

**PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF: EVOLUTION,
PERFORMANCE AND PROSPECTS**



RESEARCHER:

**MUHAMMAD ASIF AYUB
REG. NO. 2-FSS/PHDPS/F12**

SUPERVISOR:

**DR. AKHTAR HUSSAIN
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

2021

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in the Discipline of Pakistan Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD.

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

2021



*In the name of Allah,
the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful*

DEDICATION

This Research Work is dedicated

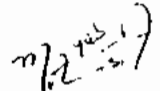
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GHAZALA & AHTASHAM

DECLARATION

I, Muhammad Asif Ayub hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by me in its entirety on the basis of my research work under the sincere & heartfelt guidance of my supervisor- Dr. Akhtar Hussain at the Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad.

No portion of this Dissertation has either been copied from any source nor has been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university of educational institution.


Muhammad Asif Ayub
2-FSS/PHDPS/F-12

FORWARDING SHEET

This Dissertation, titled "PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF: EVOLUTION, PERFORMANCE AND PROSPECTS, put forward by Mr. Muhammad Asif Ayub, Registration No: 2-FSS/PHDPS/F12 in partial fulfilment for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Pakistan Studies, has been successfully completed under my guidance, care and supervision.

I am satisfied with the excellence of scholar's research work and he is allowed to get his dissertation in its indistinguishable formation configuration (Subsequent to having had all supplementary accomplishments if there any exist, congregated) submitted for the finishing point of go forward course of action as per modus operandi of Interantional Islamic University, Islamabad.



ASSISTANT PROFESSOR DR. AKHTAR HUSSAIN
Research Supervisor

ACCEPTANCE BY THE VIVA-VOCE COMMITTEE

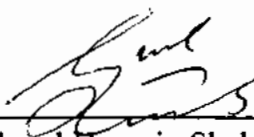
Title of Dissertation: **"PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF: EVOLUTION,
PERFORMANCE AND PROSPECTS"**

Name of Student: **MUHAMMAD ASIF AYUB**
Registration No.: **02-FSS/PHDPS/F-12**


Accepted by the Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University, Islamabad, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in the Discipline of PAKISTAN STUDIES

VIVA-VOCE COMMITTEE

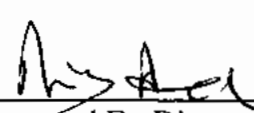
Professor Dr. Amna Mahmood
Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD




Assistant Professor Dr. Syed Akmal Hussain Shah, In-Charge, Department of History &
Pakistan Studies, FSS, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD



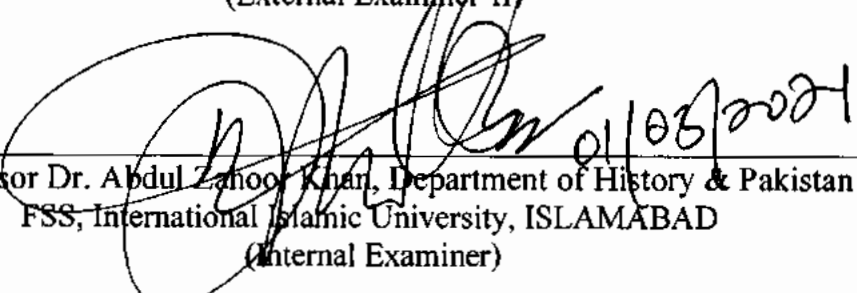
Assistant Professor Dr. Akhtar Hussain, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, FSS,
International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD
(Supervisor)



Professor Dr. Riaz Ahmad, Professor of History and Ex-Director NIHCR, ISLAMABAD
(External Examiner-I)



Professor Dr. Javed Haider Syed, Ex-Professor of History, University of Gujrat, GUJRAT
(External Examiner-II)



Assistant Professor Dr. Abdul Zanoor Khan, Department of History & Pakistan Studies,
FSS, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD
(Internal Examiner)

Dated: **March 01, 2021**

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Beyond measure & too wonderful thanks to ALLAH (سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى Subhanahu wa-ta'ala) - The Supreme Creator of the whole universe and the world hereafter, who until the end of time guides in gloominess as well as in light & illumination, does help in difficulties and Prime respects and honors to the absolute (Last & Final), the most beloved Prophet MUHAMMAD (S. A. W. W) - Mercy for all the worlds, who enabled the human-being to recognise his Creator.

It is really difficult to include the names of all those persons who did involve directly or indirectly in the accomplishment of this research. I have secured guidance and help of many individuals and institutions.

First of all, I would like to express my deepest sense of gratitude and indebtedness to my commendable supervisor, Dr. Akhtar Hussian, for his invaluable guardianship and scholarly supervision. His knowledge, expertise, skilfulness and guidance were a great source of strength and motivational all along-from the very beginning till the end.

Many thanks go to Dr. Syed Akmal Hussain Shah – my creditable teacher & Incharge Department of History & Pakistan Studies - who made me accessible the very foundation that led to the finishing point of this study.

I am very much grateful to Dr. Mujeeb Ahmad and Dr. Safiullah Khan Marwat for their guidance.

My paramount gratitude goes to Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan who guided me and corrected the very pitch for my research that I dreamt to have.

I cannot remain thankful to my worthy father – Subedar Muhammad Ayub (Retd.) and praiseworthy mother who had always prayed for all the successes and highest points of mine in my life.

It will be a pretermineed injustice if I ignore my family members; who all provided me moral support during my whole research. More than ever, I owe my special gratitude to my wife Ghazala Asif and son Ahtasham who suffered a lot due to my research work but despite of this kept on supporting me.

I owe my special gratitiue to my best friend Habib-ur-Reham. who with his great & grand patience, understanding and encouragement helped me to complete this dissertation.

I am very much indebted to former President of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Hamid Khan and former Additional Secretary General Saifullah Khan Niazi, Asad Umer, Memeber of the National Assembly of PTI, Iftikhar Durrani, Director Central Media PTI for giving me their most valuable and precious time to interview.

Regarding the collection of material, I am greatly thankful to the staff of Press and Information Department, Islamabad, which provided me primary sources of material belonging to my research work. Else. of it, I am thankful to the staff of Central Library of International Islamic University, Islamabad, Central Library Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and National Library, Islamabad.

Muhmmad Asif Ayub
Reg. No. 2-FSS/PHDPS/F12

ABSTRACT

The intention and purpose of this research is to understand the genesis, evolution, performance and prospects of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf from 1996 to 2018. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) was founded on 25 April 1996 to make Pakistan an Islamic welfare state. It faced a variety of challenges, trials, contests and resistances prior to its emergence as the largest political party in the general election 2018 and the formation of its governments in the Centre and the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhawa (KP) and Punjab. The watershed of this struggle is, bound by an era covered by different regimes from 1996 to 2018. During this period, it raised voices against the *status quo* forces and faced various kinds of crisis. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf confronted significant hardships and challenges to prove its worth. Factors like ideology, electoral manifestoes and strategies, organisational structure and untiring efforts of popular mobilisation, along with performance of PTI's government in the province of KP and the politics of PTI as an opposition in the National and Provincial Assemblies of the Punjab and Sindh contributed to its success. Despite ruthlessness of the *status quo* political forces and betrayals of its own members, it managed to cope with all the difficulties with the charisma and leadership qualities of Imran Khan.

The researcher has tried his level best to answer the following questions in this study:

- 1- How PTI emerged and evolved as a largest Political Party in Pakistan?
- 2- Which factors played the role in the genesis and evolution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, 1996-2018?
- 3- What role the Leadership of Imran Khan, the organizational structure and the Party Programme played in PTI's growth?
- 4- To what extent PTI's electoral strategies, role as an opposition and performance as a ruling party in KP contributed in its evolution and prospects.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJIP	Awami Jamhoori Ittehad Pakistan
AL	Awami League
ANP	Awami National Party
APDM	All Parties Democratic Movement
ARD	Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy
AJKMC	Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference
BISP	Benazir Income Support Program
CM	Chief Minister
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
IDP	Internally Displaced People
JIP	Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan
JUI	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam
JUP	Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan
JIT	Joined Investigation Team
JSQM	Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaz
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
KPEZDMC	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Economic Zones Development & Management Company

LFO	Legal Framework Order
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
NA	National Assembly
NAB	National Accountability Bureau
NDP	National Democratic Party
NIP	Nizam-e-Islam Party
NRO	National Reconciliation Ordinance
PDP	Pakistan Democratic Party
PMAP	Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PML (N)	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PPP	Pakistan Peoples' Party
PPPP	Pakistan Peoples' Party Parliamentarians
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
QWP	Qaumi Watan Party
SKMT	Shaukat Khanum Memorial Trust

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf emerged as the largest political party in the general election 2018. It formed governments in the Centre and the Province of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Punjab. The emergence of PTI on the political scene of Pakistan fascinated the author towards studying it with academic orientation, as there is no such research on this topic. Normally in the political culture of Pakistan, political parties have emerged with the support of civil or military establishment with few exceptions. Republican Party emerged overnight on the instigation of the then Governor General Sahibzada Iskander Ali Mirza who had the backing of civilian establishment. Convention Muslim League was organised to the first military ruler General Ayub Khan. Similarly, Pakistan Muslim League (Q) was the brainchild of General Pervez Musharraf. Another point of fascination is the way Imran Khan mobilised youth, women and upper strata of the Pakistani society. Most importantly, the way he challenged and made efforts relentlessly over the years to defeat the *status quo* forces, which have deeply entrenched in political culture of Pakistan.

There is a need to find out that how PTI gained strides of success in the general election 2018, what role leadership played in the evolution and growth of the party. Apart from it, equally important is to understand the role of the electoral manifestos and electoral strategy of PTI in its evolution.

This research work has intended to and tried to unfold these realities about PTI by focusing on the research questions as how PTI emerged, and evolved as a political party in Pakistan? Which factors played role in the evolution of PTI, 1996-2018? What role the leadership played in PTI's growth? To what extent organisational structure and party

programme contributed in its flourishing? How elections and electoral policies of PTI helped her to emerge as the largest political party of Pakistan in the general election 2018? What kind of role the politics of PTI as an opposition in the National and the Provincial Assemblies of the Punjab and the Sindh played in the evolution of the party and expected impacts on its prospects? What kind of role popular mobilisation by PTI played in its evolution and expected impacts on its prospects. How the performance of PTI as a ruling party in the KP contributed in its evolution and expected imprints on its prospects. The researcher has made an effort to answer these questions specifically and questions of similar nature with divergent approaches generally.

The present research aimed at analysing the evolution, performance and prospects of PTI, as a political party in Pakistan from 1996-2018: In this research work, efforts are, made to dig out the genesis of PTI. To find out how the organisational structure and programme of the party played a role in widening the scope of the party. To highlight what role the leadership of Imran Khan played in the growth of the party and to explore the role of the electoral manifestos and electoral strategy of PTI in making it the largest political party (from nowhere)¹ in the general election, 2018.

JUSTIFICATION AND IMPORTANCE OF THE TOPIC:

This topic is important, as no such research has conducted on this topic previously. The detailed study is, conducted to find out the origin and history of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf as a political party, which emerged as the largest political party in Pakistan in the general election of 2018. Secondly, Leadership plays important role in the evolution and growth of any party, ² the role of the Leadership of Imran Khan is, discussed in detail. Thirdly, it

¹As the party managed to win a single seat in 2002 general election which was the first contested by the party and none in 2008 general election as boycotted by PTI while in the general election 2013 it emerged as the third largest political party and formed government in KP.

²As was in the case of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah for All India Muslim League, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for Pakistan People's Party and as is Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif for Muslim League (N).

is helpful to understand the role of the electoral manifestos and electoral strategy of PTI in its evolution. This research work is also very helpful to understanding the genesis, evolution and prospects of any party especially PTI. The way this research is, conducted it added new knowledge about the political history and political parties of Pakistan.

KEY RESEARCH QUESTION:

How PTI emerged and evolved as a largest Political Party in Pakistan?

Sub Questions:

- 1) Which factors played the role in the genesis and evolution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, 1996-2018?
- 2) What role the Leadership of Imran Khan, the organizational structure and the Party Programme played in PTI's growth?
- 3) To what extent PTI's electoral strategies, role as an opposition and performance as a ruling party in KP contributed in its evolution and prospects.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE:

In order to understand the phenomena of the evolution, performance and prospects of PTI, the study explored the factors, which led to the formation of a political party, focusing specially on Pakistan. The main causes which contributed in the genesis and birth of a new political party are; the dissatisfaction of people with the performance of existing political parties and political leadership and their inability to solve the problems of the people. In the genesis of PTI, the dissatisfaction of Imran Khan and his supporters with the performance of political parties and their leadership especially Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Pakistan Peoples' Party played vital role, which led him to jump into politics. Secondly, the different political forces, which wanted to win over the support of Imran Khan on their side, also played a vital role. The main issues in the eyes

of Imran Khan were corruption and corrupt leadership in Pakistan. In pursuit of developing a conceptual framework, the researcher reviewed the following available literature on the political parties of Pakistan.

Pakistan: Rule of Muslim League and Inception of Democracy (1947-54) by Safdar Mehmood (Mehmood, 1997) provided historical background, which culminated in the establishment of Pakistan under the leadership of Muslim League. The book provided an analysis of the early politics of Muslim league with reference to its Leadership crisis and provincial politics based on self-centred interests and intrigues. The author discussed in detail the policies of Muslim League as a ruling party from 1947-54 which led to the decline of the party under which Pakistan was established.

Rafique Afzal (Afzal M. R., 1998) in his book *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-58* is of the view that experiment of parliamentary democracy by political parties in Pakistan from 1947-58 failed due to undemocratic and unorganised party structure. He explained the policies of political parties both at central and provincial level in detail.

The politics of parties, which remained in power from 1947-58, either major or minor, are discussed by K. K. Aziz (Aziz, 2007) in his book, *Party Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1958*. He analysed parties' reaction on different issues, causes of change of policies, intrigues, motives behind coalitions and then causes of break up, effects of intellectual and social environment on political parties and their response to such situation. He also deeply analysed the quality of leadership, which failed to develop democratic norms, values and traditions.

Zarina Salamat in her book *Pakistan 1947-58: An Historical Review* (Salamat, 1992) gave summary of historical events which paved the way to establishment of Pakistan. She

described initial problems of Pakistan, most importantly, formation of constitution, question of federalism and regionalism. She also mentioned the involvement of bureaucracy in politics and challenges for Pakistan in International relations. She analysed organisation and role of political parties like Pakistan Muslim League, Krishak Sramik Party, The United Front, Ganatanti Dal, Nizam-e-Islam Party, the Republican Party, Khudi Khidmatgars, Wrore Pukhtoon, Sind Awami Mahaz, Azad Pakistan Party, Pakistan National Party, National Awami Party, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and the Communist Party.

From 1947-58. Pakistan confronted political problems regarding formation of constitution, involvement of military and bureaucracy in politics, regionalism, Islam and intrigues of political parties. These problems were because of tussle between political leaders and alliance of military and civil bureaucracy but Khalid B. Saeed (Saeed, 1967) in his book, *The Political System of Pakistan* is of the view that political parties were responsible for it. He further described the reason that neither leaders of political parties in East Pakistan nor West Pakistan solved these problems based on political norms and rules. Due to such undemocratic approach, political institutions could not strengthen its roots in political system of Pakistan, while on the other side military entrenched in political system of Pakistan along with civil bureaucracy.

Political Parties in Pakistan: 1958-69 by Rafique Afzal (Afzal M. R., 1998). He explained the party politics under the Martial Law of General Ayub Khan. He gave the detailed sketch of policies of Pakistan Muslim League, Convention Muslim League and Council Muslim League in comparison with religious parties like Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan, NIP, and JIP. He also described the policies of Awami League, NAP and PPP. Detailed analysis of policies of General Ayub Khan is, given until the end of his regime.

In a book, *The Pakistan Peoples' Party. Rise to Power*, written by Philip E. Jones (Jones, 2003) gave the evolution of party from 1967 to 1970 election, i.e. during the period of General Muhammad Ayub Khan and General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan period. He described institutional innovation and social change during the period of General Ayub Khan and then the response of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, which gave him popularity as a national leader. The author has explained foundations and social origin of PPP, which played a vital role in the fall of General Ayub Khan Regime. He also gave detailed study of organisation and ideology of PPP and its pre-poll and post election role during General Agha Muhammad Yahya's period.

In *Pakistan Peoples' Party, The First Phase: 1967-71*, written by Hassan Askari Rizvi (Rizvi, 1973) described the causes of establishment of the party and the steps which it took to challenge the regime of General Muhammad Ayub Khan. He also discussed thoroughly the prevailing conditions at the time of the general election 1970 and the manifesto of Pakistan Peoples' Party. The results of the election in East Pakistan and the West Pakistan are analysed, and the process of transfer of power is given due consideration by the author.

Rafique Afzal (Afzal M. . 2001) in his book *Political Parties in Pakistan 1969-71* gave the accounts of policies of political parties. He provided details of Martial Law imposed by General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan. He explained the policies of political parties like JIP, NIP JUP, AL, NAP and PPP. He discussed in detail the situation created by election of 1970 and the response of political parties in East Pakistan and West Pakistan. A detailed study of breakdown of negotiations and tragedy of fall of Dacca is given.

The Muslim League of Pakistan 1947-77 by Yuri Ponomarves (Ponomarev, 1986) dealt with the history of PML, which is an English version. It is consisted of two parts. In first

part Muslim League's history from 1906-47 is discussed while second part dealt with history from 1947-77. Yuri explained the PML's policies in power from 1947-54. Then he discussed Muslim league's position from 1948-54. He gave detailed accounts of PML policy under Martial Law from 1958-71 and the regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from 1971-77.

The Politics of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Pakistan by Sayyid A. S. Pirzada (Pirzada, 2000). He explained in detail the past politics of Jamiat from 1913-70. Then he analysed the role of Jamiat as an opposition party from 1973-77 along with its role and policies with reference to Pakistan National Alliance. He analysed the views of Jamiat on international relations and its concept of welfare state.

Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan. 1948-1979 written by Mujeeb Ahmad (Ahmad M. , 1993) in which he described the formation and working of the party from 1948-79 by giving the detailed accounts of Kashmir war, anti Qadiani Movement, All Pakistan Sunni Conferences. 1965 election, Markazi Jamiat ul-Mashaikh Pakistan and West Pakistan Jamiat ul-Mashikh Pakistan. He also explained the role of this party in the election of 1970. He elaborated its policies during Bhutto period and in the general election 1977 along with Tehrik-i-Nizam-Mustafa and Martial Law regime of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. In the end, he has discussed the party constitution and organisation.

Pakistan under Martial Law. 1977-85 by Muhammad Waseem (Waseem, 1987) described General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's policies and reaction of political parties, political alliances and intelligentsia. He analysed the types of political leaders like Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Mohammad Asghar Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He compared the policies of political parties i.e. PPP, TI, PML, JIP, JUI and JUP.

Kalim Bahadur in his book, *The Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan, Political thought and Political Action* (Bahadur, 1977), gave the detail of its political activities in the light of Pakistan's socio-economic and political problems. He also provided detailed study of the organisational structure and ideology of JIP.

Jamaat-e-Islami, The Catalyst of Islamisation in Pakistan, by Pooja Joshi (Joshi, 2003) provided information about the genesis and evolution of the party along with ideology and organisation. The author further explained the role of the party from 1947-77. Else of it, analysed the policies of party during Martial Law from 1977-86 on one hand and under civilian rule from 1986-91 on the other hand.

A complete history of PPP with special emphasis on the leadership from Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto along with party's constitution, organisation, ideology and achievements are, discussed in detail by Rajkumar (Rajkumar, 2008) in his book *Pakistan Peoples' Party, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. He also described the problems faced by the party and in its light tried to explain the past and future of party with reference to the leadership of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto.

Hasan Askari Rizvi (Rizvi, 2003) in his book *Military, State and Society in Pakistan* is of the view that political parties in Pakistan and leadership both are suffering from lack of organised attitude due to which regional and biased political forces got strength. It happened due to violation of democratic norms and rules by the political parties. It made political parties incompetent in front of military and civil bureaucracy. Instead of guiding military and civil bureaucracy, political leaders have become puppets in their hands.

Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History by Lawrence Ziring (Ziring, 2003) declared that political parties in Pakistan are responsible for the failure of democracy. It

is because of crisis of political leadership, regional politics and unorganised political parties. On the other hand, military and civil bureaucracy is well trained and organised. Due to this imbalance, party politics is a failure in Pakistan.

Frank Huzur (Huzur, 2011) in the biography of Imran Khan i.e. *Imran vs Imran: The Untold Story* described his inspiration for Imran Khan as a cricketer and provided information about his cricket career. He told that Imran Khan got his education from Oxford University, UK. He went on to narrate his success as captain of Pakistan cricket team. Then he mentioned about his marriage with Jemimah Goldsmith. They married and soon moved to live in Pakistan but marriage did not last and ended in an amicable divorce. After divorce, he constructed Shaukat Khanam Memorial Hospital in memory of his beloved mother who passed away from Cancer. After achieving this, he turned to Politics, fought for freedom and equal rights of people of Pakistan.

Pakistan, A personal history, autobiography by Imran Khan gives (Khan, 2012) detail of the author's cricketing career till 1992. Then he explained the causes of failure of democracy in Pakistan from 1988-93. He dedicated one chapter in which he wrote about Shaukat Khanum Hospital. He also described his marital life from 1995 to 2004. He mentioned about the rule of General Pervez Musharraf and his relations and parting of the relations in detail. After 9/11, the situation which took shape of civil war in the Tribal Area, he analysed and gave his suggestion to solve it. In the end, he stressed to rediscover Iqbal's ideas with special reference to rebuilt Pakistan.

Xiang Wu and Salman Ali wrote in research article published in Chinese Political Science Review (Ali X. W., 2020) titled as *The Novel Changes in Pakistan's Party Politics: Analysis of Causes and Impacts* are of the view that PTI emerged as a largest political party by challenging two mainstream political parties i.e. PPP and PML (N) and

has broken domination of two party system. PTI successfully emerged as the largest political party as a result of the general election 2018 by challenging the status quo political forces through organisational mobilisation, ideology, counter narrative and redeeming civil military balance.

The crux of the literature review is that Rafique Afzal, K. K. Aziz and Zarina Salamat described the history of some of the most important political parties and explained their genesis and evolution. Khalib B. Saeed elaborated political system of Pakistan and explained tussle between political leaders and alliance of military and civil bureaucracy.

Philip E. Jones elaborated the evolution of PPP from 1967-70 and the role, played by its manifesto and leadership of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto while Hassan Askari Rizvi described its evolution from 1967-71. Rajkumar further elaborated the history of PPP with special reference to role played by its leadership Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto.

Yuri Ponomarves and Safdar Mehmood described the evolution, organisational structure and causes of downfall of Pakistan Muslim League in detail while Sayyid A. S. Pirzada, Mujeeb Ahmad, Kalim Bahadur and Pooja Joshi elaborated the history and organisational structure of religious parties like Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Pakistan, Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan and Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan respectively.

Lawrence Ziring described the characteristics of political culture of Pakistan. The most important of them are crisis of political leadership, regional politics, unorganised political parties and interference of military and civil bureaucracy in politics while Frank Huzur gave the details of cricketing career of Imran Khan. Else, of its Imran Khan in his autobiography provided details of his life.

The Literature reviews shows that in Pakistan, different political parties came into power in the name of democracy, and to solve the problems of people, but none of the party could bring Pakistani masses out of the crisis fully. Different writers and researchers gave different reasons for the failures of political parties on one hand and the emergence of new political parties on the other hand. Regarding the genesis, evolution, performance and prospects of the political parties almost all the above-mentioned writers have unanimity that disappointments of people from prevailing political leadership and leadership crisis played important role in the genesis of new political parties. With the passage of time, it became evident that old political parties started to work towards their self-centred interests and deviated from the ideological foundation of the party, which paved way for the emergence of new parties. Another factor, which led to the genesis of new parties, was the undemocratic, unorganised and dynastic structure of the old parties, which compelled people to think about new platforms.

The literature review indicates that in the evolution of all political parties in Pakistan the leadership of party played vital role. Majority of the political parties in Pakistan revolves around the personality of the leader or the legacies left by the leadership of the parties. Else of it. factors like ideology of political parties, organisational structure, electoral manifesto and campaign also plays complementary role in the evolution of the party but most importantly its style of governance and way of opposition plays deep rooted role in their performance and future prospects.

Another important point which literature review depicts are the problems which political parties had to face regarding their evolution, performance and prospects are the politics of alliances, coalition partners, interference of bureaucracy and military. Therefore, in the evolution, performance and prospects of any political party in Pakistan factors like

Leadership, ideology and organisational structure, its technique to popular mobilisation, its way of governance and opposition plays important role. Secondly, in the success and failures of any political party two types of factors play important role i.e. politics of alliances, coalition partners, interference of bureaucracy and military along with factors which are mentioned. Else of it, the elements of religion, regionalism, provincialism, factions, creed, cast and most importantly the challenges at the front of foreign policy like relations with USA, China, India and Muslim countries always played intricate role in the performance and prospects of political parties in Pakistan. In a way like this, dissertation is divided into eight chapters.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

Political parties are imperative for the success of democracy. The pattern of political party defines the nature of the government. Political parties make a difference between democracy and dictatorship. Political parties play central role for democracy and government. There are different party systems in different states. One party or single party system is a system in which one party enjoys the power. Although other minor parties do exist, but have to follow the dominant party (Fainsod. 1968). The two party system or bi-party system is a system in which two parties compete and hold dominant positions, as is in the United States of America and the Great Britain. In such a system, it is very difficult for third party to compete the dominant parties for the office (Carter. 1973). The Multi party system is a system in which more than two parties compete to get their representatives elected as in France, Italy and Japan (Rodee. 1983).

PARTY SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN:

In Pakistan, there is a multi-party system. According to the Election Commission of Pakistan, there are three hundred and forty five registered political parties in Pakistan (List of Political Parties in Pakistan, 2018). The main reason is diversity in social

structure. There are religious, cultural, ideological, ethnic and regional differences in Pakistan. Such differences create space for numerous and diverse political parties. Regarding divergent nature of political party, Neumann (1957) was of the view that political party is “The articulate organisation of society’s active political agents, those who are concerned with the control of governmental power and who compete for popular support with another group or groups, holding divergent views. As such, it is the great intermediary which links social forces and ideologies to official governmental institutions and relates them to political action within the larger political community”.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN:

Some of the most important political parties of Pakistan were Pakistan Muslim League, Pakistan Muslim League (Convention), Pakistan Muslim League (Junejo), Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-i-Azam) and Pakistan Peoples’ Party. When people become disappointed of old political parties, new political parties come into being. PTI came into being to challenge the status quo forces particularly PPP and PML (N) and substituted old political leadership and political orders. The factors which contributed in the genesis of PTI are elaborated in chapter one.

In Pakistan there are various religious political parties as well which are making efforts to bring Islamic system in Pakistan. Most important of them are Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (S & F), and Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan. Else of these, there are various regional political parties like Awami National Party, Muttahida Qaumi Movement and Qaumi Watan Party.

LEADERSHIP:

Leadership is very important for any political party. The best political leadership always serves the interest of the country and the masses concerned irrespective of personal gains. Good political leadership possesses charisma, integrity and has the ability to assess a

situation in order to make a decision in the best interest of the country and the masses. In any political framework, leadership needs statesmanship to stand up for what is right, even if it means vacating a position in government or losing a contest.

It is difficult to give unanimous definition of leadership because there is no unanimity about leadership qualities. On one hand, different leaders possess different leadership qualities and on the other hand, leadership criterion is also different because of difference in political cultures. It is very difficult to give universal definition of leadership due to dynamics and complexity of the concept of leadership. According to Stogdill "there are almost as many definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept" (Stogdill, 1974).

Austin and Willmoore (Ranney A. &., 1956) differentiate leaders from rest of the people based on three symptoms. Firstly, a person whose achievements in particular society are higher as compare to others. Secondly, a person who gets distinction in a particular activity from rest of the group because of his or her distinguishes. Thirdly, a person whose qualities become so reliable, attractive and persuasive that people get start to follow him/her in a group and this person increases the performance of the group as a leader.

Most of the time people mix leaders and authorities. There is difference in between leaders and authorities. As Frankl (Frankl A. . 1998) says, authorities are those persons who represent his or her formal position in an organisation. It is the duty of such authority to control the behaviour of subordinates. In case of leadership, a person persuades and influence others behaviour with the help of his or her leadership qualities. Real leaders never coerce followers but guide them to achieve goals.

Beach (Beach. 1985) is of the view that leadership is a tool in which leader manages his/her followers with the help of inspiration and persuasion. Leaders do not threat or

coerce their followers. Leaders always influences their followers to get collective aims and objectives fulfilled (Chelladuria, 1980). Robbins (1992) says that leader is a person of action who motivates and people follow him/her willingly.

In order to understand the phenomena of leadership from special reference to the leadership of a political party, Huckshorn divides leadership into two types. i.e. party leadership and public party leadership. By party leaders he means, a person who does not struggle for public office but makes efforts to develop and organise a party and manage its affairs and to take it to the peak. On the other hand, a person who strives for public office like premiership, chief minister- ship or alike are known as public party leaders (Huckshorn, 1984).

LEADERSHIP THEORIES OR APPROACHES:

Theories of leadership help in explaining different aspects of leadership to understand and predict about the leadership qualities. There are various approaches about leadership, which can be, classified into four categories. i.e. Trait Approach, Behavioural Approach, Contingency Approach and Integrative Approach. The Trait Approach and Behavioural Approach are, also known as Universal Leadership Theories because these theories of leadership deal with all kinds of situation.

According to Trait Approach, leader's traits or qualities differentiate him from his followers or other peoples. Leader has inborn qualities which followers or laymen don't possess. Leader has extra ordinary qualities like self-confidence, dominance, trustworthiness, extroversion, emotional stability, assertiveness, awareness, tolerance, initiative, sensibility, sensitivity, tolerance, flexibility, resilience and courageous (DuBrin, 2012).

According to Behavioural Approach, the focal point of successful leader is his behaviour. This behaviour is again the product of traits and skills. The successful leader is the one

who uses his or her skills in any situation in such a way that lead to get optimum level of success. This approach was, developed by the Ohio State University after Second World War (Lussier R. N., 2012). Here behaviour means autocratic behaviour, democratic behaviour, task-oriented behaviour, people oriented behaviour or participative leader's behaviour.

Situational or Contingency Approach stresses on factors like leaders' personality traits, behaviour and situation. In situational leadership theory, it is observed that how situation affects leaders' personality traits and behaviour i.e. how leader react in a particular situation. While on the other hand contingency theories deal with the outcome of leaders' traits in a given situation. The permanent variables in situational or contingency theories are leaders' traits and behaviour, followers' response and the situation. How these three element i.e. leaders, followers and situation affect the performance of each other's. The Role Theory (Kahn R. L., 1964), Demand-Constraints-Choices Theory (Stewart, 1982), The Multiple Influence Theory (Hunt, 1982), Path-Goal Theory (House, 1971), Leadership Substitute Theory (Yukl G. A., 1992), Normative Decision Theory (Yukl G. A., 2007), Least Preferred Co-worker Theory (Fiedler F. E., 1993), Cognitive Resources Theory (Fiedler F. E., 1987), Multiple Linkage Theory (Yukl G. A., 2007), and Leader Environment-Followers Interaction Theory (Wafford, 1982) are, known as situational or contingency theories.

By Integrative Leadership Approach means, combination of traits, behavioural and contingency theories to explain influencing and successful leaders. There are two sub-categories in integrative leadership theories i.e. Charismatic Leadership and Transformational Leadership.

The word “Charisma” is a Greek word. It means a person having inborn gifted qualities and characteristics like visionary, communicative, trustworthy, energetic, emotional stability, risk taking abilities and strategist (DuBrin, 2012). According to Max Weber

A certain quality of an individual’s personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary and on the basis of them the individual is treated as a leader (Weber, 1964).

Max Weber is of the view that charisma must be, recognised by the followers and disciples and charismatic leader must have the ability to demonstrate his charisma in front of his followers to prove that he has ‘gift of grace’ (Weber, 1964). Weber is of the view that charismatic leader is the one who organise political activity and the followers follow their leader.

Sikandar Hayat elaborated. “Charisma is a function of both ‘personality’ and ‘situational’ factors. Personality-related factors are a necessary requirement for charisma, but they are not sufficient by themselves. There must first be a crisis or a distressful situation. Then, a potential charismatic leader may himself contribute to the making of this situation through his pronouncements, or actions, or both. Therefore it is important that the study of personality-related factors precedes the study of the situation, which the charismatic leader is called upon to deal with” (Hayat, 2008). Factors related to personality are the ability to bring out his followers out of distress, to lead his followers to salvation, to inspire his followers to gain their goals, absolute faith in his mission, passionate, dedicated, responsible, and exhibition of charismatic qualities. Factors related to situation are where traditional authority or, government becomes unable to solve the problem of people, institutions become unable to serve the masses and masses start to struggle to get out of frustration and distressful situation.

Transformational leader is the one who brings major changes in the system with the help of his or her charismatic qualities. A transformational leader can be a charismatic leader but a charismatic leader may not be a transformational leader. Such qualities are imperative for a transformational leaders i.e. vision, sense of mission, respect, confidence, loyalty, faith, pride and trust. (DuBrin, 2012).

In the light of above discussion it is deduced that charismatic leadership is the best leadership in the world which has qualities like determination, maturity, oratory, understanding of people's problems, communication skills, humility, compassion, substance, confidence, positive body language, listening skills, self monitoring, and self improvement.

Some of the qualities of charismatic leadership may vary due to the political culture of a particular state. For example, leader must have the knowledge of political culture of the state, compulsions and should be in a position to bring reforms without any chaos as much as possible.

In second chapter, an effort is made to find out the nature of political leadership of Imran Khan in the paradigm of Integrative Leadership Approach. In order to find out either Imran Khan is a charismatic leader or not in field of politics, aspect of his political career from 1996-2018 have been examined.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN:

Participation of political parties in election is essential to a democratic society (Dominguez, 1994). The main task of a political party is to participate in election. To participate in election, a party guides people to register their votes. Party starts enrolment and through electoral campaign, canvass for the party (Shringare, 2009). In order to

perform well in the election, political party has to nominate candidates, to structure the voting choice and propose alternative government programmes (Janda K. ., 2008).

Diverse kinds of issues lead to diversity in public opinion because not all people have same opinion on political issues. Different people have different opinions in light of the remedies suggested by different political parties. Political strategy and action of political parties mould public opinion (Dalton R. J., 2014).

A party acts as the vehicle of ideas and opinions of the people and a powerful instrument for holding elections. Without political parties the electorate would be highly diffused and atomized and opinions too variant and dispersive. Hence, the true reason for the existence of the party is brining public opinion to a focus and framing issues for the political verdict (Johari J. . 2006).

To know public opinion in action, results of the election proves that either a political party became successful in organising the public opinion or not (Thompson J. , 2013). So, electoral result is the best demonstration of public opinion.

Based on public opinion and party policies, political parties participate in election to get their candidates elected by the masses. The names of the candidates are. decided by the party, and on behalf of the party, candidates contest election. In order to get success in election, political parties prepare a comprehensive programme and agenda. With the help of canvassing, party demonstrates merits of the candidates to attract more and more voters. During the election campaign, party also spends money for candidate`s electoral expenses from party fund because it is not possible for an individual to meet expenditures for such huge campaign.

ELECTION MANIFESTO:

Election manifesto of a political party is a set of goals to be. achieved if a party wins election and comes to power. Election manifesto is very important because based on it voters take decision that to which party they should vote. Election manifesto explains the

policies, programme, ideology, aims and objectives of the party. In order to attract voters, election manifesto plays vital role (Kane, 2017). Party manifesto plays the role as “thematic foundation for the party’s electoral campaign” (Rallings, 1996). To get these aims and objectives, political parties prepare electoral strategy.

ELECTORAL STRATEGY:

Through electoral strategy, political parties prepare a plan to persuade voters in order to get victory. By election strategy, political parties highlight issues and problems of the people and give their solution through party manifesto in order to get votes. A good electoral strategy is the one, in which political parties know the reality about political situation of the country and set appropriate goals in manifesto to win the election. There should be a systematic and organised political campaign in order to popularise the party. Parties use latest means of advertisement to persuade more and more voters. A party should not make a complicated electoral strategy and take “three simple steps to win any [electoral] campaign: (1) Decide what you are going to say. (2) Decide how you are going to say it. (3) Say it” (Faucheux, 2003). Political parties must have the knowledge that who will vote and why for a candidate. A prominent political scientist, Joel Bradshaw, has put forward following proposition for developing a successful electoral strategy.

- i. The electorate can be, divided into three groups: the candidate’s base, the opponent’s base, and the undecided voters.
- ii. Past election results, and survey research makes it possible to determine which people fall into each of the above-mentioned groups.
- iii. It is not possible, nor is it necessary, to get everyone’s vote to win an election.

Once a strategy identifies, campaigns should direct resources to key groups of potential voters and nowhere else, in order not to waste time or money (Sides, 2012). In election

strategy, and campaign factors manifesto, resources, party organization, mass mobilisation, to highlight important issues, to expose the rival candidates, time require to run the election campaign, to highlight the failures of previous governments, motivation of the candidates, and his/her political stature play important role.

ELEMENTS OF ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN IN PAKISTAN:

In Pakistan, different political parties use various kinds of methods for electoral campaigns according to party resources. In political culture of Pakistan, the canvassing is not done based on manifestos. Manifesto plays just a marginal role. Voters are attracted on the basis of provincialism, cast, creed, tribes (Baradari system), sect, regionalism, tenancy (In Punjab there are tenants of Zamindars, in Sinndh of Jagirdars and in Balochistan of Sardars) defence and religion.

The slogan used by PPP was food, clothes and shelters. As far as economic class is concerned PPP concentrates on the middle class in all over Pakistan and the feudal class in the Sindh. PML (N) has been using the card of economy, privatisation, religion and security. PML (N) is supported by the middle class and business community. With the passage of time, people became fed up of politics due to conflicting policies and voters turn out dropped. Especially upper strata and highly qualified people lost their interest in political process. PTI targeted the upper class, middle and particularly the youth. The detail of electoral strategy of PTI is, given in third chapter.

POLITICS OF OPPOSITION:

Democratic form of government is considered one of the best forms of the government in the world. In democracy where multi-party system exists, one party having majority forms government or forms coalition government with the help of other political parties. But all the political parties do not become part of the government. One or some of them plays the role of opposition and through opposition: people take part in the political

affairs of the country. Politics of opposition makes a difference in between “democratic and non democratic political system” (Kubat, 2010). So, one of the functions of a political party is to play a role as an opposition to a party or parties in government (Bardes, 2010). A true and a strong opposition is a guarantee of success of the democracy in any country. For the success of democracy and good governance, a strong opposition is essential. It is said that

Democracy ceases to exist if there is no provision of either sort for free criticism of the policies of the government. Windows to let air in are wanted, not glass mirrors which reflect what are inside but which shut out ventilation. Parliament and State legislatures are there, but Parliament in which opposition is over ruled by brute majorities are not enough and are no substitute for public criticism (Pasricha, 2008).

By doing this, political party educates masses, which are another function of a party. Political parties educate citizens by providing information about different policies (Dalton R. J., 2000). P. Chidambaram is of the view that “a vibrant democracy [is] a system of governance in which the opposition stands guard and remains as responsible as the government of the day” (Chidambaram P. . 2016). For the success of democratic process, opposition plays vital role by keeping check through accountability of the government (Fletcher, 2011). The leader of the opposition is, elected to represent the grievances of opposition parties and the masses, who do not favour government policies (Timothy, 2012). It is like a bridge between government and people (Olukoshi, 1998). It highlights the issues of the masses and criticises the wrong policies of the government (Ost, 1990). PTI played the role as an opposition in the National Assembly from 2002 to 2007 and 2013 to 2018. The details of its role as an opposition within the National Assembly is elaborated in chapter four and five.

Punjab is the largest province of Pakistan. It has fifty-six percent seats in the National Assembly. Due to this, all political parties make efforts to get as much popularity as possible in the Punjab to ensure its victory both in the National Assembly, and in the

Punjab Assembly. It becomes easy for any political party in Pakistan to form government in the Centre and the Province of the Punjab, which gets majority seats from the Punjab. PTI played an active and vibrant role as an opposition in the Punjab Legislative Assembly from 2013-2018. It played vital role in the evolution of PTI in the Punjab. It also contributed a lot in making the prospects of PTI brighter as it emerged the largest political party as a result, of the general election 2018 and formed government.

The province of Sindh is considered as a stronghold of PPP since long. In order to get popular support, PTI made efforts in Provincial assembly of Sindh. The role of PTI as an opposition in the province of Punjab and Sindh is discussed in sixth chapter.

FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT:

One of the functions of a political party is to form and run a government. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, since its inception got first opportunity to form government in province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as a result of general election 2013. The performance and success of a political party is, judged through style of government and adherence to the ideology. In democratic system people express their option for or against through balloting. Subsequent election results demonstrate the level of satisfaction of the people with respect to the performance of party. Here on one hand, the concept and process of government formation and on the other hand, the government and politics of PTI in KP is, described to understand its performance and success.

Formation of government is one of the functions of a political party. Election legitimises power (Southall, 2013). It means after success in election, if party gets majority and formulate government, it becomes legitimate in the eyes of voters. In case, it does not get majority, it tries to form coalition government with the support of the party, which comes on-board. In the light of the party programme, a party form government and then implement policies to get their objectives completed. Winning political party makes

efforts to form a government (Diamond, 2001). Therefore, the party condition depicts the type of any regime (Schattschneider, 1942).

The performance of any political party can be, judged from the fact that how much it became successful in materialising its objectives and promises made during election campaign. Materialisation of objectives and promises make the future prospects of a party bright. In the onwards evolution and future prospects of PTI, its government in KP played vital role. After getting majority in KP in the general election 2013, PTI claimed that it would make an ideal government in KP. Chapter seven deals with the performance of PTI as a ruling party in KP.

POPULAR MOBILISATION:

Popular mobilisation is a first step which leads to get representation in parliament. Through popular mobilisation, PTI started its efforts to bring change in Pakistan. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf could not get a single seat in the general election 1997. Despite of this it played an active role by targeting the policies of government outside the parliament and kept on its efforts to mobilise people. In the general election 2002, it got only one seat and continuously played the role of opposition, inside the parliament and spread its message through popular mobilisation. PTI boycotted the general election 2008. It accelerated its political activity to spread its political ideology through popular mobilisation throughout the period of 2008 to 2013. In the general election 2013, PTI emerged as the third largest party in the parliament and decided to play the role of opposition in the Centre, Punjab and Sindh. PTI played the role of vibrant opposition within parliament on hand and electrified its political activities to mobilise masses, which led to the successful culmination as a result, of the general election 2018. Detail of popular mobilisation by PTI is given in chapter eight.

