan Telephone and Telegraph Union ,Petroleum Workers Union, and Naval Transport Workers Union.		They followed varied programmes	
Central Labour Federation of Pakistan	c.1951—1952	Reformist/Muslim League	

Left-wing Trade Union Activism 1947--1954

Left-wing Trade Union Activism: Its Major domains

Since its formation it took more radical stance than any other federations and in its opening meeting it decided to observe the first day of February as "Demands Day". The day was observed in West Pakistan alone as a result of the processions and mass meetings which took place all over the country. The Management and the establishment got apprehensive of these protests and about the mounting status of labourers struggle and they used tyrannical means to control the activities of radical workers. While on the other hand several prominent leaders of P.T.U.F. were detained without any prior arrest warrants. The textile workers played a pivotal in the strikes of 1948. They were at the forefront of these strikes. The figures of this year show that their share in the overall workers' strikes was 78 %. In 1949 and 1950, there was a discernable decrease in the number of strikes. It happened because many of the workers leaders were in jail. During this period, intellectuals, and students took an active part in these strikes. In 1950, a meeting of PTUF was held. In this meeting the foreign policy of Pakistan was criticized, and the labour union leaders asked to raise their voice against inflation. It is said that by 1950, 67 unions were in the circle of P.T.U.F. Eighty thousand workers were with them. It is also said 2.5 to three million workers were under its influence. Pakistan Trade Union Federation attracts many workers from the sections of Pakistan Federation of Labour (PFL). They joined the P.T.U.F and became its members.

I have divided the left- wing trade union activities into three broad categories: (i) First organizations that work within the government institutions; (ii) Second the left wing trade unionism in the non-governmental industrial sectors (iii) third, in which the subaltern working peoples were involved. The leftists were with these working classes and trained them for their rights. In the first sphere we can include the state's institutions and utilities such as Railways, Postal Department, Mint, Department of Transport, Irrigation and Planning and Works and Military Engineering Services (M.E.S) in the cities of Punjab like, Lahore, Lyallpur and Rawalpindi. Among these trade unions the leftists had gained full control over the North Western Railway Workers union. Railway was the largest repository of labour force in the urban areas.

The leftist trade unionists were in the forefront of the trade union activities of Bata and Service Shoe factories, Batala Engineering Company (BECO), Mela Ram Cotton Mills Lahore and Textile Mills Okara. The leftists' trade union organizations also developed their influence in the textile and sports industries of growing industrial cities of central Punjab such as Lyallpur and Sialkot.

The following unions were formed among the sweepers, laundry men and Tonga Drivers by the leftists to mobilize the subaltern workers. The trade unions of sweepers of Lahore, Sialkot and Mianwali were affiliated with Pakistan Trade Union Federation. Subalterns are generally considered as isolated and destitute community on account of their marginalized status. One can distinguish them from the other segments of society on the basis of their experiences of subalternity. However, the subalterns were working all over the Pakistan in every sphere of life.

However considering the leftist involvement in the trade unionism of subalterns I have divided them into two categories. First, such labourers the subaltern workers belonging to the menial occupations or those jobs which were not considered socially respectable or had less nuisance value in society and the second, subalterns workers linked with industries as the semi-skilled or un-skilled labourers or associated with the lower rungs of the supervisory machinery in the government departments. The leftist trade unionists established unions in several such departments where the lower rungs were working. Comrade Sandhe Khan (1897-1986) was the chief planner of the Tonga Driver Union in Lahore since their restoration in late 1930s. In 1950, he did a big job for widening the span of this union. He established its branches in the different big cities of Punjab. He was also founder of the Hotel and Tandoor Association in Lahore. He served as its General Secretary; its president was Sardar Muhammad Alam Khan, who was the proprietor of Delhi Muslim Hotel Lahore, which was located in Old Anarkali. The purpose of this union was to provide legal protection to the Tandoor owners. Another goal of this union was that the people get sugar and flour on cheaper rates.

Major Issues

The primary focus of the radical and leftists organizations was to provide the better working facilities at the work place. This struggle for those workers who were belongs to the lower rungs of the manufacturing establishments. To achieve these goals for the betterment of the workers they adopted a strategy. These strategies have been mentioned clearly in the PTUF's constitution. As it declared by the PTUF, "The P.T.U.F will adopt all the peaceful and democratic methods including legal action, persuasion, propaganda, meetings, negotiations, demonstrations and as a last resort strike or such acts as the P.T.U.F may suggest time to time". More significantly, the leftist trade unions particularly the NWR workers' trade union, tried to mobilize the labourers, on the issues about their day to day

lives, like low wages, price hike and black marketing, through its action oriented initiatives such as holding of rallies and demonstrations.

The PTUF's constitution stated the key aims and objectives of the Union as, the nationalization of "industrial sources, production and transport". It pledged to make efforts for the betterment of socio-economic conditions of the working class, as well as the fortification and endorsement of their privileges and wellbeing. It further pledged to defend the basic rights of the workers such as "freedom of speech, pen, association, assembly, strike, work and right of subsistence for workers". The desire to support other sister unions was also expressed. It reminds of the aims of securing "equal treatment irrespective of religion, class and nationality". That is why since the division a large numbers of Mazdoor unions were acknowledged all over the province.

Strategy/Activism

More significantly, the leftist trade unions primarily the NWR workers trade union, tried to mobilize the labourers, on the issues concerning their day to day lives, like low wages, price hike and black marketing, through its action oriented initiatives such as holding of rallies and demonstrations. Their awareness was reinforced through the slogans of '*Roti, Kapra Aur Makan*' (Bread, Clothing and Housing). It was the catchphrase which Pakistan People's Party adopted in 1967 since its inception.

Pakistan Trade Union Federation held a conference in April 1950, in Lahore. Labour leaders and workers took part in this conference, while on the other hand World Federation of Trade Unions represented by Mr. Thornton, who was the chief of the communist dominated labour organization of Australia. Thornton addressed the conference outside Mochi Gate.

Anwar Ali's report also mentions PTUF's links with communist dominated labour federations in Paris, Prague, Moscow and Peking; it pin points the visits of two international delegates during early 1950s. While referring to the visit of Mr. Thornton, the chief of labour organization of Australia, which was known for its communist leadings, he provides details about his visit and his contribution and speech in labour conference organized by PTUF at Mochi Gate Lahore in April 1950. He also mentions the visit of T.F. Mcwhinnic, spokesperson of Paris Trade Union Federation to Lahore, and how the CPP had arranged demonstrations, and appointed a woman and other Railway workers for his reception", and how he observed these demonstrations during a Tonga ride. Anwar Ali also underscores that these links were established at reciprocal basis as they were further commented with the visit of Mazhar Ali and Tahira Mazher Ali to Prague 'on invitation'. The leadership of these trade

unions played an efficient role in providing legal and moral support to their activists in their struggle for labour rights.

It was the period when the left-wing trade unions led a number of strikes in Lahore, Karachi, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi and Okara. They adopted the strike movement as a proactive strategy to press for their demands. The Table 4 shows the increasing influence of Leftist trade unions over the labourers.

Table 4: The Number of Industrial strikes organized in the West Pakistan between 1947 and 1950

Year	Number of Strikes	Number of Strikers	Number of working days Lost
1947	24	14,206	16,989
1948	57	36,231	135,580
1949	72	44,582	101,723
1950	32	16,836	83,164

Source: S.Hussain, *Pakistan Economics*, Karachi, 1950, p.101

The Table 4 shows that there were fewer strikes in 1950. One can attribute it to a number of factors. For instance the country's economic state of affairs stabilized temporarily due to Liaquat Ali Khan decision not to devalue currency in line with decision of the other countries in the Common Wealth as well as the Korean boom, which brought down cost of living temporarily, as well as led to a minor increase in the wages of workers. But similarly important was the fact, the government had put the main labour leaders in jail.

The following associations, All Pakistan Progressive Writers Association (APPWA), Peace Committee and the Civil Liberties Union were the part and parcel CPP. In this regards these years, were very important because the labour movement worked in close collaboration with the aforementioned associations. The latter two organizations were left-wing organizations which were established to muster support of the civil society for the causes of world peace and civil liberties, in 1949 and 1950. Thus we find greater collaboration between intellectuals and labourers in the struggle for democratic and political rights. This phase was very important because the CPP had been pursuing the strategy of using labourers as the main agency of bringing revolution in Pakistan.

Since the early 1950's the P.T.U.F had developed critical standpoint on Pakistan's foreign policy and between 1951 and 1953 it participated in a number of political demonstrations against Pakistan's Establishments' growing economic reliance upon the Anglo-American bloc and the latter's intrusive role in formulation of Pakistan's foreign and

defense policies. These demonstrations were mainly held in major cities like Karachi, Lahore, and Lyallpur.

Labour Movement and Establishment

The ruling elite of the country was afraid of growing political activities of labourers and in response they started a new wave of intimidation against the workers. In the early 1950s numerous labour leaders were arrested and put behind the bars. The following table shows the growth of trade unionism both in terms of increase in number of trade unions and as well as increase in membership figures between 1947 -1954.

Year	Number of Unions	Membership
Dec. 1947	55	58150
1948	150	109720
1949	181	157246
1950	251	137800
1951	209	393137
1952	352	394923
1953	394	424563
1954	382	410755

Source: B.A.Khan, *Trade unionism and Industrial Relations*, p.26.

The growing popularity of the leftist trade unionism made the government unnerved, and it began to perceive threat from other leftist trade unions of the Punjab. Anwar Ali, labels it as a “powerful instrument of mischief”. His judgment about PTUF clearly shows his cynicism against a labour alliance. The mention of Mirza Ibrahim and the PTUF’s activities in Punjab, in the de-classified documents of US state department in the 1950’s, confirm the fact that, US diplomatic officials in Pakistan had been keeping the labour movement under strict vigilance. One can argue that both the establishment and US diplomatic officials shared same skepticism against the labour movement which had increasingly come under the influence of the left. Thus the clique of Establishment, under these influences left no stone unturned to control the left-wing trade unionism in Punjab.

Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim was detained under the Public Safety Act on 15 February 1948. This led to strong protests by the railway workers and on 16 and 17 February about 20,000 workers of the Mughalpura Railway Workshop went on token strike. Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim remained incarcerated for three years.

Besides targeting Mirza Ibrahim, it resorted to an organized attack to weaken the movement. They arrested all the active trade union workers in the province including Faiz Ahmed Faiz. They filed false cases against all these workers and put them behind the bars. Dada Amir

Haider is one of the examples. During 1947-58, State institutions, including police and secret agencies, frequently used coercive laws to arrest radical workers and trade unionist. Law enforcing agencies made frequent use of Public Safety Act, as an effective instrument, to stifle the leftist dissent and the escalating radical influence over trade unions.

To prevent the growing influence of labor movement in Punjab, the state used a counterfeit weapon. They used the following methods to overcome the impact of workers. They fired the workers without assigning any reason. For this purpose they used: First, the Disciplinary Action against the trade union activist in the form of their dismissal from their jobs. In this way they disturb the workers and increase their financial problems. Thus they used to think that they would stop the workers from their lives. Secondly they favoured the rightists trade unions give them financial support to weakened the communist one. Thus the state utilizes the whole power to press the revolutionary workers movement in the country. Despite these difficulties, the revolutionary workers movements achieved their goals and force the government to fulfill their demands.

The Establishment finally, took an extremely controversial move to place ban on the PTUF. As it imposed ban on it on 24 July 1954, by describing it as one of the CPP's front organizations. The same day the CPP was also banned, along with 14 other affiliated organizations.

Trade Unionism in the post-1954 period up till 1958

Up to this point I have discussed the nature and dimensions of trade unionism in Pakistan till 1954. This section I will shed light on major trends in trade unionism during 1954-58. The placement of ban on the PTUF was a severe blow to the cause of trade unionism in Pakistan. It created a big vacuum in the realm of labourers' struggle for their basic and legal rights. Though the communists and their supporters tried to regroup and allied themselves under the banner of United Trade Union Federation. This trade union was established in 1956, and its head quarter was located in Karachi. It made a claim of affiliation with seventeen trade unions. Its leadership further claimed that 15,000 members had joined their trade union. However, the Establishment did not give this organization, like its precursor, sufficient room to maneuver, and it met the same fate. There were 635 registered trade unions having collective membership of 3,766,000 up till 1958.

The APCOL amended its program to remove the clause that called for constitution on "cooperation with political parties and establishment of a socialist society", through a constitutional amendment.