CHAPTERISATION:

Dissertation is, divided into eight chapters. First chapter, “GENESIS, IDEOLOGY AND ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF” deals with the factors, which led to the birth of PTI. Factors like invitations of different political forces or political parties to make Imran Khan, part of their group or party, to target the personality of Imran Khan by his opponents especially the government of Pakistan Peoples’ party under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto from 1993 onwards are mentioned. Along with it the ideology and organizational structure of PTI is, discussed in detail. The evolution of party is, normally assessed from its vote bank, electoral success i.e. number of seats contested and won, and the type of leadership. Apart from it, the performance of a political party as an opposition and success of its policies as a ruling party also have deep imprints in extending its sphere over the span of time. About the leadership of Imran Khan, the details are, given in second chapter titled as “ROLE OF LEADERSHIP OF IMRAN KHAN IN THE EVOLUTION OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF”. The role of manifestos and electoral strategies of PTI in the evolution of the party and performance in the general elections 1997, 2002, 2008, 2013 and 2018 are, elaborated in third chapter i.e. “ELECTORAL MANIFESTO AND STRATEGIES OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF”. The role of a party as an opposition within parliament plays vital role in the evolution, performance and prospects. The role of the PTI as an opposition in the National Assembly, is given in chapter four and five that is, “ROLE OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF AS AN OPPOSITION IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (2002-2007)” and “PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF’S ROLE AS AN OPPOSITION IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (2013-2018)”. The role of the PTI as an opposition in the provincial assemblies of the Punjab and the Sindh are discussed in chapter six which is entitled as “PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF AS AN

OPPOSITION IN THE PUNJAB AND THE SINDH ASSEMBLY (2013-2018)". The performance of PTI as a ruling party in KP from 2013-18 and its impacts on future prospects are discussed in seventh chapter titled as "GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHAWA (2013-2018)" while how PTI mobilised people from 1996-2018 and its impacts on the evolution and future prospects of PTI are given in chapter eight "POPULAR MOBILISATION AND PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF (1996-2018)". In the end, conclusion and bibliography are given.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

In order to conduct this research, the theory of structural functionalism is utilised. As political parties function within political structure, so is PTI. PTI is, studied within the Pakistani political structure where focus was on, how its functionality was, affected within this structure or vice versa. In order to find out the genesis and evolution of the party, the descriptive and explorative-analytical approaches are, used in order to deal with different dimensions of the topic. With the help of descriptive approach, effort is, made to describe the past events and various political situations where the information is utilised to study the policies and decisions of PTI over the years since its inception. Explorative and analytical approach is, used to study the role played by Imran Khan as its central leader. Theories related to the study of political leadership are applied to explore where the leadership of Imran Khan falls i.e.; from charismatic leadership theory to transformational leadership theory.

Required data for this study is, obtained from both primary and secondary sources. In primary sources party programme, manifesto, and official documents of the PTI are, accessed. In addition, newspapers, journals, magazines along with speeches (both inside the legislative assembly and outside) and interviews are, included to give their in-depth

analysis, and understanding about the evolution of PTI. Their free and critical assessment helped a lot in this study. Side by side with these, the researcher used his own observational skills (as a student of Pakistani politics) to understand and comprehend various aspects of the topic. For this purpose researcher participated in different processions, especially in the sit-in of PTI.

In secondary sources books related to politics of Pakistan, political parties, political leadership, and political culture of Pakistan are used. Most of these books are already been mentioned in the literature review section of this proposal. In this regard, great help was taken from Press and Information Department of Government of Pakistan, National Library of National Assembly of Pakistan and Central Library of Islamabad, Central Libraray of Quaid-i-Azam University and International Islamic University, Islamabad.

CHAPTER- 1

GENESIS, IDEOLOGY AND ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF (PTI)

PTI was, founded on 25th April 1996. In the genesis of PTI, Imran Khan played a central role. The main reasons due to which he founded a political party and jumped into politics can be categorised into two folds. Firstly, the dreams which he wanted to fulfil as a philanthropist in Pakistan after retirement from cricket, and secondly, the hardships created by politicians and political system of Pakistan in his way. To understand it, the efforts he made during his life are necessary to examine.

1.1. EARLY LIFE OF IMRAN KHAN:

Imran Khan was born on November 25, 1952 in Lahore in Pashtun family. He got his early education from Royal Grammar School Worcester and Aitchison College Lahore. He graduated from University of Oxford in 1976 in Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Sandford C. , 2009).

Imran Khan started to play cricket for Pakistan in 1971 but joined Pakistani cricket team in 1976 on regular basis. In eighties, he became to be, known as best all rounder in Cricket. In 1982, he became the Captain of Pakistan Cricket team. Imran Khan decided to take retirement from cricket in 1987 but on the persuasion of President of Pakistan General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq he took back his decision and rejoined Pakistan cricket team (Andrews, 2001). Under his captaincy, Pakistan won the Cricket World Cup in 1992. In this way, he distinguished himself and became the role model for Pakistanis. He proved himself as a charismatic captain of Pakistan cricket team (Haigh G. , 2006). His cricket career gave him fame, wealth and huge fan following not only in Pakistan but also around the world.

During last years of his cricket career, he decided, to contribute as a philanthropist, and started efforts to collect funds to construct Cancer Hospital (First Imran Khan, Shaukat Khanum memorial Hospital appeal in Birmingham, 2014). At Gaddafi Stadium Lahore, on 10 November 1989, when match was to be played between Pakistan and India, Imran Khan appealed people for fund raising to establish a cancer hospital in Lahore (Shaukat Khanum Memorial Cancer Hospital and Research Centre). In winning speech at the time of World Cup 1992, he reiterated his mission to establish a cancer hospital in Pakistan (Imran Khan holding world cup. talking about his hospital, 1992). He established a cancer hospital known as Shaukat Khanum Memorial Cancer Hospital and Research Centre. It started to function in 1994 (Shaukat Khanum Memorial Cancer Hospital and Research Centre).

In field of education, he served as the honorary Chancellor of the University of Bradford, UK. He also founded Namal College in Mianwali. He established Imran Khan Foundation, which has been working for variety of philanthropist activities (IKF/Imran Khan Foundation). As a cricketer and philanthropist he proved himself as one of the charismatic leader.

Imran Khan wrote different books. He wrote his autobiography by the title of *Pakistan: A Personal History*. Another book written by him is, *Indus Journey: a personal view of Pakistan*. In these books, he gave details of country profile of Pakistan. Else, of these, he wrote a book, *Imran Khan's Cricket Skills*, which was, edited by Peter Ball in which details about his cricket skills are given. In his book, *Warrior Race: A Journey Through the Land of the Tribal Pathans*, gave the description of culture, traditions and way of life of people living in tribal areas of Pakistan. Another book under his authorship is *All Round View*.

1.2. POLITICAL CAREER OF IMRAN KHAN:

According to his autobiography, he was not interested in politics. The same view is, expressed by Senior Vice-President of PTI, Hamid Khan. In an interview with researcher, Hamid Khan told that he was not interested in politics. He was much more interested in philanthropist activities in health and education. He established Shaukat Khanum Hospital, Namal College and Imran Khan Foundation. However, when the government of Benazir Bhutto started to create troubles for him, some of the friends advised him that he should establish a political party to provide Pakistan a new political leadership on one hand and substitute Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto on the other hand.

Different leaders invited him to join either cabinet or party but he refused. First time, he was, invited by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq to join his cabinet as a minister (Sadiq, 2017). The information Secretary of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, General Mujib-ur-Rehman also advised Imran Khan to join politics. He also wrote a manifesto for the conceived party but he refused (Khan I. . Imran Khan was offered Ministry by Zia Ul Haq & Moeen Qureshi, why he refused).

After the World Cup 1992, he was, given warm reception by then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. According to a documentary prepared by journalist Richard, Imran Khan was, invited by different political parties to join but he refused (A documentary on Imran Khan. 1992, 2012). In 1993, Moeen Qureshi became the interim Prime Minister of Pakistan. He also invited him to join his cabinet (Khan I. . Imran Khan was offered Ministry by Zia Ul Haq & Moeen Qureshi, why he refused).

At different occasions, Imran Khan expressed that he did not have any intentions to join politics. Regarding participating in politics, once, he said, "If he felt that by going into politics he would be able to help his country, he certainly would. But at present politics in

Pakistan is corrupt and as a result politicians are completely discredited". He, therefore, "feels his strength lies outside politics. I have some credibility and I would like really to do social work, and my next campaign is a mass literacy campaign in Pakistan where the rate of illiteracy is one of the highest in the world." He added that "...in the setup that exists in Pakistan, I certainly do not envisage going into politics". When he was asked that if the setup changed, would he change his mind? He replied, "If I could make a difference. I have respect in Pakistan, which I think is very elusive. You can have fame but you do not necessarily have respect. I have respect in my country and I don't necessarily want to go into politics and to lose it" (Dawn, 1955). On another occasion, he explained, "This assumption that I want to be Prime Minister is complete nonsense. I don't want to get mixed up with politics,' he said famously in 1995" (Wazir, 2000).

The government of Benazi Bhutto started to create problems for Imran Khan, which contributed a lot to make him think to jump into politics. He had bad memories regarding the reputation of Asif Ali Zardari in past. In his autobiography, he wrote "In 1989, I visited Benazir at Bilawal House to ask her for some funds for hospital. Benazir was busy. Therefore, we happened to meet Zardari instead. I was hoping that my companionship with Benazir at Oxford would help me and I would be listened. Zardari met me with a smile, and talked about my greatness and said good words about me as if he was buttering. Nevertheless, he did not offer any help and instead talked with the other people in the meeting more than me. Especially Tariq Shaffi, who was a famous industrialist and Zardari tried to convince him to set up two factories in Sindh. Both Zardari and Benazir did not help me with any funds but wanted me to invite them for the inauguration of the hospital but I had already decided that it will be the ten years old cancer patient Sumera Yousuf who will inaugurate the hospital" (Khan I. , 2011).

Another issue, which further tensed the relations of government and Imran Khan, was the creation of a group known as "Pressure Group" consisted of General Retired Hamid Gul, Muhammad Ali Durrani of Pasban and Imran Khan. It was, said that this group wanted to bring revolution in Pakistan under the leadership of Imran Khan and to topple down the government of Benazir Bhutto (Khan Z. , 2016). Benazir Bhutto was worried about that Imran Khan was, being manipulated by a militant Islamic youth organisation known as Pasban, "the defenders". along with Lieutenant General Hamid Gul to recruit him into a "Pressure Group" to challenge Benazir Bhutto and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (McGrik, 1995). Regarding this, he clarified that

In past he found Lt Gen [Hamid] Gul an inspirational figure, but he resents being caricatured as a puppet dangling from the spymaster's strings. The assumption is that I'm a dumb sportsman who's being manipulated. They're wrong. Nobody orders me around; he says firmly that Islamic militants and Lt Gen Gul were trying to entrap him.... [but] he's discreetly pulling away." (McGirk, 1996).

Imran Khan was not happy with the government of Benazir Bhutto because he was of the view that government was not co-operating regarding the cause to develop cancer hospital. Imran Khan was of the view that government should run advertisement for the cause of construction of cancer hospital free of cost like Edhi Foundation and Hameed Khan Trust but it was not acceptable for the government (Dawn, 1995). The advisor on sports in the government of Benazir Bhutto, Sarfraz Nawaz, the former fast bowler criticised Imran Khan and blamed that he himself was responsible to damage the cause of cancer hospital rather than government of Benazir Bhutto. He said that Imran Khan was making efforts to indulge in politics by using the name of charitable institutions. He further blamed that there is no comparison of Edhi Foundation and Hameed Khan Trust with Shoukat Khanum Hospital because former are only and only charitable institutions while the latter is a mixture of charitable and politics (Dawn, 1995). The government of Benazir Bhutto used Sarfraz Nawaz to defame Imran Khan. He blamed that "Imran Khan

is a secret agent of some foreign intelligence agencies, since they have proofs and indecent photographs of his exploits; they are manipulating him to their advantage in order to spread unrest in Pakistan.... He also insinuated that the Muslim zakat charity was being wasted to pay for several English women...employed by Imran Khan to supposedly act as nurses” (McGirk, 1996).

The trouble of Imran Khan further increased when Interior Minister, Major-General retired Naseerullah Khan Babar declared Shaukat Khanum Memorial Trust (SKMT) as a family trust rather than charitable institution in front of Senate of Pakistan and declined to give it facilities of charitable institution (Dawn, 1995). Imran Khan was, blamed that he had misused funds of hospital for his personal purposes. In reply, Imran Khan demanded that a committee should be constituted to probe this issue. and challenged that if found guilty, he would surrender himself for imprisonment. He also demanded that if these charges proved baseless then government would have to pay 50 million because due to wrong propaganda of government. SKMH could not achieve target of Zakat in 1995. He elaborated, “The trust was being run by an independent board of governors. comprising people of integrity like former federal finance minister Syed Babar Ali, jurist Dr. Pervaiz Hassan, industrialists Razzaq Daud, and Tariq Shafi, banker Shaukat Tareen and Nawab Ashique Husain Qureshi, son of former Punjab chief minister Nawab Sadiq Husain Qureshi”. He further added. “Only five members of his family were among the governors of the hospital. He said it was not a family trust. as was being propagated by some quarters. It has been registered as a public trust with all the government organisations” (Dawn, 1996).

A most serious incident happened, when a bomb blast was, exploded in SKMH on 14th April 1995, which further intensified situation for Imran Khan. A blame game started.

Benazir Bhutto visited hospital and blamed that it was, done by the allies of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif because he wanted to win over the support of Imran Khan to induct him in his party. While, it was also blamed that it was, done by the government itself because government banned Imran Khan to visit educational institutions for fund raising and had started investigation against him in case of Income Tax. Imran Khan initially did not blame anyone and said, "I want to tell those who want to scare me that neither I will be scared, nor I will turn back."... "I will move forward with greater determination" (Burns, 1996). He angrily said, "By destroying my hospital, they're trying to get at me. Benazir acts like a Moghul emperor [empress]. I have to go and lick her boots before she'll leave my hospital alone" (McGirk, 1996). In an interview to New York Times on 2nd April 1996, he announced to establish his political party. He explained, "He would form his own political party on a platform promising a crackdown on corruption. He feels that the United States is perhaps backing the wrong horse in the hope that it would hold off Muslim fundamentalism in Pakistan. He believes that Pakistani people concern about lawlessness and corruption is at the core of the so-called Islamic fundamentalist movement in Pakistan. Most Pakistanis here feel that neither Ms Bhutto nor her main rival Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, are capable of ending the scourge of corruption" (New York Times, 1996).

The political development in Pakistan from the reign of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq to Benazir Bhutto i.e. 1977-96, had deep impacts on his personality. He was well aware of political development in Pakistan. In his autobiography, he has given detail of all those reasons due to which he decided to step into politics. Concisely, he said that he became very much disappointed of leadership in Pakistan. So, he decided to step into politics by "expressing his disappointment with the failure of the political system and politicians to solve the public problems, and lack of commitment on their part to give people their

right... to bring about a change within the framework of the constitution”, and founded Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf on 25th April 1996, in Lahore (Dawn, 1996).

1.3. IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF:

By ideology of a political party means, a party ‘stands for’ what (Wright, 2000). It means the economic, political and social programme of a political party. Based on this programme, political parties try to convince voters to get success. The action of political party is, always defined by its ideology. A political party makes such policies, and programme which promote the collective interests of the masses and find out the solution of their problems. According to normative definition of political party given by Burk “Party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavours as the national interest; upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed (Burk, 1971). MacIver is of the view that political party is “An association organised in support of some principle or the policy which by constitutional means it endeavours...the determinant of the government” (MacIver, 1947).

Leacock stated. “By party we mean more or less organised group of citizens who act together as a political unit. They share or profess to share the same opinion on public questions and by exercising their voting power towards a common end, seek to obtain the control of the government” (Leacock. 1913).

Gettel defined that “A Political Party consists of a groups of citizens more or less organised who act as a political unit and who by the use of their voting power aim to control the government and carry out their general policies” (Gettel & Dunning, 2004).

Gilchrist was of the view that: “A Political Party may thus be defined as an organized group of citizens who prefer to share the same political views and who by acting a political unit try to control the government.” (Gilchrist, 2000).

According to Mckean (1949), party is “an organised group of the electorate that seeks to direct some policies and furnish the personnel of the government.”. Leon Epstein (1967) gave a definition of political party, which is known as “All-Inclusive Party definition”. He said that “Any group, however loosely organized, seeking to elect governmental office holders under a given label”. According to the Political Parties Order 2002, Political party means a body of individuals or an association of persons setting up an organisational structure, or collecting funds or owning property, with the object of propagating political opinions or indulging in any other activity.

In the light of the above mentioned definitions it is concluded that political parties is a group of likeminded people who have consensus on ideological principles and make efforts to seize government through electoral process to materialises party programme.

1.4. CONSTITUTION OF PTI:

PTI passed through an evolutionary process regarding making of constitution and organisational structure. At the time of foundation, the core objective to enter into politics was to encourage the people to bring out Pakistan from its state of despair and to set it on the path of solidarity, social justice and prosperity.

The constitution of PTI was drafted by a committee under the chair of Hamid Khan, the leading lawyer of the country.³ Central Executive Committee approved the constitution on 24th January 1999. The official name of the party was declared as “Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf” (Constitution of PTI, 1999). The main objectives of the PTI are as follow:

To make Pakistan as an Islamic welfare state (on the footprint of state of Madīnah founded by Prophet Muhammad SAW) in which the fundamental rights of the people would be, protected irrespective of religion, caste and creed. People would be, provided

³.Meraj Muhammad Khan, Abdul Hafeez Khan, Saeedullah Khan Niazi, Mahmood Mirza, Farooq Amjad Mir, Dr Arif Alvi, Nawabzada Mohsin Ali Khan, Akbar S. Babar, Fauzia Kasuri, Khawaja Muhammad Jamil were included as members.

peaceful and harmonious environment to live their lives. For this purpose, the Islamic provisions of the constitution would be, enforced on non-sectarian basis.

To make Pakistan as a Welfare State based on State of Medina founded by Muhammad (SAW) on non-sectarian basis is easy to claim but it is very difficult in Pakistan due to different reason. Firstly there are lot of sects in Pakistan and it is experienced majority of them do not reconcile with each other. In order to do this a government need a long time but in Pakistan majority of the political party could not even fulfill its span of five years.

Freedom of thought and expression is included in the objectives of the PTI. It is, said that the party would ensure the freedom of the thought and expression. It is necessary because without it people cannot raise voice for their rights. If there were a freedom of thought and expression, only then people would be in position to talk about their rights.

Freedom of thought and expression makes a difference in between dictatorship and democracy. In Pakistan the roots of democracy are not deep rooted. The meaning of democracy varies for different political parties and institutions. Only such kind of freedom of thoughts and expressions are, allowed which serves self-centered interest.

According to PTI, the fundamental problem of Pakistan is corruption. PTI included elimination of corruption as one of the objectives in its constitution. It is, said that corruption in all its forms would be eliminated. For this purpose, the institutions of accountability would be, established to take actions against those who corrupted the system of Pakistan. Competent and honest people would be encouraged in all fields of life. In 2012, changes were, made that such policies and reforms would be, introduced in Pakistan, which would help to eradicate corruption, tyranny and manifestation.

Every political party in Pakistan has the consensus that the main issue of Pakistan is mismanagement and corruption. Four governments were, dissolved due to the charges of corruption and rectified by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The most important demand

of PTI remained across the board accountability. It stresses on the accountability of political leadership. In Pakistani political culture, the whole politics revolve around leadership of the political party and they do not like to present themselves for free and across the board accountability. For example, since independence, all political parties talk about accountability but despite of this no one took serious steps for it. Rather accountability has become a slogan, which has been, used to threaten the opponent to get support for a particular purpose. The majority of the people talk about administrative accountability in Pakistan, which is useless in the absence of political accountability (Mahmood S. , 2007).

Across the board, accountability is the most serious challenge for Pakistani political parties. In KP PTI ruled for five years but it could not get significant success in field of accountability. PTI has to face two kinds of problems in this regards. Firstly, when it talks about accountability of those politicians who belong to other political parties it will have to prove their corruption undisputedly because in Pakistan the institutions which are responsible for this task have become disputed, e.g., NAB and Judiciary. Regarding NAB politicians give excuse that it was, founded by the military government of General Pervez Musharraf and he used it to pressurize the politicians to keep them silent. Secondly, the politicians who have become part of PTI, some of them have also been facing the charges of corruption. So, will PTI take steps against them on the same footing as it raises voice for across the board accountability?

As far as Judiciary and process of accountability is concerned, some of the decisions of courts have made it controversial. For example, the government of PPP and PML (N) were, dissolved twice by the President of Pakistan on the charges of corruption, and upheld by the Supreme Court of Pakistan but even then, they were, allowed to contest election repeatedly. As PTI has been claiming that, the leadership of PML (N) and PPP

remained involved in corruption. In case of PML (N), the judgment of Panama case proved it true but despite of fact this decision has made controversial particularly after the video scandal of Judge Arshad Malik. Such decisions in Pakistan are, treated as indication of deal in between political party and establishment. Such decision have profound effects on the mind of masses and electable because in the light of it, they change their decision and loyalties. The decisions of Judiciary in Pakistan have been playing consequential role (Misra, 2012) rather than justice. Such consequentialism has protected elite politics in Pakistan (Newberg P. R., 1995).

Another important case, which demands across the board accountability, is the people whose names were included in the The National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) issued by former President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, on 5 October 2007. Before NRO, they were, banned to participate in elections. Even then, they were, allowed to contest general election, and Asif Ali Zardari became President of Pakistan and PPP ruled from 2008 to 2013.

One of the problems with the concept of across the board accountability is that should it remain to the extent of political parties and politicians only or extended to other institutions as well. The people from civil society and politicians demand that there should be across the board accountability of Military officers, Bureaucrats and Judges as well. It further makes confusion for the process of accountability because these institutions claim that they have their own internal system of accountability known as departmental accountability. Such arguments raised different question on this issue and make the process of accountability further controversial.

When PTI demands for across the board accountability, the *status quo* forces turn against it, in which political parties including members of PTI, institutions and people belonging to different segments of the society, and the beneficiary of the policies of previous

government and political system of Pakistan are included. Accountability in Pakistan is possible only, when institutions particularly judiciary will be given freedom to work according to law irrespective of any kinds of loyalties, and pressures. Leaders of all political parties present themselves for accountability, and most importantly, when the members of the parties will start to support only such policies, which might be according to law of the country, and to promote democracy. In order to transform concept of across the board accountability, PTI has to coup up with this challenge in a systematic way, which cannot be, proved controversial either by law or by the people.

Different kinds of prejudices based on ethnicity, religious, linguistic, provincialism, sectarianism and tribalism are serious problems in Pakistan. PTI in its constitution promised to eliminate such prejudices and included it in its programme as one of its objectives. In order to eliminate these prejudices, it is said that sentiments of tolerance, brotherhood, and mutual affections would be promoted, which would lead to solidarity, and prosperity in Pakistan. All kinds of nepotism, VIP culture and prejudices would be eliminated. The rule of merit would be set as the sole criteria in all walks of life. Freedom of thought and expression, access to public information, women rights, women representation, youth representation, equality, solidarity, brotherhood, and protection of minorities would be promoted.

PTI is of the view that government system in Pakistan is a colonial system in its nature. In order to bring change in Pakistan, this system would be, replaced with democratic and decentralised system of government. For this purpose, provincial autonomy and system of local government would be, strengthened. The participation of the people in the political affairs of state would be encouraged by introducing and strengthening local bodies. Local bodies would be, given power and constitutional protection. Therefore, people can play role in the development of Pakistan.

Decentralised system of government and provincial autonomy are very attractive slogans but in political culture of Pakistan, it is very dangerous. In political culture of Pakistan, politics is, based on provincialism, tribes, cast, creed, religion and historical attachment irrespective of manifesto and ideology. For example, PPP and PML (N) have strong roots in the Sindh and the Punjab. Most of the voters support them on the sentiments of provincialism, tribes and cast. In the Balochistan, people favour their tribes.

Another problem in Pakistan is the misuse of authority by politician and government officials. In order to bar this problem, PTI has set in its constitution that there would be implementation of laws to prohibit conflict of interest. Therefore, politicians and government officials cannot, misuse their authority.

In Pakistani political culture majority of the politicians belong to elite class based on wealth or creed. The leadership of most of the political parties belong to industrialist class, feudal class and religious elite class. Based on such elite prestige people follow them and support them in the general election. It looks beyond the approach of a layman to contest election in Pakistan.

In Pakistan, the system of justice is not up to the mark. People have to wait long for the decision of their cases in courts. Most of the time there seems conflict between executive and the judiciary. PTI included a point in its objectives that, it would ensure the independence of judiciary to provide cheap and swift justice. For this purpose, judicial reforms would be, introduced. Therefore, speedy justice can be, provided. Every political party in Pakistan talk about independence of Judiciary. Although in Pakistan, Judiciary is independent but cheap and swift justice is a dream yet to be realised.

One of the most important objectives set by PTI in its constitution is the reformation of electoral system of Pakistan. For this purpose, accountability of expenses in election, illegal wealth, coercion and interference in politics and election by the administration

would be, erased. Corrupt and defaulters would be, banned to contest elections. Introduction of joint electorate throughout Pakistan was, made part of the constitution of the party. Voter's age was to be, reduced to 18 years. In electoral process, participation of overseas Pakistanis would also be, ensured. All political parties promised to bring electoral reforms but none of them fulfil. It is a irony of fate that all the general election in held in Pakistan became controversial and led to political crisis.

The Civil Services of Pakistan is the most prestigious and the most powerful institution. It plays central role in the administration but due to politicisation, it has been losing its credibility rapidly. PTI in its constitution has set an objective that it would bring reforms in the civil services of Pakistan especially in police department to make it responsive and depoliticised to boost up professionalism. All political parties including PTI are, agreed that Pakistan's civil service has become incapable due to mismanagement, political manipulation, corruption, cumbersome bureaucratic procedures and exploitation. Bureaucratic dysfunction and low capacity undermine governance, providing opportunities to the military to subvert the democratic transition and to extremists to destabilize the state. Bureaucracy is, known as the permanent ruler. It is, supposed that bureaucracy should rendered services for the people but in Pakistan, it has become burden and mafia. In most of the cases, it has become hurdle rather than facilitator. It only let such policies to be implemented which favor bureaucrats only.

The economy plays important role in the development of any country. PTI stress to this point and made it a part of its objectives. In this regard, it is, said that in the constitution, tax net would be extended and agriculture would be included in it in order to ensure the payment of government. Secondly, steps would be, taken to stop the leakage of wealth from the country. Thirdly, infrastructure would be, improved to sustain inflation and to increase economic growth. Fourthly, economic activities would be, promoted and the

prices of necessary articles of living would be kept stable. Employment opportunities would be, created by promoting agriculture and industrial field. The living standard of the labours and farmers would be, maintained by providing their due rights. Land reforms would be introduced to abolish feudalism and for distribution of state lands and land tenure. In legislatures, labour, technocrats, professional and intellectual would be, provided with special seats. The problems of class having fixed income like clerks, pensioners would be resolved. The Overseas Pakistani would be encouraged to make investment in the country by providing them conducting environment.

History shows that economic crises are not new to Pakistan and all political parties promise to bring Pakistan out of the economic crisis but it's a fact that all governments inherited current account deficit from the previous government. Now economic situation has become so serious that the country's gross domestic product (GDP) is down, fiscal deficit is at a three-decade-high, tax revenues have declined, key industries like manufacturing and agriculture have slowed, and inflation is in double digits. There is a crisis of balance of payments. On the other hand, in 2012, Pakistan was placed on the grey list and remained till 2015 by The Financial Action Task Force (FATF)⁴. The country was, put on the list again on June 29, 2018. Pakistan was, given 15 months for implementation of the 27-point action plan, with a warning that in case of failure the country would be, added to the blacklist — a list of the countries branded as uncooperative and tax havens for terror funding.

PTI stresses a lot on the point of education and health facilities. It has objective to provide equal opportunities of education and facility of health to everyone. It has the

⁴ The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) is an intergovernmental organization founded in 1989 on the initiative of the G7. The objectives of the FATF are to set standards and promote effective implementation of legal, regulatory and operational measures for combating money laundering, terrorist financing and other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system.

target to get hundred percent literacy rates in Pakistan. For this purpose, uniformed system of education would be, introduced.

Almost all political parties in Pakistan have pledged the same but none of them could do it. It is a bitter fact that the mafia, which has been exploiting education sector in the name of education, has never let any political party to become successful because the children of majority of the elite class studying in English medium institutions and doing foreign certificates. Another serious hurdle in the way of uniform education system is Madrassa reforms because most of the religious political parties have been playing their politics based on students of madrassas, and they become hurdle in the way of uniform education system. It is the case with health sector where private sector works as mafia rather than missionary.

Another striking objective of the PTI is to protect the rights of women. It is, said that PTI would protect the rights of women across the strata and special focus would be on the women belonging to working and middle class. Women would be encouraged to participate in the political activities and special representation would be, given to them.

Although all political parties include this point in the ideology and manifesto but close observation shows that, only the women of elite class get such kind of rights. Thirty-three percent seats are, reserved for women in the National Assembly. The majority of the women, who are, selected by the political parties on reserved seats, belong to upper strata.

To ensure freedom of media, government interference and unjust laws relating to media would be discouraged. Rights of journalist and press workers would be, protected. Government monopoly on print media would be finished. People would be given right of access to public information.

Before coming into power every political party promise for freedom of Media but once it gets success and form government such policies are made which curtail the freedom of media. Another problem with Pakistani media is that it has, become divided, and this division has become obvious now, which is dangerous both, for journalism and democracy.

In political culture of Pakistan, there are different mafias, which are active in social and political arena. PTI made it part of its constitution to make efforts to eliminate such anti social elements like drug mafia, smugglers and qabza mafia (group of people who grab or occupy land illegally). Although it is a very attractive point but it is a bitter fact that most of the politicians in Pakistan, belong to anti social elements like drug mafia, smugglers, and qabza mafia.

Culture is the identity of any nation. PTI made it part of its objective in its constitution that it would work for the protection of Pakistani cultural heritage and promotion of family values. All political parties made this point of protection of Pakistani cultural heritage and promotion as a part of ideology but it is a bitter fact that none of the government made any official cultural policy in the history of Pakistan.

The future of any nation depends on the youth. PTI has emphasized on this point and said that the participation of youth would be, ensured in national mainstream and they would be provided with modern skills and education to play their role to become as future leader in all wakes of life. Each, and every party made this promise but misused youth because the study of the tickets awarded by political parties prove that every general election tickets were given to electable not youth. Only nominal chances were, given to youth.

National interest oriented foreign policy and good relations with regional as well as Muslim countries, was made part of party's policy. For the people of Kashmir, right of

self-determination would be, supported. International efforts for just economic order for the international community would be, supported.

Pakistani politics is, equally influenced by the international political situation. This factor always dominated the politics of Pakistan particularly the relations with USA, China, Indian and issues like Kashmir and war against terrorism. History of Pakistan shows that Pakistan foreign policy protects interests of USA and China. The impacts of American policies are more obvious in this regards. American supported both military and political regimes in Pakistan to protect their interests. American influence in Pakistan can be, understood by examining Pak-US relations during military regimes of General Ayub Khan (Barrett, 2007). American not only supported General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan but also cashed his government to get its own interest by getting close to China (Uche, 2017). General Zia-ul-Haq over threw the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, backed by American support (Mirza, 2007). General Pervez Musharraf had cordial relations with America due to his support to war against terrorism. Therefore, support to military regime is tantamount to support undemocratic government (Lansford, 2010).

As far as political regimes in Pakistan are, concerned, American policies have played central role. USA played vital role regarding the final destiny of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government (Oldenburg, 2010). The government of Benazir Bhutto was, removed in 1990 because she refused to send forces in Iraq (Gardezi, 1991). Than for the sake of its own interests. America managed a deal in between General Pervez Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto in 2007 (Rice, 2012). Here, the main point to cite the example of Benazir Bhutto is that American opposed her when she did not support US policy on Iraq, and American supported her in managing deal with Musharraf in the hope of protecting their interests. The American support plays vital role for the success of a political party in Pakistan. Same influence during the period of Mian Muhammad Mian Muhammad

Nawaz Sharif was, observed (Dixit, 2005). Its a big challenge for PTI because it always stresses that Pakistan should not fight the proxy war of America in the name of Islam (MacDonald, 2017) and opposed the stance of previous government regarding helping America as an ally in war against terrorism since 9/11. PTI also raised voice against drone attacks and once blocked NATO.

China like American factor is also very important in Pakistani politics. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, which is a collection of infrastructure projects, that is currently under construction throughout Pakistan. Most of the people particularly laymen are, of the view that PTI is against the project of CPEC. This impression was, generated due to the cancellation of visit of Chinese President in 2014. At that, time there was a sit-in by PTI in front of Parliament of Pakistan. When Chinese President cancelled his visit. PML (N) started blaming PTI for this. Therefore, people started to blame PTI as well. Now it is a challenge for PTI to remove this perception by supporting and implementing CPEC because this project has become touchy in the politics of Pakistan.

Indo – Pak relations has always been remain as a burning issue in the politics of Pakistan. The main cause of disagreement between India and Pakistan is a Kashmir problem. PTI repeatedly repeated that it would try to cultivate cordial relations with India. Currently it has become more sensitive and serious. At the time of oath taking ceremony of Imran Khan as a Prime Minister of Pakistan in which Navjot Singh Sidhu the Indian cricketer turned politician participated and asked him to open The Kartarpur Corridor⁵ on 550th birthday of Guru Nanak and he promised to do so. Although apparently it was a good gesture as a confidence building measure but will it be possible for the government of

⁵ The Kartarpur Corridor is a border corridor between Pakistan and India, connecting the Sikh shrines of Dera Baba Nanak Sahib and Gurdwara Darbar Sahib. The corridor is intended to allow Sikh religious devotees from India to visit the Gurdwara in Kartarpur, 4.7 kilometres from the Pakistan-India border, without a visa.

PTI to do so in presence of Kashmir issue because other parties will use this matter as an issue in politics against PTI.

In 2012, PTI formed a committee to revisit the constitution of the party and made necessary changes in the objectives and organisational structure of the party. A committee was formed under the chairmanship of Hamid Khan and Justice Wajihuddin. Ahsan Rashid, Naeem-ul-Haq, Asad Qaisar, Qasim Suri, Shamsa Ali, Firdaus Naqvi, Saifullah Khan Niazi, Mian Mehmud ur Rashid, Chaudhry Ijaz Ahmed, Aamer Kiani, Sardar Azhar Tariq and Shah Farman were included as new members. As far as objectives were concerned, most of the objectives were remained same and the following were included as new objectives of the party.

One of the new points was introduction of agrarian reforms in order to increase the yield and to protect the rights of farmers and tenants. Secondly, to protect the rights of the minorities, and give them representation based on their population at all levels. Thirdly, making Pakistan as an Islamic Welfare state according to the vision of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Iqbal. Fourthly, efforts would be made to eradicate terrorism from Pakistan. Fifthly, proportional representation would be adopted in the electoral system. Sixthly, FATA would be brought in the mainstream of Pakistan and environmental resources would be protected. In 2014, further amendments were proposed in the constitution of PTI.

The main points of ideology of PTI given above shows that it promised to bring revolutionary changes in Pakistan. PTI stressed a lot to bring unified education system, health facilities for all and elimination of corruption. The political history of Pakistan shows that almost all political parties have similar kind of ideologies but none of the political party implemented ideologies in its true latter and spirit. All political parties neglected the areas like education, health and elimination of corruption. It looks that

political parties use ideology as a slogan to get victory in the general election. Secondly, in Pakistan, majority of the voters do not have the information and knowledge of the ideologies of political parties but PTI became very much successful in spreading its message against corruption and getting involvement of the youth in the electoral process.

1.5. ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PTI:

The whole functionality of the any political party depends on its organisational structure. Organisation of party is composed of leaders, members and activists. These organisers of the party take decision at different levels like at national and regional levels. The main purpose of the organisational structure is to appoint office bearers and bound them to perform duties according to the constitution. In this regard, Sorauf gave tripartite definition of political party and explained that political party is "three-headed political giants" (Sorauf, 1980) i.e., party organisation, party in office and party in the electorate. The organisational structure of PTI is hierarchical i.e. from top to bottom, which makes easy to perform duties accordingly. The organisational structure of PTI also went through an evolutionary process, which is as follow.

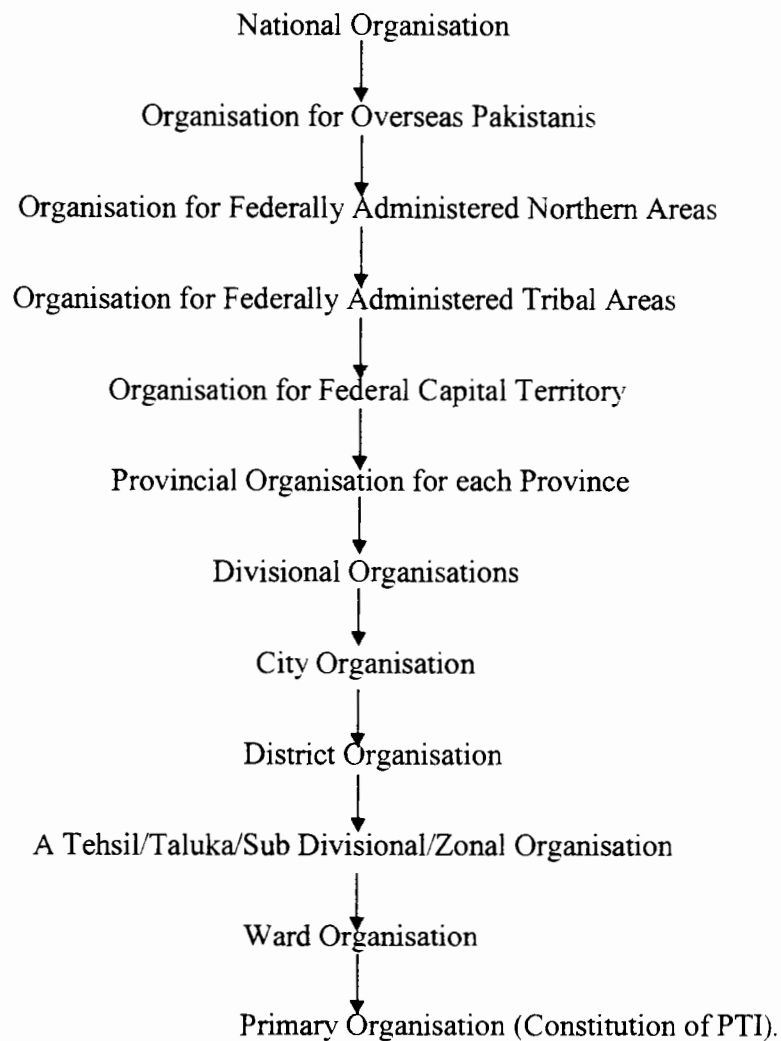
According to the constitution of PTI, the membership age is eighteen years. It is open to all irrespective of religion, gender, creed and place of residence. As Duverger (1964) stated that, "A party is not a community but a collection of communities, a union of small groups dispersed throughout the country (branches, caucuses, local associations, etc.) and linked by coordinating institutions".

It is elaborated by Eldersveld "...political party is a social group, a system of meaningful and patterned activity within the larger society. It consists of a set of individuals populating specific roles and behaving a member-actor of a boundaries and identifiable social unit." (Eldersveld, 1964).

Max Weber was of the view that “The term ‘party’ should be employed to designate an associative type of social relationship, membership which rests on formally free recruitment. The end to which its activity devoted to secure power within a corporate group for its active members” (Weber, 1964).

According to the constitution of PTI, it is, conditioned that at the time of signing membership, the membership fee will be prescribed and payable. Secondly, by becoming the PTI’s member, one will be, considered not to be the member of any other party.

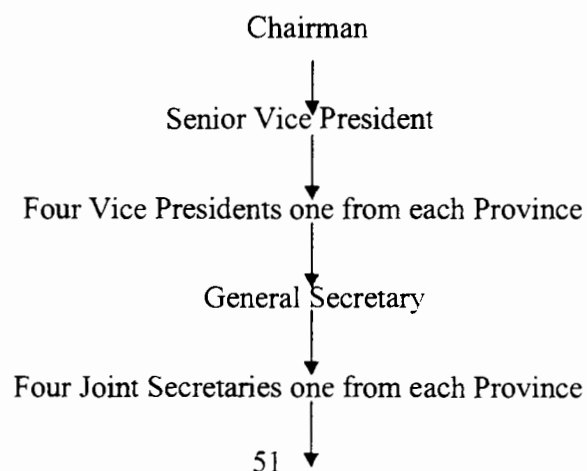
According to the party constitution, 1999, following was the organisational structure

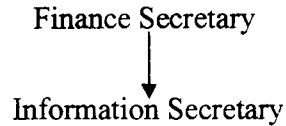


At national level, there is National Organisation. It represents the whole country including overseas Pakistanis. It is consisted of National Council and Central Executive Committee.

- i. The strength of National Council is equal to total number of districts and constituencies of National Assembly in Pakistan. These members are, elected by District and City organisations of the party. Each District or City organisation has to elect as many members equal to the constituencies of National Assembly and one member for district representation.
- ii. The Provincial Presidents and General Secretaries are the members of the National Council.
- iii. Twenty members are, elected. five each from Women Wing, Youth/Student, labour, minorities, and Overseas Pakistanis Organisation.
- iv. One-woman representative is, elected each for all Division, Islamabad, FATA and FANA.
- v. Chairman of the party nominates Technocrats, Professionals and intellectuals. The strength of these members is equal to one third of the above-mentioned categories.

The office bearers of the national organisation are, elected by members of National Council. Following members are, elected.





President of the Women Wing is the ex-officio Vice President of the National Council.

In the light of expansion and evolution of the party, in 2012 the following changes were, made in the constitution. It was, decided that National Council would be consisted of office bearers of the Provincial organisations, Presidents of the Regional and District organisations. The numbers of nominated members was, increased from twenty five to thirty five because five seats were added each for farmers and lawyers. Another important change was, made that office bearers of the Provincial organisations, Presidents of the Regional and District organisations of National Council would elected the office bearers of the Party (Constitution of PTI, 2012).

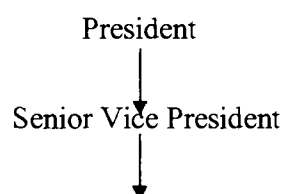
New offices of President, Vice Chairman, Five Senior vice Presidents, twelve vice Presidents, Additional Secretary General, four Deputy Secretary Generals and secretaries for legal affairs, public welfare, education, health, culture, religious affairs, publicity, minorities, labour, social media, foreign affairs, defence affairs, internal security, political training, policy planning and international chapter were added. It was, also added that secretaries for information, finance, social media, political training, and policy planning would be, appointed by the Chairman and confirmed by the CEC. Another addition was made that there would be organisation for Islamabad, Gilgit Baltistan, Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Federally Administered Tribal Areas.

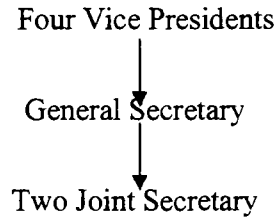
The National Council is the supreme body of the party. It reviews party progress and formulate programmes and policies. It meets at least once in a year at the discretion of Chairman or demanded by one-fifth members. The quorum of the meeting is one fourth of the total members. It supervises the functioning of all organs of the party. It approves and audits the party budget (Constitution of PTI, 2012).

According to the party constitution 1999, the Central Executive Committee was consisted of forty members to be, nominated by Chairman of the party out of the members of National Council. The provincial Presidents are the ex-officio members of this committee. In the party constitution of 2012, changes were, made in the composition of the CEC. According to which the strength was, decreased from forty to thirty and minorities were, given representation in it. It was, decided that one member each from Christian, Hindu and Sikh/Parsi/Other communities was included CEC.

Another striking change was the creation of Core Committee. It is consisted of fifteen members nominated by the Chairman of the Party, and be approved by CEC through a secret ballot for one year. The Presidents of Provinces and Secretary General are the ex-officio members of the CC.

According to the constitution of PTI 1999, Provincial organisation was, found in each province. It was composed of Provincial Council and Provincial Executive Committee. Provincial Council was, made up of Presidents and General Secretaries of all Divisional, Districts, and City organizations of Province. Presidents of all Tehsil / Taluka / Sub division / Zones, and all Divisional, Districts, and Cities Women wing organisations. Party's Members of Provincial Assembly are the ex-officio members. One-third numbers of members was Technocrats, Professionals and intellectuals nominated by Chairman in consultation with the Provincial President. Chairman in consultation with the Provincial President nominates twenty members with five members from Women Wing, Youth/Student, labour and, minorities organisation. The Provincial Council was consisted of the following members.





and secretary for Finance, Information, Legal Affairs, Public Welfare, Youth/Student Affairs, Literacy, Culture and Publicity.

In the constitution of Party 2012, Senior Vice Presidents of all district organisations made part of Provincial Council. The numbers of nominated members were, increased from twenty to twenty-five and five seats were, added for farmers and lawyers.

In structure of Provincial Council the offices of Two Senior Vice Presidents, Ten Vice Presidents out of which two were reserved for women, two Deputy General Secretaries, Four Joint Secretaries out of which two were reserved for women and secretaries of education, labour, agriculture, religious affairs, health, minorities, social media were added.

According to Party constitution of 1999, Provincial Executive Committee was consisted of thirty members of Provincial Council who are, nominated by the President and to be approved by CEC. These are the ex-officio members of Executive Committee. Provincial President of Women Wing is ex-officio Vice President.

Provincial Executive Committee is an executive authority of the party. It supervises the working of Provincial Council and lower organisations. It gives annual report of the activities of provincial council. It carries out the directives of the Chairman or Central Executive Committee or the National Council. It also has the power to form sub-committees for specific purposes.

In the party constitution of 2012, an amendment was, made that out of thirty members two seats are, reserved for minorities. The appointment of the secretaries for information, finance, and social media made by the President, must be confirmed by the Provincial

Executive Committee, and prior approval of the Central Executive Committee. The President of women wing was, declared as the ex-officio Vice President.

Almost the same organisational structure is, adopted for Divisional, City, District Organisation, Tehsil/Taluka/Sub Divisional/Zonal Organisation, Ward Organisation and Primary Organisations. In 2012, Divisional Organisation was, replaced with Regional Organisation in the four Provinces of Pakistan; City organisation was removed, and merged in district organisation and wards organisations were replaced with Union Council Organisation.

Any member holding office of National and Provincial Council including Chairman can be, removed by vote of no confidence through two third majorities. Member of Provincial Organisation can be, removed through vote of no confidence supported by majority members. The vote of no confidence cannot be moved by less than one-fifth member of organisation (Constitution of PTI, 2012)

According to the constitution of the party of 1999, all organisations are, elected for the term of four years, which can be, extended for one year by the Chairman with the approval of Central Executive Committee.

The party candidates are, selected by Provincial Parliamentary Boards. There are Parliamentary Boards for each region. All Parliamentary boards must be, approved by the Central Executive Committee.

Central Election Commission is, appointed by Central Executive Committee for five years but later on it was, decreased to four years. It holds election of central and Provincial Organisations. It appoints Provincial Election Committees to hold election of Provincial Organisations. The members of the Election Commission are, taken from National Council.

The ideology and organisational structure of PTI has an evolutionary history. After its establishment in 1996, Imran Khan became head of the party. PTI participated in general elections 1997 but could get a single seat. In order to improve the performance of the party, PTI dissolved its organisational structure and reorganised it in March 1997. In 1999, PTI framed its constitution, which provided details of its ideology and organisational structure.

With the expansion of popularity of the party, PTI expanded its organisational structure in 2012. It has given representation to all factions of the society including minorities. Its ideology and vast organisational structure shows that PTI is a mass party and has been working on the democratic norms since its inception. The organisational expansion of PTI has played a vital role in the evolution of the party.

1.6. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PTI & OTHER PARTIES IN PAKISTAN:

The organisational structure of the PTI is different from other parties in a way that it is democratic and not a dynastic and creed centred. Its membership is open to all Pakistanis irrespective of religion, gender, creed and place of residence. Most of the political parties in Pakistan have dynastic structure or, created by the military dictators to show democratic posture of their government. On the other, in the organisational structure of religious parties the element of creed is dominant like *Shia*, *Sunni*, *Deobandi* and *Barelvi*. Pakistan People's Party was founded by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979). After him, the party leadership remained in the hand of his family members like Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Then Asif Ali Zardari, husband of Benazir Bhutto and after him Bilawal Bhutto, son of Benazir Bhutto. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) was founded by Mian Muhammad Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. All-important party position is in the hand of family members of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif i.e. his Mian Muhammad Shabaz Sharif, his daughter Maryam Nawaz and his nephew Hamza

Shabaz Sharif. Awamin National Party was, founded by Abdul Wali Khan (1917-2006). After him Asfandiyar Wali Khan, son of Wali Khan became the President of ANP.

Convention Muslim League was pro General Muhammad Ayub Khan political party, which was organized by Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman and General Ayub Khan became its President. (Afzal M. R., 2001). Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-i-Azam (PML-Q) was founded by Mian Azhar in 1999 (Baxter, 2004) but it became prominent in July 2002 when Chudhary Shujahat Hussain became its President. Like Conventional Muslim League, it became a safe haven for General Pervaiz Musharraf and supported his rule.

Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Pakistan. after Independence. All India Sunni Conference was, renamed as Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Pakistan. (Esposito, 2003). JUP was, founded by Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni (1898-1970) in 1948 (Johari J. C., 1991). It belongs to Bareilvi School of thought (Jain, 2008). In October 1945. Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam was founded by Maulana Shabir Ahmed Usmani (1887–1949) in Calcutta (Dhulipala, 2015). In 1956, Mufti Mahmud (1919-1980) joined JUI and became it head in 1962. After his death, his son Maulana Fazlur Rehman became head of JUI (Mehmood, 1997). It belongs to Deobandi School of thought.

PTI is of the view that political parties in Pakistan have not institutionalised and rather have become family incorporations. Most of the political parties do not conduct even intra - party election or conduct so called practice of intra – party elections. Intra – party election is the soul of democratic behaviour. Imran Khan repeatedly promised that there would be no dynastic concept of leadership in PTI. He himself refused to be a lifelong Chairman of the PTI. He promised to institutionalise party on the democratic norms and rules. Even this PTI has been facing intra-party conflicts on the question of organisational structure and the inclusion of new members. Although it conducts intra-party, elections regularly but it cannot convince the members due to organisational problems and internal

rifts. Although, PTI is not a family party, but it revolves around the leadership of Imran Khan. It has become a one-man show. In current scenario, most of the members have left PTI who contributed in the formation of the party. New faces have been joining PTI but they are unable to convince the voters about their loyalties because majority of them are, known as electable who changes their loyalties at the time of election. PTI has been suffering a lot due to it. It is a slogan of PTI, that it will bring youth in front but in most of the cases, people prefer to cast vote in favour of old and experienced politicians. When PTI brings electable in the field, people object them that how old faces can bring change in Pakistan. This confusion has made a mess for PTI.

Regarding the democratic basis of political parties, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah is the best example. He used to contest the election for the Presidentship of Muslim League according to the constitution of the party to build discipline and develop the democratic norms (Mahmood S. , 2001). After him, in Pakistan, political parties proved weak because there exist "personalistic" politics and patronage "prevails" in most of the parties (Mahmood S. . 2007). Due to this, people join and change their loyalties by keeping their personal interests irrespective of democracy.

CHAPTER- 2

ROLE OF LEADERSHIP OF IMRAN KHAN IN THE EVOLUTION OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF (PTI)

Leadership of Imran Khan played pivotal role in the evolution of PTI. In Pakistani political culture, parties revolve around the personality of the leader. So is the case with PTI. The leadership of Imran Khan is, assessed along with his role in the genesis, evolution, performance and prospects of PTI.

2.1. CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP QUALITIES OF IMRAN KHAN:

As a cricketer and philanthropist, Imran Khan proved himself as a charismatic leader. In politics, he proved himself as a self-made person, which is one of the qualities of a charismatic leader. In Pakistan; the well-known political leaders were either introduced by military dictators or emerged due to strong and influential family backgrounds. For example, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was, introduced by General Ayub Khan, and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was, introduced by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. Benazir Bhutto became famous because she is the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Chant, 1998), and Asif Ali Zardari because he is husband of Benazir Bhutto (Kenkare, 2014).

Imran Khan proved himself as a self-made person. Through hard work and struggle, he proved himself as a charismatic leader. In an interview to Dawn TV, he claimed that he was offered to join cabinet by President of Pakistan General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and interim Prime Minister of Pakistan, Moeen Qureshi in 1988 and 1993 respectively (Khan I. , 2015). He claimed that he was, invited by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif to join PML (N) but he declined (A documentary on Imran Khan 1992, 2012). In the general election, 1997 PML (N) offered him thirty seats but he refused. After the general election

1997, President of Pakistan Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari offered him to become Chairman of Pakistan Cricket Board. which he did not accept.

Imran Khan disclosed that during General Pervez Musharraf's visit to Shoukat Khanam, he declared him as a Prime Minister of Pakistan (Nawa-i-Waqt, 2013). In reply to this offer he explained that he would not become Prime Minister with the help of General Pervez Musharraf's government because he would not like to become head of any un-elected government (Jang, 2002). As a result, of general election 2002 he became member of the Parliament for the first time. He was, invited by General Pervez Musharraf and PML (Q) to become part of the government but he refused again (Frontier Post, 2003).

The most important charismatic quality of leadership is his untiring determination and self-confidence. He proved this by playing his role in the growth of PTI consistently. His leadership played pivotal role in the genesis and evolution of PTI. Despite of the fact that he had limited time for the general election 1997, he decided to participate from the platform of his own party. Although, PTI could not win even a single seat but he demonstrated his leadership quality by challenging the opponent political parties, even when his political party was in embryonic stage. Then in the general election 2002, he was, invited to lead the National Alliance made by General Pervez Musharraf and he was, given assurance to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan but even then, he refused to be a protégé of General Pervez Musharraf and agencies. PTI could win only one seat i.e. Imran Khan. The general election 2008 held under the Musharraf rule. Imran Khan decided to boycott it because of the promulgation of Provisional Constitutional Order and ban on Judiciary to assure the masses of Pakistan that his party would always support the independence of Judiciary and oppose dictatorship in Pakistan. In his leadership in the general election 2013, PTI emerged as the third largest political party in Pakistan. From

2013-18. Imran Khan kept on playing an active role. Under his leadership, the results of general election 2013 were, challenged. After Panama Leaks, he challenged Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in Supreme Court of Pakistan. The court gave verdict against Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan proved his claim that the former was involved in the corruption.

As far as situational trait of leadership is concerned, as it is the product of crisis or a distressful situation. Imran Khan has been demonstrating this charismatic quality by playing politics of opposition since 1996 through his pronouncements and actions in and outside parliament. It also proves that he has the understanding about the politics and political system of Pakistan, which denounces the objection of critics that he would not be able to prove himself as a political and charismatic leader due to his background.

Charismatic leader keeps an eye on political crisis and provides substitute leadership. On the question of performance and leadership of PML (N) and PPP, Imran Khan said that both parties have disappointed people. The people of Pakistan have tested the leadership of PPP and PML (N) repeatedly, but each time they betrayed the masses. He explained that people are waiting for the third political force. He claimed that PTI would provide the leadership; the people are looking for help to get rid of a rotten system. As a result, of the general election 2013, he provided substitute leadership in the province and as a result, of the general election 2018 he replaced old leadership and proved his claim true. He highlighted the weaknesses of the status quo political forces and their leadership and explained. "The rulers always protect their interests to prolong their rule at the expense of the people. The ultimate sufferers are always the masses." He added, "Tehrik-e-Insaf is gaining popularity only because it has men of strong credentials in its ranks. The people should elect honest people to represent them...." He was of the view that "Pakistan Muslim League and Pakistan Peoples' Party have failed to work for the people" (Pakistan

Observer, 1998). Regarding the leadership of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto, Imran Khan was of the view that they "... squandered away a golden opportunity of consolidating democratic traditions in Pakistan. They were more interested in wielding power and lining their pockets. Under their rules, Pakistan's system of governance was completely destroyed" (The Nation, 2000).

Benazir Bhutto served Pakistan as Prime Minister for twice while Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister of Pakistan for thrice. Else, of both of them Asif Ali Zardari served as President of Pakistan for five years. All of them disappointed Pakistani masses. Imran Khan exposed all of them in different cases and proved his claim true.

Imran Khan tested and supported almost all the big leaders of Pakistan in different times and on different issues but became disappointed. He supported Muhammad Nawaz Sharif when he started debt retirement campaign. He supported General Pervez Musharraf because of his seven point agenda. In 2002 general election, he supported PPP under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto. He supported Fazal-ur-Rehman of JUI for the office of Prime Minister in 2002. He extended his support to Mehmud Khan Achakzai for the office of President against Asif Ali Zardari. He says that none of the leader came up to his expectations to bring change in Pakistan.

All the above-mentioned leaders deserted Imran Khan. None of them fulfilled their promise on the basis, of which they got his support. In 1997, Nawaz Sharif promised for across the board accountability, and debt retirement campaign, but later on, he did not fulfil his both of the promises. Benazir Bhutto promised to fight against General Musharraf in 2002, but she went on self-exile to London, and returned as a result, of the deal with Musharraf. Imran Khan supported Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman to oppose the policies of Musharraf, but he became the right hand of the dictator. Imran Khan

supported Mehmud Khan Achakzai against Asif Ali Zardari, but he became the coalition partner of PPP. Therefore, he decided not only to expose them, but to substitute them as well, and he proved himself.

A charismatic leader always gives hope to masses that he/she can bring them out of the crisis. In this regard, Imran Khan claimed that PTI under his leadership could bring Pakistan out of the crisis. He always gave hope that PTI is only objective is to rid the nation of plunderers. The masses are looking towards PTI after being, disappointed by both the parties, and the day is not far away when we will be able to throw the plunderers out of political arena forever. He always encourages people to be optimistic and work hard.

In this case, he materialised his optimism into reality. After exposing the *status quo* forces PTI became successful in overthrowing the old parties in the province of KP in 2013. As a result, of the general election 2018, it got success, and formed government in the Centre, and the Provinces of the Punjab and the KP, and it became coalition partner in Balochistan.

By exposing the wrong policies of PPP and PML-N, which led to politic crisis in Pakistan, he proved his charisma He highlighted political crisis in Pakista when assemblies were, dissolved in 1997. He criticised the policies of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's government, which put Pakistan into a political crisis, and led to the martial law of General Pervez Musharraf. He also intimated the results of political crisis generated due to the imposition of emergency by Musharraf in 2007. When General Pervez Musharraf announced National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO), Imran Khan again professed the consequences of this. By questioning the policies of governments of PPP and PML (N), he always highlighted the political crisis in Pakistan.

In spite of the fact that PTI was not the leading political party until 2013 but even than since 1997 under the leadership of Imran Khan, it played an active role to mobilise people on one hand and as an opposition party on the other hand. He anticipated political crisis during the second term of Nawaz Sharif. Although he committed blunder by welcoming the step taken by General Pervez Musharraf, and supported him up to 2002, but he soon realised his mistake, and started to generate awareness about the intentions and wrong policies of Musharraf. He gave him tough time, exposed him contributed, which compelled Musharraf to resign. When Asif Ali Zardari became the President of Pakistan and it all happened because of NRO, Imran Khan again highlighted the political crises, which generated during the Presidency of Asif Ali Zardari. One of the Prime Minister of Pakistan i.e. Yusuf Raza Gilani was, declared as disqualified, which proved the success of Imran Khan because he was the petitioner against him. After the general election, 2013 Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister for third time and Imran challenged his leadership as corrupt and unfair. This stance was, proved when the Supreme Court of Pakistan convicted him in the case of Panama Leaks. Therefore, every time Imran Khan successfully highlighted the political crises in Pakistan.

Accepting mistakes is, considered one of the qualities of a charismatic leader (Kottler Jeffrey A. 2010). One of the serious objections on Imran Khan is about his support to General General Pervez Musharraf. There is no doubt about it that Charismatic leader always respect constitution and act under constitutional limits. It is, also mentioned in the constitution of PTI that it will make efforts to bring change in Pakistan within the constitutional limits. Nevertheless, some time charismatic leader has to make choice between constitution and the country. In the backdrop of the policies of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif from 1997-99, he explained, "Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif has brought the country on the brink of disaster, and in such a circumstance 'doctrine of necessity'

could be retained". [Regarding ultra-constitutional step he explained that] "Although it will be extra-constitutional step, it has become inevitable to save the country from economic collapse", [he further added that] "the constitution is for the country and the country is not for the constitution. We would rather save country and in the prevailing circumstances such sort of extra-constitutional step has become imperative" (The News, 1998). It is a personal point of view of Imran Khan. Researcher is, not agreed with this stance because such ultra constitutional steps did not let democracy to flourish in Pakistan.

Secondly, in Pakistani political system. Military is one of the most important elements. Before General Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan has seen three military dictators. i.e.. General Muhammad Ayub Khan. General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan and General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. When General Pervez Musharraf took over on 12th October 1999 and removed the government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. It was a great test of the leadership of Imran Khan. No doubt, that charismatic leader comes into power with the help of masses but it depends on the political culture of the country as well. In the history of Pakistan, it is evident that all political leaders of Pakistan came into power with the support of military or at least introduced by the military. The most important example is of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif.

In case of General Pervez Musharraf. Imran Khan explained that he supported General Pervez Musharraf because his seven points were reflecting the manifesto of PTI. In an interview with Saudi daily, Imran Khan made it clear that he did not support military action due to Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif government but he supported because it gave a ray of hope for real democracy (Frontier Post, 1999) in shape of seven points. During Musharraf regime, he became an accepted leader in politics of Pakistan, and in all kinds of policies. his views were, given weight. General Pervez Musharraf invited him

after coming into power. He asked Musharraf to clean up the system and make it clear that if he let PTI to work according to its agenda; they could think of joining the government but would never compromise on principles (Nawa-i-Waqt, 2000).

Imran Khan met General Ehtesham Zamir who was heading political wing of the Inter-Services Intelligence. He briefed him about the idea of 'Grand National Alliance' and shared assessment of ISI that which party would get how many seats in the upcoming general election. Imran Khan claims that he asked: was there any plan to get rid of corrupt politicians but got disappointing reply. He explained that it was his first experience with agencies and he promised that he would never play in the hands of agencies. He added that he met General Pervez Musharraf for fifth and last time on 23 July 2002 on his invitation in President House and made an effort to persuade him to get rid of crooked politicians but he could not. Musharraf asked me to join his proposed alliance. Then he realised that it was his mistake that he supported Musharraf in the name of fake promises (Khan I. . 2011).

After the general election, 2002 Imran Khan realised his mistake and he said that it was his blunder that he had supported General Pervez Musharraf's military regime. He explained that in last three years he had learned political lessons. He said that "... I made a mistake of my life by supporting the military establishment in the hope of a new era and I do repent it because I was used by them". He explained that he could fill the leadership vacuum created by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. which he had missed by taking sides with Musharraf government. He further said, "Actually, I had some assumptions about the military ruler and he had some about me. Our assumptions about each other proved wrong in the end". [He explained that] "I thought, they were serious in introducing reforms and accountability but they were not. They thought I was

with them at any cost and would be their man and that was not the situation. So, we both feel betrayed by each other. I felt betrayed and they felt betrayed” (The News, 2003).

He was of the view that he did not accept him as a legitimate president because Musharraf has destroyed the legal system of Pakistan. He added. “I am an Idealist and have certain dreams to pursue for the betterment of poor people who love me, trust me and I will not let them down. [He explained that] “Power has never been a problem for me. I was first offered government slot in 1988 when General Zia-ul-Haq dismissed the Junejo government and successive regimes offered me important slots but I always rejected the offers” (The News, 2003).

In fact, since independence Civil Military relations are very much convoluted. All parties in Pakistan blame each other for having the backing of Military. This problem is at its peak among three political parties in Pakistan i.e. PPP, PML (N) and PTI. Such blame game made civil military relationships further complicated to understand.

The history of Pakistan shows that politicians back the interventions of the military in political affairs from different political parties, which have become a big hurdle for the continuity of political process, and flourishing of democracy. However, this intervention is not shallow. Military intervene when it finds political vacuum or some time manage a political vacuum in Pakistan. Military fill this vacuum with its own agenda. For this purpose, it has backing and support of group of pro – military intervention politicians who camouflage their interests with the interests of Army. That is why, it is said that military institution is an “actor in its own right, which cannot be understood as a reflection of societal characteristics and preferences” (Shah A. , 2014).

As far as relation of PTI and military is concerned, it is intricate. One school of thought is of the view that PTI is established and backed by the Army (Cohen S. P., 2011) and it is a major reason that some sections of people do not like to cast vote for it. PTI supports

Pakistan Army, but it does not in favour of intervention of Army in political affairs particularly after General Pervez Musharraf. The school of thought who is of the view that PTI has the backing of Army explained that PTI has backing of Director General, ISI, General Shuja Pasha and General Ehtesham Zamir.

In the political history of Pakistan, it is a bitter fact that almost all the major political parties and their leadership started their political career with the help of Military Generals. For example, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto got prominence during the period of General Ayub Khan. Mian Muahmmad Nawaz Sharif was introduced by General Gillani and got prominence due to General Zia-ul-Haq. The political history of Pakistan demonstrates that there is an element of liking and disliking in the circle of Military on the question of political parties and politicians as well. For example, Benazir Bhutto had cordial relations with General Nasir ullah Khan Babar and General Mirza Aslam Beg. In case of Raymond Davis, Director General, ISI. General Shuja Pasha paved way for the rescue of PPP in the Centre on one hand and PML (N) in Punjab on the other hand. The most stunning fact is that the Punjab Government rather than Raymond Davis paid even indemnity. Then Chief of Army Staff, General Asfaq Pervaiz Kiyani and President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari has such a cordial relations that General Kiyani was given extension for three years. During the reign of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, General Raheel Sharif was COAS. At the time of sit-in of PTI against rigging, One school of thought was of the view that agitation was supported by COAS. but latter on strange development took place according to which General Raheel Sharif was permitted to join Coalition of Muslim forces against terrorism in Suadi Arabia as its head. This decision was against the legal modalities because he could not be granted such permission for two years after the retirement.

Although there is no doubt about the intervention of Military in political affairs of Pakistan but at the same time it is baseless to say that Pakistan could not make progress because of this intervention. The main cause of disagreement between the Military and government is the question of security and foreign policy. But it's a main question that why political parties could not make progress in other areas like education, health, economy, culture and institutionalisation of political parties because Army did not stop or interfere that political government cannot built school, colleges, universities, hospitals and political awareness through political activism and institutionalisation of political parties. To dig out result at this moment of the research is difficult but it can be resolved through mutual dialogue among institutions and political parties.

Therefore, it is a fact that Military has been playing the role of political catalyst in the political affairs of Pakistan. It has been remained involved in the political affairs of Pakistan since independence. However, it cannot be said that PTI is the only political party, which has backing of Military. Researcher is of the view that from this discussion point of view it is acknowledged that Imran Khan has the charismatic quality of accepting mistakes but he committed two blunders in his career with respect to military. First, he supported General Musharraf from 1999 to 2002 and secondly, during sit-in, he met General Raheel Sharif, which personified his claim of third umpire.

Charismatic leader has the ability to mobilise masses (Thompson P. &., 1978). Imran Khan proved that he has the ability to mobilise people. Against corruption, he mobilised masses. He raised voice against corruption and created awareness among the masses. He is of the view that the main cause of downfall of Pakistan is corruption. Due to corruption, almost all the institutions of Pakistan have become unable to perform for the welfare of the masses. He highlighted the corruption of leadership of PPP and PML (N) by exposing Surrey palace of Asif Ali Zardari and involvement of Mian Muhammad

Nawaz Sharif in Mehran Bank Scandal and Panama Leaks. To eliminate corruption, throughout his political struggle he demanded for across the board accountability.

Imran Khan repeatedly demonstrated this leadership quality of popular mobilisation. As an observer, one can see the processions of PTI that are, attended by large number of people. In 2011, Imran Khan stunned the political parties of Pakistan by mobilising people and conducting Lahore procession. Then against the rigging in the general election, he managed sit-in for one hundred and twenty six days is another proof of this leadership trait. The way he mobilised people against corruption in Pakistan is obvious to all. His continuous political mobility is none to second.

Patriotism is one of the most important qualities of charismatic leader (Klenke, 2008). In patriotism, one has loyalty with state and hates the enemy of the state and its masses. Imran Khan demonstrated this quality by returning his medal of *Hilal-e-Quaid-i-Azam* in protest of award given to American vice Foreign Secretary and American Vice President of *Hilal-e-Pakistan* and *Hilal-e-Quaid-i-Azam*. He called Richard Boucher as the killer of Pakistanis, who was, given award by Asif Ali Zardari. He was of the view that due to his Afghan policy Pakistan suffered a lot. Although it is very hard to judge the sense of patriotism of anyone because it is, a relative term particularly in case of politics. Here the example, which is, given above represents the feeling of the people especially who became the victim of Afghan policy supported by Richard Boucher. Secondly, Imran Khan himself described that in order to express his sentiments of patriotism, and loyalty with state he returned his medal to record his protest against awarding Richard Boucher.

To support the rule of law is one of the qualities of a charismatic leader (Wart, 2016). Throughout his political career, Imran Khan demanded for rule of law and equality before law, which is possible in the presence of Independent Judiciary. He always demanded for the independence of Judiciary and opposed such policies and steps, which curtail the

independence of Judiciary. He condemned stoning of Pakistan Supreme Court by members of PML (N). Against the imposition of emergency by Musharraf, he played important role and demonstrated his charismatic leadership. He supported those Judges, who refused to take oath under Provisional Constitutional Order and mobilised people especially youth. He applauded lawyers' movement and contributed a lot.

Imran Khan has absolute clarity about his cause. He demonstrated this charismatic trait many times. In Pakistani political culture PPP and PML (N) has been dominating, the political field. It is in the mind of political analysts that if a party wants to get success, then it has to make alliance with PPP or PML (N). He has been declaring both these parties responsible for degradation of Pakistan and exposing both of them and of their leadership without any fear of consequences. Without their alliance, PTI became the largest political party in Pakistan.

It shows another quality of Imran Khan that he is straightforward man. In Pakistani political culture it has become a matter of routine that politicians tell a lie but whenever he got chance, he spoke clearly and declared these two parties i.e., PPP, PML (N) and their leadership responsible for the degradation of Pakistan. He says that the key to make Pakistan a welfare state is to get rid of corrupt leaders. He said, "Pakistan needs a dynamic leader, who could stand against imperialism and give preference to national interests over the pity personal gains. It is because of dynamic leadership that we can pull the country out of present crisis" (The News, 2010).

Some of the charismatic qualities, which Imran Khan has and researcher considers these qualities as rare and unique qualities amongst Pakistani politicians are mentioned below:

In Pakistani culture, women remains inside the home and absolute majority of them do not participate in external affairs. Even not more than five percent do jobs to support their household. It is the unique leadership quality of Imran Khan that he has generated

political activism in Pakistani women. Within party women are, given due representation and it can be, seen that in all political procession of the party huge numbers of women participates.

Another unique leadership quality of Imran Khan is generation of political activism in youth. He encouraged and activated the Pakistani youth to participate in the political activities and make contribution political process from the platform of PTI. Due representation is given to youth in PTI.

One of the unique charismatic qualities, which he demonstrated, is activating upper strata of the society in political affairs of Pakistan. In Pakistan, upper class had remained indifferent from political activities but he gave them trust and they started to participate in the political activities.

Another unique quality of Imran Khan is that he has been encouraging celebrities from supports and entertainment industry to participate in politics and spread the message of PTI to the nook and corner of Pakistan.

Usage of Music in party procession is one of the unique qualities of leadership of Imran Khan. He encourages people to prepare party songs which demonstrates the manifesto of the party and spread message to the people. It became so effective that in general election 1997, the interim government banned one of the music group known "Janoon" (Dawn, 2011). Now other parties have also started to copy this culture in Pakistan. Due to usage of music in party processions, religious parties of Pakistan criticised it a lot. They declared the party procession of PTI as "dance parties" and "musical concerts" (Bochinger, 2017).

Vision is the most import quality of a leader. Imran Khan claims that he has the vision to make Pakistan an Islamic Welfare State. He is of the view that the main problem of Pakistan is the absence of rule of law. By establishing rule of law in Pakistan, this

objective can be, gained. He declares the status quo forces responsible for it. Eliminating corruption and restructuring institutions can obtain this goal.

An understanding of political culture is one of the important leadership qualities because if leader knows the complications of political culture only then he can make sound political strategies. In Pakistan people blames Imran Khan that he takes U-turn but he himself defends that to take U-turn is one of the quality of a leader. For example, initially Imran Khan was against politics of electable and traditional politicians. With the passage of time when he understood political culture of Pakistan and gained enough experience of politics, he became more flexible and opened membership of PTI to politicians from other parties as well. Due to this, lots of electable joined PTI and changed the complexion of general election 2018.

2.2. RECOGNITION OF CHARISMA:

Imran Khan as a charismatic leader received recognition both at National and International level. He proved himself as a charismatic leader with the help of his performance. No doubt, he took two decade in political arena to prove him as a charismatic leader. In this regard, the belief among the people that he could lead them played important role, which could be measured by the result of the general election 2018. Under the leadership of Imran Khan PTI emerged as the largest political party in Pakistan and formed government in Centre and Province of Punjab and KP.

In Political, culture of Pakistan, party politics and success revolves around the leadership of the party. In this regard, Imran Khan proved himself as a charismatic leader. Party revolves around his personality and leadership. Leadership of Imran Khan has a pivotal role in the genesis, evolution, performance and prospects of PTI.

CHAPTER- 3

ELECTORAL MANIFESTOS AND STRATEGIES OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF (PTI)

The electoral strategy and manifesto of PTI has been playing vital role in its evolution since 1996. PTI was, established hardly seven months before the announcement of the general election 1997. Although, it has short time but even then it decided to participate in the general election.

3.1. PTI & THE GENERAL ELECTIONS- 1997:

3.1.1. MANIFESTO:

In the general election 1997, PTI claimed that its manifesto was, based on the models of Mahatar Muhammed⁶ and Umer bin Abdul Aziz⁷. The main emphasis of manifesto of PTI was on eradication of corruption, reducing defence expenditure, increase in tax revenue and, to get rid of IMF (PTI's Manifesto, 1997).

PTI promised to bring economic revolution in Pakistan. PTI claimed that it would introduce revolutionary economic agenda for setting the country on the path of prosperity. For this purpose, government will not administer the economy but it would only give policies and work as a regulatory body to protect the public interest. Private sector would be encouraged to flourish. Party's ultimate objective of economic, administrative and agricultural reforms would be to improve the conditions of poor, as it believes that the economic system is to benefit the people and not vice versa. Income would be, taxed irrespective of the source. Taxes would be, reduced and tax base would be, broadened to control the tax evasion. Small and medium export oriented entrepreneurs would be encouraged to raise the national income and generate

⁶Dr Mahatar Muhammed, former Prime Minister of Malaysia during whose reign his country made tremendous economic development and became to be known as the Asian Tiger (Wain, 2012).

⁷Umer bin Abdul Aziz, the Ummayyad Caliph whole ruled from 717 – 720 and became to be known as Umer – II and fifth Caliph due to his reforms (Ali, 1980)

employment opportunities. Expatriates would be encouraged to invest in Pakistan, like China and India. The focus would be on the import of technology instead of looking around for capital. Party would give attention to the development of work force, reducing the government borrowing and clearing the outstanding loans to reduce the burden of debt serving from the budget. Party would introduce land reforms to increase productivity, popularise the cultivation of oil seeds and bring collective farming.

The elimination of the corruption from Pakistan has been remained a constant point of PTI's manifesto. In the general election 1997, it was promised that that corruption can be eliminated from the society by punishing corrupts and raising the salaries of working class. Party, if voted to power, will raise the salaries to attract competent and professional people for better performance and to eliminate corruption from the government ranks. The privileges and perks of the government employees will also be withdrawn.

Defence budget is one of the controversial issues in the political affairs of Pakistan. It remained non-discussable even in the Parliament of Pakistan. PTI was of the view that defence expenditure should be, reduced to the possible limits. In the manifesto of PTI, it was, said about defence spending that "...efforts will be made to expand the revenue base to make the funds available for non development expenditures. My party will not compromise on defence spending as the world is witness to the crisis of Bosnia, where no international stepped forward to defend it, we must defend ourselves for which we must keep up with our defence expenditures" (PTI's Manifesto, 1997).

In Pakistan, the expenditure on non-developmental articles has created many economic problems like protocol of Prime Minister, ministers and VIP culture. PTI also included in its manifesto to counter such issues as well. In the electoral manifesto, it was promised that PTI would start austerity drive, which will help to reduce the government expenditure. It will take steps to end VIP culture so that false system, which has captured

whole of the Pakistani nation, will end. This can only be, done by the new and the honest leadership.

Regarding women representation in the process of participation in political activities, PTI promised to support women activism in Pakistan (Gah, 1998). PTI promised that it would allocate 10% tickets for women in the general election 1997 (Krook, 2009).

In the general election 1997, it was part of the manifesto of PTI that there should be across the board accountability in Pakistan and corrupt politicians should not be, allowed to contest election. PTI used this point as an electoral strategy because PTI was of the view that if there would be across the board accountability, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto would not be, allowed to contest election. This gap would be filled by PTI under his leadership i.e. Imran Khan. PTI demanded that caretaker government should take action against Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto against whom evidences were available. PTI challenged that "How can Benazir Bhutto be allowed to contest the polls after the highest judicial authority [Supreme Court of Pakistan] in the land [Pakistan] has found her guilty of corruption, illegal taping of telephones, nepotism and misrule. Indeed if she is responsible for even one extra-judicial death she should be, charged with murder. It is ludicrous to think that a person against whom the Supreme Court has pronounced a verdict that she is involved in such grave acts, should be contesting polls barely five days after the announcement of the verdict" (The News. Feb 1, 1997).

3.1.2. ELECTORAL STRATEGY:

Based on decision of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, a petition against Benazir Bhutto was, filed for disqualification in Lahore High Court by the leadership of PTI. It was, objected that she could not contest election in the light of decision of the Supreme Court

of Pakistan⁸, which upheld all the grounds mentioned by the President of Pakistan, Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari in the dissolution order of November 5, 1996. She did not fulfil the constitutional requirements laid down under article 62 and 63⁹ (The News. Feb 1, 1997).

In the light of the decision of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, which upheld all the charges levelled by the President of Pakistan she could not contest election. With the help of this petition PTI wanted to get, it confirmed so that it could substitute her by its own leadership but it could not get it. If PTI would have got decision in its favour, Benazir Bhutto could not contest election.

PTI also criticised amendments in laws of election made by Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari. and elaborated that such concessions were, made to facilitate Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif to contest elections. PTI claimed that the President of Pakistan has made an underhand deal with Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Therefore, in his presence neutral election would not be possible. In such situation, PTI demanded that the President of Pakistan should resign because he promised that there would be accountability of corrupt politician but he is letting them to contest elections again (Jang. Jan 23, 1997).

If amendments were not made in the laws of election both Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto could contest election. In this way field would become open for PTI. In this example, another thing is very strange that in Pakistan laws are made and twisted for the interests of some people. There is no concept of rule of law rather law provide concession for the rule of particular group and people.

⁸ Benazir Bhutto v Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari, (PLJ 1998. S.C.27.)

⁹ Article 62 and 63 of the constitution of Pakistan deals with qualification and disqualifications of the members of Parliament (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973)

In order to mobilise people, people were, asked to join hands with PTI to get rid of the corrupt leadership. PTI highlighted the wrong policies and past performance of the PML (N) and PPP. It was questioned that

How Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif increased the number of his factories from one to twenty-one and how the spouse of Benazir Bhutto, Asif Ali Zardari became millionaire who once lived in an ordinary house. In fact both the parties have been involved in worst type of corruption. [It was added that] according to the caretakers [government] the politicians had looted fourteen thousand crore from the different banks and now our economic system is at the brink of collapse and the government has been begging from World Bank and IMF. If PTI voted to power it will never beg from aforesaid organizations and will formulate its own independent economic system." [It was further added that in order to win election] "Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif gave five billion rupees worth of plots to 'lotas' and 'chamchas' [favouritees] while Benazir Bhutto had given 20 million worth of plots to her own favourites (The Muslim. Jan 6, 1997).

The main slogan of PTI was to bring change in Pakistan by defeating *status quo* forces. People were, asked to vote PTI to bring revolutionary changes. PTI told that, for last eight years, both Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto deceived masses. "They [Benazir Bhutto and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif] themselves looted to the national wealth and gave nothing to the nation except inflation, unemployment, corruption, nepotism and injustices" (The News. Jan 10, 1997).... "Benazir Bhutto and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif are two faces of the same coin [and] both are partner in the plunder of the national wealth" (Pakistan Observer. Jan 24, 1997). PTI claimed that it had given Pakistan rid of Zardari¹⁰ and would give rid of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif as well (Jang. Jan 11, 1997).

In the light of the charges based on which the governments of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto were removed and those charges were upheld by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, PTI was right but to facilitate them later on amendments were made in the laws of elections. Such kinds of contradictory decisions have made all institutions in Pakistan controversial especially judiciary.

¹⁰ . Imran Khan exposed the case of corruption of Asif Ali Zardari of Surrey palace in England.

PTI used Yousuf Aziz, brother in law of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif as a part of electoral strategy in the general election 1997. He supported PTI and said that Imran Khan was the only personality who served humanity and constructed cancer hospital and hoped that he would bring change in Pakistan (Jang. 13 Jan, 1997). Such tactics in Pakistani politics are, used to convince the people that the family member of the opponent is not supporting his/her party, which depicts the shallowness of the party slogans. It is just a psychological tactics otherwise; it has nothing to do with right or wrong slogan of the party.

In the general election 1997, PTI did not form coalition with any political party. Although, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif offered PTI for coalition and thirty seats but it declined (Nawa-i-Waqt. June 1, 2013). PTI participated in the general election 1997 without any alliance. PTI contested from 134 constituencies but could not get a single seat. In the light of the political culture of Pakistan it was a good opportunity for PTI to extent its influence because later history shows that most of the elecble belonging to PML (N) joined PTI. The party leadership of PTI was of the view that it main fight was against the *status quo* like PML (N) and PPP. That was why it did not accept this offer.

As a result, of the general election 1997, PML (N) got sweeping victory and formed government. PML (N) ruled from 1997-99. During this period, PTI kept on its efforts to strengthen its position by framing its constitution and organisational structure. In October 1999 the government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was, over thrown by General Pervez Musharraf. In his reign, general election was, held in 2002.

3.2. PTI AND THE GENERAL ELECTIONS- 2002:

PTI participated in the general election 2002 and through its electoral manifesto and strategy tried to make a difference. Its details are, given on the following pages.

3.2.1. PTI'S MANIFESTO:

PTI adopted almost the same manifesto to participate in the general election 2002, which it had in the general election 1997. In the general election 2002, the main points of PTI's manifesto were independence of Judiciary, religious freedom, to strengthen democracy, reconstruction of institutions, across the board accountability, independent election commission of Pakistan, eradication of illiteracy and poverty, provision of health facility and rule of law in Pakistan.

The main thrust was on Justice, humanity and self-esteem. It was reiterated that PTI wanted to make Pakistan a modern and model Islamic State by bringing social and economic prosperity to making Pakistan an egalitarian and politically stable country. It was stressed that PTI wanted to see democracy, rule of law, tolerance, protection of fundamental rights and strong local bodies' governments in Pakistan (PTI's Manifesto, 2002).

3.2.2. PTI'S STRATEGY:

After the general election 1997, PTI dissolved the entire organisation of the party. PTI laid emphasis on grass root organisation in order to reach everywhere in Pakistan. Seven committees - three for Punjab, two for the Sindh, and one for the Balochistan and the NWFP were constituted. The purpose of reorganisation and mission of the party was issued as

...to make Pakistan a model Islamic welfare state encompassing the principles including social justice and equality, equal opportunity, Islam as a basis for inspiration, guidance and solution.... Imran Khan Pleads strong Pakistan nationhood and self-esteem, identity with Muslim Ummah, respect for cultural values and recognize family unit as fundamental basis of society.... Free enterprise with safeguard for the down-trodden, clean and transparent governance, fully accountable, tolerance and respect for each other's views and support international efforts for welfare and dignity of global community (The News, March 7, 1997).