Though during 1955--1958 there was significant increase in the number of trade unions,

Table 6: Numbers of Trade Unions and their Members between 1955 and 1958

Year	No of Trade Unions	Members
1954	382	410755
1955	974	325610
1956	524	316642
1957	611	366317
1958	621	337064

Source: B.A.Khan, *Trade Unionism and Industrial Relations in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1980

One can read this increase in both ways. For instance we can argue that the consciousness for the workers' rights was fostered by the PTUF. Thus, it eventually had set the pace of establishment of the new trade unions, as the trade unionists explored the promising new avenues which were opened up as a result of expansion in the process of industrialization. But on the other hand decline in the overall membership of the trade unions points towards the fact that a large number of bogus and pocket unions had also been established. This Table 7 provides its clearer picture.

Table 7: Fall in Membership of Trade Unions

Year	No of Trade Unions	Members
1955	474	325610
1956	524	316642
1957	611	366317
1958		337064

Source: B.A. Khan, *Trade Unionism and Industrial Relations*, p.26

The way in which the Establishment had been suppressing the left-wing trade unionism is clearly evident from substantial decline in the membership of the Railway Workers Union which was considered as the most powerful trade union in the country in the early years after partition.

Table8: Decrease in Numbers of Unions and fall in Membership of the Railway Trade Unions between 1947-1960

Year	No of Unions	Membership	Total Members
1948-49	20	71,038	157,246
1951-52	12	53,119	129,408
1959-1960	12	4,384	51,370

Source: B.A.Khan, *Trade unionism and Industrial Relations*, p.26.

Division within trade union was another important factor that negatively impacted the labour movement. On the eve of partition there were two groups i.e. leftists and non-Marxist socialists the later were the followers of Mubarak Sagar. In addition to these there were pro-Muslim league elements called reformist and we see that the non-Marxist socialist and reformist acted under the influence of establishment against the left. They considered the struggle of the workers for the revolutionary change in the existing system. While the second group called themselves reformists. They wanted to struggle to bring change within the prevailing system. Both the "reformists" and "radical" groups were prominent in the trade union activities soon after 1947. The workers of the following departments and industries like railway, post, seaport, textile, and airport and in some cases cement factories were very vibrant in the trade unions.

There were very strong trade union currents among the workers of railway, post, seaport, textile, and airport and in some cases cement factories. Clashes erupted among the trade union movement due to international affiliations in 1949. This conflict led to the division of the movement. Four new federations were established two in West Pakistan and two in East Pakistan. In 1950 Abdul Malik formed the All Pakistan Confederation of Labour (APCOL) by the amalgamation of the Labour Federation of West Pakistan and one of the East Pakistan federations.

This conflict among the workers movement proved harmful for the rights of the working class. Despite this frustration, the labor movement continued and succeeded owing to the collective political environment of the country.

After independence, the AITUC's successor renamed itself as Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF) and became an associate of World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU). The IFL's progeny in Pakistan organized itself as Pakistan Labour Federation (PLF), afterward renamed as All Pakistan Federation of Labour (APFOL). The APFOL associated itself with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICTUF) in 1951.

Anwer Ali, who was an antagonist of the communists in Punjab, while comparing the leftist trade unions with the rights' rivals, affirms that, "A number of competitor organizations exist but they work in a desultory manner and their bodies lack the audor and zeal of the communists."

Pakistan Trade Union Federation was associated with International Trade Union Federations. This association created angst among the workers of this federation and leaders. This discontent was raised on ideological grounds. Some workers support this alliance while the other section of the P.T.U.F opposed it. This conflict of the workers divided the P.T.U.F

into two parts. Pakistan Workers Federation (P.W.F) was formed under the auspices of Socialist Party. The workers elected Khawaja M.Hussain its President and Malik Qurban as General Secretary. The majority of the members of this federation were from railway and textile trade unions. The Federation was strengthened from the textile and railway Trade Unions which became its members. The officials of this federation affirm that 10 % organised workers from different industries were its members in 1957.

So in this way the communist workers organizations lost their harmony. Since then they never met together on the same plate form for the same cause of workers welfare. P.T.U.F member of World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) lost its membership. Both the newly conventional organizations were not associate any internationally Organization until 1958.

Conclusion

In this paper we provided a broad over view of the significant developments in the histories of trade unionism in the West Pakistan and laid particular emphasis on the left-wing trade unionism, which the originations like the Railways Workers Union and the PTUF spearheaded. This historical overview shows that the left-wing trade unions had succeeded in organizing a strong trade union movement in Pakistan. It is evident from the fact that in the period between 1947 and 1951 the membership of trade unions showed an increase of 650 percent. By 1951, 209 trade unions had been established in the country and 393,137 workers had joined the trade unions. We further showed that, though the trade unionists faced extremely unfavorable circumstances from 1948 onward, nevertheless the trade union movement continued to flourish till July 1954, the period when the Establishment had allowed the PTUF to survive, albeit in very stressful circumstances.

Whereas, these trade union organizations were very strong and dynamic all over the Pakistan. In 1954 there were 252,000 (two lakh and fifty two thousand) workers who were the members of trade union organizations, relatively two times bigger than in 1948.

One can highlight a number of other factors which further facilitated the proactive role the left-wing trade unions played during the preliminary phase of the trade union movement in Pakistan. For instance, leadership of these trade unions comprised both the educated bourgeoisie, and local leadership that the workers provided. The left-wing intellectuals like Faiz Ahmed Faiz, C.R.Asalam, Shaukat Ali, Eric Cyprian and many others guided the locals through their outside participation as long as the Establishment allowed them till 1959. They not only held responsible positions in the trade unions but also extended

their intellectual and moral support in a number of ways. They helped the semi-illiterate workers in drafting the explanations and providing replies to the warning notices which the workers received on account of their participation in the trade union activities. Similarly, they provided legal assistance to the trade unionists in cases where the Establishment or the management of their respective industries had initiated legal action against the workers.

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Teaching Parts of Speech through Literature: An Experiment

Tahir Mehmood¹

Abstract

It is a study of the parts of speech through literature which are influential for the achievement of the students. For this purpose, an experiment was conducted to find out the difference between control group and experimental group. In this study selected the control group and experimental group of 8th class in HITEC Boys High School Taxilla Cantt on the basis of pre-test. The control group was treated as usual after pre-test and experimental group was treated through literature. After delivering the model lessons, a post-test was conducted from two groups. The post test was developed for the collection of data for this study. It was consisted of forty items i.e. MCQs, true false, fill in the blanks' and matching items ten items of each types. The test covered the first five parts of speech and eight items of each type was included. T-test technique was used for testing the significance of the statements at $\alpha = .05$ significance level. Result of the post test was compared in order to identify findings draw conclusions and suggest recommendations. Bar chart was used for the comparison of the control group and experimental group.

Key Words: Parts of speech, literature, experimental group ...

Introduction

It is said that the study of literature 'begins in delight and ends in wisdom' and it is true for an EFL / ESL, students of English as it is for native speakers. Over the last few years use of new methodologies and technologies have effective role in teaching in the modern era. Traditional and typical methods are no more in use, so different techniques and material are used to exploit students' response especially in teaching of English grammar. Since last decade the role of literature has increased in language class whereas it was considered as useless. But now as the pendulum has swung the other way, literature is considered as an integral part of any language-teaching program.

The inclusion of literature in language teaching, for example, can bring a fresh breeze into the dry and mechanical task of language learning. Grammar teaching is a tedious and boring job and a fairly long process. Literature can make grammar teaching enjoyable because it does not provide a genuine text only but it also gives pleasure by engaging emotions. Therefore it motivates and stimulates the language learner.

In concrete terms, many of the writers suggest that it would improve linguistic awareness and grasp of the mother tongue. The struggle for accuracy in grammar and idiom would help to form enduring habits of careful thought. As another view, English is important as we have so often called it a window to the outside world. Report of Sharif commission

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stressed the importance of English in Pakistan. It emphasized and accepted the status of English as one of the world's richest languages in respect to the vocation, which had a rich literature and good facilities to ensure speed in reporting the results of scientific and other researches (GoP, 1959).

In the view of above discussion it can be safely concluded that study of literature and study of language can be mutually supportive. Literature is an ally to language teaching and not hostile as it is generally assumed. Different styles, forms, conventions, structures, constructions can be taught with the help of literary text. Another important reason for using literary text for the teaching language skills is to highlight the significances of literature. The research emphasizes on the point that the literary text can be used to teach language skills. Therefore, it is appropriate to conclude that a literary text is the best vehicle of teaching language skills. Students can enhance their grammatical compatibility through reading novel in the language class. As 'parts of speech' are major items in English language so novel will be used to teach parts of speech

Statement of the Problem

Grammar is considered as a dry and boring component of the English subject. That's why most of the teachers and students are not taking interest in learning and teaching grammar. Especially in Pakistan where Grammar Translation Method (GTM) is frequently used in classroom whereas other methods are not appreciated. So, the teaching parts of speech through literature are studied at elementary level.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study were as under:

1. To teach parts of speech through literature at elementary level
2. To identify parts of speech while reading literature at elementary level
3. To compare methods of teaching parts of speech with literature and without literature at elementary level

Hypothesis of the Study

The null hypothesis are given following;

- H₀₁ There is no significant difference teaching parts of speech (noun) through literature and without literature.
- H₀₂ There is no significant difference teaching parts of speech (pronoun) through literature and without literature.
- H₀₃ There is no significant difference teaching parts of speech (adjective) through literature and without literature.
- H₀₄ There is no significant difference teaching parts of speech (verb) through literature and without literature.

H₀₅ There is no significant difference teaching parts of speech (adverb) through literature and without literature.

H₀₆ There is no significant difference teaching parts of speech through literature and without literature

Significance of the Research

This study would invoke a spirit in the authorities running the schools to work in better way, hence improving especially the academic quality of the students. The more the institution improves, the more would be added to nation- building through education. The study will be very much important and useful for the English teachers as well as heads of the schools.

Delimitations

Keeping in view the constraints in term of finance and time, the study was delimited to:

1. First five kinds of part of speech i.e. Noun, Pronoun, Adjective, Verb and Adverb
2. Students of 8th class
3. Famous novel 'David Copperfield' by Charles Dicken

Research Methodology

This research is an experimental research. Experimental research is commonly used in applied sciences but now a day it is equally considered as useful social sciences in language class room as well.

Population of the Study

The population of the research was taken from all 200 students of class 8th in HITEC Boys High School Taxilla Cantt.

Sample of the Study

The sample of this research was 50 students of 8th class in HITEC Boys High School Taxilla Cantt.

Research Instrument

A test was developed as research instrument for the research. Pre test and Post test were conducted from. The test was consisted of forty items, covering first five parts of speech. i. e. noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, and adverb. Pre-test and post-test were conducted from students.

Data Collection

Data were collected through pre test and post test. The tests were arranged to the control and experimental groups. The data were collected from these tests and coded the data for analysis.

Data Analysis

The data collected on each item of the pre test and post test were categorized.

Review of the Related Literature

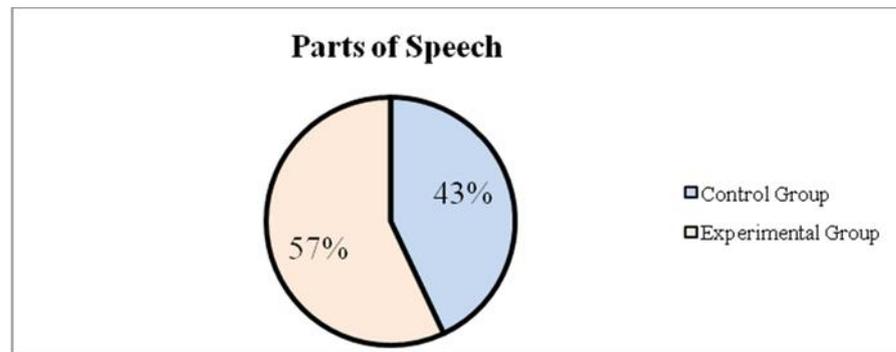
The research entitled “Teaching Parts of Speech through Literature at Elementary Level” is a study of the parts of speech through literature which are influential for the achievement of the students.

1. According to Pound the Great literature is simply language charged with meaning to the utmost possible degree (Ezra Pound, How to Read, Part-1).
2. Broughton et al (1987) say in the allocation of the label ‘great literature’ to a literary work we cannot be making a judgment which is objective or factual
3. The teachers and professors who have the power to decide which books make up an English Literature syllabus reflects in their choices, and in the knowledge of the literature which they purvey, a fundamental structure of beliefs and interests which reflect the particular culture or section of society into which they were born and in which they grew up (Broughton, et al, 1987).
4. Literature is the best source of information about any age. If one wants to know about a language one has no other source but the literature of that language (Bloomfield, 1996).
5. According to Varghese, Every language has its grammar. Whether it is one’s own mother tongue or a second-language that one is learning, the grammar of the language is important (Varghese, 1990).
6. Picking up grammar from ordinary conversation is an attractive idea, but I don’t know of any method that relies solely on acquisition in its pure form for the imparting of structural control.
7. Gowada (1982) says about importance of English, what we need to restore is the teaching of correct English as the essential craft through which all writing whether creative or not must be expressed. Children do need to learn the basic rules of grammar as well as what is regarded as good practice.
8. Obediat (1997) points out that ‘Observation of my students has confirmed Salih’s findings. My students tend to agree that literature helps them acquire a native like competence in English, express their ideas in good.
9. English Hall (1968) in his essay on language tells us that language is the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral auditory arbitrary symbols.