A National Advisory Board was constituted under the Chairmanship of Imran Khan. Abdul Hafiz Khan, Hamid Khan, Miss Nasim Zehra, Nazim F Haji, Owais Ghani, Akbar

S Babar, Saeed Ullah Niazi, Rashid Khan, Dr Abdul Mateen, Ahsan Rasheed, Mansoor Siddiqi, Mehmood Mirza, Lt Gen (R) Mujib-ur-Rehman, Dr General Pervez Musharraf Hassan and Dr Muhammad Farooq Khan were included in NAB.

In National Organizing Committee, Hafiz Khan was appointed as a National Organizer, Nazim Haji and Capt Nasir Akbar as representatives of Sindh, Saeedullah Niazi as representative of Punjab, Owais Ghani as a representative of NWFP and Akbar Babar from Balochistan. Shazeb Hussain was included as Social development programmes, Mrs Fauzia Kasuri for Women. Imran Chaudary to represent Overseas Pakistanis, Mian Yousaf Aziz, Chaudhary Muhammad Siddique, Akram Chaudary for business, Azar Tariq Chaudary for farming community, Barrister Munawar Akhtar, Ikramullah Khan and Farooq Mir as technocrats and Naeemul Haq as rabita committee.

At Provincial levels, there were organizing committees. In Sindh Organising Committee, Nazim F Haji, Dr Arif Alvi, Najeeb Haroon, Firdaus S Naqvi, M. Jehangir, Mrs Tanveer Khalid, Dr Hassan Raza, Dr Wassem Soomro and Shahid Rindh were included.

In NWFP Organizing Committee, following members were included. Owais Ahmed Ghani, Zubair Wazir, Shahid Hayyat, Abid Iqbal, Col Abdul Salam, Ibadat Ullah, Tahir Khan, Latifur Rehman, Dr Imad Haider Sherpao, Aurangzeb Khan, Abdul Jamil Kanjoo and Col Attaur Rehman.

In the Punjab Organising Committee, Saeed Ullah Khan Niazi, Mian Arif Sheikh, Maj Mujeeb Khan, Malik Majeed, Saleem Abbasi, Malik Farooq, Ch. Nazir Ahmed, Shams Raza Khan, Ikram Rasheed, Amir Kiani, Ijaz Rafi Butt, Shehzada Mumtaz, Ch. Zamurad Hussain, Abdul Rasheed Gondal, Mian Muhammad Farooq, Kabir Sheikh, Ayaz Sadiq, Sajjad Haider, Ahmad Raza Khan, Rai Aziz Ullah, Khalid Sarfraz, Naveed Anwar Naveed, Arshad Dad, Hassan Nawaz, Shafqat Niazi, Malik Aslam Awan, Javaid Amin Khawaja, Syed Faheem Waris, Fayyaz Bokhari, Wajid Ali Khan, Rana Khalid Dad, Mian

Mehmoodur Rashid, Mian Sani, Brig Amir Afsar, Muhammad Akmal Mirza, Zafar ullah Khan, Imran Sherazi, Naeem Ul haq, Muhammad Sadiq Butt, Aziz Jhandeer, Asim Manika, Sardar Naveed Haider, Mrs Munazza Hussian and Rubina Tariq (The Nation. March 7, 1997).

In process of reorganisation and intra party election, Imran Khan refused to become Chairman of PTI for lifetime. It was a good decision to introduce and implement democratic norms and rules within party. He explained, "All the institutions of the country has been destroyed and now is the time to reform them and make them effective". He added that PTI would revamp all the institutions (The News. March 14, 1999).

The first ever-provincial convention of PTI was, held in Nishter Hall Peshawar on 5th October 1997. It was, promised that efforts would be made to eradicate corruption and unemployment from Pakistan. Party would strengthen technical education, Judiciary and public institutions. There would be indiscriminate accountability in Pakistan (Pakistan Observer. Oct 6, 1997).

In the general election 2002, initially PTI did not form alliance with any party and decided to run election campaign from its own party platform. It also declared that it did not rule out alliance with any political party. It stressed that there would be no alliance with PML (N) and PPP because if his party joins any alliance it would stop the grooming of the party. That is why PTI run election campaign from its own party platform. Secondly, PTI refused to be a part of any electoral alliance with the *status quo* forces because PTI wanted to bring out the people of Pakistan to challenge traditional politicians and the political parties. At the same time, PTI started efforts to cooperate with such likeminded politicians who wanted to change political culture in Pakistan. For this

purpose, PTI established contacts for alliance with Millat Party, Pakistan Awami Party and Pakistan Muslim League (QA) (Pakistan Observer. March 13, 2002).

Although PTI was the staunch rival of PPP and PML (N), when it apprehend the political strategy of General Pervaz Musharraf it decided to work together on one point agenda of fair and free elections with PPP and PML (N) because three parties were of the view that Musharraf was using government machinery to support the PML (Q). In the light of this understanding, in the general election 2002, Imran Khan contested election from NA-71, Mianwali. His opponent candidate was of PML (Q) Obaidullah Khan Shadi Khail. PML (N) did not field any candidate in support of Imran Khan while PTI did not field any candidate in support of Inam Ullah Khan Niazi of PML (N) in NA-72. G. M. Shah of PPP also supported Imran Khan (The Nation. Oct 9, 2002).

It is pertinent to mention here that PTI did not accept the offer of PML (N) in the general election 1997 in which later offered the former for thirty seats. In the general election, it accepted the offer of the one seat only. It shows that the political stature of the leadership of PTI was not mature and it was definitely because of lack of experience on one hand and the idealism in the realm of political culture of Pakistan on the other hand. Had PTI accepted the offer of the thirty seats in the general election 1997 the position of the PTI would have been different because after PML (N) it would have been the third largest political force. Due to this, it would have been not possible for any manipulator like Musharraf to think about other political force like PML (Q). Another important think to mention is that if PTI did not make seat adjustment with PML (N) and PPP in the general election 2002 in which Imran Khan became victorious and assumed the status of Member of National Assembly of Pakistan for the first time, PTI would have not evolved with such pace and momentum in the later years. Researcher is of the view that it was the second most important event in the evolution of PTI. The first was the opportunities and

condition provided by the wrong policies of PML (N) and especially PPP which led Imran Khan to jump into the politics and the second was the seat adjustment made with PTI by these parties in the general elections 2002. Sometimes it looks that the follies of PML (N) and PPP played consequential role in the genesis and evolution of PTI.

PTI used reduction of voters' age as a key point of its electoral strategy and demanded to decrease voter's age from 21 to 18 years because it would bring masses into political activities at large scale. Based on this PTI claimed to, bring revolution with the help of youth and asked youth to support the party in the election. It claimed that the results of the general election 2002 would be unexpected like 1970 general election and would upset the former election pattern in Pakistan in case youth votes for it. (Jang. Jan 14, 2002). PTI also supported the condition of graduation for contesting election, joint electorate and increase in number of women seats in Parliament (Al-Akhbar. Jan 21, 2002).

This demand played significant role in the later history of PTI. PTI became so successful in activating, mobilising and getting the support of youth in its favour but it is wrong to say that right after this decision of lowering voter age benefited PTI because it could not get convincing benefit out of this element in the general election 2002 and 2013.

PTI used political vacuum as an electoral strategy as Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto were, banned to contest election. As Imran Khan claimed that in the general election 1997, he was not in any kind of misconception. He was expecting that PTI would get one or two seats but in the general election 2002, PTI would form its government because there was a political vacuum, which could only be, filled by PTI with new leadership (The Nation. Aug 4, 2000).

PTI made an effort to utilise political vacuum created by the absence of leadership of Imran Khan and Benazir Bhutto but it could not convince the people. The main reasons

were its previous support to General Pervez Musharraf and then the seat adjustment with PML (N) and PPP for the seat of Mianwali only. So it was not convincing because since its inception it was blaming both mainstream parties and then became its ally. Therefore, this tactic also could not come up to the expectations of PTI.

PTI used the demand of independent Election Commission of Pakistan as a part of its manifesto and electoral strategy. PTI demanded that ECP should be revamped and re-constituted like Indian Election Commission to conduct free and fair election because the role of ECP in referendum of General Pervez Musharraf has put a question mark on its credibility (Frontier Post. June 8, 2002).

Independent Election Commission is one of the most consistent demands of all political parties especially PTI. Due to the absence of Independent Election Commission, almost all the general elections in Pakistan have become controversial either partially or fully, which led to serious consequences.

The point of rigging was also used by PTI as an electoral strategy. It criticised that the government was busy in pre-poll rigging to get victory for Grand National Alliance (GNA) and objected that the government itself has become a party to manage a victory for PML (Q). It elaborated that Musharraf was making efforts to impose Gujrat Mafia on the masses. Musharraf should not deceive the people of Pakistan. In the past, the looters of Mehran Bank became President, Ministers and MNA. The government was making efforts to bring dacoits and looters by violating election rules. It demanded that the Judiciary should play its role and the people who were written off loans from banks like Chaudary Shujahat and Pervez Elahi should not be allowed to contest election. It threatened that in such a situation a movement like 1977 could take place because political parties would not accept election results (Nawa-i-Waqt. Sep 6, 2002).

The main reason of rigging allegations were because of support of General Musharraf to PML (Q) and constrained election commission, which proved true as the results of the general election 2002 were, revealed.

PTI highlighted and used point of corruption as its electoral strategy. In an interview with BBC's program "Hard talk", Imran Khan said that the real and serious problem of Pakistan is corruption. He explained that four governments had been, terminated due to corruption charges. He also emphasized the role of judiciary and said that it failed to give justice to the poor. It has become a safeguard for rich people only.

Joining by new people to PTI played a vital role in the evolutionary process of PTI. At the time of general election 2002, different people joined PTI. The head of People's Party (Shaheed Bhutto Group) joined PTI. Along with him the Mian Sajid Pervaz (former MNA of PPP) Sardar Khizr Hayat Wattoo, Shaukat Janjua, Malik Waheed, Tariq Zaman Bhatti, Mian Zafar, Malik Ghafoor Awan and Zahid Chaudary also joined PTI (Jang, Sep 30, 2000). The famous social and political personality, Chaudary Rab Nawaz of Tarlai joined PTI (Nawa-i-Waqt, 27 April 2002). Due to the joining of these people, the strength of PTI increased because in the general election 2002, PTI was facing problems due to the support of General Pervaz Musharraf to PML (Q). Most of the members of PTI left and joined the King's party i.e. PML (Q). Through these people PTI campaigned, and send the message to masses to support it. General Pervaz Musharraf proved main handle in the evolution and growth of PTI in the general election 2002.

PTI filed nomination papers of Imran Khan from five constituencies of National Assembly i.e., NA -15 Kirk, NA – 29 Swat, NA – 71 Mianwali, NA -122 Lahore and NA – 183 Ahmed Pur Sharqia. His nomination papers were, accepted from all constituencies except NA -183. Returning Officer made objection on his qualification. PTI filed appeal against this. Akbar S. Babar, the information secretary of the PTI told that the Degree of

Imran Khan awarded by Oxford University was equal to BA (Pakistan Observer. Sep 2, 2002). As a result, of election, Imran Khan got victory from Mianwali and became the member of National Assembly for the first time (Nawa-i-Waqt. June 1, 2013). He became the member of PTI to be, elected as Member of National Assembly (MNA) since the inception of the party.

As a result, of general election 2002, PML (Q) got victory and formed government. It ruled from 2002-2008 under the Presidentship of General Pervaz Musharraf. Next general election in Pakistan was, held in 2008.

3.3. PTI AND THE GENERAL ELECTIONS- 2008:

The general election 2008 has deep-rooted effects on the evolutionary process of PTI. It committed a blunder as it boycotted the general election 2008 (Jaffrelot, 2016). Due to this boycott, most of the party members became disappointed and left the party. It was taken as a negative and non-serious gesture in the political arena of Pakistan. The main reasons to boycott election were APDM – consisted of PTI, PML (N), JI, and PMAP – declared to boycott the general election. Secondly, election was to be, held under Provisional Constitutional Order. PTI declared that it would be fraud election and asked all political parties to boycott because Musharraf has enforced emergency and put the judges under house arrest. PTI demanded that we should first get rid of Musharraf and then go for the general election. It stressed that “If the politicians don’t take a joint stand now by boycotting the up-coming election, it will be tantamount to treason with the masses” and betrayal to judiciary (The Nation. Nov 27, 2006).

As far as PPP was concerned, it announced to participate in the general election (Dawn. Nov 23, 2007). Imran Khan expressed his view in an interview with BBC that Benazir Bhutto and Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman was the main hurdle who did not let the opposition to make joined strategy against General General Pervez Musharraf Musharraf. In the

meanwhile, the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Abdul Hameed Dogar who took oath under PCO, on 23rd November 2007 upheld the proclamation of Emergency and PCO (Tikka Iqbal Muhammad Khan vs General Pervaiz Musharraf, 2008).

In such political situation, General Pervaz Musharraf decided to resigned from the office of Chief Of Army Staff on 28th November 2007 and sworn in as civilian President of Pakistan and addressed the Nation. He said that he would lift emergency on December 16. He also announced that he would withdraw PCO and there would be the general election in January 2008 (Dawn. Nov 30. 2007).

The meeting of APDM was, convened on 29th November 2007, at Lahore. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif also supported the decision to boycott election. It was, decided that Benazir Bhutto be persuaded to boycott the elections as well. A joint committee of ARD and APDM was, framed to prepare a charter of demands to be, presented before General Pervez Musharraf. It was, decided if Musharraf would not accept these demands, then all parties would boycott the election. Conflict aroused in the committee on the point of the restoration of judiciary on position of 02 November 2007. PPP was not in favour of restoration of judiciary while APDM wanted this point in its true letter and spirit. Due to this conflict, negotiation between APDM and ARD failed. Initially Benazir Bhutto was in favour of restoration of judiciary but she changed her mind after meeting with US Deputy Secretary of State, Negroponte (Khan H. , 2009).

In such situation, PML (N) changed its decision and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif announced to participate in the general election but Imran Khan did not change his decision and boycotted the election (Dawn. Dec 10. 2007). A new situation emerged due to the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif announced to boycott the election to protest against the murder of the Benazir Bhutto. At the same time. Asif Ali Zardari disclosed the 'will' of Benazir Bhutto according to which he

appointed Bilawal Bhutto Zardari as Chairperson of PPP and he himself became Co-Chairperson of PPP. He announced to participate in the general election. After this announcement, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif too decided to contest the election (Khan H. , 2009) but PTI did not change its decision.

As a result. of the general election, PPP got majority and formed federal government and in Sindh. Initially, PML (N) became the part of federal government but later on quit. It formed government in Punjab and ruled until 2013. PTI. during this period played an active role to mobilise masses. After the completion of five years duration of tenure, the President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari announced to hold the general election 2013.

3.4. THE GENERAL ELECTIONS- 2013 AND PTI:

PTI participated in the general election 2013 with full zeal and emerged as a largest party in the province of KP while the third largest party in the Centre. The electoral manifesto and strategy of PTI is. mentioned hereafter.

3.4.1. MAIN POINTS:

In the general election 2013. the main points of PTI's manifesto were. free primary healthcare, uniform system of education. social justice. local body system. making Pakistan an Islamic welfare. and sovereign state. friendly relations with neighbouring countries. to wide tax net, eradication of corruption, accountability of defence spending. to reduce ministries. making Pakistan Railways. PIA. PTV an autonomous bodies, to depoliticise the bureaucracy and police. agricultural reforms. protection of women. minorities, poor class, and end of discrimination. PTI claimed that in intra-party election 35% tickets would be. given to youth. The focal point of the manifesto was to bring change in Pakistan (Hasanie, 2013) by defeating *status quo* forces.

3.4.2. ELECTORAL STRATEGY:

The main part of the electoral strategy of PTI was to mobilise masses and highlight the wrong policies of government on one hand and to expose the leadership of PML (N) and PPP on the other hand. PTI started 'Hakomat Hatao' 'Pakistan Bachao' i.e., to remove government in order to save Pakistan from Multan. PTI also started 'Jaag Utho Campaign' for voters. The purpose of this movement was to create awareness among people that they should register themselves as voters and verify their location and right address. 'Pakistan Bachao Tehrik' proved a big boost for PTI (The Nation. Sep 15, 2011). PTI mobilised people to defeat *status quo* forces like PML (N) and PPP had underground links and ruling for their own interest. PTI was of the view that the most corrupt one is sitting in the President House. Although "Pakistan has been endowed with every kind of capabilities ... but due to lack of proper planning and honest leadership; it is falling down and down" (Pakistan Observer. Nov 25, 2011) and the reason behind is both Asif Ali Zardari and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif who were protecting the corruption of each other (Khabrain. Nov 26, 2011).

PTI further exposed *status quo* forces and claimed that both PPP and PML (N) have done 'Muk Muka' [mutual understanding]. Both of them became united due to the fear of PTI. It declared Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman as the biggest political hypocrite, who does politics in the name of Islam but has become the right hand of Asif Ali Zardari in the killing of Pushtun. PTI used Mehran Bank Scandal as a part of an electoral strategy as well. PTI explained that Mehran Bank Scandal has proved that ISI has helped PML (N) to get into power. It was also disclosed by the leadership of PTI that in election 2002, ISI offered for help to get into power but it refused to do so. (Nawa-i-Waqt. March 20, 2012).

In the general election, 2013 PTI's point of view became clear. In previous elections, PTI's stance was ambiguous but since the formation of government of PPP in 2008, it

became clear and started to target both mainstream parties i.e. PML (N) and PPP. This time it stressed to expose leadership of both parties by citing mega corruption cases including NRO. People started to give attention towards PTI's stance, which led to its victory and formation of government in the Province of KP.

The use of music in party gatherings of PTI proved one of the successful techniques to attract voters. Although some parties in Pakistan started to call the public procession of PTI "musical concerts" and "dance parties" (Bochinger C. &, 2017) but despite of this PTI successfully used music for its political campaign and utilised it in its electoral strategy to spread and convey the party message.

In order to attract voters, PTI used anti-American slogan as well. PTI highlighted the incident of Raymond Davis, the CIA agent who killed two people in Lahore and then handed over to America without taking any action by the government of PPP. PTI also used anti-American slogan when Osama bin Laden was, killed in Abbottabad by America (Ullah, 2013). PTI criticised the American drone policy and launched anti drone campaign. A rally towards South Waziristan against drone attacks in Pakistan was, led by PTI (Rehman, 2014). In October 2012, PTI staged a march to South Waziristan against drone attacks. In this march, representatives of 'Code Pink' from America and activist of 'Reprieve' from UK were included (Bergen P. L., 2015). Through anti-American sentiments, PTI made an effort to kill two birds with one stone. On one hand, PTI tried to convince voters about the wrong policies of government of PPP and to attract such voters having reservations about American policies especially about Pakistan on the other hand. It had deep impacts on the results of the general election 2013, in KP.

In the general election 2013, PTI used the slogan of change and Tsunami as an electoral slogan and warned that if, "Anyone up against it will be swept away" (Markey, 2013). It was, claimed that PTI's Tsunami would wash away PML (N) and PPP. People were,

asked to support to get rid of unfair system imposed by Asif Ali Zardari and to break *status quo* and to end politics of inheritance. The quotation of Maulana Rumi that “When any nation does not judge what is right and wrong, it perishes” was used to cite in public procession. It was promised “... on Quaid-i-Azam’s birth anniversary that ... [PTI] will do what the Quaid-i-Azam wanted to do...to make Pakistan a prosperous state” (The Nation, Dec 27, 2011).

Use of social media was one of the strong instruments in the electoral campaign and strategy of PTI. It extensively used social media to spread its message in nook and corner of Pakistan. Through social media the personality of Imran Khan was projected (Boughzala, 2015) as an incorruptible leader as compare to the leadership of PML (N) and PPP. The social media team of PTI claimed. “Under no misconception that [PTI] would win the election on Twitter and social media” (Fair C. C., 2015). The use of social media helped a lot in spreading the message of PTI in nook and corner of Pakistan.

PTI also used the formation of interim government to conduct fair and free general election in Pakistan as a part of its electoral campaign. PTI rejected the name of Asma Jahangir for interim Prime Minister and demanded that Dr Shoaib Suddle or Abdur Razzak Dawood should be, appointed (The News, Sep 6, 2012). The interim government always played consequential role in managing and contributing in the electoral affairs. This is the main weakness of political system of Pakistan. If the Election Commission of Pakistan became fully independent, such type of problem can be solved once for all.

One of the most important points, which PTI used as an electoral strategy in the general election 2013, was youth participation (Chiriyankandath, 2015). It was, promised that PTI would give 25% party tickets to youth. It explained that “... aim [of PTI] is to build a new Pakistan: ... [its] don’t need any big name or any feudal to save the country, but only youths to achieve this goal.... [It] will defeat all political parties if youths support [PTI]

...’ (The News. Nov 5, 2012). In addition to youth, PTI used the point of participation of women in politics as a part of its electoral strategy. Huge numbers of women used to participate in the gathering of PTI and supported its slogan (Jalal, 2014).

In Pakistan majority of the women remain indifferent from external affairs particularly political affairs. PTI made an effort to get their support and activate them in political affairs. Women are, considered the silent voters in Pakistan. So PTI made efforts to indulge them in political affairs as much as possible. Same technique was used for the support of youth in PTI became successful.

Rule of law is the basic objective and demand of PTI. It used it as one of the point in electoral campaign. It stressed on the need of rule of law to bring change in Pakistan. For rule of law. It demanded repeatedly for the independence of judiciary (Bergen P. &., 2013). Rule of Law remained main demand of PTI, which it continuous used during its electoral campaign. The main theme behind this demand was that if PTI became successful in getting this the majority of the politicians belonging to PML (N) and PPP would become, disqualified including their leadership because there were allegation charges against them particularly in NAB.

In the general election 2013 slogan of ‘Naya Pakistan’ [New Pakistan] was used by PTI. It promised to build ‘New Pakistan’ (Ferazi, 2017). Imran Khan made six promises that he would be honest, jihad against injustice, keeps his assets in Pakistan, no misuse of power, protect money of taxpayers and would protect the rights of overseas Pakistanis (Daily Times. March 24, 2013).

The slogan of “Naya Pakistan” was, first used in its English version. “New Pakistan” by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto when he assumed power on December 20, 1971 in what was until then West Pakistan. Because of separation of East Pakistan, the West Pakistan became the whole of Pakistan, for which Bhutto used the slogan of a “New Pakistan”. it is

debatable that in what meaning Imran Khan used the word “Naya Pakistan” and there is no final saying but here this term is defined in the light of above mentioned six promises made by him. These promises according to PTI depict that in Pakistan there is no honest leadership, there is injustice, corruption, and misuse of power, embezzlement in the tax money and no rights of overseas Pakistan. If PTI would become successful in making government, in Pakistan, all such anomalies would be rooted out and in this way, new Pakistan would come into being. Some time another meaning of “Naya Pakistan” is given by PTI and that is the revitalization concept of Pakistan propounded by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

The alliance with other parties played vital role in the evolution and performance of PTI in the general election 2013. PTI made an alliance with Tehrik-e-Istiqlal of Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan. The Pakistan Interfaith League of Sajid Ishaq joined PTI. It made seat adjustment with Awami Muslim League of Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed, JIP and Awami National Party Bahawalpur of Nawab of Bahawalpur Salahuddin Abbasi. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan’s son Nawabzada Mansoor Ali, the Chief of Pakistan Democratic Party, merged his party in PTI.

In the general election, 2013 PTI became familiar with the political system of Pakistan and it decided to open its door for other parties. It formed Alliance and seat adjustment with other parties about which it did not have good memories in the past like Awami Muslim League of Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed and JIP.

Another point, which played important role in the evolution and performance of PTI in the general election 2013, was the inclusion of electable. In the general election 2013, large number of new faces particularly electable joined PTI. The most important of them were the grandsons of Ghafar Khan, Abdul Wali Khan and Saleem Jan Khan. Else, of them, the former MPA of PPP, Ifikhar Khan Jagra joined PTI. It boosted up the PTI

because these personalities have huge impacts on the minds of masses especially in the province of KP due to the historical importance of their ancestors like Ghafar Khan and Abdul Wali Khan, the whole organisation of PK-77 and Buner joined PTI. Due to their inclusion in PTI, the position of ANP became weak which was one of the rivals of PTI. Shah Mehmood Qureshi joined PTI. Formerly, he remained the part of PML and PPP as well. He served Pakistan as Foreign Minister. He has a huge vote bank and fan following (Fair C. C., 2013, p. 48). Political Parties, according to Janda are “organisations that pursue a goal of placing their avowed representatives in government positions” (Janda K. , 1980). His inclusion in PTI brought the party in forefront of the political scene of Pakistan because in political culture of Pakistan, mostly majority of the electable gets victory. Shah Mehmood Qureshi is one of them.

Janhangir Khan Tareen of Pakistan Muslim League (F) joined PTI. Initially Tareen Group asked PTI leadership to make an alliance, which PTI refused. After it. Tareen Group decided to join PTI. Former federal Minister of PPP, Col (Retd) Ghulam Sarwar Cheema, Sikandar Bosan and Ishaq Khakwani of PML (Q). former federal Minister from The Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Syed Dr Ghazi Gulab Jamal former federal minister Ghulam Sarwar Khan and former MNA from Parachinar Dr Javed joined PTI. Most of the members, who were previously in PML (Q), joined PTI (Cesari, 2014).

Shahid Masood Khattak and former MPA, Malik Karamat Khokher of PPP joined PTI. The former MPA of Independent group and minister for Irrigation of KP Pervaiz Khattak joined PTI. Former federal minister for law Syed Iftikhar Hussian Gilani, former provincial minister Iftikhar ud din Khattak and Barrister Saad Buter joined PTI. The former MPA of PML (Q), Rashid Hafeez and Former IGP, KP, Malik Naveed Khan joined PTI.

The former senior vice President of PML (N), Javed Hashmi joined PTI. He explained that he remained in PML for 24 years and after due heed he decided to join PTI. He said, “This is an ideological revolution that he has joined” (The Nation, 2011). Later on, he became the President of PTI. Three former foreign ministers of Pakistan, Shah Mehmood Qureshi of PPP, Sardar Asif Ali of PPP and Khurshid Mehmood Qasuri of PML (Q) became the members of PTI. Fazal Karim Afridi, of National Awami Party - a tribal leader from Khyber Agency and Honorary Counsel General of Japan in Peshawar – joined. Dr. Israr Shah – who remained in PPP for 42 years – was, appointed as a deputy information Secretary by Imran Khan.

The inclusion of electable in PTI was a rational policy but due to this, it lost its stature as a party, which promised to bring new leadership in Pakistan. These old electable were, given high positions in the organisational structure of party. Due to this most of the old members who contributed in the foundation of the party left PTI. It is a fact that due to the inclusion of such electable it became the third largest political party in the general election 2013.

Before the general election 2013, intra party election of PTI was, held. This intra party election also contributed a lot in the evolution and performance of PTI in the general election because membership was, opened to all Pakistanis and it was, declared that anyone could contest for any slot in the organisation of PTI. So large number of people particularly youth got membership and contested for different slots in the party. Imran Khan set an example by saying that “There will be two consecutive terms for party chairperson and after expiry no party leader will contest for this slot” (The Nation, March 20, 2013). He was, elected as Chairman of the party and Shah Mehmood Qureshi became the Vice-Chairman. The structure of the party almost remained same.

In the process of reorganisation of the party the founding and old members were neglected and electable were bestowed with crucial slots. For example, Shah Mehmood Qureshi became the Vice-Chairman of the party who joined it recently.

As a result, of the general election 2013, PTI emerged as the second largest party from popular vote's point of view and the third from seats point of view in the National Assembly. PTI secured 75, 63,504 votes. Two hundred and thirty candidates contested for the National Assembly and won 27 seats (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2013). Imran Khan won election from three constituencies. i.e. NA-1, 56 and 73. He retained the seat of NA-56 and vacated other two (The Nation. June 8, 2013).

3.5. PTI AND THE GENERAL ELECTIONS- 2018:

Since the general elections 2013, PTI became much more active in the electoral activities. It almost contested all by-election held during 2013 to 2018. The success of PTI further helped in growth of the party on one hand and improvement in the electoral strategy on the other hand. The details of performance of PTI in by election from 2013 to 2018 are on next page:

One of the indicators of the popularisation of the PTI was the results of by-elections. Although it is not safe to say that with the help of result in by election, the prospects or the pattern of up-coming general election can be predicted (Cook, 1997). However, the results of by-election show that either party has the same support in the society, which it demonstrated in the general election or not. Therefore, political parties cannot treat results as a soft defeat because some time by-election play the role of catalyst. If parties have close contest in the general election, by-election can convert the situation based on number games in legislature (Otte, 2013).

In KP, PTI contested in by-election for six seats of the National Assembly. PTI got victory in four constituencies. PTI defeated the candidate of JUI-F in these three contests and it won one seats against ANP and lost one seat to ANP and PML (N) each.

In Punjab, the results of by-election for the seats of the National Assembly show that PTI's performance was very much poor. PTI contested for sixteen seats. PTI won only one seat. Jahangir Khan Tareen of PTI defeated Muhammad Siddique Khan Baloch of PML (N) in by-elections held in NA-154, Lodhran. PTI lost fourteen seats to PML (N) and one to PPP.

In the Sindh, results of by-election show that MQM and PPP were big hurdles in the way of PTI. PTI lost three seats to MQM and one to PPP. For the seats of the Sindh Provincial Assembly, PTI participated in twelve contests but could not get a single seat in any by election. Out of twenty by-elections held in the Sindh, PTI did not participate in eight competitions.

In province of the Balochistan, the position of PTI was very desperate. It could not get even a single seat ever. It had to face the same fate in by-elections held in Balochistan. Haji Mir Muhammad Usman Badini of JUI-F got victory in NA-260, Quetta. The candidate of PTI Doctor Muneer Baloch got fifth position. In Balochistan, by elections were, held for six constituencies for the Provincial Assembly. PTI did not participate in five while in one contest it lost to the candidate of JUI-F. Therefore, in Balochistan the real JUI (F) proved real competitor against PTI.

In Islamabad, by-election was held for only one seat in which Asad Umer of PTI got victory in NA-48 against Chaudhary Muhammad Ashraf Gujjar of PML (N) So, overall the performance of PTI in by-elections was not satisfactory else of, in KP.

The results of the by election shows that in political culture of Pakistan most of the time the ruling party gets victory in by election. These elections also depict that in different

province PTI has to face the challenge of different parties. The major parties are PPP in the Sindh and PML (N) in the Punjab while in minor or regional parties it has to face ANP in KP, MQM in the Sindh and JUI (F) in the Balochistan. The position of PTI is improving in the province of Punjab due to the joining of electable but it has to work hard in province of the Sindh, and the Balochistan.

After the general election 2013, more electable started to join PTI. The most prominent of them were the three Ghumman brothers, Aslam Ghumman, Azeem Noori Ghumman and Nasir Ghumman joined PTI. All three brothers previously were the ally of General Pervez Musharraf. Aslam Ghumman served as regional commander of the ISI Punjab and DG Anti-Corruption Establishment Punjab. Azeem Noori Ghumman and Nasir Ghumman served as provincial minister and tehsil nazim Sambrial (Sialkot) respectively. Ghumman brothers have huge vote bank and sport in their constituencies because they were previous elected by the people.

Activist belonging to QWP joined PTI. Among them were Farhad Khan, President of QWP in Tangi Tehsil and general secretary Zakir Shah with his group (The News, 15 January 2014). The Provincial General Secretary of Tehreek-e-Tahaffuz-e-Pakistan (TTP)¹¹ merged his party in PTI. President of PML (Q) Sindh Haleem Adil and his brother, central President Youth wing, Aleem Khan joined PTI. Former governor Punjab, Chaudhary Sarwar joined PTI.

Former members of PML (N) and JUI (F) joined PTI in Shangla. Nasir Ahmed of PML (N) and Faiz of JUI (F) joined PTI. The former MPA of PPP, Tahir Hundli, from Punjab joined PTI. Most of the people who joined PTI had roots in public and due to their inclusion in PTI, the vote bank of the party increased which played sound role in the future prospects of PTI.

¹¹ Tehreek-e-Tahaffuz-e-Pakistan was a political party in Pakistan founded by nuclear scientist Dr Qadeer Khan in 2012. It participated in the Pakistani general elections of 2013. It was dissolved in 2013 on the basis that he was "unable to run the party's affairs anymore" (The Express Tribune, 17 January 2014).

Although PTI was against the politics of electable but its experience in the former general election and political culture of Pakistan made it realised to open the door of party for electable. Due to the inclusion of electable PTI grew up with reference to number of winning seats but it has to compromise on its ideology because majority of the electable represents *status quo* forces. But it's a fact that in Pakistan people cast vote in favour of electable and do not support new faces. The results of general election 2018 show that majority of the electable got success except few. Some time it looks that in Pakistani political culture only leadership changes while electable have become permanent faces in Parliament.

3.5.1. ELECTORAL MANIFESTO:

The manifesto of PTI for the general elections 2018 was very attractive. It had deep impact on the mind of the voters because some of the points it proved in KP during its rule from 2013 to 2018. The bird eye view of the manifesto is, given below.

PTI promised that in order to transform governance it will take steps for across the board accountability. Steps will be taken to empower people at the grassroots level through implementing local government system. It will depoliticize and strengthen police as it has done in KP. To provide speedy justice Reforms will be introduced in the criminal justice system. In order to bring rule of merit reform in the Civil Services will be introduced. Steps will be taken to institutionalize E-Governance practices in public administration. To facilitate delivery through legislative reform Right to Information and Right to Services act will be implemented in rest of Pakistan like KP. PTI promised that it would ensure freedom of the Press (PTI's Manifesto, 2018).

In the manifesto of the general election 2018, PTI promised that it would take steps to strengthen the Federation of Pakistan like integration of The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) with the province of KP. Creation of a South Punjab province,

reconciliation in Balochistan, transformation of Karachi, political and socio-economic empowerment of Gilgit Baltistan, to alleviate poverty across Pakistan's poorest districts, to ensure constitutional rights for minorities, to promote gender parity, and to ensure a greater stake for Overseas Pakistanis (PTI's Manifesto, 2018).

In order to address the economic problems of Pakistan, PTI promised that it would introduce reforms in, the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR). Creation of 10 Million jobs. and strengthens the labor market. It would implement policy framework to build five million houses. Steps would be, taken to make Pakistan business-friendly for the revival of manufacturing. It would facilitate rapid growth of the Small. and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), by transformation of key economic institutions through addressing Pakistan's energy challenge. It would also ensure China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) to translate into a game changer, enhance access to finance for citizens and industry, boost the tourism industry, turnaround IT sector to build a knowledge economy, strengthen international trade, revitalize textile sector and boost exports. Steps will also be taken for the to Unleash Pakistan's potential in agriculture, revamp the livestock sector, building of dams to solve Pakistan's water scarcity challenge and revival of fisheries industry (PTI's Manifesto, 2018).

PTI promised to revolutionize Pakistani society through the provision of social services like healthcare for all and unified education system. It would take steps to unleash the potential of the youth, expand the social safety net, provide clean drinking water for all, tackle climate change, and champion green growth, create a more caring Pakistan for people with special needs, tackle the population growth challenge, promote arts, sports and culture. PTI assured that sound steps will be, taken for Pakistan's National Security (PTI's Manifesto, 2018).

3.5.2. ELECTORAL STRATEGIES:

As far as electoral techniques are concerned, the similar kinds of techniques were, used by PTI, which it used in the previous general election 2013. Some of the prominent techniques were, also used by PTI in electoral campaign. Most important of them was the use of social media. Through it, the message of the PTI reached to the nook and corner of Pakistan. Secondly, music was, used by PTI for the purpose of electoral campaign. Party songs were prepared and were, presented in the procession of PTI. Else, of it, party flags and badges were prepared which were, made available to everywhere in Pakistan. Another striking tactics were, used for electoral campaign by bringing celebrities like TV actors, actors, and sportsmen.

The manifesto and electoral strategy of PTI played important role in the evolution of PTI. Due to its successful electoral strategy and sound manifesto the strength of PTI increased rapidly. The party, which could not get a single seat in the general election 1997, became the largest political party of Pakistan in the general election 2018 and formed. However, it is a fact that the key role in making PTI the largest political party of Pakistan was the joining of electable and slogan against corruption, which was, rectified by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Panama Leaks. Although PTI became successful in activating indifferent segments of the society like upper strata, women and youth mobilisation, use of social media but the same tactics did not work in the general election 2013. As said, that perception is stronger than reality. It happened in case of PTI. Since 2011 generally and 2013 especially there was a perception that the leadership of PML (N), PPP and their coalition partners are corrupt and PTI has honest leadership. This perception became stronger when the Supreme Court of Pakistan gave clean chit to Imran Khan. Therefore, these two decisions of the Supreme Court of Pakistan proved

consequential one against Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and the other in favour of Imran Khan.

CHAPTER- 4

ROLE OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF (PTI) AS AN OPPOSITION IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (2002-2007)

In the general election 2002 PTI got only one seat that was won by Imran Khan from NA-71 Mianwali-I. He represented PTI in the parliament and played role as an opposition on behalf of his party (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2002).

4.1. PTI'S STAND ON MILITARY OPERATIONS IN TRIBAL AREAS:

PTI objected the decision of government of General Pervez Musharraf to become front line state in war to terrorism. This decision has serious repercussion for the people of Pakistan. Almost one hundred thousand people died due to it. Pakistan has to suffer billions of dollars as collateral damage. The results of this war show that it was in the interest of USA and Pakistan became its part due weak foreign policy and lack of leadership. History of Pakistan shows that Pakistan always played role for the interest of USA in the region. No doubt that due to economic, and defense compulsion Pakistan, has to do it but it should not sideline its national interest. Here national interest means the protection of fundamental human rights of people of Pakistan.

On the issue of terrorism and war against terrorism. he expressed his views in the National Assembly on different occasions. In the National Assembly, the leadership of PTI raised the question on causes of Terrorism in Pakistan and debated. PTI declared that it was a wrong decision of the government of Pakistan to extend support to America on war against terrorism after the incidence of 9/11. Due to it suicide bombing started in Pakistan. Imran Khan warned that this decision would further increase terrorism in Pakistan. In past the government of General Zia ul Haq committed such mistake by becoming front line state for USA in Afghan war that damaged Pakistani society a lot.

Due to the decision of General Pervez Musharraf terrorist activities has increased which aggravated law and order situation. On it, PTI demanded that law enforcement agencies should ensure law and order situation and Interior Minister Faisal Salah Hayat should resign on the ground that he could not maintain law and order in Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2003).

Imran Khan was of the view that third world countries including Pakistan have been, controlled by USA. America implants dictators in third world countries to enforce its agenda. PTI opposed extradition treaty signed by Musharraf's government with USA according to which the American intelligence agencies like Federal Bureau of Investigation was, allowed to arrest any Pakistani citizen. Imran Khan cited that a Chechen guerrilla war fighter Ahmed took refuge in UK. When Russia demanded that he should be handed over back to it. UK asked for the provision of evidence and then it would decide. Its case was, taken in UK court, which took six months and then refused to hand him over to Russia because of absence of evidence. However, in Pakistan government had handed over lots of people to America without any kind of investigation. Such treaties were sheer violation of fundamental human rights (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2003).

American history shows that sometimes the government of USA generated false excuse to attack a country based on shallow reports of its intelligence agencies. This point was, raised by the leader of PTI in the parliament. Imran Khan questioned the credibility of American Intelligence agencies and cited the example of reports in which it was, claimed that there were weapon of mass destruction in Iraq and on this pretext, it was, attacked and devastated. However, later on those reports proved wrong. Despite of knowing such facts government of Musharraf not only co-operated with American government but also handed over different people demanded by the American. He claimed that Pakistani

government had handed over lots of people to America who made them captive in the jail of Guatemala Bay and suffering a lot but Parliament of Pakistan did not raise voice for the rights Pakistanis. He demanded for the protection of rights of Pakistanis as America protects rights of its own people (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2003).

On the demand of American government North Waziristan Operation was, started by General Pervez Musharraf's government. He launched military operation on the plea, which was, described by then Interior Minister Faisal Saleh Hayat that with the threat posed by Al-Qaeda and the Taliban to the United States and its allies, Pakistan was to account for all Afghan refugees on its soil. Due to the immense world pressure, Pakistan started a cleansing operation in the area to find those most wanted elements, which got refuge in the natural hideouts of Pak-Afghan border on Pakistani side. It was, claimed by Pakistani military authorities that there were 500-600 foreign militants who took refuge in the South Waziristan area. It is a bitter fact that Afghan refugees came to Pakistan as a result, of American war against USSR and after it ended neither Pakistan nor American took serious steps to send them back. As a result, they were, used as pretext and painted them terrorist to show the world. PTI declared it false on the basis that such claims were, made by American and Britain intelligence agencies to invade Iraq on the pretext of weapon of mass destruction to justify their attack, which proved wrong after the destruction of Iraq. Such grave lies were, spoken by the Prime Minister of UK Tony Blair and American President Bush to convince their public. Nevertheless, they did it for their self-interest like protection of oil supply and killed innocent Iraqi people who were alien for them. It was the case with this decision to start North Waziristan Operation Musharraf's government spoken lie to the Pakistanis just to protect the American interest to dig out Osama Bin Laden.

Imran Khan explained that he has written a book on Waziristan and visited it on different occasions. Government did not know the reality about its nature. In 1935, British Army failed in the areas of Waziristan, D.I. Khan and in Bannu to get desired results. He refused to accept the presence of foreigner militant in the areas because the people of that area could defend themselves fully and would not allow such miscreants to get into that area. Even they did not need any kind of Pakistan Army's help. He added that Interior Minister spoke another lie that Pakistan government had offered them an amnesty but they did not respond well due to which government-started operation. He said that how they could accept such amnesty when they knew that all this was being done on the direction of America. He blamed that Pakistani government and its minister took orders from American FBI. He asked a question that in the light of such situation if tribal people accept government amnesty what would be the guarantee on behalf of the government of Pakistan that it would not kill or hand over them to American because Pakistani government did not protect their people. He explained that the people about whom it was claimed that they were foreign terrorist in reality they were not terrorists. Some of them were Uzbek who came to Pakistan due to their terrorists' governments, and settled here. They got married over here. Now they were, tagged as terrorists. Were they fool that they did not surrender. They knew that if they would surrender government would capture them and no rights would be, provided to them. These were the people used in the war against USSR, and given the title of freedom fighter because that was in favor of USA. Now they have been, declared as terrorists because of the American interest.

In Pakistan people are, told that after the incidence of 9/11 government did not have option to refuse due to the availability of other allies particularly India. That was way government decided to side with America. Such excuse was, also made by General Zia ul Haq in 1979 when USSR invaded Afghanistan. It was, told that USSR would attack

Pakistan after Afghanistan to extend its influence. Same tactics were, used by General Musharaaf. PTI opposed and its leadership explained that the government has started to propagate another doctrine known as no choice doctrine. When it was, asked that, why did Pakistan become part of American war against terrorism after 9/11? Pakistanis are, told that we did not have any choice. Pakistan was, threatened that if it did not side with America it would destroy Pakistan. Imran Khan argued that it was not a way to frame policies. Our policies were, framed based on American fear due to which we compromise our own national interest. He further asked questions that would America have or have not any interest in this operation after new election to be. held in November. As a result, it would be a hard task for Pakistan to tackle this problem. We suppose that the worst scenario in tribal areas could be a civil war but if such thing would not happen, even then we must think that we have been killing innocent people just to make America happy. He proposed to constitute a fact-finding committee to dig out realities in those areas.

In past Pakistan played the role of front line state in Afghan war and has been facing repercussion for long time. Imran Khan was of the view that this time repercussion would be graver if fights get started between Pakistan Army and the tribal people. He demanded that before taking decision it must be, debated in the parliament. PTI criticized Interior Minister that he did not consult parliament and announced a decision. Musharraaf promised that he would consult parliament before taking any decision but he took U-turn but he did what America said (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

Another operation known as Wanna operation was, started by the government of General Pervez Musharraaf. PTI opposed it. In National Assembly Makhdoom Syed Faisal Saleh Hayat announced that we would eliminate terrorists, we would be relentless for which Wanna operation started. Imran Khan criticized the speech of Makhdoom Syed Faisal Saleh Hayat and said that it was looking that someone from America standing in Iraq and

saying that we would eliminate terrorists, we would be relentless. He did not know that how much situation of Wanna operation became complex. He did not even have any idea because he did not even go to that area. He said that he studied that area in details and situation in Wanna could become dangerous for Pakistan as hate for is Pakistan increasing. In those areas, everybody was weaponries. All of them are adept of guerrilla war. If once, Pakistani forces trapped in such war than it would become difficult for them to handle situation. He warned to think of Pakistan not America. In USA, the war against terrorism has become, discredited. They themselves are saying that whatever happened in Iraq and in the name of war against terrorism was fake and pre-planned. Due to support of Pakistan situation has become so bad that the President of Pakistan and core commanders were. being attacked (National Assembly of Pakistan. 2004).

These policies proved that governments in Pakistan did not learn lesson from history. It looks that majority of the governments; particularly military governments have been fighting against its own citizen. History proves that the tribal people fought for the independence of Azad Kashmir and then supported government of General Zia ul Haq and fought against USSR, which culminated in the disintegration of USSR. Despite of this after the incidence of 9/11 they were, tagged as terrorist. As far West is concerned, during the war against USSR, these people were, tagged as freedom fighter and Hollywood used to picture them as hero in the films. Now it changed the tag, and replaced it with terrorist. In spite of the tragedy of fall of Dacca, and deception by American when it left Afghanistan in 1989, Pakistan had to bear the brunt. Pakistan did not learn lesson. Here it does not mean that Pakistan should discard relations with America but it is, suggested that government should take decisions in the National Interests of Pakistan. It should promote social, economic, and cultural relations with America, and come out of the mirage of strategic relations based on defense only. On war

against terrorism, Imran Khan had different view from Pakistan Army, governments and America. Due to his different point of view, he was, considered as sympathizer by his opponent and dubbed him as *Taliban Khan*.

4.2. AMENDMENTS IN THE CONSTITUTION BY MUSHARRAF:

In order to increase his powers, and prove his government as pro-democracy, General Pervez Musharraf introduced 17th Amendment. In reality, it was an effort to give protection to all orders issued by him under the law of Parliament. It was also done by General Muhammad Ayub, General Muhammad Agha Khan Yahya and General Zia ul Haq due to which their policies are given legal protection in the constitution of Pakistan and cannot be challenged in any Court of Justice if Pakistan. Later history proved that General Musharraf could not be, tried on the charges of his proclamation on 12 October 1999 because subsequent parliament gave him legal cover.

On the issue of 17th amendment, PTI opposed government of General Pervez Musharraf. Seventeenth amendment was, passed on 29 December 2003 by National Assembly with 248 out of 342 members in favor, and no vote in opposition because ARD and other opposition parties including PTI boycotted the session in protest against the deal between the government and MMA (Dawn, 2003). On the next day, Senate passed it by 72 votes to nil because ARD and other opposition parties had boycotted the session of the Senate (Dawn, 2003). On the support extended by MMA, PTI objected and explained that such compromises based on Doctrine of Necessity and Pragmatism damaged democracy in Pakistan a lot. On the decision of MMA to support General Pervez Musharraf on the issue of seventeenth amendment and letting him President as well as Chief of Army at the same time. He asked that on what kind of sureties MMA decided to give him span of one year. Previously he was, given three years by the highest court of Pakistan based on seven point agenda but even then, he did not implement any single point of that agenda.

After this example on what basis MMA, want to give him one year more. He cited that we had been claiming to follow the Westminster model of democracy in Pakistan since independence but we did not follow its principles in reality. He gave the example that as a result, of Second World War Britain was devastated and Sir Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill became war hero but despite of this he did not delay conduct of election for a single day. George W. Bush had been fighting war against terrorism but he could not imagine delaying election in next year. However, in Pakistan we have made mocking of democracy where a General in uniform was sitting as a President of Pakistan and dubbing this as a transition process of democracy. Same tactics was to be, played by General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan. He also demanded for two terms and wanted to remain President of Pakistan and Commander in Chief. Had the incidence of disintegration of East Pakistan not happened he would have been ready to do so. Same mistake was being done in case of General Pervez Musharraf. He asked that no doubt human being commit mistakes but we should learn lesson from past mistakes and not repeat them again. He forcefully opposed the idea of MMA to give Musharraf one year to remain as President in uniform and support on seventeenth amendment.

Another point, which he mentioned with reference to seventeenth amendment, was the restoration of Article 58(2b). He explained that this article destabilized democracy in Pakistan. We did not have good memories regarding this but despite of this we were going to restore it on the pretext that Judiciary would keep check on it. He cited the interview of Justice retired Nassem Hassan Shah in which he professed that Judiciary in Pakistan remained unable to take stance in front of Pakistan Army. He reminded that MMA promised to oppose American policy and the decision of Pakistan to support war against terrorism but then became ally to the Musharraf's policies. (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2003).

Before general election 2002, MMA promised to raise voice against the policies of General Pervez Musharraf but after forming government in KP and getting the slot of Leader of the Opposition by Maulana Fazl ur Rehman, MMA became supporter of the government. MMA, which was against the decision of government to side with America in war against terrorism, became facilitator because all-important military operations in tribal areas were, taken during its government.

4.3. NATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY BUREAU:

The slogan of across the board accountability remained politicized in Pakistan since independence. It was, also done by General Pervez Musharraf. He claimed that he would hold across the board accountability of corrupt politicians and bureaucrats. For this purpose National Accountability Bureau Ordinance, 1999 was promulgated (National Accountability Bureau Ordinance (XVIII of 1999), PLD 2000 Central Statues 57). It started functioning under serving generals. Soon Musharraf started to use it for his own interest particularly to get the loyalties of politicians to join PML (Q). PTI criticized NAB and objected that why did it was put under the control of President of Pakistan. History proved that NAB has been, used as a political tool in Pakistan. It should not be under the control of President (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2003). The later history proved that every government used NAB for its self-centered interests to suppress its opponent. It looks that in Pakistan NAB has become a protection shield for government.

4.4. EXTENSION OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS:

In Pakistan, all leaders used local governments for their self-centered interests. All dictators managed non-parties' election of local governments to strengthen their rule as non-party election held under General Zia-ul-Haq. Such decisions damaged the moral and democratic standards in Pakistan because none thinks about ideological obligation in the political culture of Pakistan. General Pervez Musharraf introduced local government

system in Pakistan. Election of local governments was, held in 2001. He used *Nazims* and *Naib Nazims* to manipulate victory in the general election 2002. After it he decided to give local governments an extension for six years. PTI opposed and declared it as the violation of provincial rights because through this step the federations of Pakistan would be, damaged as provinces were already complaining about the interference of Centre in the provincial affairs and depriving them of their rights especially small provinces (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2003).

PTI opposed the conduct of local bodies' election on non-party basis and winning of pro government candidates through rigging. PTI opposed the way Nazims were, elected indirectly and on non-party basis and the support of councilors was, taken through money. Due to it, Nazims and councilors misused public money without the fear of accountability. In every local governments election the corrupt Nazims and councilors contest election and majority of them got victory again with the support of government. The purpose of local governments system is to deliver problems of people at their doorsteps but in Pakistan, it has become a tool for dictators to win over the general election. Imran Khan was of the view that by doing so government delivered message to the public that corruption was not a problem of Pakistan. In Pakistan, if anyone has the backing and support of establishment he/she allowed to do all the illegal activities. He cited the example of three elections conducted during the government of Musharraf. PTI blamed that all of them were, rigged because of absence of independent election commission. It criticized opposition on the basis that it did not take unified stand against government on the point of rigged election. PTI demanded for the establishment of independent election commission to ensure free and fair election like Indian election commission. Here Imran Khan cited the example that when he was playing cricket he was the first man who demanded for neural empire and after it controversies in cricket

became minimized. If an independent election commission based on consensus of treasury benches and opposition comes into being then the element of rigging would end (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2005). It's one of the serious concern in the politics of Pakistan that opposition never get united on principled issues thought it become united whenever something to be demanded and backed by the establishment. Some time it looks that political parties have damaged democracy more than dictators have because politician did took steps to strengthen civil society and the institutions, which plays vital role for strengthening of democracy.

4.5. VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN FAVOUR OF MUSHARRAF:

Through vote of confidence by the parliament. General Pervez Musharraf legalized his government. It is another soar point of democracy in Pakistan that dictators made parliament powerless and used it as rubber stamp. The most damaging role has been. played by politicians who ditched democratic norms in the cloak of democracy but worked for dictators. It was done by the Parliament and the four Provincial Assemblies summoned on 1 January 2004 for holding a vote of confidence for Musharraf. He got 56% of total vote. PTI objected this step. It was of the view that there was no example of President in Army uniform in democracy. One could not become a President through vote of confidence. All such things took place in banana republic only. It was a severe violation of the constitution of Pakistan. PTI mentioned that in Pakistan there was neither presidential form of government nor parliamentary form of government because of absence of any check on President and supremacy of the parliament. In Pakistan. government had become a hybrid government. So everything became illegitimate in Pakistan.

PTI also criticized the role of the different political parties including MMA to get vote of confidence for President Musharraf and professed that it would damaged democratic

norms. It also depicted that anyone from Army could become all and all with the help of amendment by subjugating Judiciary. All happening was violation of 1973 constitution and in the presence of above mentioned incidence from history proved that political parties did not learn lesson from history and repeated such mistake again (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2003).

4.6. ISSUE OF CONFESSION OF DR. ABDUL QADEER KHAN:

The fate of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan saddens Pakistani a lot when he was systematically fixed, and sidelined. Dr. Abul Kalam in India became President, and he was, honored due to his contribution in Nuclear Programme of India. In Pakistan, the government created such situation that in an interview Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan confessed that he was involved in proliferation of nuclear technology to other countries. PTI blamed General Pervez Musharraf for this. The leadership of PTI asked that who take decisions in Pakistan. Who instigated and compelled him to do so. It would bear serious consequences in future because majority of the international electronic and print media like BBC, CNN, Washington post, New York Times, The Guardian, statements of Wolford, John Kerry and many internet websites circulated this interview. It would not benefit Pakistan at all. It would have serious repercussions in future. When new administration would replace pro Musharraf Bush administration, Pakistan would have to endure the most of this confession. The world would blackmail Pakistan because the Chief Scientist himself acknowledged and confessed. From now on words world would target the nuclear programme of Pakistan whenever it would get chance (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.7. EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN:

Since independence education, system of Pakistan has been, debated a lot in the parliament. Despite of this no important improvement could be, made because every

government politicized issue of education. As an opposition, PTI raised this question in parliament. Uniform education system is one of the important point of PTI's manifestos. PTI raised voice to improve the education system of Pakistan whenever he got chance. It highlighted the weaknesses of education system in his speeches. In the session of National Assembly held on 18th March, 2004 Imran Khan debated on the issue of education. He declared education system of Pakistan as apartheid because due to it richer became richer and poor became poorer. He cited that suppose two or three newspapers blame that Pakistan has been preparing terrorist in the Islamic institution (Madrasa). Before this, we should invest six billion rupees and change their syllabi to get rid of this threat. However, if America asked us we became ready to change syllabi due to its fear. He demanded that we should frame our policies without American fear. He cited the example that most of the people asked education minister Zubaida Jalal about the changes in curriculum because majority of the people became skeptical that change in curriculum were, made on the demands of USA. They thought that America demanded to take out topics like Islamic Ideology out of syllabi. Such decision would be dangerous implications in Pakistan. (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004). In Pakistan, it has become accepted reality that on different occasions changes were, made in syllabi on the demands of American government especially in the subjects of Pakistan Studies and Islamic Studies.

4.8. DEBATE ON BUDGETS:

In Pakistan every government claimed that it has presented people friendly budget but no improvement has been, ever seen in any field. It was the case with government of General Pervez Musharraf. PTI debated in parliament on all budgets presented by the government from 2002 to 2007. Imran Khan debated on different aspects of budgets presented by the government of General Pervez Musharaaf. He highlighted the issue like

education, health, agriculture, investment, Industry, restructuring of public institutes, salaries of public servant, defense budget and judiciary within the paradigm of budget.

During the discussion on budget 2004-2005 PTI highlighted education problems in Pakistan. The leadership of PTI Imran Khan said that the biggest crisis of Pakistan is crisis of education. Pakistan should double the education budget. He gave the example of education situation in Mianwali. He disclosed that he conducted a survey in Mianwali according to which fifty percent education institutions were laying closed because of no teachers. Twenty percent schools were bogus but salaries to teacher have been issued regularly. In rest of thirty percent schools not more than fifty percent quota of teachers available. PTI criticized that Musharraf's government claimed that it wanted to take steps for the welfare of women but in our tehsil of Isakhel there was only one college in which sole teacher has been teaching two hundred and fifty students since long. These students sat on ground and there has been no facility of learning. Due to such situation of education the number of poor people have been increasing and becoming more and poorer because such education system did not letting them to come up. On the other hand, the children of rich people have been studying in English medium schools and becoming more and richer. Such system has increased distance between rich and poor. Such was the situation of education in Pakistan. PTI said that though defense budget was increased but Pakistanis must understand that the real security and investment is the people. According to the human development index, Pakistan was the lowest country in Asia. If government did not invest on people whatever big armed forces Pakistan has, the future of it would be at stake (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

During the discussion on the Budget 2004-05, PTI appreciated few steps like incentives on raw materials and reduction in duties and GST. Those steps would bring positive result and help to increase investment in Pakistan. PTI objected on the figures given by

Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz according to which poverty decreased in Pakistan. Imran Khan invited him that he should visit his constituency and see that poverty has been increasing. PTI suggested that government should conduct independent surveys on poverty and inflation to get real picture. It cited the figures given by UNDP according which poverty increased in Pakistan. By giving wrong figures, we have been deceiving our self. Today poverty became number one problem of Pakistan. PTI requested Minister of Finance that until and unless Pakistan collect indirect taxes poverty would continuously increased. Rich would become richer and poor would become poorer. He added that in Pakistan there was 90% indirect taxation including presumptive tax and withholding tax, which meant that tax collected from poor and given to rich. In this way, poverty would never become less. It cited that in Asia poverty decreased in Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka and India but increased in Pakistan in the last ten years. Therefore, Pakistan should revisit its tax structure.

Another point PTI mentioned that inflation has been increasing in Pakistan. According to official figures, inflation in Pakistan was 3.9% but according to sensitive price index, it was 11%. Therefore, both indirect taxation from poor and inflation would probably lead to civil war. Real poverty was increasing in rural areas. PTI appreciated the decision of government to fix the price of tube wells in rural areas but he also asked to take such steps, which might lead to end of the perversity. It proposed various suggestions like government should remove GST on 100 units of electricity and gas by freezing this sealing because it would benefit majority of the poor. Secondly, provide subsidy to poor farmers in the rural areas and remove GST from their inputs because until and unless the farmers of rural areas would not be, given the chance to earn money poverty would not end. When the famers of East Punjab was subsidized they earned money and invested on their lands because those farmers did send that money out of Pakistan rather invested on

land and contributed in the increment of production and prosperity of the state. PTI reiterated that government should remove GST on agricultural inputs and subsidized it as European Union and United States has been providing three hundred and sixty billion dollars (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

During the discussion on the Federal Budget for the year 2005-06 the leadership of PTI explained that first of all Pakistanis must understand that which models are successful in the world. In this regard the successful countries are in West, Europe and United States due to rule of law. The world history shows that societies made progress based on rule of law like Romans. The law of Roman was better than contemporary world. Imran Khan cited the example of Hazarat Umer. When Hazarat Umer became Khalifa he did not talk about growth rate and prosperity but promised that there would be same rule for all i.e. rule of law. When Britain was a super power, it was, based on rule of law. In Singapore, which made progress Lee Quan Eu wrote in his book that corrected judicial system in the country. When government of Pakistan would ensure rule of law it would attract all the investment of South East Asia. So it is very easy for a government to ensure rule law if government brings itself in its ambit firstly. He cited that when Muslims became super power in the world two Khalifas were, brought in front of court. Hazarat Ali lost case against a Jews citizen because judge did not accept his son as a witness. In West Bill Clinton, Nixon and Tony Blair were, brought in court of justice. During the period of Lee Quan Eu three sitting ministers were dismissed on the charges of corruption.

PTI claimed that in the absence of rule of law, budget could not bring change and would suppress poor class. Imran Khan said that such example was, established by General Pervez Musharraf because he violated constitution of Pakistan repeatedly. Seventeenth amendment was, made for him in the constitution. Instead of establishing rule of law, he made a law for himself. He has been issuing such statements which regularly violating

the constitution of Pakistan. Imran Khan cited his interview on CNN in which he claimed that seven hundred suspected terrorists belonging to Al-Qaida were, handed over to America. In a way he violated article four of the constitution which ensured that no person either Pakistani or anyone else could be handed over to other country until and unless judiciary of Pakistan make him/her clear. Such person must be, given full opportunity to prove innocent in Pakistani courts. Nevertheless, General Pervez Musharraf handed over them to America. On this, General Pervez Musharraf should be, impeached. On the other hand, the people who were, charged in NAB cases, who took loans and wrote off, who have fake degrees sitting in the government because they have been supporting rule of General Pervez Musharraf. Only those people came under law who opposed government and poor.

PTI reminded that in the last budget, Shaukat Aziz promised to introduce second generation reforms like judicial reforms, civil service reforms and reforms for good governance but in present budget, there is no mention of such reforms. Delivery system and good governance implement reforms. Public Sector Development Program has increased in budget and to be, delivered to the people but no reforms are, introduced for this. First, judicial reforms should be, introduced because without independent judiciary, government could not be brought under rule of law. The example of release of Asif Ali Zardari was, cited. PTI claimed that Asif Ali Zardari was, released because of deal with government. In this regard, it cited the statement of Chief Minister of Sindh Arbab Ghulam Rahim who claimed the same. PTI asked if this statement was not true than why Judiciary not filed case of contempt of court against him. This proved claim of deal as true, which disgraced the stature of the judiciary and demonstrated in front of public that judiciary has no importance.

Imran Khan gave another example that once the jirga of old people from Quetta came to meet him and told that Pakistan Army has occupied their land on the pretext on defense in which they had been doing farming for hundred years. Those people went to high court but judge refused to hear this case. When neither government nor Pakistan Army comes under rule of law, then the importance of law ended.

On the point of good governance, PTI demanded that for to ensure rule of law government should bring police act and remove political interference in it. So that politician could not interfere. An institution becomes successful when it is given authority alongwith responsibility. Imran Khan told that in his constituency, that was Mianwali in two and half years fifth superintendent of Police came. All of them were transferred because they refused to follow wrong orders. The Nazim of that area was a relative of Chief Minister Chaudhary Pervez Elahi and wanted to have his favorite SP who follows his directions. He disclosed that one of the transferred SP told him that a DSP under his command were involved in corruption and murder case. He wanted to take action but due to political influence he could not do it and was, transferred. Nazim gave that DSP the charges of two DSPs and I being SP could not take action against him. Imran Khan said that when culprits are awarded and honest people are penalized then what kind of governance system would come into being. Today when we say that budget was very good, and would benefit poor people, here question arises that which delivery system would make it possible when government itself was destroying system.

Local government system is a part of delivery system. PTI said that government felt pride of implementation of devolution plan. The federal ministers belonging to treasury benches confirmed that for the first time in the history of Pakistan, those people were becoming head of the Zakat committees who have political affiliations and on some of them, there are murder charges. One of the head of Zakat committee in Bahawalpur was.

charged with murder case. It was all being done to win local bodies election. PTI claimed that it was repeating repeatedly because it has been crushing poor people in Pakistan. PTI mentioned that according to human development index Pakistan was on 142 numbers in the list, which meant that we were behind even from Bangladesh and Nepal. When Nepal came into being it had one percent literacy rate and when Bangladesh got independence from Pakistan, it had devastating position but both of them left Pakistan behind with respect to human development. In Pakistan, the per capita income of eighty percent people was two dollars and people have 3600 rupees for month. When government claimed that, she presented pro poor budget it should mention any area in which the condition of poor people improved. PTI mentioned figures given by PIMS that in Pakistan three hundred thousand children have been dying every year. From child mortality rate point of view Pakistan was on second number in the world. Hepatitis B and C was spreading rapidly due to incompetency of government hospitals.

PTI declared education system of Pakistan as apartheid. For poor Urdu medium and for rich English medium institutions have been working. He disclosed that seventy percent of the schools in his constituency of Mianwali were lying closed. We have been watching the advertisements of educated Punjab but in reality situation were so desperate. Due to such education system poor has been becoming poorer and rich has been becoming richer. Regarding the wages of labour PTI declared it very less. Although government claimed that, it has increased monthly income of labour from 2600 to 3000. PTI asked that through which mechanism it would be, implemented because government could not implement previous sealing even. Through Presidential Ordinance 2000 and IRO 2000 labour union has become impotent and the real wages came down. On judicial system PTI said that majority of the poor captives has been suffering in jails. They have been

suffering captivity in pity cases. Those who given six months imprisonment lying in jail for nine years. Poor have been suffering while for rich law is different.

On taxation system, PTI reminded that in 2001 Shoukat Aziz promised that government would finish indirect taxation because it has been spreading poverty in the country but even today, it rose to 68%. It cited the report of Press and Information Department that the income of poor has been decreasing while the income of rich increasing. As far as loan takers were concerned the poor farmer who took loans from Agricultural Development Bank, to recover money they were being deprived of their homes but on the other hand the National Bank of Pakistan wrote off loans of eighteen billion rupees to big money takers. The loans which were given for poverty alleviation such loan given on eighteen or nineteen percent of interest while the rich people who applied for huge amount getting the same at the rate of four or five percent. It proved that the whole system supporting rich and against the poor. Rulers have been living with pomp and show on the expenditures of taxes. The President and Prime Minister have been living luxurious lives at the expense of taxes paid by the people of Pakistan. Their expenditures increased by 180%. In one year government purchased airplane of 25 million dollars despite of the fact that all it was done through taking loans. Leadership of PTI cited the example of Prime Minister of Tony Blair that he has been living in ten Downing Street in a small flat. When his fourth baby took birth, an extra room had to be constructed. But our leaders have never care of tax money of people (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2005).

On the Budget 2006-2007 PTI reiterated that this budget also neglected poor people of Pakistan. It was, made to facilitate elite class. PTI asked that what steps government took to address the issue of education. He cited that Pakistan, India, Singapore and Malaysia inherited education system from Britain. All of them except Pakistan synthesized

education system and one syllabus has been, taught. However, Pakistan rather to synthesize education system converted it into elitist education system where those who get English medium education became successful while poor people could not come up because of Urdu medium education. Education in Pakistan has become apartheid and it has been making rich people richer and poor people poorer. Due to this, the system, which was, developed by the British government and our main intellectual, was the product of that system until seventies has also become potent. Imran Khan gave the example of Central Model School of Mianwali that in it, student strength was not more than 27 or 28 but now there are more than 100 or 120 students sitting in the classes, which compromised the standard and minimized the intellectual standard. It showed that what have become the conditions of Public sector schools and colleges.

On health system, PTI said that government hospitals did not cater health facilities for poor while it has been serving elitist class. If one has money could get good treatment otherwise could not. For poor available water, contained germs but rich could get mineral water easily. PTI cited the figures given by UNO that 200,000 children died due to polluted water every year.

As far as justice system of Pakistan is, concerned PTI cited the report of consultant of World Bank during General Musharraf's reign disclosed that the two institutions of Pakistan were, found the most corrupt and that was courts and police. Here people went to get justice but justice in Pakistan is on sale. In jails there were seventy to eighty thousands poor captives were lying. Justice system of Pakistan is also for elitist because it cannot catch powerful dacoit or killers. It does not protect all Pakistanis. It is for handful people in Pakistan.

House societies are also for elitist class. PTI inquired that how many housing societies are there in Pakistan for poor people. Imran Khan disclosed that people belonging to the

area of "Rawat" told him that law was, formed according to which if a housing estate purchased 70% of land the rest of 30% land could be, purchased by force even the owner did not want to sell it. Due to it what has been happening that around the area of "Rawat" land being purchased at the rate of 70000 per kanal but once it became the part of housing estate the same being sell at the rate of six million per kanal. Therefore, housing estate is, also based on discrimination for rich and poor. He reminded that Shoukat Aziz said in 2000-2001 that indirect taxation was against poor because it spreads poverty and inflation. At that time, indirect taxation was 68%, which rose to 70%. He cited the interview of ex-Chairman of FBR who said that indirect taxation has reached to 80%. He explained that the wealthy people are, exempted from tax. In housing estate, people have become billionaires in last thirty years because of no capital gains tax. In England, capital gains tax is forty percent. If one, sell anything other than home one has to pay capital gains tax. However, in Pakistan there is no single percent of capital gains tax. Due to this government has been imposing tax on layman by increasing prices of every day commodities. As a result, rich became richer and poor became poorer.

As far as small famer are concerned all the surveys showed that they sell their product cheaply which borrow costly inputs. On the other hand, powerful and big famers sell their products costly because of having resources and purchase cheap inputs.

On the problems of small and medium industry, PTI said that they did not provide with credits while the big industrialist has made cartels and making profits because they get cheap credit and did not pay any tax. Banks providing interests below inflation rate depositors while lenders pay below the inflation. Therefore, money is, taken from depositors and given to powerful. In Stock Market powerful has been making money while small investors have to face loss. According to transparency, international Pakistan has become the fifth corrupt country in the world. All this proves that there is an elitist

system in Pakistan. He cited another example that even in cricket commentary there has been an element of elitist system. Half of the commentary in cricket match is in English but question arises that how many of us understand English. Therefore, the claim of government that it would have presented pro-poor budget was nothing more than a fraud. All statistics in Pakistan proved that gulf between poor and rich increased. As far as statistics are concerned, no one trusts them. He gave the example that Shoukat Aziz himself said in 2000-2001 that Pakistan had thirty percent poverty but now he claimed that at that time it was thirty-four percent which decreased to this level. He asked a question from him that eighty percent people in Pakistan has two dollars a day that was four thousand rupees per month. In the last six years, the purchasing power of Pakistani rupee decreased and dearness increased. So how did government claim that poverty decreased in Pakistan? He demanded that there should be an independent survey to find out real statistics. On Charter of Democracy, he demanded that a point of establishment for independent statistical bureau should be included in it like independent judiciary. He concluded that this budget would increase poverty and inflation in Pakistan because it was based on consumption driven boom rather than production driven boom.

On the point of investment, he explained that it has not been increasing in Pakistan. He cited the example of South East Asian economies and all of them became South East Asian economic tigers because of political stability, education and governance system. None of them existed in Pakistan. He repeated the statement of General Pervez Musharraf in which he said that if he doffs uniform the system would not function in Pakistan. This proved the fragility of Pakistani system due to which neither foreign nor local investors invest in Pakistan. Another important element due to which investors have no trust on Pakistan was war on terror. Musharraf said that Pakistan did not have any external threat.

It has been facing internal threat from terrorist. Because of this, America and Britain put Pakistan in danger zone on their foreign advisory.

PTI cited one of the survey reports published in foreign policy journal. which put Pakistan at number two in the list of failed state. He said that it might be an exaggeration but even then. we must analyse that in which direction Pakistan was heading. It demanded that there is need of emergencies in four fields.

Firstly, education emergency should be, declared in Pakistan and its allocation in budget should be increased to 4% of total GDP. Hundred million populations in Pakistan were below the age of 30 years. If we do not provide education. they would become dangerous for the future of Pakistan. If we provide them education, they would become asset for Pakistan. In eighties Pakistan used to spend 4% of GDP on education which decreased to 2.7 in nineties and in 2000 it came down to 1.7%. Now government wants to raise it up to 2.2% but I suggest increasing it to 5% of GDP. If government wants to strengthen Pakistan`s defense it has to spend on education rather than weapons. India made progress because it always allocated 4% GDP on education that was why it has become better in defense then Pakistan.

Secondly, Pakistan should declared revenue collection emergency to develop tax culture. Rulers should ensure the right use of tax money. It has become the life style of ruling class that they do not pay tax. They misuse tax money on luxurious life style and extravagant foreign tours. Though Shoukat Aziz promised that tax money would not be used for foreign trips. Even tax money is being, misused in Prime Minister and Presidential house. Poor country like Pakistan cannot afford such meaningless expenditures. To develop tax culture the elite class should pay tax to set example so that people might follow. Nevertheless, here those who took big amount as loan their money was wrote off. One of the loans of amount 100 million of sugar mill owner was wrote off.

It was, done by Agricultural Development Bank. However, those took small loans were being arrested, and put in the jails.

Thirdly, government should announce to give subsidy of 109 billion rupees but due to faulty power structure and bad governance system, it did not reach to the deserving people. The most deserving sector of such subsidy was small farmers and smaller medium industry. To do this government should have formed committees to make sure transfer of money to deserving sector and people.

Fourthly, government must impose emergency to ensure rule of law. Until and unless the independence of Judiciary and NAB rule of law would not be possible in Pakistan. It is because that elite class does not follow law and, how they could compel SHO and Potwari to implement law. Today it has become problem of Pakistan that a powerful can do all unfair act while a powerless cannot do even a legal act because law protect criminals in Pakistan. When NAB told the names of those who were involved in corruption Musharraf patronised them and appointed them on big offices which meant that state patronised criminals. On the other, those who have been killed in Karachi there killers could not be arrested. He concluded that these four emergencies could change the situation of Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2006).

4.9. JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN:

Judicial system of Pakistan always remained controversial due to its consequential types of decision. During the reign of General Pervez Musharraf PTI raised this issue on different occasions. In one of the session of the National Assembly PTI raised the importance of credible judicial system. Due to its absence in Pakistan Musharraf handed over people to America without any judicial process. PTI also appreciated good steps taken by Musharraf like recovery of economy, decrease in interest rate, banking reforms and capital market reforms. In addition to it PTI mentioned some serious problem of the

people like unemployment, decline of Pakistan in the human development index, institutional reforms and investment. Investment would increase if governance system became improved. Governance system could improve through functioning of sound judicial system, which leads to prosperity. Leadership of PTI Imran Khan cited the quotation of Machiavelli that a strong state needs a strong army, is strong army needs money, money comes from prosperous population and prosperity comes from justice. He said that in Pakistan there was no justice. To support his claim he cited the statement of Supreme Court Bar Association that in Pakistan judiciary has no independence. So how could Pakistani people have confidence on judiciary? Due to this state was unable to protect people; democracy could not flourish and no rule of law in the country. On rule of law, he cited the statement of Paddy Ashdown - Former High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina -. He said that when he was the representative of UNO in Bosnia and wanted to bring democracy but he failed because we had to establish rule of law first. So due to absence of rule of law democracy was, hijacked. He said that in Pakistan neither any system nor leadership became successful due to the interference of establishment. Until and unless establishment interferes, election would be, manipulated and as a result, neither any system nor leadership would become successful (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.10. ATTENTION NOTICE BY PTI:

In the Nation Assembly Imran Khan mentioned news from Pakistani Newspaper “Kawish” in which eighteen females threatened that they would commit collective suicide on Jinnah Mausoleum due to poverty because they could not live. They wished that they want to get buried eight females in the National Assembly of Pakistan. He requested that house should take notice by asking government before they execute their plan. At least government should take such steps to stop them not to do this (National

Assembly of Pakistan, 2004). This shows that Imran Khan became very much involved in all kinds of affairs in Pakistan. He had information on all issues and rose in the parliament whenever he got chance.

4.11. DISCUSSION ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL BILL- 2004:

In Pakistan, armed forces always try to remain indulged in political affairs through different tactics. One of them is NSC. Chiefs of Pakistan Army, Pakistan Navy and Pakistan Air Force become part of it including Prime Minister and Chief Ministers of all provinces of Pakistan. Whenever government has to take decision on an important issue it has to consult chiefs of armed forces. In this way, government has to accept or sometimes follow the decisions of establishment. Under Legal Framework Order, article 152A was introduced in the constitution, which provided for National Security Council to serve as a forum for consultation on strategic matters pertaining to the sovereignty, integrity and security of Pakistan and matters relating to democracy, governance and inter-Provincial harmony. The Seventeenth amendment omitted article 152A and it was agreed between the government and the MMA that NSC would be constituted under the ordinary law. As a result, NSC Act, 2004 was passed on 19 April 2004. NSC consisted of President as its Chairman and the Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Senate, the Speaker of the National Assembly, the leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly, the Chief Ministers of the Provinces, the Chairman Joint Chief of Staff Committee and the Chief of Staff of Army, Navy and Pakistan Air Force (National Security Council Act, 2004).

On the issue of NSC bill 2004 PTI did not support this bill because when the issue of LFO was discussed assurance was given that it would be a transition to democracy and power would be transferred to parliament and parliamentarians. This bill depicted that power was to be diverted to consolidate the position of General Pervez Musharraf. PTI

objected that government gave the example of Turkish National Security Council but it is also, written in the Turkish constitution that the National Security Council can impose Martial Law as well. Imran was of the view that Turkey has its own history and did not want to go in its details. We were, told that NSC was to be framed to remove the possibilities of Martial Law in Pakistan. It meant that one illegal act was, replaced by another illegal act because it would institutionalize establishment within the ambit of the National Security Council.

Another point, which PTI opposed in that bill, was the formation of Advisory Body in which members from establishment would also be included. PTI was of view that how would such a powerful body act as an advisory body in which members from establishment were included. Yet there was no such body in Pakistan even then establishment bypass parliament. If such body would come into being then the role of establishment would become constitutional because of institutionalized body, which would be in a position to bypass parliament and strengthened the powers of dictator. It would also increase the sense of deprivation of small provinces in Pakistan, which have been already suffering. NSC would damage the interest of Pakistan because due to it one man would become powerful and the history of Pakistan shows that whenever power was taken out of the hands of Parliament and given to one man it hurt a lot the national interest of Pakistan because. Therefore, Parliament is the best to protect the national interest. Imran Khan cited that when the Turkish Parliament refused to be an alley in American war against terrorism none could do any damage to it. However, in Pakistan there was only one man and America knew it that all the decision were being made by him. That was the main reason that American demands increased day by day. He gave the example of statement of Afghan-American diplomat Zalmay Mamozy Khalilzad to do more and questioned that could anyone ask him that which country served America more

than Pakistan. Whatever demands American put, General Pervez Musharraf fulfilled. Pakistani nation must think that if more powers would be, given in the hands of one man it would not protect the interest of Pakistan.

The leadership of PTI criticized the statement given by General Pervez Musharraf in News Night that he did not put these issues in front of parliamentarian because in such way enemies could know about our plans and strategies. Imran Khan inquired that if there was such reason then why did American put all facts in front of American Congress before taking any decision. Why did Tony Blair put such issues before parliamentarian to reach at any decisions regarding Iraq war? Imran Khan said that he wanted to tell General Pervez Musharraf that he did not know about democracy. In democracy, one has to take decision on policies not on tactics. We demanded to debate policies in the parliament not tactics. When policy is debated in the parliament then debate is made that what would be the best solution. Imran Khan said that if we made NSC it would further damage the process of decision-making. He added that America would always manipulate one man (Musharraf) and demand for further concession. Along with it, people like Zalmay Khalilzad, United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Paul Wolfowitz would give statements of to do more. He reiterated that we must take out power from Musharraf and institutionalize the decisions (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

Another issue, which remained debated topic in Pakistan, is the question of moderate and fundamentalism. Politicians and dictators used this card to get the attention in support of European countries and America. It has created lot of confusion regarding the image of Pakistan across the world. Due to it, a division can easily be seen in Pakistani politics, society and particularly in the educational institution. PTI also criticized General Pervez Musharraf and MMA on the claim that they would make Pakistan moderate state. Imran Khan was of the view that there is a big difference between moderate Islam and

Musharraf's moderate Islam. Moderate Islam is the Islam which was propagated by Allama Iqbal, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and which we follow. The moderate Islam about which General Musharraf talked was Islam of American slavery. It is strange that what America says those who follow that are, given the name of moderate, and those who refuse that become fundamentalist. Imran Khan cited that Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon never called themselves moderate despite of fact that in those countries people are very much extremist. Israeli Zionist doing injustice in Palestine and Indian doing brutalities in Gujrat but they never called themselves moderate because they never felt need of it. In Pakistan. General Pervez Musharraf is sitting and repeating repeatedly himself as a moderate. He was, already become so defensive that whatever America said he did it. He never told them that Pakistan served American interests a lot as compare to anyone else despite of damaging its own interests. We must understand that due to it Pakistan suffered a lot. It increased terrorism and extremism within Pakistan. He cited the survey report of CNN, which depicted that 94% Pakistanis were against siding American war on terror. Pakistani public was against that war but government extended support. He reminded that when Pakistan became front line state in Afghan war under General Zia. at that time, people were supporting Afghans but in case of war against terrorism after 9/11, people did not support. In the end, he requested the parliamentarian that if they would support National Security Council it would be a great injustice with democracy in Pakistan and would not strengthen the security Pakistan rather it would damage the security of Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.12. ISSUE OF THE LEADER OF OPPOSITION AND PTI:

Dictators always try to suppress opposition voice in the parliament. However, in Pakistan most of the times opposition becomes the "B" team of dictators and protect its interest

tactically. Apparently it shows its displeasure with dictator but technically it help to elongate the rule of dictator. For example, MMA came into being and got success due to opposition of General Musharraf and war against terrorism but in parliament, it did not even opposed single legislation made by him. Secondly did not let opposition to get united against General Musharraf. It happened in case of election of leader of opposition. Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali became Prime Minister of Pakistan on 24 November 2002. For more than a year it could not be decided that who would be the leader of opposition in National Assembly because two candidates were, put, one by MMA. and other by PPPP. After the passage of 17th amendment in which Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman played vital role, the Speaker of National Assembly declared him as the leader of the Opposition. Imran Khan opposed this decision. He said that decision of speaker in favour of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman proved that speaker was not neutral despite of the fact that Makhdoom Muhammad Ameen Faheem had majority to become opposition leader. He criticized the opinion of Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi that speaker made decision according to the constitution of Pakistan. Imran Khan said that we should not talk about constitution because whatever we have done with it was obvious to everyone. It has neither head nor tail. It has become hybrid because it neither Presidential nor Parliamentary. If there would have been any constitution in Pakistan then speaker should have acted as neutral empire. He explained that he cast vote in favor of MMA for Premiership and he still was in favor of some of the stands like criticism on American cruelties on Muslims and Wanna operation but after the passage of seventeenth amendment, he did not support MMA. (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.13. DEMAND TO ESTABLISH ALMONRIES:

In an interview, Imran Khan expressed his vision of Islamic Welfare state. One of the feature of Islamic Welfare state, which he described is to provide protect to the poor section of society. He demanded that government should establish Almonries for poor in different cities. He cited that when poverty used to increase in Europe people used to establish soup kitchen from where poor people could get something to eat. He disclosed that we opened Almonry in Shaukat Khanum where thousands of people used to come to eat food for two times at the cost of two rupees but soon people started donation and now we did not take two rupees as well. Government should take the responsibility that no one should sleep hungry in Pakistan. People should not be compelled to commit suicide due to poverty and hunger. We should think of it seriously (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.14. THE ISSUE OF THE NATIONAL FINANCE COMMISSION AWARD:

NFC Award always remained disputed issue because of distribution of money among the different units of Pakistan. On the issue of NFC Award PTI was of the view that in India the distribution of NFC Award is based on ten percent population while in Pakistan it is on sixty-two percent. He demanded that there should be an independent survey to dig out areas, which has poverty. Development funds should be, invested in saraiki areas, inner Sindh, western Punjab and Balochistan. He cited that nine billion rupees has been, given to Islamabad while only 4.75 billion were invested in Balochistan, which comprised of 46 % of whole Pakistan. Therefore, how such distribution could contribute in development. Such distribution created bitterness among different areas of Pakistan. He suggested that NFC should be distributed based on poverty and 62% of it should be, given to those areas where backwardness and poverty existed at high rate. He demanded that like India, in

Pakistan there should be a permanent NFC Secretariat, which conduct assessment continuously and distribute fund according to poverty (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.15. DEMAND FOR THE OF LAW AND GOOD GOVERNACE:

PTI always raised voice that there should be rule of law in Pakistan. Everybody should be treated equally before law. There should be no discrimination on the basis before law. Without rule of law, no state can make progress even if it has plenty of resources. Without rule of law, a country cannot make progress socially, politically and economically. In the National Assembly Imran Khan said that if government prepares good budget it would not be useful in the absence of rule of law and good governance. As far as rule of law was concerned, he added that neither constitution nor judiciary has been, given any importance. He cited that judiciary in case of Shabaz Sharif violated article 15, 16 and 19 of the constitution. Dubai and Singapore made progress due to rule of law. Rule of law is, related to investment. Whenever any multinational company wanted to invest in any county, they ask that either there are any contract enforcement courts in that country or not. However, when they come to know that in Pakistan neither courts are independent nor credible they do not come to investment. Overseas Pakistanis and private investors preferred to invest in real estate or stock exchange rather than productive investment, which generate jobs opportunity because of weak, bad governance and absence of rule of law.