10. Brooks (1969) expresses it, the study of culture is intimately related to both language and literature, to the former for ultimate meaning and to the latter for ultimate significance as a human art.
11. Finally, literature offers a special depth to language learning (Gregg & Pacheco, 1981), (Hargreaves, 1969), (Shumaker, 1975). Newton (1985) explains, one possible source of depth in language learning is literature.

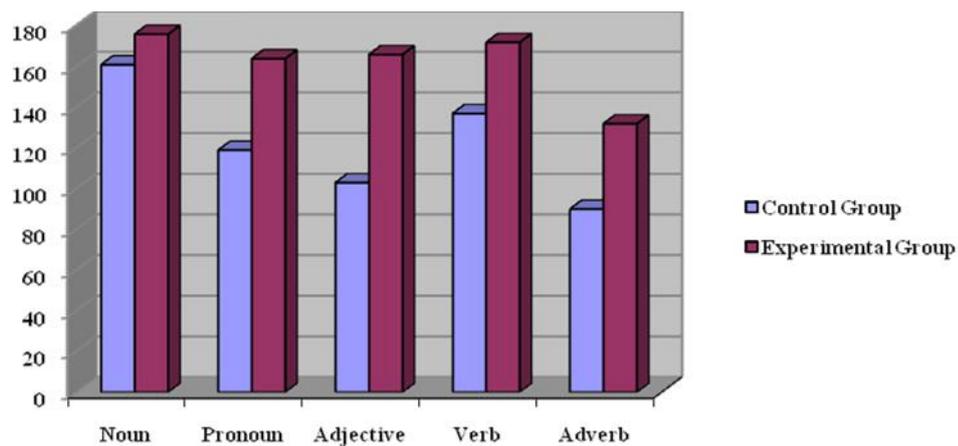
Analysis of Data

Graph 1 Pie Chart of Parts of Speech



The graph shows percentage of control group is 43% whereas the result of experimental group is 57%. This result shows that there is an improvement in experimental group in the terms of parts of speech.

Graph 2 Bar Chart of Parts of Speech



This bar graph shows over all comparison between two groups i.e. control group and experimental group. Through graph it is concluded that students of experimental group performed better than control group. There is significance improvement in all parts of speech which were taught through literature.

Findings

On the basis of data analysis, the findings of the research were as under:

1. There was 48% value of control group whereas the value of experimental group was 52%. This result shows that there is an improvement in experimental group in the terms of noun through literature.
2. There was 42% value of control group whereas the value of experimental group was 58%. This result shows that there is an improvement in experimental group in the terms of pronoun through literature.
3. There was 38% value of control group whereas the value of experimental group was 62%. This result shows that there is an improvement in experimental group in the terms of adjective through literature.
4. There was 44% value of control group whereas the value of experimental group was 56%. This result shows that there is an improvement in experimental group in the terms of verb through literature .
5. There was 41% value of control group whereas the value of experimental group was 59%. This result shows that there is an improvement in experimental group in the terms of adverb through literature.
6. There was 43% value of control group whereas the value of experimental group was 57%. This result shows that there is an improvement in experimental group in the terms of parts of speech through literature.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn on the basis of the findings of the research:

1. Experimental group was showing slightly good performance to identify the noun of the student.
2. Experimental group was showing a difference about the performance the student to identify the pronoun.
3. Experimental group was showing big difference to identify the adjective of the student.
4. Experimental group was showing a good performance to identify the student about verb.
5. Experimental group was showing well performance to identify the student about the adverb.
6. Experimental group was showing an improvement in learning of parts of speech.

Recommendations

The following recommendations were drawn on the basis of the findings, review of related literature and observations made by researcher during this study; these may be helpful to teach parts of speech through literature.

1. The literature is useful for learning of the parts of speech.

2. The novels are interesting for the young students of the elementary levels.
3. The literature increases the information as well as vocabulary of the students.
4. The literature enhances the ability of the students so it must be part of their curriculum.

Further Area for Researches

More researches can be conducted on the Teaching Parts of Speech through Literature in English Language Classroom at Elementary Level of Students.

1. The present study was confined to the elementary classes. Similarly study can be conducted on the other levels i.e. primary and high section.
2. The present study may be extended to the next parts of speech i.e. preposition, conjunctions, interjection and articles.
3. The present study may be extended to the other grammatical terms for examples tenses etc.

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Socio-Economic Conditions of Child Beggars in Gujranwala: An Exploratory Study

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Abstract

Child beggary is a worldwide phenomenon which is a serious social problem on one hand and is depriving the personality grooming, social status of beggars on the other. The present research paper focuses on the prevailing socio-economic conditions of the child beggars in Gujranwala city. Child beggars are the beggars of under 18. For exploring these socio-economic conditions, a cross-sectional research design was used. Quantitative data was collected. Well-structured interview schedule was used for data collection. In the present study, accidental sampling method from non-probability sampling techniques was used. Total sample size was 150 respondents. The study found that majority of the respondents (71 %) were migrated from/ born in some urban areas but at present, less than two third (64%) of the respondents were living in the city. The study found that more than one half (59%) of the respondents had no access to school. It was recorded that little less than two third (64%) earns 10,000-20,000 rupees per month. The study found that more than one third (36%) of the respondents had paka house whereas less than one third (31%) had kacha house.

Key Words: Beggary, child beggars, socio-economic conditions, living conditions, CRC.

Introduction

The problem of begging is a universal phenomenon which cannot be specified to any country. "People engaged in begging are known as beggars. A beggar is known to be an individual such as children, elderly, disabled people, and families who normally beg in the public spaces such as shopping areas, banks, public offices, churches, mosques, busy streets, markets, among others" (Adugna,2006).To beg" is to simply ask people for money, food, clothes etc. as a gift or charity [(Oxford Advanced Learners" Dictionary.2001, Jelili, 2006) Jelili conceptualizes begging to involve not only individuals but organizations or countries (Jelili,2006) The situation in our country is appreciated with different categories of beggars found at motor park, religious, worship centers, markets, road junctions, venue of ceremonies and worst still on the campuses. The simplest way of defining begging is to ask for money without any return of services (Fitzpatrick & Kennedy 2000). In accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) "a child is defined as a boy or girl less than 18 years old (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child ,1989). So all those persons, under 18, who ask for money in terms of charity form others are called child beggars.

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According to Baker, Panter-Brick and Todd (1997) explaining the family problems like alcoholism, mental, physical and sexual abuses, or neglect etc. all these things have bad effects on their mind and motivates to children for leaving home. Similarly, economic reasons, excessive workloads, family stress and a desire for independence, most of the boys leave home before the age of 18 it has also be a reason (Baker , Panter-Brick & Todd, 1997).Child beggars are found in public places such as transport routes, urban parks and near busy markets. Some children start begging or working on the street and returning home at night eventually leave home to live on the street (UNICEF Report,2009).The rapid pace of urbanization deprives up to a billion people of adequate shelter and basic services, forcing them to live in crowded and unhealthy conditions. The financial crisis, political decisions and natural disasters have caused a setback (IREWOC, 2009).

This implies that begging is not peculiar to individuals, but also organizations or countries. For the latter group, it is conceptualized here as “corporate begging”; and it is made to include seeking for charity by organizations or grants or debts cancellation by richer organizations or nations to poorer organizations or nations. The former category, which is the concern of this study, is synonymous with street and house-to-house begging; it borders around such issues or related concepts as “panhandling” “mendicancy” and “vagrancy” which characterize city beggars. This conceptualization would not only capture the image of the begging and beggars in question, but also reflect their implications for the city’s physical and socio-economic environment.

Begging is a global phenomenon which is not only found in our society alone but also found everywhere, in both developed and developing countries. But the alarming situation is in developing countries like Pakistan India among others. Beggars are the poorest of the poor and the most disadvantageous section of the society, living in such a deprived condition that they are even unable to fulfill their basic needs of life (food, shelter, health and protection). They are found in front of the mosques, restaurants, markets, parks, hospitals, religious shrines, tourist places, street corners, and cinemas. It is a social problem that is noticeable in almost every urban area of developing countries. Although the problem of begging is a worldwide phenomenon, it is more pronounced in third-world countries. In many urban areas, child beggars are found everywhere in public spaces like stations, restaurants, hospitals, markets, mosques, churches, etc.

Sometimes poor people from villages come to towns and cities to beg. They do so because of shortage of food etc. So they are forced to leave their homes. They are temporary beggars. Many people who are unemployed are forced to beg. The government must take

serious action against professional beggars. Those who are able-bodied must be made to work and earn honest living. The crippled and the old should be confined to poor houses. It is the duty of the government and the well to do to reform society (World Bank , 2000).

Most children who leave home to live on the streets come from slums or low cost housing, both which is areas of high illiteracy, drug use, and unemployment. Children usually transfer their lives to the streets through a gradual process; they may at first only stay on the street a night or two. Gradually they will spend more time away from home until they do not return.

To the arena of the development of children, of whom, street children are one category who is becoming visible day by day. Every year, millions of children are pulled into life on the street by economic need, problems at home, commercial exploitation, or poor access to schools. The majority of these street-based children are unprotected and sometimes working children who are highly vulnerable to exploitation. Their lives on the streets leave them with few opportunities to form emotional connections to caring adults, or to develop the social abilities, education, or job skills necessary to rejoin society and lead productive and meaningful lives (De Benitez, 2001). It has been estimated that more than 100 million street and working children around the world are struggling to survive under harsh and often exploitative conditions (De Benitez, 2001).

Begging destroys the future of these children because they are learning dependence rather than to be independent from childhood. The child beggars are a distinct category of the street children who are most deprived even with the basic needs and struggle to survive in different places across the globe. These children are particularly the vulnerable group; where a child is prone to abuse, deprivation of basic needs, care and protection continuing a miserable lower class life (CUBS, 2010).

The child beggars in Bangladesh have been recognized by many literatures as such a category of the street children who lack the proper requirements of life and they are tagged as 'severely deprived' children. These severe deprivation can be found with their not having the adequate services in the provision of shelter, sanitation, water, information, nutrition, education, and health etc. At policy and program levels, there is little provision for providing shelter facilities to poor, homeless households, or children living on the streets and this picture are reflected also in the other provision of life requirements for the street children and more specifically the child beggars (Black, 1996).

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. In 1948, the UN General Assembly passed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations

General Assembly, 1948), which referred in article 25 to childhood as entitled to "special care and assistance" In 1959 the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly, 1959) , which recognized rights such as freedom from discrimination and the right to a name and a nationality. It also specifically enshrined children's rights to education, health, care and special protection (Rai, 2000)(Kolosoov,2002) Tripathi, S. C& Arora, Vibha ,2010).

In the developing world more than one in three children does not have adequate shelter, one in five children do not have access to safe water, and one in seven has no access whatsoever to essential health services. Over 16 per cent of children under five lack adequate nutrition and 13 per cent of all children have never been to school. There are 2.2 billion children in the world of which one billion live in poverty i.e. without adequate shelter, safe water and health facilities. About 121million children are out of education worldwide and the majority of them are girls. 10.6 million Children die before they reach the age of five. 1.4 million Die each year from lack of safe drinking water and adequate sanitation. 2.2 million Children die each year because they are not immunized and 1.5 million children are orphaned due to HIV/ AIDS (The State of the World's Children, 2013). Any disturbance in our home condition especially in the case of a poor ones leads to a breakdown of family, which in return gives rise to beggary. Deaths of parents, death of the husband, death of the breadwinner, step parental treatment, maltreatment disruption in the family, or desertion by the husband are some important factors responsible for begging (Ramasamy, 2004).

Objective of the Study

The present study was carried out with the objective to examine the prevailing living conditions of child beggars at Gujranwala city.

Aspects of the Study

This study covers various aspects of child beggars included their permanent residence/ birthplace (from where either they or their parents migrated, current status of residence, condition of their houses and availability/access to the basic facilities which were seen in their houses like Electricity, Clean water, Toilet, TV/ Mobile phone, Fridge, Sui gas, Motor cycle/ cycle and Pets, access to education, monthly income, and parental care.