On good governance, Imran Khan said that the students of business administration are, taught this subject. They are, taught that those who are given responsibility they are also given authority because it is a simple principle of good governance. However, in Pakistan responsibility is with Prime Minister while the authority is in the hand of President. Such system could not function. When we said that the situation of law and order was not good

and foreign investors were not coming to invest in Pakistan, we must see that either governance system in Pakistan was sustainable or not. What kind of system we had where it was, said that there was nothing in the authority of President but all meetings were chaired by him. All office order was issued in his name. Where it is, said that Prime Minister may leave his office today or tomorrow. Such things created political uncertainty. Investors came to those countries where political stability prevails. However, in Pakistan all powers were in the hand of one man who has managed corrupt bureaucrats and corrupt politicians against whom cases were laying pending in NAB. On the other hand, he has such puppet that he could fire at his will whenever he wanted to do as he did with Chief Minister of Sindh. It was a self-destructive system, which could not run. He jeered that instead of such hybrid system there should be a Martial law. He said that government was of the view that economy improved due to government policies and 9/11 incidence but rupee devalued and dollar crossed 100 rupee. Government should focus on good governance (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.16. CORRUPTION IN PAKISTAN:

PTI always used slogan of eradication of corruption from Pakistan. PTI is of the view that the core issue of Pakistan is corruption. It criticized that General Pervez Musharraf had given big offices to corrupt people. In America, it is said that whoever work hard can reach to apex but in Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf introduced the culture that if one was corrupt but sided with government could get any office. Imran Khan quoted the statement of Akhter Hameed Khan that Pakistan does not have an economic problem it has a moral problem. General Pervez Musharraf has increased moral problem in Pakistan, and gathered all the corrupt people under his rule and awarded them with big offices (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.17. FOREIGN INVESTMENT:

Economically Pakistan has been declining since long. There are various reasons but the most important of them is stoppage of arrival of foreign investment. PTI asked government to take steps to attract foreign investment. In China, the foreign investment was 60% while in Pakistan it was only eight percent. The main reason due to which foreign investment stopped was the war against terrorism and government was busy in it. Just for the sake of few American dollars given to it due to help in war against terrorism Pakistan had to bear the brunt in shape of stoppage of foreign investment. Foreign investment needs political stability and cordial security situation in the country (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.18. DEBATE ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM:

PTI repeatedly stressed on the devolution of power to grass roots levels. On local government, system PTI was of the view that it is, known as delivery system but in Pakistan, it did not devolve powers to the grass root level rather it centralized power. Previously there was more devolution of power in the districts. He suggested that we should give more powers to union councils either we have to remove the office of 'Nazim' or 'Naib Nazims' because they have become all in all, and there exist no check and balance. If they have affiliation with government's party, they also involved themselves in political victimization. Such people were spending money on their areas only to increase their influence and money. Such system has become corrupt and damaging poor and Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.19. DISCUSSION ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUE:

Environmental issue of Pakistan has been becoming serious due to the disinterest of different governments. Pakistan is one of the most affected states due to environmental issues. PTI raised voice to address the environmental issue. Environmental issue has

become a great threat for Pakistan. It has polluted water resources of Pakistan. There were germs of hepatitis in water. Air has, become polluted. PTI demanded that government should address these issues seriously (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.20. CRITICISM ON INTERFERENCE OF ESTABLISHMENT IN THE SENSITIVE AFFAIRS:

The interference of the establishment in the political affairs of Pakistan is one of the most serious issues. Due to it democracy could not flourish in Pakistan. Tug of war among Pakistan Armed Forces, Bureaucracy and Political Parties for power has become the routine practice in Pakistan. Due to which Pakistan has been suffering socially, political and economically. Although establishment should serve the interests of masses but it has hijacked political system of Pakistan as a whole. PTI criticized establishment on inference in political affairs of Pakistan. President of Pakistan General Musharraf in his speech mentioned four points, which made mockery of Pakistan in the world. These were cross border terrorism in Kashmir, interference in Afghanistan, extremism and terrorism in Pakistan and nuclear proliferation from Pakistan. PTI claimed that all this was being, managed and supported by the establishment of Pakistan. If establishment think that all it was defaming Pakistan then they should not blame civilian government because everything was under control of establishment (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004).

4.21. ISSUE OF DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY AMONG STUDENTS:

In order to protect the rights of students of his constituency PTI raised voice in National Assembly. Question was, asked from parliamentary secretary about advertisement in which government claimed that it has disbursed seven billion rupee among girls' students of class sixth and seventh. Imran Khan raised the question that in his constituency half of the schools were laying closed. Secondly, he objected that millions of rupees were being, wasted on advertisement just for the popularity of the government only. None of the

students from his constituency was, given any such money. He objected that he was, told by the minister that that project was of Punjab government. He asked that federal government was above the Punjab government, and supervises all the projects. Federal government should reply him with satisfactory answer (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2005).

4.22. DISCUSSION ON EARTHQUAKE- 2005:

Earthquake 2005 was one of the most painful natural tragedies for Pakistan. It is an irony of fate that Pakistani authorities belonging to different institutions and political parties did not spare this issue to get their self-centered interests. Although Pakistani people came out to help people who were, affected by earthquake but on the part of government, serious anomalies were, observed. Imran Khan solaced with the people affected by earthquake 2005, which brought huge miseries for Pakistan especially for the people of Kashmir and Hazara. He said that it was not a time of political scoring but despite of this there were some anomalies on the part of government, which need to be, addressed. He said that government failed in rescue operation not only in small areas but also in big areas like Muzafarabad and Balakot. He explained that the main reason of this criticism was to learn lesson from mistakes in rescue operation. He was of the view that according to his assessment there was no coordination among local government, civil administration and army. Usually army came to help civil administration. Previously crisis management was in the hand of Deputy Commissioner but under devolution plan, it became in the hand of district Nazim. However, he sight neither civil administration nor local government in that areas. As far as army was concerned, it came into action on third or fourth day of the earthquake. It was unable to estimate the situation initially. He said that every tragedy has three aspects that are rescue operation, relief and rehabilitation. He claimed that government failed in rescue operation and we need to analyze it to learn

lesson for future to tackle such crisis. We must know that what should be our reaction in such crisis. We should know that which agencies would coordinate and which provide leadership. He claimed and criticized that government did not start any rescue operation in first three days. For three days, people were waiting for help in debris and cries of children could be, heard especially in Muzafarabad. He raised the question that army should be asked why did it not reach to those areas to deal with crisis. He said that he did not ask about those areas, which were, cut off due to land sliding but asking about rest of the areas. I ask about Muzafarabad and Balakot where main destruction happened but no rescue operation was, started. People dealt situation with the help of themselves. He added that when we came to know about situation after five or six hours government should have appealed international community and mobilized army to start rescue operation. We must prepare detailed report about all this.

As far as relief operation was concerned, no coordinated efforts were made. Many convoys went to such areas about which they did not have any information that what kinds of help people were, needed because of absence of leadership. For example, in the area of Batal village there exist many water wells but due to lack of coordination, trucks of mineral water were send there while they were in need of tents for shelter. The areas, which were, cut off their different trucks, were, looted by mob. He suggested that government should have provided people with direction and leadership. He acknowledged that it was not possible for government to tackle such crisis solely but at least they should have provided direction and leadership. At least government should have made announcement after twenty-four hours. He said that people were in need of tents. Due to rain and aftershocks, they have been suffering from cold. Army should provide them with tents, which they have for their exercises because tents have become to an end in the markets. He demanded that there must be a coordinated relief operation

to counter this crisis. Although people have been making efforts but they did not know what to do. Government should give them direction. Due to land sliding, no one reached in Kaghan valley. Government should mobilized helicopters to drop foods and take them out to save.

For the purpose of rehabilitation, we need billions of dollars because Balakot and Muzafarabad have been, wiped out. We must apprehend that epidemics would break out. Therefore, government should announce complete plan and leadership for the purpose of rehabilitation. He said that he went to those areas and found people angry because they were of the view that they were not, provided help especially in Azad Kashmir. Civil administration has come to end in Kashmir. Except one assistant commissioner all members of the administration have died. He requested and concluded that we must analyse that why civil administration failed. We should provide direction and leadership for the steps to be, taken in future (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2005).

In another session held on 25th October, 2005 Imran Khan demanded that people in areas destroyed by earthquake needed tents. He disclosed that he contacted Chinese embassy and was, told that almost fifty thousand tents were stuck in China. He suggested that government should send special charter plane to bring those tents in order to help people (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2005).

4.23. WATER ISSUE IN THE PROVINCE OF SINDH:

Water crisis in Pakistan has become serious due to shortage of dams. Else of it the remaining water becoming polluted due to flawed sewerage and dumping system of Pakistan. The issue of dams' construction has become, politicized in Pakistan. PTI raised the question that in province of Sindh people were dying due to drinking polluted water. It demanded that government should take emergency action to tackle this situation

seriously. It also mentioned that due to water crisis bitterness was increasing among the people of Sindh for the people of Punjab (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2005).

4.24. POINT OF PERSONAL EXPLANATION:

It was a strange incidence, which happened in Paliament. Dr Amir Liaquat raised objection on the invitation of Bradford University to Imran Khan according to which Imran Khan was, appointed as Chancellor. Amir Liaquat demanded that Imran Khan should not accept this offer because this University was being, run by non-Muslims. It is strange in a sense that in Pakistan different institutions and politicians has created such rift due to which Pakistani are. hated across the world including in educational institutions. Wrong interpretations of Quran verses are, given just to protect self-centered interest. As Imran Khan was, offered Chancellorship of Bradford University in 2005. Dr Amir Liaquat raised objection in National Assembly and demanded that Imran Khan should refuse this offer on the basis that Christian and Jews can never become friend of Muslims. On this Imran Khan gave personal explanation. He said that he has respect for Dr Amir Liaquat because he holds PhD degree and known religious scholar. We should respect religious scholars but I want to explain that in Guantanamo bay, there were American soldiers and Bradford University situated in England. There is a big difference in between universities of America and England. He appreciated the speech of Amir Liaquat and explained that he did not hate Christian and Jews because he did not hate human being. He hates infidelity (*Kufir*) but did not hate infidels (*Kafirs*). He acknowledged that Amir Liaquat has greater understanding of Islam and he was nothing in front of him but according to my understanding, Muslim loves human being. If someone does wrong, Muslim objects him or her. In Christians and Jews there existed lot of good people as well who have been criticizing America. Different Americans and Christians have been doing the same. In parliament, we should not talk in a way like this

because it defames Islam and built perception that we should become enemy of Christians and Jews. He declared it wrong interpretation of Islam (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2005).

4.25. DEBATE ON EXTREMELY OFFENSIVE AND INSULTING CARTOONS PUBLISHED IN DANISH NEWSPAPER:

The acts of blasphemy in Pakistan are, taken seriously not only by masses but also by political parties. In history different people from around the world committed blasphemous acts, which infuriated people in Pakistan. PTI moved an adjournment motion on the offensive cartoon published in the Danish Newspaper and asked to debate on it. PTI declared it as an extremely offensive to the people of Pakistan. Imran Khan explained that when we raise voice against such act they defend it based on freedom of expression. He gave the example of book of Salman Rushdi "Satanic Verses". He also mentioned that a Bangladeshi woman wrote a caricature type of Phonographic book on Quran on which she was awarded in Europe and West. When Muslims reacted against such steps they were portrayed as unreasonable people in the world. All such steps hurt the feelings of Muslims. He gave the example of holocaust that Hitler in Germany killed women and children and we also condemned but in Europe and West, no one could ask question or talk about it. Dr. Arwing who has risen question that either holocaust was right or wrong? On this, he was, jailed in Austria. They do not like to talk on such issues because it hurt the feelings of Jews. It shows the double standard of Europe and West that they do not like to talk about holocaust, but hurt the feelings of Muslims by doing such acts in the name of liberalism and freedom of expression and declared it baseless. He explained that it happened because Muslim countries have been, ruled either by Kings or dictators and they do represent their people. He asked that heads of Muslim states should pass a joint resolution to condemn it.

PTI criticized the head of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf who claimed to be a moderate and enlightened did not issue any statement to condemn it. He must talk about this illiberal act. He should have called Danish Ambassador and registered protest on behalf of Pakistan. It hurt the feelings of Muslims all over the world. PTI criticized that there were illegal detention centers in Guantanamo bay where people have not been given human rights mentioned in Geneva Convention. When Musharraf talk about Bajor attack it look that he represent State Department of America. When we made an effort to go to tribal areas to dig out the fact that either Al-Qaida's people were there or not, we were not, allowed to enter in those areas. PTI also criticized the statement of Sheikh Rasheed that terrorist were present in tribal areas and asked him not to tell a lie just to defend the American interest. Imran Khan gave example that in Europe no one can dare to talk against homosexuals and gays but allowed to hurt the sentiments of Muslims in the name of freedom of expression. As a result, when Muslims react they are, given the name of fundamentalists. He concluded that the Prime Minister of Pakistan Shoukat Aziz should move a petition, and get it signed from all the heads of the Muslim states and publish it in the European Newspapers. He must convey them that it is much more sensitive issue then holocaust for the Muslims of the world (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2006).

4.26. DISCUSSION ON BOMB EXPLOSION AT NISHTAR PARK KARACHI:

During the reign of General Pervez Musharraf bomb explosions increased in Pakistan due to his support to America on war against terrorism. Most of the times it happened that when someone became victim of terrorist activities or killed by someone else the family of the deceased demanded to dig out the culprits. In majority cases, police used to lay responsibility of terrorist organizations and did not find out the real culprits. Mostly the culprits found involved in attacking members of elite and ruling class were, arrested and

produced before the courts. Regarding bomb explosion at Nishtar Park Karachi Imran Khan disclosed that once he was, invited by the leadership of *Sunni Tehreek* and they told that these people were being killed and provincial government providing protection to killers. He rose question that the culprits who were involved in attacks on President and core commanders were arrested within one week but the people who died in target killing there culprits had not arrested yet. He demanded for inquiry to dig out the fact.

4.27. DEBATE OF IMRAN KHAN ON BOOK OF CIA AGENT MICHEL MERCER:

In the National Assembly Imran Khan cited the book of CIA agent Michel Mercer who wrote in his book "Imperial Huberus" that do not let Musharraf to clean up our work and it was also, published in Dawn News. It proved that Musharraf was fighting war against terrorism in the interest of America not Pakistan. This book mentioned the Army operation being, taken in tribal area and he warned that tribal people would rebel against Pakistan Army. Imran Khan demanded that as Musharraf claimed that he was fighting war against terrorism and presented overall holistic approach, he was wrong. Musharraf first should protect the interest of Pakistan. According the book of CIA agent seventy thousand people has been, killed on the pretext of foreign militant but majority of them was Pakistani. It would have serious repercussion on Pakistani society. Imran Khan said that whenever someone was, killed he was tagged as foreign militant. He demanded for independent inquiry to dig out the fact that how many people have been, killed in Balochistan and Bajor operation. He declared it as an extra judicial killing. He demanded that Musharraf government should review its policy on war against terrorism. Due to this Pakistani were being, targeted in all over the world. He cited that six innocent Pakistani citizens were, killed in Macedonia while Greece Secret Services and MI-5 tortured innocent Pakistanis. The British lawyers who were pleading their cases told that Pakistani

embassy gave them money to keep silent. He also demanded for inquiry on this as well (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2006).

4.28. BALOCHISTAN OPERATION:

PTI always opposed use of force in any parts of Pakistan. On the issue of Balochistan PTI demanded to resolve this issue through political means rather than military operation. In 2006, General Pervez Musharraf sent army to do military operation in Balochistan, which culminated on the killing of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti. PTI condemned the decision of sending army to Balochistan. Imran Khan said that the decision proved that we have learned nothing from history. Pakistan Army should have learned lesson from disintegration of East Pakistan. It would intensify situation. He reiterated that for last two years he has been demanding for political settlement. Though governor of NWFP said that issue would be settled down with the help of "jirga" that was political settlement but what about the damage which already done due to the wrong decision of government. Another new thing which happened in that area was the creation and resistance showed by Talabanisation. They started resistance and so many personnel of Army have been, killed but people did not have information due to press censorship (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2006).

4.29. DISCUSSION ON THE RESOLUTION OF NO CONFIDENCE AGAINST THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN:

In Political history of Pakistan it happened on different times that non-political figure became Prime Minister of Pakistan whose victory managed by the establishment. One of the examples is Prime Minister of Pakistan Shaukat Aziz. His victory was, managed by General Pervez Musharraf. Previously he was unknown in the political arena of Pakistan. He became Prime Minister and has to get vote of confidence in the parliament. PTI did not support him and Imran Khan did not cast his vote in favour of Shaukat Aziz when a

motion of vote of confidence was moved. He reminded Prime Minister Shoukat Aziz that he should not become Prime Minister because people would consider him as the facilitator of General Pervez Musharraf and America. He disclosed that he did not cast vote in favor of him despite of the fact that he was his friend (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2006).

4.30. CONSTRUCTION OF NEW GENERAL HEADQUATER (GHQ) FOR PAKISTAN ARMY:

During the period of General Pervez Musharraf it was decided to construct a new GHQ for Pakistan Army in Islamabad. Land was, acquired by the government in Islamabad. PTI criticized that Pakistan Army has General Headquarter in Rawalpindi but despite of it signed a contract of 1.5 billion dollars with Turkish firm to built new GHQ in Islamabad. It declared this decision wrong and said to increase defense budget and built new GHQ should not be the priority of Pakistan government. Its priority should be the development of human resources (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2006).

Imran Khan represented PTI as an opposition party and debated on various issues. He got experience as a parliamentarian and utilized it up to the mark. He proved his worth along with PTI. His role as opposition member from 2005-07, played vital role in the growth, evolution, performance as an opposition and future prospects of PTI.

CHAPTER- 5

ROLE OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF (PTI) AS AN OPPOSITION (2013-2018)

PTI emerged as the second largest political party in Pakistan in the general elections 2013 from number of vote point of view but it could not form government except in KP. From seats point of view it became the third largest party in the National Assembly and had to sit on opposition benches. PTI played the role of opposition from 2013 to 2018.

PTI's Makhdoom Muhammad Javed Hashmi congratulated Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on becoming Prime Minister of Pakistan on June 5, 2013 for the third time. He said that Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was his leader and would always be his leader. This statement created resentment among the members of PTI and later he had to bear the brunt. He prayed that democratic process might be completed in the Centre and the Provinces. He mentioned about the contributions of Imran Khan for democracy and called him legendary and visionary leader under whom intra party elections held in PTI (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2003). In Pakistan, so called intra party election used to be hold because of dynastic party structure.

On the very first day on behalf of PTI, Makhdoom Javed Hashmi shown determination that PTI would play vibrant role as an opposition. He said that PTI has come with determination to do politics of real opposition based on truth. There would be no friendly opposition. As an opposition, PTI would not create problems for government and try to cooperate with it. However, to address the problems of the people PTI would do real opposition and it knew how to do because Imran Khan has done it against the previous governments. He set future agenda as an opposition by demanding that government should have condemned drones' attacks and eliminate terrorism from Pakistan. Government should take measures to counter poverty, illiteracy and should make efforts

to conduct local bodies' election as soon as possible. On the very first day, he expressed his dissatisfaction and said that PTI had reservations on the results of general election 2013 but accepted just to bring peace in Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2003). Imran Khan took oath on 19 June 2013. During election campaign, he was injured and hospitalized in SKMH. After recovery, he came to the National Assembly and in his first speech; he congratulated Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on becoming Prime Minister of Pakistan. Imran Khan told that Nawaz Sharif met him in hospital before becoming Prime Minister. We criticized each other during election campaign bitterly. Now it has become main responsibility of PML (N) and Prime Minister due to victory and formation of federal government. At the same time, it has become responsibility of PTI as well because it formed government in KP. He assured that PTI would cooperate with government on National issues and at the same time play the role of opposition. It would not let to make compromise of national interest at all. He asked government to address the issue of corruption, terrorism, polio vaccination, Balochistan crisis and presence of military in FATA. He explained that he wanted to talk as Pakistani rather than as leader of opposition party. In sixties Pakistan was considered as exemplary country. South Korea and Malaysia adopted Pakistani Model. The industrial production of Pakistan was equal to four Asian tigers Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippine and Thailand. Pakistani educational institutions had international standard. PIA was known as one of the best airline in the world. He cited a book "The Asian Miracle" written by Nobel Prize Winner Gunnar Myrdal in which he predicted that Pakistan was going to become as California in Asian countries. We must think that how we could put Pakistan back on the track. If we compare Pakistan with Switzerland, the size or Northern Areas is double of it. The fourteen highest peaks are in Pakistan. Pakistan has reserves of Gold, gas and hydro potential. Switzerland has no resources but even then, it is prosperous. There German,

Swiss, French and Italian live happily because of justice. We should assess that why we could not make progress. Quran says that Allah destroyed those nations that disobeyed. The foundation of first Islamic State of Madina was on the principles of justice. Injustice is the main problem due to which Pakistan disintegrated in 1971. In Balochistan, people are not satisfied because of injustice (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

5.1. PTI ON THE ISSUE OF CENTRE – PROVINCES RELATIONS:

Since independence, the issue of dominance of Federal Government remained one of the hot debates in Pakistan. Smaller provinces like the Balochistan, the KP and the Sindh has always reservations on the policies of Central government on one hand and the domination of Punjab province on the other hand. Despite of the tragic incidence of fall of Dacca in which this issue played unconstructive role. this factor did not end and it had been increasing since 1988. PTI raised this sense of dissatisfaction of smaller provinces in the National Assembly. Javed Mahdoom Hashmi demanded for devolution of powers rather than centralization and demanded to ensure representation of the smaller provinces in the Cabinet. PTI does not want to see injustice with smaller provinces (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2003).

After the murder of Nawab Akbar Bugti, the people of Bugti tribe revolted and took shelter in hideouts during the reign of General Pervez Musharraf. Different terrorist organization started terrorist activities and situation of law became grave in Balochistan. Shah Mehmood Qureshi asked government to pay attention in the affairs of Balochistan specially the law and order situation as PML (N) has a coalition government in the province (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Dr. Arif Alvi demanded that government should take action to settle down people of Bugti tribe in the Balochistan. So that it became easy to settle down the issues of Balochistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Law and order situation is one of the most serious problems of the Sindh Province especially in Karachi. Poverty is another issue of the Sindh especially in the area of Thar. Dr. Arif Alvi raised the question that for last ten to fifteen years the incidence of target killings happened in Karachi but not a single person captured and brought before the court of law and punished. He demanded that government should bring law and order in Karachi (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Shah Mehmood Qureshi recorded protest against attack on the office of ARY. He asked government to investigate this issue. On the other hand, he asked that government should investigate that why did MQM demanding to call military in Karachi under article 245 and 245 (1) to deal with the situation of law and order despite of the fact that it would have serious consequences in future. He demanded that the governor of the Sindh should resign because of law and order situation in the province (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Javid Hashmi told that in Thar every year hundred and thousands of children and animals have been dying. Despite of the fact that every government specially Sindh government claimed that they invest millions of rupees as aid along with other NGOs but no results came out of it. He asked government to dig out root causes of this crisis (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

Issue of FATA was a burning issue during the reign of PML (N) with reference to Internally Displaced People and demanded to introduce reforms in FATA. Sheryar Afridi raised the point that government should pay attention to the problems of FATA as it has been doing for rest of the provinces and areas. He told that people were de-weaponised, and the forces destroyed their houses. They were becoming Internally Displaced People. Government should chalk out policy to address the problems of the region affected by the

war of terrorism and resettle them (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). PTI demanded to introduce FATA reforms and to remove FCR (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2017).

5.2. DEBATE OF PTI's MEMBERS ON BUDGETS:

PTI expressed its point of view regarding all budgets presented by the government of PML (N) from 2013 to 2018. Different members of PTI raised different issues about budgets. PTI demanded that government should take steps to widen tax net. It also demanded to increase education, and health budget, to construct dams, to address environmental issue, to minimize debt service, police reforms, civil services reforms and circular debt and restructuring of public sector institutions like PIA, Pakistan Railways, and Pakistan Steel Mills. It asked to increase the allocation of smaller provinces in NFC award, equal distribution of developmental funds and plans. It opposed Metro projects. The debates made by different members of PTI during budget sessions given below.

Regarding budget 2013-14 Imran Khan criticized that government has increased GST Tax. He cited the speech of Ishaq Dar in which he said that tax would affect three thousand people only. He said that due to it tax would jump to fifty percent from twenty to thirty percent. These three thousand people were the professionals of Pakistan who could find jobs anywhere in the world. He gave the example of Shoukat Khanum Hospital that it is very hard to retain professional like oncologists because they could find job of salary having 30 million rupees. Due to this, such professional did not like to serve in Pakistan. On the other hand, dollars have jumped up to almost 100 rupees from 60 rupees. He suggested that the government should try to bring overseas Pakistanis back because institutions like Pakistan Railways, WAPDA and PIA could improve by appointing professionals not ministers. However, due to slap system introduced by government they would not come to Pakistan.

Regarding debt service, he said that the main issue of Pakistan is revenue collection. It is not more than 2000 billion. Pakistan has to pay 1200 billion as debt service while rest of the money spends on defense. Therefore, it left nothing to spend on people. He told that in Pakistan majority of the people spend on charity but did not pay tax. Only one million people pay tax. NADRA has the details of three million people who have been leading prosperous life. He asked government to bring such people into the tax net. Government should impose tax on real estate as well. In Britain if someone sells out anything other than home, he has to pay thirty-five percent taxes. Pakistan should introduce capital gains tax and must take step to stop tax evasion. Government must encourage tax culture. He criticized expenditures of governors' houses in different provinces of Pakistan and asked that country like Pakistan that pays 1200 billion as debt service cannot afford such lavish life style of ruling class (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

On 15 June 2013, when debate on budget 2013-14 was to start, Shah Mehmood Qureshi raised a point of order in which he objected that the proposal to rise GST from 16% to 17% was implemented by FBR in anticipation from 13 June 2013 before the passage of budget which was a total violation of Parliament. He asked that how could FBR do it without the permission of Parliament? He demanded that government should take action against this act (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Shah Mehmood Qureshi said that the situation of Pakistan economy has become so grave that it became a national security threat for Pakistan. He cited the example of USSR that disintegrated due to its collapse of economy. He said that the last five years of governance in Pakistan be remembered as an economic mismanagement in history. Due to bad governance, Planning Commission has become valueless. The autonomy of the State Bank had put on stake. Even the friends of Pakistan said that they were not in a position to help Pakistan until and unless Pakistan put its house in order. On the other

hand, it looked that government would contact IMF because it has no other way out. IMF knew that the growth rate of Pakistan in the last five years was 3%. Debt burden has increased 63.5% of the GDP, fiscal deficit increased to 8.8% and Pakistan has only 6.3 billion dollars as forex reserve. In such situation, government has to negotiate with IMF. We have already lost our credibility in the eyes of IMF because pulling out of standstill agreement with it and did not fulfill commitments. Therefore, there would be difference of priorities of both IMF and government. It would be the priority of IMF to increase revenue and manage fiscal deficit. IMF did not care of stagnant growth of Pakistan economy. The stagnant growth would have two implications for Pakistan in shape of poverty and unemployment. So Finance Minister would have to deal with IMF skillfully because the prescriptions of it would not be easy. He warned that government should negotiate with IMF by keeping its national interests in mind. He cited the example of European countries that adopted austerity measures to overcome economic crisis.

Shah Mehmood Qureshi reminded that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif expressed his vision in speech and presented his midterm developmental framework. He wished to increase growth rate from 3% to 7% and foreign reserve from six billion to twenty billion dollars and rate of investment to 20% of GDP. Nevertheless, budget document was contrary of those figures. Budget was neither people friendly and nor business friendly. It would increase inflation, poverty and unemployment in Pakistan. It has no incentives for labours and farmers of Pakistan. He criticized that government has become overambitious by putting the target to collect 2475 billion as revenue collection. Government would not be able to get its target of revenue collection because of inefficiency of FBR as it could not get desired targets in last decade.

Another point which government said that it would manage 112 billion from coalition support fund. He asked that would government be able to satisfy the demands and pre-

requisites of American government. In addition to it, Finance Minister claimed that 120 billion would be getting through auction of 3G license and 35 billion through administrative measures. He said that every Finance Minister made such claims but never materialized. He mentioned Etisalat¹² had to pay 800 million in process of privatization. He asked that Finance Minister said that government decided to increase developmental funds by 39% on one hand but on other hand FM told that national exchequer has no money due to wrong policies of previous government of PPP. So from where money would come? He asked that 115 billion were allocated in the name of special initiative in development fund but nothing has been mentioned that where would it be spending. It also announced that the circular debt of 500 billion wiped out in two months. He wished government best of luck and repeated that such claims also made by previous governments. He said that without stopping theft of electricity, recovery of bills and inefficiency of management the issue of circular debt could not be resolved.

On agricultural sector, Shah Mehmood Qureshi said that every government has been repeating that Pakistan is an agricultural state but incentives not incorporated for the development of agriculture and farmers. On the contrary, government decided to impose 16% GST on urea. He mentioned that government allocated 30 billion subsidies for fertilizer while the relevant department has to pay 100 billion outstanding that would create gap of 70 billion. Else, of it, the government has deducted 2 billion of subsidies for Balochistan. How would it benefit small farmers?

Shah Mehmood Qureshi criticized the decision of government to withdraw the incentives given to KP and FATA. He told that both areas suffered a lot due to war of terrorism. Industries have shut down. No one was ready to invest in those areas. In such situation, Federal Government withdrew incentives because PTI has formed government in KP to

¹²Emirates Telecommunication Group Company PJSC, branded trade name Etisalat, is a multinational, Emirati based telecommunications services provider, currently operating in 15 countries across Asia, the Middle East and Africa.

pressurize the government of PTI. Else, if it Pakistan has been facing imbalance of trade. If overseas Pakistanis did not send foreign exchange of 5 billion dollars Pakistan would have become bankrupt. This budget did not have any mechanism to finish imbalance. Although it was part of manifesto of PML (N) that it would impose regulatory duty on non-essential items of imports but it did not. The foreign reserve of Pakistan has decreased to its lowest ebb. The State Bank of Pakistan was compelled to mint notes for last five years that doubled the loan of Pakistan. What would be the strategy of government to counter bank borrowing and encourage private sector to invest in Pakistan?

On education, he criticized the decision of government according to which tax imposed on books, stationary, salaries of teachers and researchers. He explained that this decision would lead to brain drain like capital drain. He added that brain drain is much more dangerous than capital drain. It is an irony of fate that one group of people earned money abroad and send it to Pakistan while the other looted money in Pakistan and sent it to the Swiss Banks. The people of Pakistan have to decide that to which group they should support. He concluded that this budget did not address the challenges faced by Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Almost same points were uttered by the PTI's MNA Aysha Gulalai in the National Assembly (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari talked on budget and said that in the preamble of constitution it is written that "fundamental rights including equality of status of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice" but the finance bill 2013-14 showed that it depended on indirect taxation rather than direct taxation and widening of tax net. It contradicted the preamble of the constitution. It would increase dearness and inflation rather than to provide equal playing field to Pakistani citizens. It ignored salaried class and labour. It has no mention of minimum wages. It neglected small traders as well. Due

to it the prices of electricity would increase because of subsidy to be paid, theft of electricity by big corporations and incompetency of related authorities. He cited that the Chief Minister of Punjab acknowledged that the electricity of three billion rupees stolen and government has to pay subsidy. As a result, we pay this price in shape of subsidy because thieves did not pay electricity bill. She called it budget for elite class. She cited that Stock Exchange gained five hundred points while indirect taxes put on masses. Wealth tax imposed on moveable assets rather than immovable, which meant that one, did not have to pay any tax if construct homes, sells homes or do business of real estate. The price of food items including milk has increased. She cited the example that Mark Thatcher was given the title of milk snatcher. It has done by the government of PML (N). She said that government did not take step for progressive taxation with the help of which disparity among the people could minimize. As far as construction of highways and infrastructure was concerned except in few big cities, government did not introduce public transport. All this shows that government would contact IMF for help.

On the removal of exemptions for the area of KP and FATA, she declared it total violation of constitution. She quoted from constitution that the State should promote with special care the educational and economic interest of backward classes or areas. She asked that was it a time to remove such exemption when KP and FATA were suffering a lot from the consequences of terrorism (Natioanl Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

On 16th June, 2013 during budget discussion 2013-14 Dr Raja Amir Zaman proposed that in short term we could shift from furnace oil to coal if we import it for long term we could use our reservoir. Regarding Benazir Income Support Programme, he suggested that we should not call it as income support programme. He suggested establishing technical institute at union levels with the money of BISP where children would learn skills and contribute in the development of Pakistan rather than to give two thousand

rupees, which look against self-esteem of the people. He cited the statement of Finance Minister Ishaq Dar in which he said that government found anomalies in the incentives given to KP and FATA and decided to withdraw such incentives. He objected that KP and FATA suffered a lot due to terrorism and it was not a right time to withdraw incentives. He said that two former Chief Ministers of KP Akram Khan Durrani and Amir Hoti were sitting in the house. If they found any such anomalies, they should help the government to regularize such problem. He opposed the decision of government to impose tax on *Hajis* and cited the example that in India has given subsidy to pilgrimages despite of the fact that India is not a Muslim state (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). On budget 2013-14 Shafqat Mehmood was of the view that it was a budget for capitalist class because no corporate tax had implemented. Else. of it he also repeated the objections made by Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Aysha Gulalai and Shireen Mizari (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

During budget session 2013-14 Engineer Hamid-ul-Haq Khalil expressed his opinion that Imran Khan earned fame for Pakistan. He won cricket world cup for Pakistan. He made Shaukat Khanum Hospital for the treatment of cancer. He established NAML university in Mianwali which no one could do ever before (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). He emphasized the construction of Basha Dam and up-gradation of Mangla dam. He demanded to fill three thousand posts of engineers in WAPDA. He disclosed that he was serving in NHA as consultant but terminated by Minister of Communication and Asma Bibi. He showed that letter in National Assembly to prove that nepotism in Pakistan has reached to its peak. He demanded to wipe out deputation because people from weak departments based on nepotism given deputation in other departments. He told that Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif inaugurated Motorway in 1997 but even in 2013, money was being spent on the maintenance because in the name of maintenance embezzlement made

by the maintenance department. He cited the example of construction of Peshawar Northern bypass, which was 23 km long, could not complete in four years. He mentioned that three million refugees were in Peshawar and most of them got themselves settled down in Abbottabad and Nathiagali. In this way, they captured the business of Pakistanis. The Prime Minister of Pakistan and Chief Minister of Punjab were busy to shift money to Raiwant house and Chief Minister House. He predicted that in future they would shift this money to Buckingham Palace that meant London. He asked government to keep check on the functioning of the NGOs in KP and provides protection to those NGOs, which were contributing positively. Specially, which were working for the elimination of polio (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013)?

Dr Muhammad Azhar Khan Jadoon expressed the same points on the budget as rest of the members of PTI did. In addition, he requested the government to take steps for the restructuring of Pakistan Medical and Dental Council. For it, he blamed the member of National Assembly belonging to PML (N) Dr Azra. He also demanded to construct expressway to Abbottabad because of problem of traffic jam on regular basis (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

During the session of budget 2013-14 Lal Chand thanked leadership of PTI Imran Khan and Shah Mehmood Qureshi on selecting him on reserved seat of minority from backward area of Umerkot. He cited the point mentioned by Finance Minister that government would pay attention on minorities and backward areas. He demanded that religious minorities specially living in Umerkot and Tharparkar are the weakest section of the society. In those areas, neither drinkable water nor health facilities are available. He cited the speech of Quaid-i-Azam that you are free; you are free to go your temples. You are free to go your mosques or any other place of worship in the State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, caste or creed. That has nothing to do with the business of the

State. However, our community has been facing the issue of force conversion. He requested government to address this issue (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Asad Umer criticized the budget 2014-15 on same footing as 2013-14. Aysha Gulalai and Rai Hasan Nawaz called it high inflationary, anti poor budget and IMF dictated budget (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Murad Saeed mentioned some figures to criticize budget. He told that 1.2 million people are unemployed. 7.2 % people have two dollars per day. Pakistan is at number 97 in the Global Hunger Index while 137 in list of Human Development Index. He objected the appointment of Maryam Nawaz as head of Youth Loan Scheme and spending of 142 million on the advertisement. He objected that the business of Finance Minister Ishaque Dar is in Jeddah which his sons in England. He demanded that FBR has the data of 3.2 million wealth. It should bring them in tax net rather than indirect taxation (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.3. WAR AGAINST TERRORISM AND PTI'S STANCE:

PTI's stance was clear on war against terrorism. Since the decision of Pakistan to side with USA in war against terrorism after the incidence of 9/11, PTI opposed it. The leadership of PTI was of the view that Pakistan should have not become the part of it because it has been fighting for the interest of America. Pakistan should have not indulged in other's war. PTI was demanded political solution of this war through negotiation. During the reign of PML (N), members of PTI raised this issue in the National Assembly.

PTI's leadership, on war against terrorism, Imran Khan demanded that government should tell people the truth and address the roots causes of it because it started based on lie. He cited the statement of American Senator Carl Milton Levin¹³ who asked Michael

¹³Carl Milton Levin is an American attorney and retired politician who served as a United States Senator from Michigan from 1979 to 2015. He was the chair of the Senate Committee on Armed Services and is a member of the Democratic Party.

Glenn Mullen¹⁴ in open hearing of Senate that why did America do drone attacks in Pakistan which violates the sovereignty of Pakistan. Mullen replied that America is doing it with the permission of Pakistani government. On it Carl Levin replied that Pakistani government did not speak truth to its people. Imran Khan spoke that we took dollars and fight American war against USSR and named fighter as 'Jihadi'. Then Pakistan took 180-degree turn and declared them as terrorist because American became against them after the incidence of 9/11. Due to this, 70,000 people have died until 2004. Government should form policy to stop drone attacks and PTI would cooperate with it. Those who wanted to talk with government like Nek Muhammad Wazir¹⁵ and Wali-ur-Rehman¹⁶ they had killed in drone attacks. It was not only the violation of human rights and UN charter of rights but also extra judicial killing. People have been fighting against Pakistan because they consider it as American agent. Pakistan has lost 85 billion dollars in this war. So government should bring peace and move forward for truth and reconciliation (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). It is a bitter fact that governments in Pakistan have been protecting American rights at the cost of Pakistanis' lives. Pakistani government should concentrate on the welfare of the people rather than to protect the interests of the super powers.

Operation Zarb-e-Azb¹⁷ started in 2014 during the government of Nawaz Sharif. Imran Khan objected that government did not take PTI on board. He explained that PTI always asked for political settlement rather than military solution. He cited the examples of fall of Dacca, Balochistan crisis and Kargil issue. He reminded that in All Parties

¹⁴Michael Glenn Mullen is a retired United States Navy admiral, who served as the 17th Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from October 1, 2007, to September 30, 2011. Mullen previously served as the Navy's 28th Chief of Naval Operations from July 22, 2005, to September 29, 2007.

¹⁵Nek Muhammad Wazir was a Pakistani jinnah leader. He was killed in a US drone strike in South Waziristan, FATA, Pakistan in 2004. This was the first CIA drone strike inside Pakistan.

¹⁶Wali-ur-Rehman was a senior Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan commander based in South Waziristan. Wali-ur-Rehman was formerly a spokesman for Battullah Mehsud, the late leader of the TTP.

¹⁷Operation Zarb-e-Azb was a joint military offensive conducted by the Pakistan Armed Forces against various militant groups, including the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, the East Turkestan Islamic Movement, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, al-Qaeda, Jundallah and the Haqqani network.

Conferences it decided to take all parties on board regarding dialogue or military operation. He objected that it was not a democratic way because news of operation announced by ISPR rather than Chief Executive and that was Prime Minister. He assured that PTI would stand behind army but government should have taken PTI in confidence. He added that PTI has government in KP. Neither it took into confidence nor did it prepare for the consequences of operation because it did not have resources to counter the problems of IDPs. Even after operation government would have opt for political dialogue and settlement (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

After Army Public School attack on 16th of December 2014, a national consensus evolved to take action against terrorists' organizations throughout Pakistan. A twenty points NAP¹⁸ for countering terrorism and extremism chalked out by NACTA/ Ministry of Interior in consultation with the stakeholders approved on 24 December 2014 by the Parliament and entrusted with the role of monitoring body of NAP. Murad Saeed of PTI raised question that why not government took steps to introduce reforms in implement NAP in its true letter and spirit. On 19 February 2018, Shafqat Mehmood reiterated that government should take steps to implement NAP in its true letter and spirit.

¹⁸The twenty-point agenda of NAP was: 1. Implementation of death sentence of those convicted in cases of terrorism. 2. Special trial courts under the supervision of Army. The duration of these courts would be two years. 3. Militant outfits and armed gangs will not be allowed to operate in the country. 4. NACTA, the anti-terrorism institution will be strengthened. 5. Strict action against the literature, newspapers and magazines promoting hatred, extremism, sectarianism and intolerance. 6. Choking financing for terrorist and terrorist organizations. 7. Ensuring against re-emergence of proscribed organizations. 8. Establishing and deploying a dedicated counter-terrorism force. 9. Taking effective steps against religious persecution. 10. Registration and regulation of religious seminaries. 11. Ban on glorification of terrorists and terrorist organizations through print and electronic media. 12. Administrative and development reforms in FATA with immediate focus on repatriation of IDPs. 13. Communication network of terrorists will be dismantled completely. 14. Measures against abuse of internet and social media for terrorism. 15. Zero tolerance for militancy in Punjab. 16. Ongoing operation in Karachi will be taken to its logical end. 17. Baluchistan government to be fully empowered for political reconciliation with complete ownership by all stakeholders. 18. Dealing firmly with sectarian terrorists. 19. Formulation of a comprehensive policy to deal with the issue of Afghan refugees, beginning with registration of all refugees. 20. Revamping and reforming the criminal justice system.

After the incidence of APS, government decided to improve the Pak-Afghanistan Security Management. Pakistan Army decided to bar the Afghanistan and Pakistan border. When Pakistan Army started to take steps for this purpose, the parliamentary secretary of Interior Ministry opposed it. Shireen Mizari, Murad Saeed and Aysha Gulalai criticized the stance of interior ministry and demanded that government should let Pakistan Army to take steps for Pak-Afghanistan Security Management, so that terrorist could not cross borders at the time of any kind of operations (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

5.4. PTI ON THE ISSUE OF ELIMINATION OF CORRUPTION:

PTI's politics revolves around the issue of corruption. PTI raised this issue in Pakistan politics and proved that Pakistan could not make progress due to the element of corruption. Almost all its members raised voice on the issue of corruption. On the issue of elimination of corruption, Imran Khan cited the example of Lee Kuan Yew's policies¹⁹. He said that for the purpose of elimination of corruption NAB should be declared as an independent institution and government of PTI would do the same in KP. For this purpose, the government must implement laws relating to conflict of interest. He cited the example that when Hazarat Abu Bakr Siddiq became *Khalifa* he wined up his shop. It is a rule in west that to stop corruption one has to separate business from ruling. He asked that if the Prime Minister of UK starts business then who would compete against him. PTI government would implement law of conflict in KP. In India if government finds undeclared assets it can confiscates such assets. He said that overseas Pakistanis are one of the big assets. By bringing good governance, we could get benefits from them. For good governance, we have to depoliticize institutions and implement

¹⁹Lee Kuan Yew was the first Prime Minister of Singapore, governing for three decades

local bodies' government system in Pakistan. The main reason due to which people particularly youth started to pay heed to PTI was its slogan against terrorism.

5.5. ISSUE OF OVERSEAS PAKISTANIS:

Overseas Pakistanis have become last hope as far as a foreign reserve is concerned because of remittances. Due to wrong policies of different governments, the process of industrialization became minimal especially after the war 1965. Pakistani export started to decrease and foreign investment became minimal because Pakistan remained busy in Afghan war and then in war against terrorism. Its foreign reserves reached to its lowest ebb. In such situation, overseas Pakistanis can play role by sending remittances. Else. of it majority of the overseas Pakistanis are educated and have specialisation in different fields. If the government facilitates them, they can play vital role in the revival of different sectors of Pakistan.

PTI raised the issue of overseas Pakistanis' rights in the National Assembly on different occasions. Arif Alvi of PTI reminded that former President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari has issued an ordinance on 9 May to bestow Overseas Pakistanis with right of vote. Imran Khan and me has filed rite petition in Supreme Court as well. If this issue was not be tabled as bill until 9 September, it would lapse. He demanded to take prompt action in this regard (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). He was of the view that government should take steps to ensure right of vote for overseas Pakistanis. As the government of Philippine has passed overseas Philippines voting act. He suggested Pakistani government should also be passed an act to give right of votes to overseas Pakistanis. To ensure the participation of overseas Pakistanis in political process government should facilitate them to participate in electoral activities (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Sheryar Afridi demanded that government should take steps to bring back the Pakistanis lying in the jails of different countries abroad (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

5.6. ISSUE OF RIGGING IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS- 2013:

The most debated issue since 2013 in National Assembly was the issue of rigging. Almost twenty political parties blamed that elections were rigged. For the investigation of rigging in elections, PTI remained on the forefront in the National Assembly of Pakistan. Engineer Hamid-ul-Haq Khalil criticised the role of election commission of Pakistan. He said that eighty-five years of old election commissioner Fakhar-ud-din G. Ibrahim managed victory for Nawaz Sharif through Returning Officer (R.O). He demanded that government should start work on introducing electoral reforms. So that after four years people like Tahir-ul-Qaderi should not feel need of protest and sit-in against the performance of Election Commission of Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). To stop rigging in election Imran Khan suggested for biometric system. He criticized electoral process 2013 and demanded to bring electoral reforms to conduct free and fair elections. He said that all parties in Pakistan have reservations on election 2013. This election has rigged. He demanded that judiciary should investigate this issue (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

PTI filed petitions in Election Commission of Pakistan and Supreme Court. It demanded for thumb impression. PTI demanded to make an independent committee to investigate in four constituencies to dig out the fact about rigging in election 2013. Therefore, in future such problems could stop in upcoming by-elections and local bodies' election. Election commission should also be depoliticized. PTI's leadership requested Chief Justice of Pakistan to take Suo Moto action on rigging in election (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

On 15 August 2013, Shah Mehmood Qureshi told in National Assembly that when Imran Khan took oath and delivered his first speech he took up matter of rigging and demanded to set up a committee to investigate. Speaker of Assembly (Iyaz Sadiq) replied that such

committee could make under Rule 244(b) if government and opposition became agreed. Same issue took up with Interior Minister Chaudhary Nisar and he said that he did not have any objection. Therefore, in the light of this understanding PTI wrote a letter in which terms of references (TORs) given to make investigation. It demanded that government should bring electoral reforms in the country. All the important stakeholders including government and PPP accepted the points given in letter (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

In reply to the charges of rigging Chaudhary Nisar Ali Khan, the Interior Minister of Pakistan, said that PML (N) ready to open twenty constituencies rather than four to check element of rigging in the election. Later on, the media person of PML (N) Asim Khan and Information Minister Pervaiz Rashid said that PML (N) ready to open even forty constituencies on the floor of the house (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

The supporter of PTI started protest on 24 August 2013 against rigging. PTI has already filed petition in the office of election commission for recounting which had not accepted until 24 August. During this protest, government imposed article 144 and used force against women and other participants. Shafqat Mehmood and Shah Mehmood Qureshi registered protest of PTI in National Assembly (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

For one-year, government did not take any step regarding the investigation of rigging in the general election. On 8 February 2014, Imran Khan spoke on point of order and reminded that PTI has been waiting for last one year to make investigation of riggings. None of the government, the tribunals, the election commission and the Supreme Court of Pakistan entertained our request. He requested again to take notice of rigging and make investigation of four constituencies (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Shah Mehmood Qureshi demanded that government should constitute an independent commission for thumb verification (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

Government did not pay any heed to the demands of PTI. PTI decided to protest against the government, and started its protest by the name of Azadi March on 14 August 2014 and staged sit-in. Dr Arif Alvi briefed in National Assembly about the plan of Azadi March of PTI. He objected that government could not impose article 245 to call Pakistan Army to assist civil administration just to curtail the Azadi March. He explained that since last year government-making promises to address our request but it did not even address a single issue that compelled PTI to come on streets. He demanded that government should withdraw article 245(National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

To put pressure on the government PTI members put resignations in National Assembly on 18 August 2014. The resignation of Javed Hashmi was, accepted because he voluntarily requested and verified, while the resignations of rest of the members were not, accepted because they did not verify (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015). The sit-in of PTI continued for 126 days. On 16 December 2014, the tragic incidence of APS Peshawar happened. In this backdrop, government formed National Action Plan and decided to do legislation to counter terrorism. To prove the unanimity of all parties on the issue of elimination of terrorism PTI rejoined Assembly session on 6 April 2015 to participate in legislation. Shah Mehmood Qureshi reiterated the demand of investigation of rigging in the general election 2013. He demanded that an independent judicial commission should be setup for this purpose. He told that out sit-in was at peak when painful incidence of APS Peshawar²⁰ happened. Despite of our reservations PTI took part in deliberation to make National Action Plan²¹. For national consensus, building PTI decided to attend National Assembly session (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

²⁰On 16 December 2014, six gunmen affiliated with the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan conducted a terrorist attack on the Army Public School in the northwestern Pakistani city of Peshawar in more than hundred students were killed

²¹ After APS Peshawar incidence the National Action Plan was made by the government of Pakistan in January 2015 to crack down on terrorism and to supplement the ongoing anti-terrorist offensive in FATA.

On the demand of PTI Judicial Commission was, formed on 7 April 2014. It was consisted of the Chief Justice Nasirul Mulk, Justice Ameer Hani Muslim and Justice Ejaz Afzal Khan. The commission concluded that based on the evidence presented before the commission it cannot say that on an overall basis the elections were not a true and fair reflection of the mandate given by the electorate, despite some lapses by the Election Commission of Pakistan. However, PTI's request to probe alleged rigging in the May 2013 elections was not, "entirely unjustified". The commission added that the PTI was not, entirely unjustified in requesting the establishment of body to inquire into its suspicions and allegations regarding the 2013 general elections. Shah Mehmood Qureshi declared it as historical document. He was of the view that this document pointed out the flaws of Election Commission of Pakistan. He demanded that government should introduce electoral reforms and establish an autonomous Election Commission. So that in future no one could raise objection on the electoral process (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015). It is questionable that if the request of PTI was not "entirely unjustified" and commission found anomalies on the part of Election Commission of Pakistan then why it not took action against those who were responsible for such anomalies?

In one of the sessions of National Assembly, Shah Mehmood Qureshi explained that since the formation of government PTI raised the question of rigging on all forums like National Assembly, Election Tribunals and Supreme Court but got no response. Then it started sit-in, which led to formation of Judicial Commission on 15 August 2013 and put the findings in front of parliamentarians. He reminded that PTI cheated by different political parties when it was a part of All Pakistan Democratic Movement including PML (N) and PPP (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015). Jahangir Khan Tareen, who won by election held on 23 December 2015, took oath as an MNA on 1 February 2016. He was

also of the opinion that 2013 general election was rigged and his victory in the election was its evidence (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

5.7. REPATRIATION OF AFGHAN REFUGEES:

Because of Afghan war, almost three million afghan refugees came to Pakistan. With the passage of time, they got themselves settled down here and got married. They established their business here in Pakistan and in some areas established their dominance. They found involved in illegal activities especially in KP and Balochistan. No government made a serious effort to send them back to Afghanistan. The issue of the repatriation of Afghan refugees remained hard task for all governments after 1988. This issue raised by PTI in the National Assembly. Shah Mehmood Qureshi inquired from Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan that what kind of arrangements government made for the repatriation of Afghan refugees. He asked government to discuss this matter with international community and arrange required resources for this purpose (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013)

Sajida Begum raised the issue that most of the Afghan refugees have settled down illegally by getting national identity card of Pakistan. They have occupied the business of KP. She demanded that government should take action to send them back to Afghanistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015). She demanded that government should conduct census and dig out that how much Afghnis have been living in Pakistan. She also demanded that government should take action against those people who provided Pakistani National Identity Cards and passports to Afghanis on which they went to Saudi Arabia and do jobs. When they commit crimes Saudi government repatriate them and Pakistan became defame due to such ugly game (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

5.8. PTI ON THE ISSUE OF LAW AND ORDER SITUATION IN PAKISTAN:

PTI raised the issue of law and order situation in different parts of Pakistan and demanded to bring peace and security. It highlighted some of the issues, which mentioned below.

Chottu gang was involved in crime in the areas of Rajanpur. This group became so strong that government has to take help of Army. It is very strange that how this group has allowed to become so strong in the presence of police and intelligence agencies. On 15 August 2013, Shah Mehmood Qureshi said that PML (N) government in Punjab. In the area of Rajanpur a gang known as *Chotu gang*²² has been operating under the protection of the *Sardar* of that area. He demanded that action should take again them (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

On 15 August 2013, Dr Arif Alvi raised the issue of attacks on Ismaili community²³ and their worship places. He condemned and demanded that government should take steps to provide them security (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Ms. Aaisha Gulalai of PTI condemned the unfortunate incident, which took place in Karachi and the bomb blast, which took place in Mosque in Peshawar and that warranted serious government attention, and that called for the need that the government devised a strategy, which should be realistic, pragmatic and reflect the people sentiments. She requested the Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan to kindly pay a visit to the FATA because if Imran Khan could go all the way to Waziristan and listen to the people problems and afflictions. It would help him considerably to understand and to devise a

²²Chotu gang was a Pakistani gang that engaged in kidnapping, murder and other criminal activities led by Ghulam Rasool who goes by the alias, "Chotu." The gang was based in the Kacha area of Rajanpur. This gang was involved in many crimes in areas surrounding areas of Rajanpur.

²³The Shia Ismaili Muslims are a community of ethnically and culturally diverse peoples living in over 25 countries around the world, united in their allegiance to His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan (known to the Ismailis as Mawana Hazar Imam) as the 49th hereditary Imam (spiritual leader), and direct descendant of Muhammad PBUH.

policy, which should be according to the sentiments of the people of FATA and it would be a policy, which would be more realistic and more effective. Secondly, she appreciated that the government was in the process of making a national security policy, and she requested to know that whether we would be, taken into confidence and what the developments are until date. Therefore, this we all need to know that what happening and what were they going to do regarding that. Therefore, we need to be informed. Thirdly, the Taliban have opened their political office in Doha and we have come to know through media that Pakistan was not only on board, but Pakistan was actually facilitating and augmenting that process. Therefore, we need to know that what was Pakistan's role and where the process was heading. She requested that we need to know and we need to be taken on board in that process as well (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

On 21 June 2013, Salim Rehman of PTI condemned bomb blast in Peshawar in which one of the MPA of PTI died. He demanded that Interior Minister should visit Peshawar and help the injured and martyred in this blast (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

On 15 June 2013, the historical Quaid-e-Azam Residency attacked and completely burnt down by militants, belonging to the Balochistan Liberation Army. Shah Mehmood Qurshi condemned the attack on Jinnah Residence and Ziarat and overall law and order situation in Balochistan. He asked the speaker to pass a joined resolution to condemn this incidence (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

PTI used Model Town incident to damage the popularity of the government of PML (N). The Punjab police started Model down operation²⁴ in which several people died. When this operation in progress, Makhdoom Javed Hashmi raised this issue on point of order and demanded that rather than speeches on budget in Parliament government should take

²⁴The Model Town operation, more commonly known as the Model Town tragedy or the Lahore massacre, or simply Lahore incident, was a violent clash that ensued between the Punjab Police and Pakistan Awami Tehreek activists on 17 June 2014 resulting in several protesters being killed by the police gunfire

action to stop this operation immediately (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Dr Arif Alvi demanded for the investigation of incidence (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.9. OATH ON QURAN AND HOLY BOOKS:

MNA of PTI Ali Muhammad Khan said that we must strive to built Pakistan on the basis of Islamic teaching as promised by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He quoted Jinnah's words said on 12.02.1948. It is my firm belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of the conduct set for us by our Great Law giver the Prophet (Peace be upon him) of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy based on true Islamic ideas and principles. He asked that did we do it in last sixty-five years. He explained that anybody could differ. I am not a fundamentalist. I am not an extremist. I am a lawyer. I am a civil engineer. I have degree of law from Peshawar University and University of London but I am telling you this. We have to teach Quran to our children. When I first came to National Assembly, I found the fact that American President takes oath on Bible: even Barrack Obama took oath on Bible. We should take oath on Quran. He demanded that Muslim MNAs should take oath on Quran, Hindus on holy Gaeta and Christian members on Bible. Else, of it he demanded that there should be accountability of everyone. Government should strive to bring back peace in Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

5.10. DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN BY PTI's MEMBERS:

PTI gave tough time to the government of PML (N) in the National Assembly on the issue of foreign policy. The government did not appoint any Foreign Minister due to which it has to face criticism. Different members of PTI raised different issues regarding foreign policy. Dr. Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari was of the view that professionalism has ended in foreign office of Pakistan because of despondency and nepotism. Diplomacy was a matter of pride for Pakistan in the 60s and the 70s. We were leaders by our

diplomatic skills. We were ones of the most active countries in international fora. Conditions have become so bad that Pakistan has been closing its embassies and missions in different countries. She criticized that government yet not appointed any Foreign Minister (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Some of the important issues, which remained center of the debate in foreign policy, mentioned below.

Shafqat Mehmood criticized the government that the government has no Foreign Minister, which contributed to the kind of lack of clarity, lack of transparency, opaqueness and, at times great confusion in Pakistan's foreign policy. We have only now started to fill some of the major positions of our Ambassadors in the world and we have only now started to take some initiatives in foreign policy but without any clarity. He explained the fundamentals that govern a nation's foreign policy. Like geography, economy and security. These factors determine foreign policy and should determine our foreign policy. In addition, within these factors, what this Government has been doing for the last eight nine months, we have no clarity of what is it that they are going about, what is their foreign policy, what changes have they brought in.

He told that no country could preserve either its security or further its economy unless and until it has friendly and good relations with neighbors. Pakistan has not good relations with India, though in its manifesto and various pronouncements, the PML (N) leadership had constantly stated about their desire to improve relations with India. Eight and nine months more have passed, certain progress or movement was made towards composite dialogue. but today we do not know what is the state of that composite dialogue. Actually if you make an analysis or look at where we stand today, I would say that we stand in a relatively hostile position with India.

Relations of Pakistan with Iran and Afghanistan are also not cordial. In the Middle East, there is a great divide and this divide is coming about because of partly ethnicity, partly

religious beliefs but partly because of geo-politics. On the one side, there is Iran and on the other side, there is Saudi Arabia. Moreover, this divide is permeating many other countries in the Middle East. Iraq and Syria, it is permeating all of them. Shafqat Mehmood was of the view that the leaders of Pakistan have chosen a side, not based on certain analysis, but based on some personal relationships as government did in case of Syria, which deteriorated relationships with Iran. He was of the view that there is absolutely no clarity in our thinking that where do we stand as far as Afghanistan is concerned. For a long time, we took sides in Afghanistan despite of this Pakistan could not cultivate good relations with Afghanistan. Therefore, Pakistan has not good relation with its three neighbors India, Iran and Afghanistan.

As far as relationship with United States are concerned. We keep hearing about comprehensive dialogue, we keep hearing about strategic dialogue, even today there is a strategic dialogue-taking place in Washington between our defense establishment and the American establishment. However, we do not know what is going on. What is the result of these various negotiations that are taking place? There were some kind of a special groups made, they were supposed to meet each other, there were some meetings in January, we don't know what happened as a result of that meeting in January. In fact, I am told that the Americans were busy in March, so they decided to up the meeting two months earlier and have a meeting in January. So, we don't know what the situation is. Where does our relationship with United States fit in to this larger scenario of our strategic look at our future? Where is it fitting in? Are we now on the same page as Afghanistan is concerned? Are we on the same page as far as withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan is concerned? Are we planning something as far as our economy is concerned? Is something happening as far as our economy is concerned with the United

States? Are we going to get access to the US market? Again Sir, we have no idea what is the state of our relationship with the United States.

Another aspect of our foreign policy is the image that country has in the world. If nations indulge in something called public diplomacy, that public diplomacy is, undertaken to improve the image of the country in the world. What is the image of Pakistan in the world today? Where do we stand? I do not think that we have to be very clever to figure out that our situation is very bad. Whenever surveys are, taken Pakistan unfortunately, and it makes me very unhappy to say that, ranks very low in public perception globally. What has the foreign office or this Government done so far to improve Pakistan's image in the world? Have they done anything? He asked that has some improvements come about in Pakistan's image or has it deteriorated further?

There has been some movement in relationship with China. China is our oldest friend and has been our strategic partner and that is good. However, we need an overall vision, we need a vision of where are we going. We need a vision, which incorporates our geography, incorporates our economy, and incorporates our security.

He asked that do you think that we are suffering more today than suffering a year ago. We are suffering obviously, because our neighbors are still testy. Our situation is not that great around our borders. He concluded that we are in a very difficult situation because our foreign policy is not helping. We need to understand where we are going; we need to understand whom our partners are. We need to understand who, our friends are and we need to understand who our enemies are.

Sajid Ahmed of PTI demanded that Pakistan should come out of policy of proxy war to get rid of all problems. Shireen Mizari objected that India did not reduce its Non Tarrif Barrier for Pakistan and despite of this government declaring India as Most Favorite

Nation (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). The Rai Hassan Nawaz repeated this demand to appoint Foreign Minister on 10 August 2015 in National Assembly.

On the issue of drone attacks Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari asked that according to which law the government of Pakistan letting America for drone attacks. She asked government to invoke articles of international law to stop drone attacks. She concluded that the steps which government decided to take in budget were sheer violation of Pakistan's constitution (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). On 18 June 2013, Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari invited the attention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to a matter of urgent public importance regarding non-formulation of a clear policy on drone attacks especially in the event of the visit of US Secretary of State to Pakistan, causing concern amongst the public. In reply to this Advisor to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Mr. Sartaj Aziz recalled the statement made by the Prime Minister on 5th of June in National Assembly, in which he had reaffirmed his government's stance that drone attacks must come to an end. It would also be recalled that Prime Minister's instructions to the Foreign Office had lodged a strong protest with the US Government against the drone strike on 7 June. The government emphasized that drone strikes violate Pakistan's sovereignty, territorial integrity and are in contravention of International Law and UN Charter (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Dr Raja Amir Zaman of PTU questioned that Prime Minister said that he would chalk out clear policy on drone attacks but no policy has been, given (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

In August 2013, government told that it had no deal or understanding with American government on the issue of drones' attack Sheerin Mizari asked that government never make oral understandings. Governments make legal MOU or treaty. She asked if present government or previous governments did not have any such kinds of understandings then

why did it not stop drone attacks despite of the facts that Pakistan has military capability to do so (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

On 30 August 2013, Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari asked government that how long American forces would stay in the region. She welcomed the statement issue by government in which it condemned American intervention in Pakistan. On the statement, issue by New York Police Department in which it blamed that all mosques are terror organizations she demanded that though government of Pakistan contradicted this statement but the American government made no such contradiction. She demanded that government of Pakistan should take such steps, which might lead American government to contradict this statement (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

On the issue of relation with India Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari said that Pakistan wanted to have cordial relations with India. Although the Prime Minister of Pakistan invited Indian Prime Minister on his oath taking ceremony but what was the response of India to this good gesture. Two Indian aeroplanes violated the airspace of Pakistan. She demanded that there should be response on the side of Pakistan as well. She demanded that government should raise voice for the freedom of Kashmir according to the UN Charter which gives right of self-determination. She demanded that government should protect the lives of Pakistanis and sovereignty of Pakistan above all other (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). On the issue of water with India, she asked government to take action particularly against the construction of dam on Chanab River. She suggested using diplomatic channels to solve this problem (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Aysha Gulalai asked government to take action against India on the violation of Indus Basin Treaty (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

Shireen Mizari criticized government on Rohingya issue. She told that Imran Khan wrote a letter to General Secretary of UNO to take action on this issue but government neither

brought any resolution in the house to condemn it nor made any substantive effort to move U.N Security Council (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015). She said that Pakistan has diplomatic relations with Myanmar. Government should directly contact Myanmar government and address the Muslim issue. Government should also raise this issue in session of UN General Assembly. Ali Muhammad Khan demanded to raise this issue in OIC (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

Shireen Mizari demanded to present the entire treatise made by Pakistan with other countries in Parliament for ratification. All international treaties must be, rectified by the Parliament. In this regard, PTI introduced bill but government did not take up this issue (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

On the decision of America to attack Syria on the pretext that it has chemical weapons, the member of PTI Ms Sajida Begum protested that it hurt Muslim world because before it was blamed that Iraq had weapon of Mass Destruction and devastated it and now it issued similar mindset about Syria (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Shah Mehmood Qureshi protested in National Assembly that he came to know through different Newspapers that Pakistan armed forces have been taking parts in attacks on Syria to support Saudi Arabia but parliament was not, taken into confidence on this issue. He asked government that did it make any shift regarding the relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia. If so then it must inform parliament (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari added that Pakistan and Saudi Arabia issued joint statement and demanded for transitional government. Previously we were, told that Pakistan would remain neutral in this issue and now took a policy shift. PTI opposed this shift in policy (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

Shireen Mizari demanded that the government of Pakistan should play its role in Iran-Saudi Arabia conflict. Parliament should be, taken into confidence regarding this issue.

Otherwise, it would be a big sectarian issue in future (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

Violent clashes erupted on removal of President Mohamed Morsi of Egypt by the Egyptian General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. On 15 August 2013, Shah Mehmood Qureshi demanded that Parliament should discuss the issue of Egypt and pass a resolution to show solidarity of Pakistan with Egypt on behalf of Pakistani people. As a result Sahibzada Tariq Ullah moved the Resolution about the critical situation in Misar (Egypt) and unanimously expressed his great dismay and concern over the use of force by Egyptian security forces against protesters resulting in large number of deaths throughout the country (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

On the issue of Yemen government decided to side with Saudi Arabia but it pretended that government would remain neutral. Shah Mehmood Qureshi criticized this strategy and asked government to make its policy clear. He demanded that did government support or become part of Saudi coalition or not. In any case, government must clarify its stance. He demanded that government should take decision in the best interest of Pakistan. Pakistan should play the role of honest broker to bring peaceful resolution between Saudi Arabia and Yemen (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari raised the issue of Pakistan Israel air exercise in Nevada. Israel, Pakistan and U.S have hold Red Flag Aerial Military exercise in August 2015. She objected that as Pakistan does not recognize Israel then why it participated in joined exercise along with Israel (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016). Actually, Pakistan is a member of UNO and as a member: Pakistani forces can do such exercises with any country including India and Israel. PTI tried to use this issue for political scoring and almost all political parties use such issues particularly in which Israel and India are involved for political scoring.

It is a matter of surprised that our rulers have personal relations with leaders of different countries but do not utilize such relation to benefit people of Pakistan. But it would have been better that PTI should ask Nawaz Sharif to use his personal relations to solve the issue in between Pakistan and India by bring all political parties on one platform rather than to criticize this visit. Narendra Damodardas Modi came to Lahore on surprised visit to attend the marriage of granddaughter of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on 25 December 2015. PTI opposed it. Murad Saeed and Sajid Nawaz commented that Indian government blamed Pakistan for Pathankot attack²⁵, attacking Pakistan from Afghanistan, funding terrorists in Karachi and Balochistan. Narendra Modi did not ready to talk on these issues and issue of Kashmir but came to attend marriage of Nawaz Sharif's granddaughter based on personal relations. PTI condemned it (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

This is one of the most complicated coalitions of Islamic countries. Apparently, it looks that it is, made to counter terrorism, but some of the countries, as Iran is of the view that it is made to counter Iran and the Muslim Countries having Shia population. It is, led by Saudi Arabia but at the same time. Saudi is paying billions of dollars to American forces for its security. On the foundation of this coalition, PTI's members raised different questions and debated in the National Assembly. Shireen Mizari raised the issue of the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition²⁶ and asked that what strategy Pakistan devised regarding coalition (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016). On this issue, there was confusion as government was saying it cooperative framework coalition while some members were saying it military alliance. Shireen Mizari asked government to remove the confusion between cooperative coalition and military alliance (National Assembly of

²⁵The 2016 Pathankot attack was a terrorist attack committed on 2 January 2016 by a heavily armed group, which attacked the Pathankot Air Force Station, part of the Western Air Command of the Indian Air Force.

²⁶The Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition is an intergovernmental counter-terrorist alliance of countries in the Muslim world, united around military intervention against ISIL and other counter-terrorist activities. It was founded by Muhammad Bin Salman Al Saud of Saudi Arabia on 15 December 2015.

Pakistan, 2016). The Pakistan Armed forces participated in military exercise Northern Thunder in Saudi Arabia along with thirty-four Muslim countries. When question was asked by Shireen Mizari in National Assembly on the nature of coalition and exercise the Foreign Policy Advisor refused to reply. She protested that government should take opposition into confidence and did not behave like a dictator. She predicted that thirty-four nations military alliance headed by Saudi Arabia was not against terrorism or militancy. It looked regular conventional military alliance against the threat from a conventional state. She objected that under what rule Pakistani forces took part in exercise Northern Thunder in Saudi Arabia (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016). She demanded that government should make it clear that on what kind of understanding Pakistan joint Islamic Military Alliance to fight terrorism. Aysha Gulalai, Asad Umer, Sarwar Khan and Dr Arif Alvi demanded that the terms of references of alliance should be discussed in details in the Parliament and then government take decision to join or not. Dr Arif Alvi added that in past Pakistan joined military alliance SEATO and CENTO but Pakistanis did not know the terms of references and attached lots of expectations which let down in the war of 1971 due to vagueness (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2017). PTI opposed the government's decision to issue NOC to allow former Chief of Army Staff retired General Raheel Sharif to assume the command of Saudi military alliance of Muslim state. PTI was of the view that Pakistan should remain neutral in the Middle East crisis as this alliance apparently formed against Iran and, therefore, the appointment of Pakistan's former army chief as its commander would send a negative message that the country was also against Iran.

Since the formation of government of Nawaz Sharif in 2013, All Parties Conferences held for four times in which it agreed that the problem of terrorism would be solve through dialogue and peaceful process. However, after the visit of Prime Minister new

situation came into being due to the statements of Law Minister of Punjab Rana Sanaullah and Foreign Advisor Surtaj Aziz. The former said that government decided to start operation against 170 Pushtun communities. Sheyar Afridi and Imran Khan criticized these statements and warned that if talk would fail and operation start the Pukhtun consider it as a declaration of war by Pakistan Army against them. Imran Khan criticized Nawaz Sharif that he did talk about stoppage of drone attack during his visit to America. He said that government of PTI blocked NATO supply in KP solely despite of the fact that no other party supported. He cited the examples of Wazirsitan and Lal Masjid Operations, which led to increase in terrorist activities in Pakistan and warned that if such operation would start it would further infuriate situation in Pakistan. He asked government to solve this issue through dialogue (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.11. KULBHUSHAN SUDHIR JADHAV'S ISSUE:

PTI criticized the government of PML (N) a lot on the issue of Kulbushan Sudhir Jadhav²⁷. Munaza Hasan of PTI objected that Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif delivered a speech in UN but did not mention about involvement of India in terrorist activities across Pakistan and Indian spy Kulbushan Jadhav in Balochistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016). Murad Saeed criticized that Foreign Minister of Pakistan Khawaja Muhammad Asif during his visit to American in 2017 did not raise the issue of Kulbushan Jadhav. He also objected that why did government allow Sajjan Jindal²⁸ travelling to Murree without visa.

²⁷Kulbushan Sudhir Jadhav is an Indian who was arrested in the Pakistani province of Balochistan on charges of terrorism and spying for India's intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing.

²⁸Sajjan Jindal is an Indian entrepreneur. He is the chair and managing director of JSW Group of companies diversified in steel, mining, energy, sports, infrastructure and software business. JSW Steel is India's largest private steel producer.

5.12. DEMAND OF PTI TO REVAMP PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS:

In Pakistan institutions like Pakistan Post Office, Pakistan Railways, Pakistan International Air Lines and Pakistan Steel Mills have been suffering a lot and running in deficit. All governments in Pakistan made claim to revamp them. It is a fact that all these institutions have great potential and demonstrated wonderful performance in the past but due to negligence of the government became inefficient. It is a bitter fact that one goes to the office of PIA and PR without ticket most of times. However, despite of it these institutions are in deficit.

Pakistan International Airlines was, known as one of the best airlines in the world. However, with the passage of time due to wrong policies of different government its performance declined and became inefficient and deadbeat. Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari raised the issue of PIA. She asked the government to provide the information of proportional actual operational staff as compare to the redundant staff including contractual staff in PIA (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Amjad Ali Khan criticized government on the mismanagement in PIA. He told that poor food and services provided to passengers. PIA has been losing international routes (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). When government decided to sell 26% share of PIA Shah Mehmood Qureshi opposed and criticized this move. Ali Muhammad Khan demanded that PIA should be, revamped rather than privatized (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015). Sajida Begum asked government to improve the conditions of hotels under the ownership of PIA in the world to earn money and contribute for PIA.

Dr Arif Alvi demanded that government should pay attention to develop Pakistan Railways. He demanded that government should give period for the completion of Karachi Circular Railways. He also demanded to revamp Pakistan Post Office. Engineer Hamid-ul-Haq Khalil of PTI said that government commercialized some railway stations

uselessly due to which Mardan railway station has ended. He suggested that personnel of Railway department have been living in large bungalows of six canals. If those properties utilized government could generate money through it as well. Shehryar Afridi also raised similar points on Pakistan Railways (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Siraj Muhammad Khan asked government to investigate that why locomotive factory in Nowshera was shutdown and still not activated (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Ms Munaza Hassan suggested that government should take action to recover immovable assets especially which has been used for commercial purpose since long (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Rai Hassan Nawaz Khan demanded that railway track from Lahore to Karachi should be converted to double track because it remained the busiest track. Although it is, said repeatedly but none of the government did it (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

In National Assembly on the performance of Pakistan Post Office Shafqat Mehmood demanded that government should take action to revamp PPO. He told that India has finished system of Telegram. Pakistan should also utilize new techniques of communication. As PPO has been catering services for poor segment of the society in majority, so government should restructure it and improve its performance (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Sajida Begum was of the view that there are big offices of Pakistan Post Office. She demanded that government should take steps to improve the services of Post Office as compare to private courier services (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

Like Pakistan Post office, PIA and Pakistan Railways the issue of restructuring of Pakistan Steel mill has become permanent demand of all political parties but none of the political party in government took any practical step to revamp Pakistan Steel Mills. This issue was, also raised by PTI during the government of PML (N). Sajida Begum of PTI

demanded that government should take steps to run Pakistan Steel Mill and revamp it (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

Fraud in Employees' Old-Age Benefits Institution was, surfaced during the reign of PML (N). Azhar Jadoon demanded that government should investigate EOBI fraud. He added that the pensioners of EOBI are very poor and 3600 rupees as a pension given. After each two years pension is, increased rather than each year (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Dr Arif Alvi demanded that government should expose the name of responsible in this fraud (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

5.13. DEMAND TO BRING BACK WEALTH OF PAKISTAN LYING IN SWISS BANKS:

For last, so many years all political parties claimed to bring back money lying in Swiss Banks especially since 1997 when PML (N) formed government and disclosed that huge amount of Pakistani lying in Swiss Banks. History proved that all it was a political stunt and not materialized this promise even it is, proved that huge amount of Asif Ali Zardari deposited in Swiss Banks. Ali Muhammad of PTI demanded that government should take action to bring back the wealth of Pakistanis lying in the Banks of Switzerland. He disclosed that the amount of Pakistanis money in Swiss Banks was greater than, Indians. So government should make a mechanism to bring that money back (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Aysha Gulalai, Dr Arif Ali demanded government to bring back Pakistani money lying in Swiss Bank. He told that 150 billion dollars of Pakistan lying in Swiss Banks (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Dr Arif Alvi raised the issue of Pakistani accounts in Swiss banks in 2013. He demanded that according to the Swiss Restitution of Illicit Assets Act government should dig out that how much wealth of Pakistanis lying in Swiss Banks. In reply, Ishaq Dar told that personnel of FBR went to Switzerland to sign dual taxation treaty to dig out the names of Pakistani account holders

having 200 billion dollars in Swiss Banks (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016). Nevertheless, no progress was, made on this issue.

5.14. DEBATE ON TOLL TAX:

The main purpose of collecting toll tax is to construct and maintain roads in the country. However, in Pakistan it also became a matter of conflict between government and Armed forces. It is really a strange that Pakistan Armed Forces gets a handsome portion of toll tax. Engineer Hamid-ul-Haq Khalil of PTI demanded that government should also take action on the issue of toll tax. He disclosed that since the construction of motorways in 1996 FWO has established toll plaza and collecting toll tax. Government should tell that how much of them given to National Highway Authority. On GT Road, illegal mafia has established toll plazas and collecting money but they have been making embezzlement through fake receipts of money. He suggested that government should take action to complete Lawari Tunnel because it would help to generate revenue. Else, of it the guest of houses of NHA should be, utilized to generate revenue. He demanded that GM and members of NHA were, given precious Vigo vehicles of millions of rupees. Government must dig out where those vehicles have been. He asked that government should complete construction of road from Khunjrab to Gawadar. He was of the view that government should take action on the misuse of official vehicle having green number plates but most of such vehicles have been, used for personal luxuries. By doing, this Pakistan could save revenue (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

5.15. REAPPOINTMENT OF RETIRED PEOPLE ON HIGH UPS:

It is a routine matter in Pakistan the government appoints its favorites on important posts after their retirement. Due to this majority of the retired personnel from Pakistan Armed Forces and Bureaucracy has been, appointed on important positions. Siraj Muhammad Khan of PTI raised the point on 23 August 2014 that government has appointed retired

people on important posts and decided to give them high salaries despite of the facts that young and talented people were available. He opposed this policy of government and asked that young people should be, given chance on such slots (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

5.16. ISSUE OF SPORTS:

Sports in Pakistan remained a victim of politics in Pakistan. The heads of different sports are, appointed on political affiliations. It is an out of the ordinary fact that Chaudhary Shujahat Hussain is the Chairman of Kabadi Association; Faisal Salah Hayat remained President of Football Federation of Pakistan while Chief of Air Staff heads the Squash Board of Pakistan. Due such non-professional attitude, Pakistan cannot get desired results in any field including sports. During the reign of PML (N) Najam Aziz Sethi was, appointed as Chairman of Cricket Board as he was the favorite of the government. Shireen Mizari pointed out the bad performance of Pakistan Cricket team. She demanded that government should appoint professionals in Pakistan Cricket Board rather than retired bureaucrats and generals. She asked government to depolarize cricket board (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Rai Hassan Nawaz objected that according to which criteria Najam Aziz Sethi appointed as Chairman of Cricket Board who has the background of journalism, politics and served as interim Chief Minister of Punjab (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Aysha Gulalai and Imran Khan raised question on the issues of sports in Pakistan. Aysha Gulalai demanded that government should provide sports facility for the game of squash. She also demanded that PIA should give some special facilities to sportsmen. Imran Khan was of the view that if government wanted to improve the situation of sports in Pakistan government should construct playgrounds. He cited the example of Sydney that it has more playgrounds than all over the Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.17. HUNTING OF THE HOUBARA BUSTARD:

The issue of hunting of Houbara bustard in National Assembly was, raised by Imran Khan. He said that hunting of the houbara bustard is, banned in India because of endangered species but in Pakistan, our rulers let it be, hunted because they have been, gifted by them. He objected hunting on two reasons. Firstly, the gifts given to rulers and elites not public and secondly hunters did not follow the laws of Pakistan. According to international law, an endangered species cannot be, hunted (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.18. ECONOMIC ISSUES:

Economic problems of Pakistan have been increasing since long. However, all political parties and government have claimed to bring changes in the economic fields but none of them succeeded. The situation has, become so worse that Bangladesh has become well than Pakistan in the economic field. PTI raised different economic issue in the National Assembly, which are;

Circular debt is one of the issues in Pakistan. On 23 August 2013, Shafqat Mehmood raised the point that government claimed to finish circular debt but it has started increasing. He asked that did government have any plan to solve this issue on permanent basis or not (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Asad Umer criticized government that it has increased circular debt by 480 billion in five years (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2018). Shafqat Mehmood was of the view that circular debt has been increasing. He asked that what kinds of step government took to address this issue. He told that the main reason behind was stealing of electricity and asked government for taking step to stop it (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Borrowing and debt burden is one of the constant problems in Pakistan. All governments in Pakistan borrowed and claimed to pay off but did not. It should be, investigated that the borrowing amount has gone where? Dr. Arif Alive invited the attention of the Minister for Finance, Revenue, Economic Affairs, Statistics, and Privatization to a matter of urgent public importance regarding total public debt have been obtained in excess of 60 percent of GDP in violation of the Fiscal Responsibility and Debt Limitation Act, 2005 by the Government over the past few years, causing grave concern amongst the public (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

Pakistan has huge potential of cottage industry if government provides incentive. Ali Muhammad Khan of PTI raised the issue of cottage industry. He told that people in Azad Kashmir, Islampur village in Swat and village of Rajar in Charsadda make embroidery stuff but due to non-access to markets, intermediary takes advantage of their work. He suggested giving access to them to the international market and cutting the intermediary out of the system would help to develop cottage industry in Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). He added that most of tobacco grows in Mardan and Swabi. When famers try to sell tobacco directly to companies, the owners refused to buy on fake pretext of qualities. Later the same tobacco sold with help of intermediary, which leads to the exploitations of famers. He demanded that government should take action to stop the exploitation of famers (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

On behalf of the PTI Dr. Arif Alvi criticized the government of PML (N) on contacting IMF for loan. He criticized the conditions set by IMF. Amjad Ali of PTI asked government that it promised not to contact IMF but why did it adopt IMF programme?. He suggested that we should improve our governance system rather than borrowing. We have already been giving 67% mark up in the budget. We should take steps to finish non-developmental budget, indirect taxation and bring direct taxation in Pakistan to introduce

tax culture. Sheryar Afridi asked government to bring reforms in FBR to ensure the collection of tax (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

Rice is one of the important export item through Pakistan earn foreign exchange. Engineer Ali Muhammad Khan Advocate of PTI raised the issue of rice and onion export. He told that one of the best rice in the world produced in the valley of Swat. Just beyond Malakand, in the Basin of Swat River near Chakdara Area. He asked government for the support and export of the rice of Swat and support the local farmers of Swat in the export of the rice of Swat (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

Pakistan has been facing shortage of foreign reserves since long. These crises became serious during the period of PML (N). Asad Omer asked government to take notice of falling foreign reserves. He disclosed that Pakistan has only three billions of foreign reserves, which arranged from short terms soft funds (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

The promotion of the tax culture was the main slogan of PTI. Both opposition and government target each other by using this issue. Javid Hashmi told in National Assembly that he came to know through Newspaper that majority of the parliamentarian did not pay taxes. His name was also included in the list. He challenged that he always paid tax. He demanded that tax culture should be, promoted in the country if we want to make progress like Europe and West. He suggested that government should give punishment of death to those who did not pay tax (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

Interest free loan can play role in developing accelerating economic activities if government does it on merit basis and not let to write off. Ali Muhammad Khan and Rai Hasan Nawaz Khan of PTI demanded that government should take step to eliminate interest (*riba*) from Pakistani economy. Ali Muhammad Khan was of the view that Islamic provisions of constitution should be, implemented in their true letter and spirit.

Rai Hasan Nawaz was of the view that he did not have any hope from economic policies of government. He requested that at least government should provide interest free loans to salaried and under privilege people to fulfill their needs (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.19. ENERGY CRISIS:

Energy crisis has become serious in Pakistan especially after 2002. Due to it most of the industry has shut down in Pakistan. Although Pakistan signed treaty with Iran for Gas Pipeline but due to the sanctions of America cannot complete it. PTI criticized government for this issue on different occasions.