Materials and Methods

For the present research study a cross-sectional research design was applied. Survey method among quantitative method was further adopted to collect the data through face-to-face interviews with the help of a well-structured interview schedule which covered different aspects related to living conditions of child beggars. The target population of the study was consisted of child beggars at Gujranwala city. For this study, Non-probability sampling method was proposed as per the nature of the study. Further accidental sampling technique was used to collect the information data from the potential respondents. Total sample size was 150. Primary data were collected from child beggars who were found in public areas and data was collected by using accidental sampling technique. For the present study, data analysis was based on descriptive statistics only.

Data Analysis

Table No.1: Distribution of respondents as per their migrated from/ birth place

Birth Place	f	%
Village	44	29.00
City	106	71.00
Total	150	100.00

According to the above table, majority of the respondents (71 %) were migrated from/ born in some urban areas whereas the small numbers of the respondents (29%) were migrated from/ born in some rural area.

Table No.2: Distribution of respondents as per their status of current residence

Current Residence	f	%
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Village	40	27.00
City	96	64.00
Jomphari	14	09.00
Total	150	100.00

As per the above table, less than two third (64%) of the respondents were lived in the city whereas more than one quarter (27%) of the respondents in the village and less than one fifth (09%) of the respondents were currently living in the Jomphari.

Table No.3: Distribution of respondents as per their access to education

According to the above table, more than one half(59%) of the respondents had no access to school whereas less than half (41%) of the respondents attended the school.

Table No. 4: Distribution of respondents as per their Father's occupation

Fathers' Occupation	f	%
Access to Education	f	%
Yes	62	41.00
No	88	59.00
Total	150	100.00
Labor	90	60.00
Beggar	11	07.00
Unemployed	-	-
Job	10	07.00
None	39	26.00
Total	150	100.00

As per the above table, exact three fifth (60%) of the respondents' fathers were laborers whereas more than one quarter (26%) had no occupation, and (07%) were beggars and (07%) were doing some job.

Table No.5: Distribution of respondents as per their Mother's occupation

Mothers' Occupation	f	%
House servant	50	33.00
Labor	16	10.00
Beggar	55	37.00
None	29	20.00
Total	150	100.00

As per the above table about the occupation of respondents' mothers, more than one third (37%) of the mothers of the respondents were beggars, whereas exact one third (33%) were house servants and one fifth (20%) were doing no job and (10%) were some kind of laborers.

Table No.6: Distribution of respondents as per their size of family

Size	f	%
01-03	14	09.00
04- 06	52	35.00
07-09	50	33.00
More than 09	34	23.00
Total	150	100.00

As per the distribution of the respondents according to their family size, more than one third (35%) of the respondents' family size was (04-06) family members whereas one third (33%) were (07-09) family members, less than one quarter (23%) were with more than a family members whereas a small member of the respondents (09%) had family size of (01-03) family members.

Table No.7: Distribution of respondents as per their head of family monthly income

Monthly Income	f	%
10,000-20,000	95	64.00
20,001-30,000	41	27.00
Above 30,001	14	09.00
Total	150	100.00

As per the above table monthly income of the head of the family, less than two third (64%) of the heads of the family's income was 10,000-20,000 rupees per month whereas more than one quarter (27%) responded their father monthly income was 20,001-30,000 rupees per month and a small number (09%) of them responded that their father's or head of family income was more than 30,001 rupees per month.

Table No.8: Distribution of respondents as per their parental care in their homes

Parental care	f	%
Yes	111	74.00
No	39	26.00
Total	150	100.00

According to the above table the majority (74%) of the respondents had met proper care in their home or family whereas more than one quarter (26%) of the respondents had no proper parental care in their home or family.

Table No.9: Distribution of respondents as per their home condition

Condition of house	f	%
Kasha house	46	31.00
Jomphari	30	20.00
Paka house	54	36.00
Kachapaka house	20	13.00
Total	150	100.00

As per the above table, more than one third (36%) of the respondents had paka house whereas less than one third (31%) had kacha house, exact one fifth (20%) of the respondents were lived in the jompharhi and other less than one fifth(13%) they were lived the kachapaka house.

Table No.10: Distribution of respondents as per their home availability of basic facilities

Basic facilities	Yes		No		Total	
	F	%	f	%	f	%
Electricity	110	73.00	40	27.00	150	100.00
Clean water	120	80.00	30	20.00	150	100.00
Toilet	108	72.00	42	28.00	150	100.00
TV / mobile phone	90	60.00	60	40.00	150	100.00
Fridge	25	16.00	125	84.00	150	100.00
Sui gas	48	32.00	102	68.00	150	100.00
Motor cycle/ cycle	70	47.00	80	53.00	150	100.00
Pets (Sheep, Camels, Cow, Horse, Hens)	60	40.00	90	60.00	150	100.00

According to the above table majority (73%) of the respondents had facility of electricity in their homes whereas more than one quarter (27%) of them had no electricity. An overwhelming majority (80%) of the respondents had availability of clean drinking water whereas some (20%) of them did not have the said availability. Majority (72%) of the respondents had the facility of toilet in their homes whereas some (28%) of them did not have

the toilet facility. Three fifth (60%) of the respondents had television and Mobile phone whereas (40%) of them had no such facilities. Some of the respondents (16%) had Fridge facility in their homes whereas majority (84%) of the respondents did not have Fridge. Almost-one third (32%) of the respondents had Sui-gas connection and supply in their homes whereas majority (68%) of them had no Sui-gas. Less than half (47%) of the respondents had Motorcycle/Cycle whereas more than half (53%) of them had no Motorcycle/Cycle. Exactly three fifth (60%) of the respondents had no Pets whereas exactly two fifth (40%) of the respondents had different pets (Sheep, Cows, Horse, and Hens) in their homes.

Table No.11: Distribution of respondents as per the problems they have to face at workplace

Problem faced	f	%
Sexual harassment	-	-
Physical violence	20	14.00
Verbally abuses	50	33.00
None	80	54.00
Total	150	100.00

As per the above table more than half (54%) of the respondents did not face any problem at the work-place whereas one third (33%) of the respondents had to face verbal abuses from people and less than one fifth (14%) of the respondents had to face physical violence at the work-place while begging.

Table No.12: Distribution of the respondents as per the place of sleeping at night

Place of sleeping	f	%
home	120	77.00
Parks	20	13.00
Market	06	04.00
Railway station	-	-
Bus stand	04	03.00
No fixed place for sleeping	-	-
Total	150	100.00

According to the above table an overwhelming majority (77%) of the respondents slept in their homes at night whereas less than one fifth (13%) of the respondents slept in parks. Very small number (04%) of the respondents slept in the market and (03%) respondents slept at bus-stand at night.

Discussion

The study found that majority (71%) of the respondents was migrated from/ belong to some urban area whereas more than one quarter (29%) were from rural area. As per the current residence status of the respondents, it was found that more than three fifth (64%) of the respondents they were living in the city whereas more than one quarter (27%) of the respondents were living in the adjoining village. According to the access to education, little less than three fifths (59%) of the respondents did not have any access to school whereas more than two fifths (41%) had access to school/ education.

It was found that as per the occupation of respondents' fathers, exactly three fifth (60%) of the respondents fathers were laborer whereas more than one quarter (26%) had no occupation. For mothers' occupation of respondents, the study found that more than one third (37%) of the respondents' mothers were beggars whereas one third (33%) of them were house servants. About the family size of respondents, more than one third (35%) of the respondents family size was consisted on (04-06) family members whereas exactly one third (33%) were (07-09) family members. It was found that the monthly income of respondents' family, more than three fifth (64%) was from 10,000-20,000 rupees per month whereas more than one quarter (27%) responded 20,001-30,000 rupees per month. According to the proper parental care of respondents in homes or family, the study found that majority (74%) of the respondents had met with proper parental care in their home or family whereas more than one quarter (26%) of the respondents had no proper parental care in their home or family.

It was also found regarding the prevailing conditions of the respondents houses, more than one third (36%) of the respondents had pakahouse whereas less than one quarter (31%) of the respondents had kacha house and exact one fifth (20%) of the respondents were lived in the jhompari. About the availability to the facility of electricity, majority of the respondents (73%) had the facility of electricity in their homes whereas more than one quarter (27%) of them had no electricity. An overwhelming majority (80%) of the respondents had availability of clean drinking water whereas some (20%) of them did not have the said availability. Majority of the respondents (72%) had the facility of toilet in their homes whereas some (28%) of them did not have the toilet facility. Exactly three fifth (60%) of the respondents had television and Mobile phone whereas two fifth (40%) of them had no

such facilities. Some of the respondents (16%) had Fridge facility in their homes whereas majority (84%) of the respondents did not have Fridge facility in their homes. Almost-one third (32%) of the respondents had Sui-gas connection and supply in their homes whereas majority (68%) of them had no Sui-gas. Less than half (47%) of the respondents had Motorcycle/Cycle whereas more than half (53%) of them had no Motorcycle/Cycle. Exactly three fifth (60%) of the respondents had no Pets whereas exactly two fifth (40%) of the respondents had have different pets (Sheep, Cows, Horse, and Hens) in their homes. It was explored that more than one half (54%) of the respondents did not have to face any problem at their workplaces whereas one third (33%) of the respondents had to face verbal/ abusive language problems from people. Regarding the place of sleeping at night of respondents, the study found that an overwhelming majority (77%) of the respondents slept in their homes at night whereas only (13%) of the respondents slept in parks.

Conclusion

It was concluded that majority of the respondents (71 %) were migrated from/ born in some urban areas but at present, less than two third (64%) of the respondents were living in the city whereas more than one quarter (27%) in the village and less than one fifth (09%) of the respondents were currently living in the Jomphari. Regarding access to school it was also concluded that more than one half (59%) of the respondents had no access to school. About father's occupation, exact three fifth (60%) of the respondents' fathers were laborers whereas more than one quarter (26%) had no occupation and a small number (07%) were beggars. Whereas about the occupation of respondents' mothers, more than one third (37%) of the mothers of the respondents were beggars. According to the family size, it was concluded that more than one third (35%) of the respondents' family size was (04-06) family members whereas one third (33%) were (07-09) family members. For monthly income of the head of the family it was recorded that little less than two third (64%) earns 10,000-20,000 rupees per month. It was also concluded that more than one third (36%) of the respondents had paka house whereas less than one third (31%) had kacha house. For the provision and availability of basic needs of life, majority (73%) of the respondents had facility of electricity, An overwhelming majority (80%) of the respondents had availability of clean drinking water, Majority (72%) of the respondents had the facility of toilet in their homes, Three fifth (60%) of the respondents had television and Mobile phone, majority (84%) of the respondents did not have Fridge, Less than half (47%) of the respondents had Motorcycle/Cycle whereas more than half (53%) of them had no Motorcycle/Cycle. Exactly three fifth (60%) of the respondents had no Pets whereas exactly two fifth (40%) of the respondents had different pets

(Sheep, Cows, Horse, and Hens) in their homes. It was concluded that an overwhelming majority (77%) of the respondents slept in their homes at night with their families whereas less than one fifth (13%) of the respondents slept in parks.

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China-Russia Relations after the Cold War

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Abstract

After thirty years of apparently unbeatable distrust and bilateral crises, the post-Cold War era has observed an extraordinary regeneration and strengthening the relationships between the China and Russia. Several primary issues and dynamics contributing to the mutual reconciliation of the previous twenty years continue still to be examined. This article enhances the role of some issues intertwined in this development: the growth of formal relations between the two countries. Bilateral structures, which were completely vague until the 1990s, have now quickly multiplied into a thick system of commissions and institutionalized exchanges and including almost all segments of interaction between Russia and China. Furthermore, both states are progressively cooperating in the structure of bilateral institutions and global organizations. This research observes the role of institutionalization in Sino-Russian dealings and that dealings has played in empowering both countries to furnace a nearer functioning association with each other.

Keywords: China, Russia, Institution Building, Bilateral Cooperation, Cold War

Introduction

The Russia and China challenges a number of superlatives: Russia is the 9th largest country by population and the 4th largest country by total landmass in the world, respectively, China is the largest country by population and also the largest country by total landmass in the world. They are the world's leading military powers and main global economic players. In United Nations Security Council, both states are veto powers and both organize the nuclear weapons. Both states also share the over 4000 kilometers long border (Bjoern, 2013).

Dissipations have similarly considered the way of relationships between the both neighboring states: Insufficient mutual interactions between significant countries in current past have been characterized by variations as dangerous as those that happened between Russia and China. In the 1950s, after a primary influence of stated socialist 'brotherhood' and deep political and financial assistance, Moscow and Beijing quickly charged into an aggressive tactical hostility. In 1969, persistent territorial disputes and joint aggression terminated in a conflict and in reaffirmed joint nuclear dangers. The bilateral dealings were finally normalized in 1989. After the Cold War, dealings between the reformist People's Republic of China and the newly-founded Russian Federation have taken an opportunity in

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the reverse direction, towards an extraordinary regeneration and strengthening of relations between China and Russia. After three decades of apparently unbeatable distrust and mutual crises, this endangered to increase into armed battle. Since the end of 1990s, Russia and China have developed a close association (Bjoern, 2013).

In the last years of the Soviet Union, although the bases for settlement between the two states were arranged, remarkable development towards joint collaboration has been organized since the 1990s. Presently, Russian and Chinese representatives generally proclaim that relationships between their states are “*at their best in history*” (Mu Xuequan, 2007, November 2). and predictors have entitled the expansion of associations with China the “*greatest Russian foreign policy success of the post-Soviet period*” (Bobo Lo, 2004).

However the relations between the Russia and China has been regularly increasing up to the current era, this has occurred that insufficient of the reasons of joint pressure in the earlier have been categorically determined, although China’s intense development in different sectors of life and political influence has developed a cause of unrest for Russia and other neighbor states. The two countries have combined interests in emerging their financial links and managing their defense plans, but China’s increasing economic and military power has been observed by many thinkers in Russia as a divergent danger for the state. Meanwhile, many researchers in Beijing have considered Russia as an unpredictable and erratic global player. So, it was not an apparent choice for Russian and Chinese thinkers to have determined for increasing mutual collaboration. Previously the experience of ongoing hesitation among forecasters as to what the main reasons of bilateral settlement have been, this research purposes to enhance the part of some of the influences and factors tangled in this development. Specially, the amount of one such aspect is observed through the growth of multilateral and bilateral organizations between both countries. Bilateral official dealings had been completely inattentive until the mid-1990s, have now speedily multiplied into a thick system of commissions, institutionalized exchanges and functioning groups, including almost all segments of bilateral collaboration and support (Bjoern, 2013).

The development and spread of joint organizations has been almost entirely disregarded in the existing studies. In the current period, not a particular research has dedicated itself to an investigation of the institutionalization of the affiliation between China and Russia. No inclusive status of the joint policy-making organizations shaped between Russia and China presently exists. Because of this oversight, the majorities of researchers to date have focus on geopolitics and also defined the affiliation of both states as a comparatively delicate structure with arguable scenarios. The Shanghai Cooperation

Organization (SCO) is the only multilateral organization which connecting the both states (Stephen, 2011).

Theoretical Framework

Modifications of Realist and Neorealist approaches can draw the impact on the degree to which outside general factors, as well as geopolitical interests and objectives have overstated Russian and Chinese strategy towards each other. John Mearsheimer and Kenneth Waltz's Structural Realist theories, and Stephen Walt's balance of threat theory classify general circumstances that would obliged to both states to unite against the threat of a third power like U.S. Randall Schweller's bandwagoning approach can be engaged to evaluate whether Sino-Russian collaboration was motivated by mutual revisionist ideas. Neorealist theory delivers a significant model for observing the strategic calculus of Russian and Chinese officials in their bilateral dealings (Kenneth, 1979).

This research also observes to what amount the procedure of institution building has donated to nurturing and maintaining mutual reconciliation. It works logical conceptions copied from Neoliberal Institutionalism theory and relates them in the environment of numerous case studies of institution building between Russia and China (Robert & Joseph, 1989).

Since 1991, the major powers of the world have experienced intense modifications in status: China, prospered in military and economic transformations, appeared as a rising power on the global arena; Russia, extremely involved in political and economic changes, lost the status of super power; and the U.S converted the only remaining international superpower after it had vanished its Cold War opponent. The theoretical basis for strategic partnership between China and Russia mentions to the system of contrasting a unipolar world and sponsoring a multipolar system in the world. The components that China and Russia have been continually voicing their failure with the unipolar arrangement of the globe and have been yelling for the development of another change of energy built on multipolar framework. An examination of Russian-Chinese connections in the post-Cold war era from the triangle viewpoint of the three states-China, Russia and the U.S gives us a comprehension of the earth of the reciprocal Russian-Chinese relations (Leksyutina, 2010).

Post-Cold War Cooperation between China and Russia

China-Russia relationships developed progressively after the demise of the Soviet Union. Russia monitored a path of amalgamation with the West during the era of President Yeltsin. The West (U.S and Europe) solved the financial difficulties of Russia. However, in the 1990s, Russia reshaped its foreign policy that was believed on the pro-Western

significance and to be substituted towards a multipolar global system and counter the U.S hegemony in the world. This modification shaped the approach for a new strategy of reconciliation towards China. The collaboration of Russia and China would implement the multipolar aim of the both states. In the mid-1990s, leaders of China, Jiang Zemin, and of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, decided to make a 'strategic partnership' between the both states (Paramonov & Stokov, 2006). A significant aspect of the growing friendship was that both China and Russia amalgamated alike viewpoints on progresses in the global field. Moscow and Beijing faced a unipolar system in the world and encouraged a multipolar global system as strategic allies. After the Cold War, U.S playing the main role in global arena – was contested, so an anti-U.S path was a vital aspect of the Russia-China's strategic relationship. In April 1997, this assessment on global politics was made in the form of a settlement (Smith, 2000).

Russia and China understood very well that their border issues should be resolved. Under the supervision of Gorbachev, the Soviet Union contracted the first border treaty in May 1991 and second agreement was contracted under the supervision of Yeltsin in 1996. In 2004, an additional agreement on the boundaries was settled in the era of Putin when Russia surrendered some areas of the *Ussuri* and *Amur* rivers to China (Trenin, 2012). The Chinese and Russian foreign ministers contracted another border agreement in July 2008, which developed the differentiation of the 4,300 km border (Blagov, 2008 b).

In 1999, Russian and Chinese regional authorities signed approximately 100 agreements for the economic cooperation between the two states. In 2000, under the supervision of Vladimir Putin, Russian and Chinese cooperation established an extensive improvement. Putin was committed that a decent affiliation with China would nurture his objective of firming Russian prominence in the global field. For both events, military strike in Kosovo in 1999 and the U.S attack on Iraq in 2003 – would additional reinforce their relations and their bilateral goal of a multipolar global system (Paramonov & Stokov, 2006).

In July 2000, President Putin visited China, causing in the passing of nine treaties on education, economic and military cooperation. Russia and China contracted a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in 2001, which apparently comprised military collaboration in space, assistance on armed technologies, and new armament's sales and secret supplements on mutual defense (Cohen, 2001). After the breakdown of the USSR, the arrangements between China and Russia had produced in 13 meetings and more than 160 treaties till 2006. After the government of Putin, President Medvedev further strengthened Russia's relations with China. Medvedev first time reached in Beijing on official visit in May 2008. A joint

declaration of Chinese President Hu Jintao and Russian President Medvedev comprised a lot of likeminded assessments of global issues, including the refusal of missile defense system of the U.S. Furthermore, both the states signed agreements on aerospace, nuclear energy and economic fields. President Putin made a visit to China in June 2012 and concentrated on the quickly developing financial relations between the two states and highlighted their integrated postures on burning global disputes. (Blagov, 2008a).

Russia is the main weapons and military equipment dealer for China after the demise of the USSR. When Beijing was faced the uprising of Tiananmen in 1989, neither U.S nor the Europe were willing to provide the weapons to China. Russia then became the only base of weapons for China. This feature of military assistance helped both states (Trenin, 2012).

Russian-Chinese Economic and Trade Cooperation

Another section can be measured as a negative to a limited economic cooperation between China and Russia. The exchange of goods between the two states is immaterial in connection with more widespread exchanges of goods with the United States, Europe or Japan than with each other. For example, the related finance of Sino-Russian economic cooperation in 2008 hit \$ 56.8 billion, while China-U.S economic cooperation reached \$ 409 billion (Mathews, 2016). It may be that this is, with the continuous efforts from both sides, Russian, be extended as recently as Chinese trade feature - business exchanges from 1994 to 1999, was genuinely stable and moved to \$ 5.1 billion, in 2001, it came to \$ 10.7 billion, in 2005 \$ 29.1 billion and in 2007\$ 48.1 billion. While the exchange of goods as it may be closed continuously strong, the structure of exchange has not changed very much. China imports by Russia are driven by crude materials, the ferrous and non-ferrous metals, fish and apparatus. Russian imports by China are chemicals, shoes, furniture, toys, pottery, ceramics and foods approximately 36.7 per cent in 2008 (Mathews, 2016). The fact is that the relevant exchange is not ideal yet for Russia in the meantime, the evidence of completion of the Chinese and Russian economies. It is important to bring the size of financial cooperation between the two states in congruity with two-sided political relations level to give effect to the Russian-Chinese relations.

As far back relations between Russia and China gained momentum in the incredible power grip especially in the field of economic, in the mid, 1990s. Exchange and financial connections become a progressively important section of Sino-Russian relations. Russia and China declared in 1996 that they would target to raise their general trade business to \$20 billion by the year 2000. But at the end of 1990s' economic activities between the two states stagnated at a low level \$7.7 billion (Trenin, 2012). At that time, the leadership of Chinese

had to understand that the Yeltsin government and mostly the governors of the Russian border areas eventually presented little emblems of partaking the Chinese monetary image of collaboration and frankness and successfully engaged most of their earlier fortification attitude towards North East Asia. The Russian financial leaders also primarily exposed few attentions in China. The 1998 Russian monetary crisis further added to the inaction in mutual trade during the 1990s. Chinese decision-makers and merchants at the time were regularly bothered by apparently random and preventive Russian cost and permit rules, as well as an overall lack of financial management on the fragment of the Russian consultants (Gilbert, 2000). Moscow also responded calmly to some of Beijing's financial strategies in North-East Asia, such as the Chinese creativity to form a 'global city' on the *T'umen* River, through which China would have expanded a marketable port on the Sea of Japan. As a result, China and Russia was considered relatively minor commercial and economic transactions. In 2000, rapidly increased bilateral economic cooperation provides a fundamental basis for cooperation between China and Russia. However, both the countries have a lot of structural problems but the mutual trade has developed intensely after 1999. However, temporarily increased commercial involvement, the effects of the global recession was recovered rapidly by both countries. China and Russia was the largest trading partners with the mutual trade size reached \$88.2 billion in 2012 (Harbin, 2013, June 14).

Russian-Chinese Energy Cooperation

By a wide margin the most critical segment of Sino-Russian exchange is Russian vitality fares to China. The vitality division represents the immense guarantees, additionally the specific difficulties of reciprocal financial collaboration. At first sight, the Sino-Russian vitality relationship seems, by all accounts, to be "*a match made in paradise*" (Kyrre & Indra, 2007). In the previous three decades, China, through its brilliant mechanical development rates, has been a standout amongst the most quickly developing vitality buyers on the planet. At the same time, with Russia, China has one of the world's biggest asset supplies at its doorstep. Today, China has turned into the world's second-biggest purchaser and shipper of oil, behind the United States. As of now in 1993, China turned into a net merchant of oil. Since 2007, it has likewise been a net shipper of gaseous petrol, which is step by step turning into a more vital building piece of China's general vitality structure, despite the fact that it keeps on assuming an exceptionally minor part in it. Russia, then, is the world's biggest oil maker, representing 12% of worldwide oil generation in 2011 (as far as bbl/day) (Anton, 2010).

Russian-Chinese Geopolitics and Security Cooperation

Equalization of power and geostrategic targets have been recognized by numerous experts as the essential and deciding element of China's and Russia's common rapprochement since the finish of the Cold War. To numerous eyewitnesses, expanding reciprocal collaboration appeared to demonstrate the arrangement of a hostile to hegemonic partnership between two revisionist powers, and the respective relationship was in this way normally described as “*a nexus, in which geopolitics is at the center and restriction to the rising scene request is the raison d'être*” (Gilbert, 2000).

While joint geopolitical resistance to the U.S was never again made as clear in reciprocal declarations, it kept on framing a vital measurement of China-Russia participation during the 2000s. In this manner, China and Russia were joined in their restriction to U.S. ballistic missile destroying – a ‘Joint Proclamation on the Subject of ABM’ was issued in July 2000 – and in addition the 2003 attack of Iraq. A routine of key conferences was started amongst Moscow and Beijing. A noteworthy respective report, the ‘Sino-Russian Arrangement of Good-Neighborliness and Benevolent Collaboration’, was passed in July 2001, specifying close participation on worldwide undertakings. Russia and China seemed to hold fundamentally the same as perspectives with respect to the coveted structure of the post-Cold War global request. The Russian and Chinese initiatives kept on attesting their joint wish to reinforce a 'multipolar world request' in most joint articulations and in many remarks made by high-positioning remote approach authorities. In practice, Moscow and Beijing nearly participated and exhibited a joint conciliatory front against U.S. interests on innumerable issues of worldwide significance, in particular on restricting furnished intercessions and administration change (Bates & Matthew, 2003).

Russian-Chinese Interaction under Different Organizations:

The fight against U.S global hegemony and striving for a multipolar international system, both the states have a subsequent strategy line of cooperation in Regional organizations – such as the SCO, CSTO, ASEAN and BRICS. From the first term of the presidency, Putin has been attentive of the significance of this region to attain economic advantages, as a resource to improve Russia’s Far East region, as well as for political motives, to support the position of Russia in this region and to respond the influence of U.S over this area. More precisely, Putin defined the Asia–Pacific region as the most important region for Russia and its neighbors in November 2000 (Smith, 2000).

Shanghai Cooperation Organization

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has member states from the regions of South-East Asia, Europe and Central Asia. The SCO is a regional organization which comprises Russia, China, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan as associate countries, with Pakistan, Iran, India and Mongolia as observer countries (Haas, 2007 b). SCO associate countries have approximately 1.5 billion populations. The SCO delivers collaboration in economic, energy, military, political and cultural arenas. Both the states Russia and China actively participated in SCO. The SCO directed large military exercises, called 'Peace Missions' in 2005 and 2007. These exercises stress on the agenda of counter-terrorism. Although under the guidance of this organization, these exercises were controlled by China and Russia, and these are the leading players of the organization (Weitz, 2007).

The SCO organized main energy exporters –Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Russia and Iran as well as major energy importers – India and China – therefore the cooperation in energy sector made one of the important topics of this organization. Energy agreements were generally made on multilateral joint basis. In June 2006 at the SCO Summit, energy was openly put on the schedule as a key matter for the first time. President Putin stated the objective of the establishing the 'Energy Club' under the SCO, in direction to improve a mutual development in the energy sector. Moreover, the 'Energy Club' was developed in Moscow on 3 July 2007. The principles of the 'Energy Club' describe that it links consumers, energy manufacturers and transit states in organizing energy policies, with the goal of developing energy security (Weitz, 2007).

CSTO

A significant feature of the security plan of the SCO was that China and Russia did not generally see eye-to-eye on a nearer association between the CSTO and the SCO. The expansion of nearer relations between the CSTO and SCO was not an easy procedure. Russia had the objective of taking the two associations closer together in 2003, for the aim of expanding the combat against militancy and the drug trade, but perhaps also to arrange an 'Eastern alliance' against Western impact in the Central Asia. In 2006, footsteps were prepared towards a magnification of dealings between the CSTO and the SCO. Secretary-General of SCO, Zhang Deguang described in May 2006 that the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the SCO had drilled the SCO Secretariat to develop collaboration with the CSTO (Smith, 2000).

ASEAN

The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established in 1967. The organization comprises on ten countries in South-East Asia. Its objectives include

accelerating cultural development, social development and economic growth among its associates, Security of territorial peace and strength is the key objective of this organization. In 1976, a Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in South-East Asia was signed under the supervision of ASEAN. It organized objectives, for example regard for regional integrity, power, equity, autonomy and non-impedance in the inward matters of countries. ASEAN practices the TAC as a form of accord section for states that want to unite with this association. The China in 2003 and Russia in 2004 have joined the TAC (Haas, 2011).

Russia and China have acknowledged significant role of ASEAN in the development of Asian–Pacific regional organizations, such as the Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the East Asia Summit (EAS). At the end of the 1990s, Russia and China became more dynamic in ASEAN. Beijing and Moscow have presented to be well attentive of these organizations adjoining ASEAN, and have been keen to be a part of these institutions.

Subsidiary Organizations under the ASEAN: APEC, ARF and EAS

Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) established in 1989. APEC is the Asian–Pacific regional economic forum for assisting trade, investment, financial development and cooperation. APEC's have the 21 member states and account for about 40 per cent of the world's population, about 44 per cent of world trade and approximately 55 per cent of world GDP (Rangsimaporn, 2009).

In July 1993, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) was originated. Russia and China have joined the ARF in 1994. ARF comprises on 27 countries which are China, Russia and U.S, but also the Europe Union. The purpose of ARF is to discourse security and political matters of mutual interest and concern. The balancing of power was a main objective of its originators. Therefore, the participation of China and Russia in regional negotiation was to be confirmed (Rangsimaporn, 2009).

The East Asia Summit (EAS) was established in 2005. In addition to APEC and ARF, Russia and China have also joined this grouping around ASEAN. EAS comprises on eighteen states. EAS conferences are held after the annual ASEAN Summit. The main objective of EAS also focuses on the political, financial, and security matters of the region, and improving stability and financial development (Haas, 2011).

BRICS

BRICS is a group of leading developing economies – Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. The grouping was presented in a Goldman Sachs report of 2003, emphasizing that by 2050 the first four countries would have become the largest and most dominant

economies of the world, thus flouting U.S hegemony (Aris & Snetkov, 2011). The BRICS associates, comprising of around 3 billion individuals or half of the total populace of world, are all - aside from Russia emerging economic players that are attaining an important impact on regional and international matters.

Conclusion

The experience of the previous two decades demonstrates that Russia and China are not especially successful companions in the financial measurement. Except for vitality participation, general monetary communication looks distressing. Also, pushing financial recuperation and modernization of the country, Russia's pioneers don't appear to be ready to redirect their eyes from the Western capital and markets, while Beijing's capacities to help Russia around there are esteemed immaterial. It is conceivable that an excessively close consideration of top initiative to the financial field makes the inverse impact. Beijing and Moscow improve in worldwide issues and security matters, where they have numerous comparable interests and regular practices. Thus, the concentration of their relations gradually moves to this region. The mutual associations between Russia and China after the 9/11 assaults characterize the loss of union of mutual threat observations regarding the U.S. The two states held concurrent perspectives on both economic and security threats; a 'full partnership' was more prospective, with firming collaboration in both economic and security fields. After the 2010, Russia-China relations support the sense of this 'full partnership', because both states have associatively confronted mounting threat and pressure from NATO, driven by the U.S. The U.S assumes an especially complex part in Russia-China relations. Russian policy-makers perceive that the Washington-Beijing tandem has turned into the most essential reciprocal association in international politics. Moreover, some in the security community consider China as a greater long-term threat to Russia than the U.S, and see the U.S as a potential partner in case China turns against Russia.

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Role of Pakistan People's Party in Democratization in Pakistan (2008 to 2013)

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Abstract

Like many other developing countries, Pakistan experienced dictatorship and collapse of parliamentary system four times. Immature attitude of political leaders enforcing the military to do unconstitutional act in Pakistan. PPP is the most dominated political party of Pakistan and four times has got a chance to remain in power. After the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, party won the majority vote in 2008 election and made coalition government. PPP government adopted the policy of reconciliation and revive the constitution in its original shape and was the first time in the history of Pakistan when democratic government completed its full tenure. In his period he passed three significantly important amendments and women empowerment bill.

Key Words: Pakistan People Party, Pakistan Muslim League (N), Democratic System, Parliamentary Democracy

Introduction

The two major parties are always playing the negative role to each other. In the past these two party involved in anti and pro government activities. In fact, there bitterness seemed in political style as well as in the ideology. On the other hand, the non democratic forces use them in their personal interest. At last, in 2002 the closeness started between two political parties. The communication process started between Benazir Bhutto and PML (N) with the help of Ishaq Dar. The object of these negotiation processes to restore parliamentary democracy in Pakistan with the help of extensive internal party consultation. (Najam, 2006) in this way, Benazir Bhutto meet with main Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in Jeddah in 2005. These two political parties get together in same point and finally in 2006 they were able to prepare a charter of democracy with the concert of both political parties to restore democratic norms in Pakistan. (Najam, 2006) This charter of democracy was sign in 15 May and get significantly important in the history of Pakistan. Later on, the fifteen political parties also agree to adopt this charter in the All Parties Conference (APC). COD is third important thing in the history of Pakistan as followed the objective resolution and constitution of 1973.

The COD is the Magna Charta of Pakistan. The major element of this charter is the fair election in Pakistan, code of conduct, provision related to the army relation, Constitution

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alteration. Especially, with the help of COD all political parties able to restore democracy in the country.(Rizwan, 2014) After the COD the NRO signed between President Musharaf and Benazir Bhutto on 2007. NRO was a political deal between two political personalities to fulfill their political goals through negotiation process. NRO set political environment for political parties to participate in 2008 election. Before the NRO all political parties banned to take part in political activities.

Election is very important for every democratic country because it provides the way to political parties to come in the power and represented the demands of common people. Musharaf government tried to sideline the political parties of Pakistan like PPP and PML (N). Election of 2002 gives the chance to Musharaf to create the allies with the political parties like Islamic parties and some other minor's parties to establish the civilian government. With the help of these political parties he was stopped the influence of the major parties like PPP and the PML (N). His government was become more powerful with the help of 17th amendment passed by the two Houses of the Parliament with the support of PML (Q). Furthermore, the MMA also give the favor to President Musharaf government to make the change in the constitution. It also justified the LFO (2002) through the parliament. It will give the power to the president to make any amendment in the constitution. LFO provided the parliamentary mask to the dictatorship government from 1999 to 2002.(Hasan Askari Rizvi, May 2013) it did not the necessity of the constitution but President Musharaf wanted to achieve democratic credential that why, in 30 December 2003 he hold the presidency through the vote of confidence from National and Provincial Assemblies. General Pervez Musharaf also made commitment to resign from the post of army chief by 31 Dec. 2004.(Rizvi, December 2004)

During his period political institution of the country not get the chance to make its roots strong. In fact, he holds two rank and used absolute power at the same time. His regular control over the political power not only made the civilian stood against him but also changed the loyalties of his friends. He changed the prime minister without any reason. Mir Zafarullah Khan forced to resign in 2004. Chaudhry Shujjat Hussain replaced by him. Further, the finance minister also changed by the President Musharaf and now the PMN (Q) was not playing any role in their decision. This all incident created disturbance among the political forces. Firstly, Musharaf took the order to remove the chief justices but later he suspended him and filed the reference against the Supreme Judicial Council (Fruman, 2011).

This situation created the uprising against the Musharaf government. All the lawyer of the country stood against this act. (Fruman, 2011) Furthermore, President Musharaf also loses

the support of the religious political parties and most of MMA members also stood against President Musharaf after the Red Mosques incidents. In this critical situation President Musharaf takes the wrong step he wanted to reelect himself from the national and the provincial assembly. His move opposed by the lawyer, political parties and the religious groups but President Musharaf wanted to reelect himself.

The entire situation becomes out of control and judicially movement extremely up high against the military dictator. In the same way, he promulgated the state of emergency on 3 November 2007.(Qureshi, 2010) He suspended the constitution and imposed the provincial constitutional order for the purpose to take new oath from the judges and many judges who did not invite for the new oath lose their job while many judges of Supreme Court and provincial court rejected to take new oath. In this way, Musharaf tried to play with judicially. He resigns from the chief of army staff on 28 November 2007 and appointed the new army chief General Ashafaq kayani and become a civilian president for it second term. Furthermore, he declared many changes in the constitution on 14 December and on the second day he removed the state of emergency. Country returned to the constitutional rule. National Assembly also completed its time in 15 November. The president Musharaf selected chairmen of the Senate Main Muhammad Soomro. He performs the duty as a caretaker president from 16 November 2007 till 25 March 2008. The election of National and Provincial Assembly planned to hold on 8 Jan. 2008 but the date of election extended 18 Feb. 2008.(Hasan Askari Rizvi, May 2013)

Role of Political Parties in 2008 Election

In 2008 election two major political parties electively participated. The leader of these political parties returned to country in 18 October 2007 and 25 November 2007. The Nawaz Sharif returned to country but before his arrival the Musharaf did not allow him to come in the Islamabad Air Port. In fact he was pressurizing Nawaz Sharif to return Saudi Arabia.

While, the Leader of Pakistan people party returned to country made possible by the different negotiation were hold between the Musharaf and Benazir Bhutto. Musharaf passed the NRO(National reconciliation ordinance) on 5 Oct 2007.(Hamid), November 2007) This ordinance allowed withdrawing all the cases from the political parties of Pakistan. Benazir returned to country and stated election companies. But she was assassination On 27 December 2007.(Hasan Askari Rizvi, May 2013)The democratic forces of the Pakistan set pressure on President Musharaf that he should conduct free and fair election. President Musharaf also agreed to hold election in the country but after the assassination of the Benazir Bhutto general election hold in 18 Feb. 2008. The environment of that time was very

different because after the assassination the uprising started against president Musharaf government. It provides the way to restore democracy in Pakistan. In the General election of 2008 two major parties of Pakistan win majority seats and made the coalition government in the country.

The Yousaf Raza Gilani had become the prime Minister of Pakistan. However, president Musharaf tried to save presidency election but before the impeachment process started against him he resign from his position 18 August 2008.(Qureshi, 2010)PPP got almost 120 seats in the National Assembly. On the other hand, the Pakistan Muslim League wins 90 seats and played role as the opposition government. Musharaf himself also declare that election process had been free and fair. After the resign of Musharaf the chair person of Pakistan people party Asif Ali Zardari became the new president of Pakistan in 6 September. After the 10 year of military rule the democratic government was returning after the long struggle. It was the time to made new amendment in the constitution, restore democracy in its true manner and also restored constitution in its original form

Murray Declaration

After the election of 2008 the PPP and PML (N) was sign a declaration for the making of coalition government in Central and Provincial level. This declaration is called Murray declaration. In this agreement the political parties agreed to reestablish judicially and other national related issues under the soul of COD. Additionally, PPP and PML (N) also ready to make joint Cabinet lead by Pakistan People Party (PPP).

The coalition government relied upon to manage many issues including:

- To rebuilding of matchless quality of the Parliament as indicated by the Constitution of 1973.
- To decrease step by step expanding inflation.
- To re-instate the sacked Judges of the Supreme and High Courts.
- To assume a viable part in war against terrorism.(rizwan., May 2014)

This coalition couldn't work for long. In March 2009, the leadership of PML (N) decided to separate their parts from the coalition government. (Muhammad, Arshad, & Waqar, january 2014) In this manner, PML (N) had chosen to isolate the routes from coalition administration of PPP.

Meanwhile, the lawyer movement, in joint effort of numerous political parties including PML (N), chose to go for a long march from 12 to 16 keeping in mind the end goal to reestablish the judges. The government administration demonstrated hesitance to reestablish judges. The government experts made every single conceivable plan to obstruct in

the way to Islamabad. In spite of these activities the long march preceded with incredible enthusiasm. It was a very difficult timing for government and government were remaining under the huge pressure of the civil society. The Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani declared the reestablished of judicially. The Prime Minister showed up on the state TV on midnight and tended to the country in the way.

"I am addressing on an event when we are standing on the cross roads of the history. The nation knows that we always preferred reconciliation, tolerance and respectful politics. We all know that the democracy and the democratic institutions can't be strengthened until political parties and other actors don't respect their mandate. The lawyers and the political parties are presenting their sentiments in the form of Long March; we respect it which is their democratic right. The PPP and its leadership especially late Benazir Bhutto was important part of the lawyer movement. Keeping COD, Murray Declaration and other promise of the leadership in the mind I hereby announce the restoration of Chief Justice and other Judges and it is also notified. He also invited the leadership of other political parties especially PML-N to come and join politics of reconciliation and tolerance for the flourishing of democracy in Pakistan". (DAWN, 18 March 2009)

NFC Awards (National Finance Commission)

The Central and the Provincial government develop the historical development in the form of 7th NFC Award after the gap of thirteen years. Punjab province had agreed to minimize its share and to give the resources to the Balochistan. The highlights of the agreement on the seventh NFC Award incorporate significant conformity in vertical as well as flat distribution. In vertical division, the central government had sacrificed its 8.5 percent share in distinguishable pool for Province. (Khan, December 15, 2009) NFC is establishing for the division of revenues between the provinces and the central under the constitution of 1973 on yearly basis. Tax of all provinces collected in the federal. Further they are combining in the central and redistributing among the province according to the formula set by the National Finance Commission which is called as NFC Award. (Ahmed, 2010) There have been three NFC Award implemented in 1974, 1991 and 1997 but other three formulas (1979, 1984 and 2000) remained fail to reach the mutual understanding on the state level. Further, it failed to enforce. The taxes consisted on Income tax, Wealth tax, and Capital gain tax, and General sale tax, Custom duties tax. These all taxes are income of the state and division of these revenues was remaining the major issues among the provinces of Pakistan. The 7th meeting of the NFC Award was taking place in Gwadar on 30th December under the leadership of Yousaf Raza Gillani. Four province ministers had agreed on the consensus draft and also

accepted the increase the distribution from 47.5% to 56% in the first year of the NFC (2010 to 2011).Furthermore, in the next year it will increase 57%. The central government agreed to minimize the collection charges of the taxes from 5% to 1%.(Jalbani, January 2011)

The formulas of the division

- Poverty bases 10.3%
- Population vise 82%
- Income collection bases 5%
- Inverse population Density 2.7%

Financial Resources Distribution

Financial Resources Distribution		
Number	Provinces	Share
1	Punjab	51.74%
2	Sindh	24.55%
3	K.P	14.62%
4	Balochistan	9.09%

(Khan, December 15, 2009)

The single rule was remaining popular for income distribution among Federal and Provincial Governments. Baluchistan's Population was not participating while the last record held during 1998, the Pashtoon Belt refused to participate in the census and Balochistan population was considering 5% of total population of Pakistan and they were getting minimum share in income which depended on supposition. But in 2009 the formula of NFC has been change with the popular censuses of all provinces.(Jalbani, January 2011)

According to Mr. Tarin it is a philosophical shift in government policy which would greatly enhance the shares of the provinces. He said that “This is the first step towards financial autonomy of the provinces and a victory of democracy,”(DWAN, 31 december 2009,12 am)

The Federation and the province shad agreed to give the due share to the province of the Balochistan.(Ahmed, 2010) The share of Balochistan has been increase 9.09 percent if any type of shortfall is occur would be cover by the central government share. The Sindh province also received 6 billion from the central government. The different indicators uses in this NFC Award and also focus on the special need of Balochistan because it is the most backward province of Pakistan.(Report of national Finance Commissition of 2009, 30 december 2009)

Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms

After the creation of government, an advisory group constituted to suggest changes in the Constitution. National Assembly additionally passed a determination to constitute the board of trustees, which framed by the Speaker pleasing all partners in the Parliament. In the wake of making its lead and technique, the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR), under chairmanship of Senator Mian Raza Rabbani of People's Party, was held 77 meeting and proposed revisions in 102 articles of the Constitution. All political parties determined to reestablish the democratic government. National Assembly endorsed the bill on April 8, 2010, with 292/342 votes, to revived parliamentary democracy. Unlike previous history of the nation, the Opposition played significantly effective role.

Eighteenth Amendment

The eighteenth Amendment approved by thirteenth National Assembly recovers parliamentary soul of the Constitution of 1973. The Parliament, denied approving dictators instruments. It canceled LFO 2002, Chief Executive Orders, and the seventeenth Constitutional Amendment considered illicit and unlawful. PCCR altered Article 6 of the Constitution and managed the issue of high treason. To stop the legal authorization of the military overthrows it has been included that such a demonstration of high injustice would not be approved by any court of law. The correction in Article 6 brought to dishearten any military takeovers in future. The part of military disposed from the legislative issues and matchless quality of the Parliament gotten congruity with the Article 238 and 239 of the Constitution. It is unmistakably expressed that a change in the Constitution might be taken by demonstration of Majlis-e-Shoora or the Parliament. Whereas, Article 239(5) of the Constitution tells about the overwhelming nature of the Parliament, No alteration of the Constitution should be brought being referred to in any Court on any ground whatsoever. (Muhammad, Arshad, & Waqar, January 2014)

The province of Pakistan was demanding provincial autonomy for the long time. 18th amendment take it demands not only very seriously but also erased the Concurrent List from fourth timetable of the Constitution. The provincial assembly had the power to legislate any matter related to concrete list but not on federal list. It gave an appropriate share to administer regarding the matter counted in the Federal List Part-II, through initiation of the Council of Common Interest (CCI). However, adequate time saved for these regions to oblige the lapsed services. The revisions considered and hold the consultative part of the provinces before the development of hydro-electric power station in any province. The PCCR concentrated National Finance Commission under the Article 160 in setting with dispersion of income amongst Center and areas. Thus, two new statement 3(A) and 3(B) embedded in the

Constitution in Article 160. Provision 3(A) guaranteed that the share of any region should not be less as much as the past honor's share, while statement 3(B), managed the organization and appropriate execution of the NFC award.

The word Parliamentary Sovereignty, in the expression of a popular Political Scientist Dicey, is a system where the Parliament has the right to make or un-make any law whatsoever. (Rizwan., May 2014) This definition gave an establishment toward the Westminster style of parliamentary frameworks of administration, embraced by numerous different countries of the world. The eighteenth Amendment has offered an arrival to the parliamentary dominance in Pakistan. The President of Pakistan being the stylized head of state and undoubtedly, follow up on Prime Minister's recommendation as described in the first content of the Constitution of 1973. The Constitution had made it clear the President can dissolve the National Assembly just if the Prime Minister guidance him to do as such. In this way, the eighteenth Amendment refuted the incorporation by the eighth and seventeenth Amendments where the President was enabling to dissolve the House all alone. Further, this misuse has been utilized chiefly to crash the democratic improvement in Pakistan. At present under eighteenth Amendment the President remained bound to assume a formal part accordingly to parliamentary norms.

As political history of Pakistan uncovers that numerous dictators had authorized their principles by illicit submissions, on this way, after the proclamation of eighteenth Amendment the President might need to look for an endorsement of the Parliament to hold a choice. Similarly, the Presidential forces will further restrict under Article-75, where the Presidential consent to a bill will reduce to ten rather than thirty days. It is very important to protect form the delay that is due to president and faster the legislation process of parliament. To acquire the common government's lines with parliamentary standards, the eighteenth Amendment has made it obligatory for the head of state to have the Prime Minister's recommendation in the arrangement of governors who ought to be an enrolled voter and inhabitant of the concerned area. However, the governors will follow up on the exhortation of Chief Ministers under the Article 105; it guarantees parliamentary soul in the provinces. They should go about as ceremonial heads in light of the fact that the real power might be delighted in by the Chief Minister and his bureau of the separate area. So also, the President would give the name of Chairman of Public Service Commission and Services Chiefs under the Article 242 and 243 on Prime Ministers guidance and not in his own caution as embedded by the RCO, 1985.

Under the Article-90 the Prime Minister being the Chief Executive of the nation and his Cabinet partners in limit of his ministers should practice administrative expert for the sake of the President. While fixing the President as a genuine official, the correction reestablished his formal and main part in the state undertakings. The notable alteration has finished any possibility of 'Horse Trading' and was moving or deferring in the exchange of force by the President. Furthermore, National Assembly should hold its first session on 21st day taking after the election if not previous called by the President. After election of Speaker, Deputy Speaker and Prime Minister, the central government should indicate its guidelines of the business for the smooth and reasonable lead of parliamentary business. Under the Article 92, the question with respect to the quality of the Cabinet individuals was likewise rethought and settled it at 11 for each penny of the Parliament's aggregate membership. Keeping in mind the end goal to maintain a strategic distance from any sort of unsettling influence in the present set up (coalition governments) it consented to take after the lines from next General Elections where PCCR has reshaped Article 106 which expanded the quantity of seats for ladies and minorities. Essentially, the working days for parliament gatherings expanded from 70 to 100 with the expansion of new duties by devolution of ministries.

The council of common interest is also called the heart of the federation of democratic state.(Zaferullah khan, 16 january 2017)The current body of the Council of Common Interests (CCI) has been fortified to play out the expanded duties under Article 153 in the favorable of Prime Minister. Now prime minister becomes the head of the council and provincial minister became the permanent member of the council. Prime minister nominated three persons from the federal government. In the same way, there are two members in the council from every provinces and the secretary of the council is selected from the prime minister province which is not part of council in the past. In any case, alongside Chief Ministers of every one of the four territories and three State Ministers must accept their obligations within 30 days of Prime Minister's Oath of the office keeping in mind the end goal to build the locale of CCI.A few subjects from precluded Concurrent List and few from Part I of the Federal Legislative List have been exchanged to Part II, speaking to shared duties of the Federal Legislature.

After section of the eighteenth Amendment, Federal List part-II went under the space of CCI including power and significant ports. The board should be as a team with the parliament concerning its exercises and might present its yearly answer to Senate and National Assembly both. The CCI has been endowed with its part of supervision, basic leadership and duties over the Federal Legislative List Part II.CCI as the protected body

would assume its part as viable gathering for debate determination and financial advancement of the state.

The PCCR also reviewed NEC whose jurisdiction shall be to give the proper recommendations to the government with respect to improve the economic condition of the state. It actually restructured NEC and included the Chief Ministers of all the federating units and their nominees as its members. Prime Minister, on the other hand, was given the authority and responsibility to nominate four other members for smooth functioning of the institution. The Council required submitting an annual report to the Senate and National Assembly and it shall remain responsible and accountable to the Parliament.

The Senate of Pakistan has some money related role under seventeenth amendment anyway it has not treated at standard with National Assembly. After eighteenth Amendment the presidential forces declaration of ordinance will connect with Senate and National Assembly. The president may proclaim mandates when the both the places of parliament are not in session. Originally under 1973 constitution it identified with National Assembly. The senate has additionally given the due part in various parliamentary panels and the legislature kept responsible to both the houses on the soul of parliamentary federalism. The presidential power for the burden of crisis subjected to the endorsement of each house.

In the event of province, a resolution of the province assembly of the concerned province should be required. The CCI, NEC and auditor general's reports might be introduced independently in Senate and National Assembly for endorsement. With the expansion of four minorities' seats the aggregate quality of senate expanded to 104 though the working days expanded from 90 days to 110 days. (Rizwan, 2014)

Since its creation Pakistan confronted the grave issue of provincialism which prompted to severance of the eastern wing. The changing of name from NWFP to KPK under eighteenth amendment has expanded feeling of hardship in the general population of Hazara. In April 2010 when the Hazara Province development turned forceful more than twelve of people lost their lives. Senator S. M. Zafar and Wasem Sajjad of (PML-Q) had recorded note of emphasis/contradiction for the benefit of their political party. Sardar Shahjahan Yousaf (PML-Q) dissented and moved a change in the eighteenth amendment charge which proposed "SARHAD" for KPK. Senator of Pakistan Raza Rabbani, director PCCR restricted his recommendation.

Sardar Shahjahan Yousaf included that if the ruling government neglected to comprehend the requests of the general population of Hazara than the general population should advance for the production of a different region HAZARA. Prof. Dr Razia Musarrat

clarified that the making of new areas would reinforce the organization yet this must be finished with the assent of the concerned units. She discounts the formation of the Hazara territory on etymological premise as the administration of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa would not acknowledge it. This level headed discussion on floor of house opened another Pandora box for the making of new territories which may get pace in future.

The 1973 constitution had enabled the president concern appointment of the judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts. This strategy criticized on different grounds and brought up many issues on the autonomy of judiciary. The PCCR suggested for setting up of a judicial commission under article 175 (A) for the appointment of the judges. The judicial commission made up of Chief Justice of Pakistan, two most senior judges, a resigned judge of Supreme Court, federal law minister, attorney general and senior advocate of Supreme Court should be the members. The Judicial Commission has adjusted the forces between the President and the Parliament as for legal arrangements. The judicial commission should prepare the name to an uncommon parliamentary advisory group for the parliamentary endorsement. The advisory group comprises of eight members similarly pleasing both the houses alongside government and might affirm legal arrangements. The judicial commission after affirmation of names should move it to president for arrangement of judges. The incorporation of parliamentary board of trustees during the time spent arrangement in legal affirms the matchless quality of the parliament.

Under the period of PPP eighteenth amendment extensively reinforced election commission of Pakistan. It expanded term of Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) from three to five years. The arrangement of Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) might be completed with the help of Prime Minister and opposition leader in National Assembly. They will send three names to the parliamentary advisory group of 12 individuals constituted from both the house, accommodating treasury and opposition seats. The individual who selected by the Parliamentary Committee should be elected as CEC by the President. The Election Commission of Pakistan should have five permanent members including the Chief Election Commissioner. The Commission should have power to manage the matters of election conducting in Pakistan. This correction in constitution will ensure the smooth exchange of force. (Muhammad Rizwan M. A., January 2014)

In Pakistan there have always been the questions on the transparency and fairness of the election. One of the reasons behind the fact was the caretaker set up, which was appointed for stop gape arrangement. After 18th amendment appointment of caretaker set up is no more responsibility of the president. Now the caretaker prime minister appoint by the president

with consultation of the out-going Prime Minister, the Opposition Leader and Cabinet members shall be appointed on the advice of the Caretaker Prime Minister. This changing will not only help in disheartening rigging in elections but also will make possible in the smooth shift of the power.

Further, Nineteenth amendment shall introduced by the PPP government. Nineteenth amendment is basically a change in the eighteen amendments. Many articles of eighteen amendment included article 175. An (arrangement of the judges) in the judicially had challenged in the Supreme Court. According to Supreme Court's a strong part of judicially has been limited by the PCCR. This circumstance may create conflict between the state institutions. With a specific end goal to watch the tri-chotomy of the reasons, the Constitutional Reform Committee (CRC) broke down the Supreme Court regarding the decision of Speaker of the National Assembly.

There is no doubt; the situation appeared to be troublesome for the ruling party. It was not a simple undertaking to bring all political parties on board once again to build up an agreement as there was the general observation that the foundations are moving towards an impact. To deal with the problem, the PCCR met to begin for further discussion. For the purpose of parliamentary matchless quality it promised to guarantee the judicial autonomy. The Parliament by and large conceded to the bill. Nonetheless, the drafted of the revision bill set up in the light of Supreme Court's guidelines. (Ahmed, 2010)

By exploiting the overarching positive political circumstance, Prime Minister Mr. Yousaf Raza Gillani supported that the going of two constitutional changes in a limited time period as the aftereffect of compromise among the political parties. No doubt, the tolerances and maturity showed by the political party in power has shielded the nation from institutional conflict.

Like many other immature states, there is a trend in Pakistan. After any election the loser party made allegation against the winning party that he was rigging in election. In many events the caretaker government also favors one political party than the other. But government and the opposition made positive step in caretaker setup to ensure the transparency of election. 20th amendment is the landmark to ensure the transparency of the election in the country

The twentieth amendment passed with the common accord of the both opposition and the ruling elites like eighteenth and nineteenth amendments. To lead a free and reasonable election through an independent election commission is the will of two standard political parties in COD and supported by other political parties in the Parliament.

Disqualification of Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani

The top judge disqualifies the Prime Minister of Pakistan on the scandal of memo. The chief justices Iftikhar Ahmed Chaudhry dismissed prime minister because he had been not reopening the corruption cases on the president Asif Raza Gillani. The Prime Minister had stated that he will not accept a state within a state. (DWAN.COM, 19 Jun 2012) On January 19, 2012, Gilani was summoned to the Supreme Court of Pakistan, to oppose charges against disregard of court. Prime Minister Gilani repeated that he didn't mean any lack of regard to the judicial system, the constitution and did not relate with the Swiss government because President Zardari had full political immunity.

The Supreme Court of Pakistan had declared to prosecute Prime Minister Gilani for disrespect of court on February 2, 2012 and summoned the head to appear before of the court on February 13, 2012. Gilani had found at fault to disrespect of the supreme court of Pakistan on April 26, 2012. The Supreme Court of Pakistan has announced to indict Gilani for contempt of court on February 2, 2012 and summoned the premier to appear before the court on February 13, 2012. However, Gilani has decided to file an appeal before appearing in the court of law. The circumstance was seen and spread by the media that the institutions of the country were going towards conflict. Because of the ruling People's Party hosts summoned its parliamentary meeting conviction where Jahangir Badar, Secretary General of PPP, affirmed that the cabinet stood broke up after the ineligibility of Prime Minister on the parliamentary customs that "wherever in the world where the Prime Minister is gone the Cabinet is vanished" (Daily Dawn, June 20, 2012).

According to their dedication the large portion of the party authority remained submitted with the legislative issues of settlement and in the wake of satisfying every single constitutional demand the new Cabinet shaped in the leadership of Raja Perviz Ashraf, who stayed in power till the expiry of five-year term of PPP-drove coalition government.

Five year's performance of National Assembly of Pakistan during 2008 to 2013

The notable enactment saw the parliamentary administration 2008-2013 to cover practically every stroll of human life. The Parliament effectively passed a total of 134 bills including three historic constitutional amendments and set out the tradition to pass private bills. Also, As Pakistan had encountered a claimed history of election, keeping it in view both PPP and PML (N), have chosen under COD to present changes in election. A self-sufficient, fair and autonomous Election Commission affirmed to be built up. Among other administrative and political issue, some social matters also talked about in the eighteenth amendment. Despite the fact that the Constitution of 1973 supports enactment for ladies

security and ensures their full contribution in all walks of life but it couldn't work adequately because of unremitting interferences.

The Parliament passed a various basic bits of enactment concentrating on acid throwing, Sexual harassment at their working spots, hostile to ladies hones and to build up a national commission to set a parameter about ladies status. The assembly additionally administered for the Child Rights so as to give them violence and abuse free condition with the arrangement of quickly relief allowance. Meanwhile, general request to handle the short falls emergency had expanded as a result of environmental change and a worldwide temperature alteration. To meet the requests, Parliament legislature body to oversee the energy shortfalls. Thus, the bills were recording for the foundation and strengthening of Educational Institution. The House had taken various measures to guarantee the privilege and freedoms of average workers. The COD's signatories concurred for the foundation of National Democracy Commission to elevated law based culture and to give help to the administrators to their ability building. The association was accepted to offer a specialist see on various social and political issues and to help the parliament to make a friendly law for Pakistani society. So as to have a powerful charge and control framework, the National Command Authority (NCA) Bill enabled the Prime Minister to be the Chairman of NCA, which should practice specialist over all atomic and space technology. It was a decent delineation to show the system of check and adjust in which the President expected to move his power to the Prime Minister.

The COD, emphasized that matchless quality will be enhanced to help the overall population, with the admission to collective services. Under the direction of President Asif Ali Zardari the administration received numerous positive proposal started by the restriction under the genuine soul of governmental issues of compromise and convenience. He encouraged advancing the governmental issues of compromise for the best survival of the state and the framework.

Pakistan People Party suited numerous political performing artists in the House. At first it shaped the coalition government with PML (N), JUI (F) and ANP. Later on the new setup had shaped with PML (Q), following quite a while of turmoil in PPP's made the alliance with PML (N) and MQM, where Perviz Elahi appointed as deputy and PML (Q) members were enlisted into the government cabinet. Their votes assisted the PPP pick up a surer balance. Then again, as a counter-move, PML (N) assembled an organization together with religious and patriot parties. The coalition with PML (Q) was to run smooth administration the section and execution of legislation and for the survival of the democratic

setup. Additionally, Dr. Ferdous Ashiq Awan, Information and Broad casting Minister, said that the cabinet increment would be made by the protected needs. She made it clear that PPP, having confidence in the strategy of compromise, will accept every single political drive to choose national issues. The coalition, doubtlessly, assisted PPP from the condition of instability and gave quality to the coalition so it could concentrate on the national issues rather on the survival of the country. Five years of government ensuring the autonomy of provinces, restored the constitution of Islamic republic as well as empower the women. Despite the fact that the lower house's five years are characterized by issues of national security, political unbalance, official legal pressure, civil-military relations and the energy breakdown, it showed occasions of political unanimity.

The 10 parliamentary parties on both sides of the walkway interceded compromise on issues that has the capability of upsetting the democratic process. For example, the memo gate issues. For the first time in the history of Pakistan the national assembly chose the women speaker, the President tended to the joint sessions of the parliament for five back to back years. Taking after the set up parliamentary custom, the Leader of the Opposition selected as the seat of the Public Accounts Committee. Besides, legislators from the opposition branches were chosen seats of the Standing Committees.

The head of the government also resign from his seat due to the disqualification by the Supreme Court and another Leader of the House selected in the fifth parliamentary year. Additionally in the fifth parliamentary year 11 MNAs resigned from his seats due to the dual nationalities.

Bills passed by parliament

Bills	Total No
National Assembly	134
Government bills	116
Private bills	18
Bills become law	81

(Muhammad Rizwan M. A., May 2014)

189 private bills introduced in the national assembly in which 135 private bills were for only amending the pervious law. On the other hand, the government of Pakistan had introduced 23rd constitution amendment. The purpose of 23rd amendment had reserved seats for minorities both in national assembly as well as in provincial assembly but this amendment not passed by the lower house. (National Assembly of Pakistan: Five year performance

(2008 to 2013)) In the first parliamentary years the national assembly passed the resolution to tackling the extremism in the country the military operation in Swat was the backdrop of this resolution. While, in the same year the anti terrorism act was amended two times.

Conclusion

Pakistan people party played very effective role in his tenure. He not only done different amendments in the constitution for strength democratic system but also completed it fully tenure. Eighteenth amendment is significantly important development in the constitution. Eighteenth amendment has limited president power. Now all power vested to the prime minister. Additionally, the sovereignty of parliament had been restored. Now, it will not use as the rubber stamp. Restoration of the judiciary and provincial autonomy are the most important achievements of government. The ruling party resolved many issues with the mutual understanding. Ruling party adopted the policy of reconciliation which was very helpful for PPP government to complete its tenure. No doubt, Opposition parties were giving fully support to ruling party to do many important amendments in constitution. In spite, all these development government was involving in corruption charges, nepotism and mismanagement. During the PPP rule government failed to control the energy crisis and terrorism.

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