In order to meet the gas crisis in Pakistan the Iran, Pakistan and India gas pipeline project has central importance. However, it also became the victim of International and national politics. Dr. Arif Alvi asked that did government have interest in IPI or not? He mentioned that Prime Minister of Saudi Arabia said they were negotiating different issues with Pakistani government. Arif Alvi demanded that government of Pakistan should make it clear. Shah Mehmood Qureshi demanded to give timeframe for completion of this project (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Aysha Gulalai criticized government sluggishness on IPI project. She told that if government did not fulfill its commitments then it would have to pay three million dollars per day. Iran has already warned Pakistan in this regard. She demanded government to start work on this project because it is very important to meet out the requirements of Pakistan energy crisis (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014)

Gas leakage is one of the main reasons for the shortage of Gas supply in Pakistan. Due to it the shortage of gas one hand and the price of the gas on the other hand have been increasing. In order to fulfill this deficit, government should add surcharge in the gas bill. Dr Raja Amir Zaman demanded that government should take action to stop gas leakage.

He opposed that government decided to give nine billion to Sui Northern Gas Company and five billion to Sui Southern Gas Company. This fourteen billion would be deducted from masses by adding this amount in gas bill (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

The issue of load shedding of gas is one of the permanent features, which every government has to face and every opposition use it for political scoring. Asad Omer asked government to pay attention on the load shedding of gas in the different area of Islamabad. He disclosed that due to difference dia sizes, such problem happened during the period of high pressure but people take it as discrimination (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

Shireen Mizari criticized sluggishness of government on TAPI²⁹ project. She criticized government failure on both projects of IPI and TAPI. She said that government should take steps to complete these projects in order to meet out the energy crisis of Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

5.20. DEMAND FOR ELECTORAL REFORMS:

Electoral reforms were one of the demands of PTI. The main demands of PTI were the independence of Election Commission of Pakistan, biometric system and right to vote to Overseas Pakistanis. Shah Mehmood Qureshi demanded that in order to strengthen democracy and eliminate issue of rigging PTI demanding to constitute a committee for electoral reforms. He pointed out that despite of the fact that PTI got victory in Nowshera and Lakki Marwat but Peshawar High Court took a Suo Motto and stopped results while election commission should assert this issue. He acknowledged that democracy in Pakistan is evolving and it could flourish only in the presence of independent election commission (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Jahangir Tareen demanded that

²⁹The Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan–India Pipeline, also known as Trans-Afghanistan Pipeline, is a natural gas pipeline being developed by the Galkynysh – TAPI Pipeline Company Limited with participation of the Asian Development Bank.

government should bring electoral reforms to ensure the free and fair election in future (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016). Shafqat Mehmood and Shah Mehmood Qureshi objected the inclusion of clause 203³⁰ in The Elections Bill, 2017 so that any person ineligible to hold office as an MNA is ineligible to hold the position of head of a political party (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2017).

5.21. CASE OF GENERAL PERVEZ MUSHARRAF:

Since the departure of General Pervez Musharraaf, all political parties demanded to conduct his trial under article “6” of the 1973 constitution. However, this demand proved shallow and political stunt. Despite of the fact, FIR was filed against General Musharraaf in Benazir Murder case. Her husband Asif Ali Zardari remained President of Pakistan but no concrete steps were, taken to trial General Pervez Musharaaf. Shah Mehmood Qureshi raised the point that PPP ruled from 2008-2013 but did not take action against General Pervez Musharraaf despite of the fact that he subverted constitution on 12 October 1999. Secondly, PPP promised to form truth and reconciliation commission but did not do it. The government of PML (N) was doing the same (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Ali Muhammad Khan on 31st March 2014 demanded that government should take action against General Pervez Musharraaf under article 6 and tried him on the charges of subversion of constitution (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.22. THE BENAZIR INCOME SUPPORT PROGRAMME:

BISP was started by the government of PPP in 2008. The government of PML (N) continued it and increased its amount. PTI opposed BISP because Shah Mehmood

³⁰ Membership of political parties.- (1) Every citizen, not being in the service of Pakistan, shall have the right to form or be a member of a political party or be otherwise associated with a political party or take part in political activities or be elected as an office-bearer of a political party. (2) Where a person joins a political party, his name shall be, entered in the record of the political party as a member and shall be, issued a membership card, or any other document showing his membership of the political party. (3) A person shall not be a member of more than one political party at a time. (4) A political party shall encourage women to become its members. (5) A member of a political party shall have the right of access to the records of the political party, other than the record of another member.

Qureshi was of the view that through giving one or two thousands rupee poverty could not be eliminated (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Sajida Begum proposed that the money of BISP should be utilized for the education and market oriented professional training of deserving children of poor families rather than to distribute one or two thousands for each family (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

5.23. EMBEZZLEMENT IN EARTHQUAKE RECONSTRUCTION & REHABILITATION AUTHORITY:

Dr Raja Amir Zaman of PTI cited the report of Auditor General of Pakistan in which it was, mentioned that 10.88 billion were, embezzled in ERRA through irregularities, unauthorised and unjustified payments and unlawful investments. He demanded to make investigation in this case. On the decision of government to dissolve ERRA. Rai Hassan Nawaz Khan asked government that after it who, would accommodate affected people and punish those who were involved in irregularities (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

5.24. ISSUE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE EXPRESSWAY FROM HAVELIAN TO MANSEHRA:

Expressway was one of the most important projects during the government of PML (N). The speed of developmental work was very much slow which caused many difficulties for the people who have to travel to Abbottabad and Mansehra. Azhar Khan Jadoon of PTI criticized government on the decision to defer the construction of expressway from Havelian to Mansehra despite of acquisition of land especially to the limit of Havelian (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

5.25. ISSUE OF THE MANGROVES CUTTING FOR KARACHI PORT TRUST SOCIETY:

Environmental issues have been increasing in Pakistan and the major cause is deforestation. Pakistan has only four percent of forest, which should be twenty-five

percent. Mangroves forest plays the role of safeguard for the coastal areas but, in order to construct housing society for KPT, mangroves were, cleared off. It was dangerous from environmental point of view for the city of Karachi. Dr Arif Alvi disclosed that alongside of sea in Karachi the mangroves forest has been, cut down to construct a society for KPT. He demanded that government should take action in this regard (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Dr Arif Ali reiterated on 7th March, 2014 that mangroves forest were being destroyed and plots allotted to a private housing society (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014)

5.26. DEMAND FOR AUTONOMY OF THE INSTITUTIONS:

In Pakistan whenever new government takes over it, make efforts to appoint its favorites in different institutions. Majority of the institutions did not have autonomy except Pakistan Armed Forces and Bureaucracy. This issue was, raised by different members of PTI. Dr. Arif Alvi and Shafqat Mehmood demanded that government should give autonomy to institutions. Arif Alvi disclosed that heads of different autonomous institutions were being forced to resign so that favorites of government could be, appointed. On the issue of resignation of Governor State Bank Shafqat Mehmood stressed, that autonomy of State Bank of Pakistan should be, ensured. Three Governors of State Bank were removed during the government of PPP while one by the government of PML (N). He cited the example that during eighties and nineties its autonomy was, compromised due to which influential people including Nawaz Sharif got loans and did not return. Likewise, the autonomy of Pakistan Cricket Board and Election Commission of Pakistan should also be, ensured. In addition, Asad Omer demanded that government should appoint heads in different Economic Regulatory Institutions like NEPRA, SECP and Competition Commission of Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.27. KASHMIR ISSUE:

Kashmir issue is as old as Pakistan. Pakistan always supported the cause of Kashmir. However, during the government of PML (N) an impact was given that government was not interested in this issue. It was mainly because of the inactiveness of Kashmir Committee under the headship of Mualana Fazal ur Rehman. During the reign of PML (N) Kashmir Committee moved a resolution to improve relations of Pakistan with India to resolve the issue of Kashmir. On behalf of PTI Shafqat Mehmood appreciated this move and assured to cooperate. He demanded that government must keep it mind that the solution of Kashmir should be, according to resolutions of UNO and the promise of plebiscite be fulfilled. The Confidence Building Measures should be signed and improvement be made. People to people contact should be. increased and issue of Kashmir must be, raised on all forums of the world (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Hamid ul Haq demanded that Chairman of Kashmir Committee Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman should be replaced by qualified person (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Dr Arif Alvi asked that what Kashmir Committee has been doing. Shireen Mizari demanded that the Kashmir Committee should report periodically to the Parliament as to progress. They must be, held accountable to know what previous committees did and how much money was spend. Did they achieve anything? (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). She criticized Nawaz Sharif that when he met Prime Minister of India Narandra Modi he did not discuss Kashmir issue. She also objected that since long Maulana Fazal ur Rehman heading Kashmir Committee. What is his performance and how much money he has spent. She demanded (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015). Murad Saeed criticized that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan Khawaja Asif, during his visit to America did not raise the issue of Kashmir despite of the fact that according to the

report of Amnesty International Indian forces used highest numbers of pellet guns on Kashmiris (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2017).

5.28. ELECTIONS IN AZAD KASHMIR:

It is another fact that the party, which has Federal government, makes efforts to win election in Azad Kashmir based on its influence. On the issue of election in Azad Kashmir in 2014, Shah Mehmood Qureshi pointed out irregularities in the electoral process. He told that PPP and PML (N) promised in Charter of Democracy that past mistakes would not be repeated but in election, both of them did it. He cited the example that PPP made efforts to induce the members of PTI to win over its side. PML (N) deployed rangers to bypass the relevant law enforcement agencies to get desired results (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

On the issue of calling Rangers to conduct election in Azad Kashmir by Chief Election Commission Shireen Mizari protested and she told that the fact of the matter is that Kashmir dispute is as long as it prevails under the UN. you cannot send forces from Punjab into Azad Jammu and Kashmir. This is under international law, it is illegal and international law takes precedence over national law. It is clear under international law that you cannot send forces from Punjab Rangers into Azad Jammu and Kashmir. It is illegal as long as the Kashmir dispute is an international dispute (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.29. INDIAN MOVIES:

The cultural policy of Pakistan is confused and ambiguous. On one hand, Pakistani government raises objections on stage shows and lollywood movies while on the other hand it gives permission to on air Hollywood and Bollywood movies in Pakistan. Bollywood movies have become politicise and politician uses it for political scoring. Sometime government stopped the Indian movies and sometime let it goes. Ali

Muhammad Khan of PTI told that, in India Pakistani News Channels are banned but in Pakistan in the name of *Aman ki Asha*³¹ showing their movies and dramas. He asked that why did censor board not take action against Indian movies running in Pakistani cinemas. He objected that Indian contents have been corrupted Pakistani youth and asked government to take prompt action (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.30. ISSUE OF POLIO VACCINATION:

Polio problem is one of the serious problems for Pakistan for the last so many years. Because of anti polio campaigns by different elements governments could not overcome it. PTI again raised this issue in National Assembly. Shah Mehmood Qureshi highlighted the problems faced by the polio workers and volunteers in Pakistan. He asked government to provide security to polio workers in all parts of Pakistan. He told that the government of PTI in KP doing it successfully in association with Bills Gate Foundation and WHO. WHO Director General also, appreciated it. He demanded that in same way federal government should follow this program. He disclosed that Imran Khan went to Akora Khattak and asked Maulana Sami-ul-Haq to vaccinate polio drop to the children of Madrassa. In this regards Engineer Hamid ul Haq Khalil demanded that Islamic Ideological Council to give fatwa in favour of Polio vaccination (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

5.31. ISSUE OF AMERICAN SPY AGENCY BLACK WATER:

Sheryar Afridi of PTI in National Assembly disclosed that during the period of General Pervez Musharraf hundreds of Americans in a shape of Black Water and marine came to Chaklala airbase and spread in all parts of Pakistan. He cited the statement of Interior Minister Chaudhary Nisar Ali Khan in which accepted that he identified three hundred

³¹ Aman ki Asha is a campaign jointly started by two leading media houses. The Jang Group of Pakistan, and The Times of India in India. The campaign aims for mutual peace and development of diplomatic and cultural relations between the two nations in South Asia. It was established on 1 January 2010.

homes in Islamabad. Sheryar Afridi asked government to address this issue (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Such things are the violation of sovereignty of the country on one hand and the violation of the human rights on the other hand. It also hurts the sense of loyalty to a country because one has the trust that country will protect citizen in all kind of circumstances. If citizen does wrong action, its own government of the state is, authorized to give punishment and no other country should be, allowed to do so.

5.32. ISSUE OF HOUSING CHEMES:

In Pakistan, the issue of housing schemes has become very serious. Plenty of illegal and unregistered housing schemes working in Pakistan. It has become a tool to loot the wealth of people and capture the properties. It has become a mafia. Despite of the fact, that government knows each and everything about it but does not take constructive action against them. Salim Rehman of PTI raised the issue of Housing schemes in Islamabad. He told that different housing schemes owners take money and that did not allot plot. Sometime they allot fake plots. He demanded that government should take action against such land mafia. Shafaqat Mehmood was of the view that to regularize housing scheme in Islamabad Capital Territory is the responsibility of Capital Development Authority. Islamabad has been divided into different zones and it is decided that where to build housing colonies. Without the approval of the CDA, no housing scheme can built in Islamabad. Government should take action in this regard (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014). Munaza Hasan asked government to make such arrangements that no housing scheme should be constructed on agricultural land in order to ensure the food availability in the country (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

5.33. ISSUE OF *KACHI ABADIS* IN ISLAMABAD:

Kachi Abadis in Islamabad is one of the serious issues. Although every government promised to solve this, issue but did not yet. In order to get votes from the residents of

Kachi Abadis all political parties made promises. The government of PML (N) took action against *Kachi Abadis* in Islamabad without making alternate arrangements for them. On behalf of PTI Asad Umer and Shireen Mizari raised this issue in National Assembly. At the time of action, Asad Umer requested that government should take action to stop any kind of escalations. However, no step was, taken and fight started in between administration and residents of the *Kachi Abadi*. On the next day, Shireen Mizari objected that government should not take such action without making alternative arrangements. She said that if CDA wanted to take action against illegal occupants then it should taken action against elite class who has occupied corner plats farmhouses. She disclosed that elite class has occupied even public parks land and CDA did not take any action against them. Same stand was. taken by Dr. Arif Alvi. He demanded that action should be, taken against land mafia having occupied lot of land in the different provinces of Pakistan rather poor people. Ghulam Sarwar disclosed that elite class has made encroachment in different sectors of Islamabad. Government should also take action against them (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

5.34. LADIES HEALTH WORKERS:

In Pakistan majority of the institutions have been demanding uniform salary structure. Except bureaucracy and Pakistan armed forces all other institutions facing discrimination in this regard. Though government fixes minimum wage every year but practically never implemented Ali Muhammad Khan raised the issue of service structure of ladies health workers. He told that LHV has not given any pay scale and system of retirement. They have been playing the role of first line of defense for the vaccination of Hepatitis 'C' and polio drops but they have been given no incentives and protection of jobs. He demanded government should address this issue (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

5.35. ISSUE OF DAMS CONSTRUCTION:

The issue of construction of dams has become the most sensitive issue especially of Kalabagh dam. Majority of the political parties has been, using this issue for political scoring and did not take any practical step. Shah Mehmood Qureshi asked that why government did not take any action to construct Basha Dam and Kalabagh dam (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Why, it did not take any action to construct Basha Dam and Kalabagh dam (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013). Amjad Ali demanded that government should construct dams in Pakistan because the shortage of water has been increasing rapidly. He cited the report of an international journal in which it was said that in 2015 the water crisis in Pakistan would become serious. He demanded that All Parties Conference should be convened to bring all parties on one page regarding the construction of dams (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2015). On 19 February 2016, Sajida Begum demanded to construct dams to meet out energy needs of Pakistan. She expressed her views in National Assembly that investors from different countries wanted to invest in construction of dams. Government should take this issue seriously (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

5.36. METRO PROJECTS:

The government of PML (N) stated Metro projects like The Rawalpindi-Islamabad Metro bus, Lahore Metro bus and Metro train Lahore known as orange line. PTI repeatedly opposed these projects in National Assembly. Jahangir Khan Tareen was of the view that government should invest money to provide necessities of life to people like education, health, employments, and agriculture rather than to spend money on such lavish projects (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016). PTI was of the view that money should be spent on education and health. Another reason to oppose Metro projects was payment of subsidy by the government to manage its running.

5.37. CHINA PAKISTAN ECONOMIC CORRIDOR:

CPEC was one of the most important successes of government of PML (N). Construction of Western route was cause of disagreement between PTI and PML (N). On CPEC PTI was of the view that government was neglecting provinces of Balochistan and KP. Ali Muhammad Khan demanded that as Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif promised in 2015 that Western route would be, constructed firstly. He demanded to construct economic zones in Balochistan and KP (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016). On 15 February 2016, Murad Saeed and Sajida Begum invited the attention of members of National Assembly that though it was, decided in APC to construct Western route firstly but no development took place on it. Sajida Begum criticized that in scheme of government presented in National Assembly only one economic zone was, decided to construct in KP. She objected and demanded to reconsider the demands of PTI on the question of share of KP in CPEC (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

5.38. ISSUE OF ADVERTISEMENT:

One of the issues, which PTI opposed repeatedly, was spending on advertisement by the government. Murad Saeed and Amjad Ali mostly raised this on different occasion. Murad Saeed was of the view that more than 2.70 billion were, spent by the government for self-advertisement from 2013 to 2016. PTI demanded for the audit of spending (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

5.39. DAWN LEAKS:

PTI's members used the issue of dawn leaks against the government of PML (N) up to optimum level. Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari raised the issue of Dawn Leaks in National Assembly. She declared it a National issue and rejected that it was just between the Government and Pakistan Armed Forces because in Core Commanders meeting it was, declared as National breach. Chaudhary Nisar Ali Khan also declared it National breach.

She pointed out that if government or military took this statement back then both of them explained that why they did it. She explained that government and Army has concluded a settlement according to which ISPR took back its tweet and government dismissed three people but nothing came out of it as Tariq Fatmi wrote a letter to foreign office that he was not involved in it, while Rao Tehseen challenged this report in Supreme Court and Pervez Rasheed was removed from the office of Information Minister. We were told that issue has been resolved. She asked that how issue has been resolved as truth did not come out of it. She demanded that investigation report should be disclosed and discussed in the National Assembly. On the other aspect of the story she said that if we consider this leak as fictitious which meant the civilian government accused military and made a fake story then the names of responsible people should be brought in front of Pakistani Nation. Munaza Hasan and Asad Umer added that to investigate the issue Joint Investigation Team was formed and it was written in the Terms of References that it was a planted story. He asked that if it was a true story but Zafar Abbas the Editor of Dawn News said that Cyril Almeida did wrong. Did he ask All Pakistan Newspapers Association to take action against him? If we accept it as a fake story then who implanted it and for what purpose? The report of JIT should be disclosed (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2017).

5.40. PANAMA LEAKS:

Panama leaks proved turning point in the history of PTI. Due to the decision of Judicial Commission on rigging the PTI's graph of popularity started to decrease but Panama leaks infused new life in PTI. PTI moved adjournment motion on Panama Leaks on 7 April 2016. Imran Khan told that the names of Sharif families are included in Panama Leaks. He demanded that Nawaz Sharif should present him for accountability. He declared it as defining moment in the history of Pakistan. He demanded to constitute high-level committee to investigate this issue. He cited the statement of Ishaq Dar that

200 billion dollars of Pakistani lying in Swiss Bank. Pakistani purchased property of 7.5 billion dollars in Dubai. He warned that if empowered commission did not establish then PTI would protest outside the parliament. He also offered himself for accountability as well (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016). Shah Mehmood Qureshi told the Prime Minister of Iceland resigned on the issue of Panama leaks as his name was included in it and new Prime Minister replaced him. An inquiry has started against the President of Argentina. The officials of ABN Amro bank of Holland resigned. He reiterated the demand of investigation under the headship of sitting Chief Justice of Pakistan. Same demand was, made by Jahangir Tareen (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016). Murad Saeed and Amjad Ali demanded in National Assembly that how Sharif family made assets in London (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2016).

PTI's leadership Imran Khan sued Nawaz Sharif in Panama Case in Supreme Court known as Imran Ahmed Khan Niazi v. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif case. To investigate Panama issue Supreme Court constituted. Shah Mehmood Qureshi raised the points that on the instigation of government different institution like Intelligence Bureau, Federal Board of Revenue and the Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan creating hurdles in the way of investigation. He told that the Chairman of SEC tempering record for Nawaz Sharif which later on proved true. He demanded government to keep away from investigation process (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2017). Supreme Court of Pakistan disqualified Nawaz Sharif in Panama case.

PTI played the role of an active and vibrant opposition from 2013 to 2018. PTI raised all-important issues and the National Assembly of Pakistan. PTI get itself acknowledged as real opposition, and spread its message in the nook and corner of Pakistan. The role of PTI as an opposition in the National Assembly played significant part in the evolution, performance and prospects of the party.

CHAPTER- 6

PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF (PTI) AS AN OPPOSITION IN THE PUNJAB AND THE SINDH ASSEMBLY (2013-2018)

PTI emerged as second largest political party in the Province of Punjab as a result of the general election 2013. PTI secured thirty seats in the Punjab Assembly including reserved seats (Election Commission of Pakistan). The oath taking ceremony held on 3 June 2013. For the slot of Speaker of Punjab Assembly, the candidature of Raja Rasid Hafeez was proposed by PTI. He got thirty-five votes while the candidate of PML (N) Rana Muhammad Iqbal Khan got 297 votes and became Speaker of Punjab Assembly. Sardar Sher Ali Khan Gorchani of PML (N) got 293 votes and became Deputy Speaker while Sardar Waqas Hasan Mokal of Pakistan Muslim League got thirty-seven votes. Both Raja Hafeez and Waqas Hasan congratulated Speaker Rana Iqbal and Deputy Speaker Sher Ali Khan. Mian Muhammad Shabaz Sharif was elected as Chief Minister of Punjab and he got 300 votes while MianMehmood ur Rashid of PTI got 34 votes. Mehmood ur Rashid congratulated Shabaz Sharif on becoming Chief Minister of Punjab for third time (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

6.1. DEMANDS OF PTI:

Mian Mehmood ur Rasheed became leader of the opposition in the Punjab Assembly. In his maiden speech, he stated that PTI emerged as the second largest political party under the leadership of Imran Khan. He ensured that PTI would always play constructive role as an active and vibrant opposition in the Punjab Assembly. He demanded that government should ensure rule of law in the province. Government should take step to strengthen the legislative assembly of Punjab to promote democratic norms and traditions. Government should take step to establish local government institutions in the

province to devolve powers to the grass roots level. He demanded that government should take steps to depoliticize institutions to provide relief to public. He said that like National Finance Commission, government should establish Provincial Finance Commission to ensure equal distribution of wealth among all units of the province. He lamented the attitude of Police, and condemned the murder of supporters of PTI and asked government to make police a neutral and depoliticized. He suggested that government should take steps for the uplift of education and health sector. He raised the issue of rigging in general election 2013 and demanded that government should take such steps that in future the element of rigging would end. For this purpose, government should introduce electoral reforms like making an independent election commission and biometric system of election (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

6.2. BUDGET OF THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT AND PTI:

The government of PML (N) presented five budgets from 2013 to 2018. On all these budgets, PTI has different reservations. PTI was of the view that government should focus on education, health, agriculture, energy sector, to depoliticize public institutions, to widen net taxation by increasing direct taxation and limiting indirect taxation and the provision of the basic amenities of life. However, the policies of government show that government was much more interested in mega projects like Metro Bus Projects, Orange Line Train and different energy projects. PTI raised different objection on the budgets presented by the government of PML (N). The most important of them were:

Mian Mehmood ur Rashid objected that budget 2013-14 was prepared in short span of time without due process. Different standing committees were not given time to analyze the demands of different sectors and to make discussion. Government was formed on 6th June, 2013 while the whole budget was presented on 17th June, 2013 due to which we were not given due time to discuss pros and cons of the budget. Government claimed that

it was a tax free budget but in fact it imposed tax of 31 billion as direct tax while 89 billion of indirect taxes which was an increase in taxes by 30% and 48% respectively. PTI opposed the imposition of tax on the house of 5 Marla because the people having houses in canals have to pay huge tax. It was not a right way to extend tax net in a way like this thought PTI always demanded to widen tax net. If government wanted to do this then it should do it from future dates irrespective of previous dates so that people would become prepare for it. Due to this decision, people have to pay unjustified tax, as they were not, told about it in clear terms and references.

PTI also opposed allocation of 290 billion rupees for Annual Development Program because in previous years, different institutions could utilize 55% to 62% while rest of the budget was, used as current expenditure due to incompetency. Mian Mehmood ur Rashid mentioned that Punjab has 4.45 trillion loans to pay and out of this amount 90% was foreign loan. In such situation, government should not use amount of ADP as a current budget to hide its inefficiencies. Through this amount, government could pay off its loans. He also opposed the allocation of 101.6 billion rupees for general administration because it was 23 billion previously. He was of the view that such increase out of his wit. He criticized that government allocated 93.71 billion for public order and safety out of which 63 billion would be, given to Police department in addition to 1.75 billion rupees. He asked that on what basis such huge amount were, allocated for police despite of the fact that it remained failed in maintaining law and order in the province. He cited that due to the inefficiency of police thirty thousand people were, killed in last five years in province of Punjab. He suggested that online registration of FIR should be, introduced in Punjab Police like KP Police.

He also criticized the amount allocated for education. He cited that, 24% of budget was, allocated for education in last year and the same by current government and did not make

any increase. He said that due to lack of interest of government we have been creating three kinds of education systems like schools for elite class, government schools for poor and Madarassas. Therefore, government again failed to introduce uniformed education system in the province. He asked that instead of establishing new Daanish School System³² government should upgrade currently available education institutions to benefit majority of the students.

On the issue of allocation for the welfare of minorities in the province, Mehmood ur Rashid said that last year government allocated 320 million rupees but current government did not allocate any amount in this regards. He also declared allocation of 1.40 billion for live stock and dairy development insufficient for the population of 100 million in the province. He was of the view that government allocated 93 billion for South Punjab but ignored North Punjab. He highlighted that government did not allocate any amount for the conduct of local government election. He said that per day expenditure of Chief Minister Secretariat has increased to 1.16 million and declared it harmful for the province of Punjab. He disclosed that no amount was, allocated for the construction of Members of Provincial Assembly (MPs) hostel, which has been creating problems since long. He severely criticized that government has allocated only 15 million rupees for Environment Protection. It increased 10% salary of government servants and fixed 10,000 as minimum wage of labour. He objected on the project of Multan Metro and told that it is an old concept. Rather than the government should improve railway track for the communication purpose as it has been done in England. In a way like this Raja Rashid Hafeez, Muhammad Arif Abbasi, Sadia Sohail Rana, Muhammad Sibtain, Nabila Hakim Ali Khan and Mian Muhammad Aslam of PTI also criticized budget (The Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

³²Daanish Schools are free education schools in the Punjab. The schools admit 110 students annually in which 10 fee-paying students can also take admission out of total 110 students and the remaining 100 are admitted on merit and are offered free of cost education. The project of these schools was, started in 2010.

During the discussion, session on Budget Muhammad Sibtain Khan of PTI suggested that government should freeze the fee of private school and colleges and impose direct tax on them. He demanded that government should take proper action for the eradication of corruption. He demanded for accountability and asked that process of accountability should be, started from upwards down (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

Murad Ras pointed out that government allocated one billion rupees for Laptop scheme. He asked that if we calculate price of laptop and distribute it per family than majority of the students could get benefit out of this amount. He cited article 25, A which says that it is the responsibility of government to provide free education until primary levels. He was of the view that rather than invest on laptop and Daanish School System government should spend money on the up gradation of existing educational institutions. He also criticized government on the allocation of 20 billion rupees to meet out the challenge of energy as this amount was only two percent of total budget and energy crisis that was the main crisis of Punjab could not be solved through such meager amount. Muhammad Zaheer ud Din Khan Alizai was of the view that government allocated insufficient amount of 13 billion for agricultural sector. He pointed out that government wanted to impose tax on agricultural sector and it could do it but at the same time, it should also pay subsidy for agricultural sector because 70 to 80 % of population depends on this sector. He demanded that government should frame seed policy to ensure right usage of it. Else, of it he demanded that our tax should be collected by local government rather than excise and taxation department. Javed Akhtar demanded that government should pay attention to backward areas of Punjab as well. Naeed Naeema Rana demanded that steps should be taken to provide clean and pure water to people due to which epidemic of hepatitis spreading swiftly (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

In the budget of 2014-15 PTI shown similar reservations of education, health, energy, Daanish Schools, salaries, dearness, inflation, direct and indirect taxation. Two new objections which PTI made in the budget were the opposition of Metro Bus Rawalpindi-Islamabad project and demanded that that there should no double tax on Agriculture as one taken by District collector or assistant collector and secondly by Federal Board of Revenue. PTI was of the view that it was in favour to impose tax on agriculture but government should also pay subsidy for the development of agricultural sector.

Regarding the budget 2015-16 the major points of objection of PTI on the government was the laps of budget of different departments due to which no change could be brought. PTI kept on opposing Daanish School system and along with it raised voice against private schools. It highlighted that private educational institutions have become mafias and demanded that government should focus on public sector institution and devise program for teacher training to improve the quality of education. PTI demanded that government should recruit more teachers and doctors to meet out the demands of the people. It again objected Metro bus projects and claimed that the budget of metro was more than combined budget of Punjab's education and health.

The annual budget 2016-17 and supplementary budget 2015-16 of the Punjab was passed during the 22nd session, which continued from June 13 to June 29, 2016. It was the ninth consecutive budget presented by PML (N) since 2008 and the fourth since 2013. According to the report of Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) PTI's lawmakers consumed the largest portion of the discussion on budget.

On the budget 2017-18, the members of PTI deliberated a lot and majority of the points were similar as mentioned above. Major criticism was made on the project of Orange Train Line and the allocation for agriculture. Malik Ahmad Khan Bhachar of PTI was of the view that due to wrong policies of government the agricultural sector. He cited the

example that when Pakistan came into being the contribution of agriculture in GDP was 48% that decreased to 21% in 2017 (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2017).

6.3. KILLING OF TOURIST IN GILGIT BALTISTAN:

Tourism holds an important place in the policy of PTI. It always used it one of the tool to attract voters. As it is, said by PTI that it would use potential of tourism of Pakistan to earn foreign exchange and generate jobs. A sad incidence of killing of Tourist happened in Gilgit Baltistan on 22 June 2013. The leader of the opposition Mian Mehmood ur Rashid presented resolution to condemned the terrorist attack in Gilgit Baltistan in which foreign tourists were killed. He declared it a conspiracy to defame Pakistan. It was also, demanded that a comprehensive policy should be chalked out to eradicate terrorism from Pakistan (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

6.4. DEMANDS FOR POLICE REFORMS:

Police Reforms is an important point of PTI's constitution. PTI stressed on this point as an opposition in the Punjan Assembly from 2013-18. Malik Taimoor Khan, Muhammad Sibtain Khan, Nabila Hakim Ali Khan and Mian Muhammad Aslam opposed the increase in the police budget on the basis that since long police budget has been increasing but its performance declining. They were of the view that they were not against police budget but there should be some sign of betterment in performance, which could only be, brought through accountability. Police department should be depoliticized. Whosoever came into power used police for its personal and party's interest. Since independence people has been stuck into the politics of police station due to the influence of rulers. Government should take steps to ensure rule of law by bringing police reforms (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013). During the session on law and order situation in province of the Punjab Murad Ras of PTI stated that until and unless police department became independent, the issue of law and order could not be resolved in the Punjab. He

demanding to make Police department an independent department and there should be no political interference in the Police department.

According to PTI, the Punjab government remained unable to bring any reforms in police. Malik Taimoor Masud of PTI raised question that in all the budgets of government raised the budget of police department consistently but despite of this could not bring any improvement in the performance. Government remained totally failed in bringing any Police reforms in last five years (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2017).

6.5. ISSUE OF CO-EDUCATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS:

In order to counter the dearth of educational institutions the Punjab government decided to introduce co-education up to primary level. Saadia Sohail Rana of PTI raised objection on the point that in most of the districts of Punjab government has merged primary school of boys and girls. Due to village culture, people became reluctant to send their girls in such schools. Even previously, people were not in favour of girls' education and now due to this they became more hesitant. The concept of co-education is not liked in rural areas. Government should take step to restore previous system of separate educational institutions for girls and boys (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

6.6. DEMAND TO END TAX ON FIVE MARLA HOUSE:

In the budget 2013-14, Government of the Punjab decided to impose tax on five Marla house. According to which Immovable property, other than commercial or industrial property, a plaza or multi-story building, situated in urban area and the value of which exceeds one million rupees. Mian Muhammad Aslam Iqbal, Muhammad Arif Abbasi and Mian Mehmood ur Reshid demanded that government should withdraw this tax because in five marla house majority of people living could not afford such tax. They were of the view that majority of the people living in five Marla house belong to poor class Provincial Assembly of Punjab (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

6.7. THE PUNJAB LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT- 2013:

PTI opposed the Punjab Local Government Act 2013. Murad Ras, Mian Muhammad Aslam, Muhammad Arif Abbasi and Saadia Sohail Rana objected different local government tiers of rural and urban areas. They were not, in favor of indirect election of Mayor, and Deputy Mayor, powers allotted to Punjab Chief Minister, who would enjoy discretion over matters like appointment of officials in the proposed Education, and Health Authority, or the expulsion of administrators from local bodies – town, and district committees – even if they were, elected into their offices, and non-party election. PTI declared it violation of article 140 (A)³³ because it was decided that election would be conducted under the supervision of government rather than election commission. Saadia Sohail Rana raised the point that this act has decreased representation of women seats from 30% to 13% (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013). PTI suggested these amendments in the bill and Shunila Ruth of PTI demanded, "That the Punjab Local Government Bill 2013, as recommended by the Special Committee No.2, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by 20th September 2013." She demanded that minorities should be given representation as previously was given. However, demands were not, met out and PTI protested in the Punjab Assembly. On behalf of PTI Mian Mehmood ur Rashid said that Local Government Act 2013, Education Authority and Health Authority would not be acceptable but despite of this Local Government Act was passed (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013). Government decided to introduce amendment to make Provincial Local

³³140. (A) Local Governments: Each Province shall, by law, establish a local government system and devolve political, administrative and financial responsibility and authority to the elected representatives of the local governments. (2) Elections to the local governments shall be, held by the Election Commission of Pakistan.

Government Commission³⁴. Mian Mehmood ur Rashid, Saadia Sohail Rana, Ahmed Khan Bhachar, Shunila Ruthand Muhammad Arif Abbasi of PTI objected this amendment on the ground that it would curtail the independence of local government and government become able to keep them under its control. It would snatch political, administrative and financial authority from local government which was the violation of article 140 (A) incorporated through thirteenth amendment in the constitution of Pakistan by the government of PML (N) (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

The members of PTI criticized the delaying tactics of Punjab government to conduct local government election. Mian Muhammad Aslam Iqbal stated that last local government election was, held in 2007. Next election was to be, held in 2011 and at that time, there was a government of PML (N). Then PML (N) again came into power in general election 2013. It dissolved local bodies and appointed administrators. Despite of passage of controversial Local Government Act 2013 fresh local bodies election has not been conducted (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2014). The local government election in Punjab was, held in 2015 in which PML (N) got sweeping victory and PTI was, routed.

6.8. ISSUE OF DRONE ATTACKS:

Issue of drone attacks remained one of the main points of criticism on the ruling party. This issue was, raised by PTI in the Punjab Assembly as well. Mian Muhammad Aslam Iqbal presented a resolution against the American drone attacks in Pakistan. He

34Structural Composition Provincial Local Government Commission: The Provincial Local Government Commission was established in the light of section 122 to 124 of PLGA 2013, which provides that the composition shall consist of the following:-

a. A Chairman who shall be the Minister for Local Government. b. Three members of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab (two nominated by the leader of the House and one by leader of opposition in the Assembly). c. Two eminent, qualified and experienced technocrat members, including at least one woman, selected by the Government and d. Secretary, Local Government ex-officio Member/ Secretary of the Commission.

Functions: The Provincial Local Government Commission shall perform its functions under section 123 of PLGA 2013 as under:- a. Conduct annual and special inspections of local governments. b. Conduct inquiry and special audit of any local government. c. Resolve the disputes between any Department of the Government and a local government or between local governments. d. Conduct social and performance audit of any local government. e. Take cognizance of violations of laws and rules by any local government

demanding that Federal Government should take steps to stop drone attacks. It is the violation of human rights and sovereignty of Pakistan. He condemned Law Minister of Punjab Rana Sanaullah Khan who opposed this resolution on the floor of the house on the pretext that it was already taken up by the Federal Government. Mian Aslam demanded that though issue was taken up but no state policy has been yet announced by the Federal Government. In reply to the answer of Rana Sanaullah, Mian Mehmood ur Rashid added that if Punjab Assembly passed this resolution it would strengthen the position of Prime Minister (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

6.9. ISSUE OF RIGGING IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS- 2013:

Right after the general election 2013 almost twenty-two political parties of Pakistan claimed that elections were rigged. PTI became the leading party to raise this issue throughout Pakistan. In the Punjab Assembly Mian Mehmood ur Rashid raised the issue of rigging in the first session held on 6th June, 2013. In this regard, PTI started protest in different parts of the Punjab. A protest against rigging in PP-150 Lahore was held on which government used force and beaten different political activists belonging to PTI. Members of PTI registered their protest in Punjab Assembly against police action. He added that for last three months we have been demanding for inquiry of rigging. He cited the example of PP-150 where forty Presiding Officers who were not appointed changed one day before polling (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

He objected the removal of Tariq Malik, Chairman the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) before the verification of thumb impression and declared it an illegal act. He reminded that all political parties said that general election 2013 was rigged. PTI did not protest on roads and street because of Imran Khan who directed to protest within Parliament so that someone else might not misuse such protests. PTI filed petitions against rigging and waiting for verification of thumb

impression. PTI demanded to verify four constituencies while Interior Minister of Pakistan Chaudhary Nisar as good gesture offer to make investigation in twenty constituencies. However, when the election tribunal decided to make investigation through verification of thumb impression government started to put pressure on the tribunal. He cited that in thirteen constituencies of province of Sindh when thumb impression was verified eighty thousand fake votes were found. After it when it was decided to start investigation in Punjab, the Federal Government dismissed the Chairman of NADRA Tariq Malik (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013). The members of PTI participated in Azadi March and sit-in. They also tendered resignation from Punjab Assembly for the investigation of rigging.

Leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Assembly Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)'s Mian Mahmoodur Rashid submitted resignations of his party's MPAs to the assembly secretary. He was of the view that the people's mandate was stolen because of a puppet election commission and Imran Khan was the first political leader who has stood up against rigging. We would not rest until a logical conclusion. We would not rest until we unmask those who rigged these elections and bring them before court. We would not allow by-elections on our vacated seats. After it PTI staged sit-in for 126 days. Due to APS Peshawar incidence, PTI finished its protest but did not take resignations back. After government's assurances to form a judicial commission that would probe the electoral irregularities, PTI backtracked and returned to their seats in assemblies on 6 April 2015 (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2015).

6.10. METRO PROJECTS:

The main objection of the PTI on Metro Projects was its expensiveness and burden on the government as government would have to pay subsidy to run these Metro Projects in future. Subsidy is to pay from the tax and in Pakistan; there is indirect taxation deducted

from poor class. PTI was of the view that PML (N) always used mega projects to get mega commission and to do mega corruption.

The project of Metro Bus Lahore was, started on 5 February 2012. PTI opposed this project on the basis that government should invest to provide education and health facilities rather than such kind of mega project. On 12 February 2016, Mian Mehmood ur Rahshid of PTI presented official documents as an evidence. He explained that at the time of starting project the government of Punjab said that it would be completed with 12 billion, and budget copy of 2012-13 have the same figures but, official documents disclosed that 30.80 billion were taken out of other projects in the province to complete Project. In this way, the cost of project rose to 43 billion, which proved that government spoke lie in the Assembly and did corruption through this project. He added that this amount did not include amount of land acquisition. If we add that then the cost of project rose to 50 billion rupee rather than 11 billion. He presented those documents in the Punjab Assembly. He demanded that Law Minister Rana Sanaullah should give surety on the floor of the house that if Orange Line Train Project were part of CPEC then money would be. taken from that account or loan would be given by Banks and would not disturb routine projects being in pipeline in the different parts of the province. He objected that money should be, spent on equal footing throughout the Punjab to develop all areas rather than to focus on Lahore only (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016).

Rawalpindi - Islambad Metro Bus Project was. started on 23 April 2014. PTI was also against this. When Punjab government decided to construct Rawalpindi Metro Bus PTI opposed it and Muhammad Arif Abbasi stated that as Lahore Metro bus project was proved a mess for the people of Lahore same going to be happened with people of Rawalpindi. He told that not only PTI has objection on this project the shopkeepers of

Murree road, students and patients against it. He blamed that this project was only in the interest of government rather than people (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2014).

The government of the Punjab decided to start Orange Line Train Project in Lahore. The project was, initiated with a signed memorandum of understanding between the governments of Pakistan and China in May 2014. Financing for the project was, secured in December 2015 when China's Exim Bank agreed to provide a soft loan of \$1.55 billion for the project. PTI objected it and Mian Mehmood ur Rashid spoke in Punjab Assembly that government should have discussed project in the Punjab Assembly and after making deliberation should have started it. He pointed out that this project dislocated one million people and organizations of civil society, National Heritage, rights committees and all welfare societies have been protesting against the project. He stated that the people of Punjab would have to pay interest on 200 billion of the project cost in the next ten years. He added that all the developmental schemes in Punjab needed only 10.80 billion which government not ready to provide but started a project of 200 billion through taking loan on which people would have to pay interest and without making any debate in the Punjab Assembly (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016). He asked that 10 billion loan was taken from bank to carry out this project despite of the fact that government claimed it as a part of CPEC. He demanded that government should tell that how much subsidy would be, paid for it and from where money for subsidy would be generated. He demanded to discuss the project of Orange Line Train Lahore in the Assembly. The main reason due which PTI has been pleading against Metro project was the point of subsidy. In all Metro projects, the government would have to pay subsidy out of the government exchequer, which prove that it would not generate revenue (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016). Mian Aslam Iqbal was of the view that this project would have deep impact on archeological sites in Lahore. He

claimed that Sharif family took 4.84 billion as commission on the pretext of orange line train. He explained that loan was, taken from Punjab Bank. Out of it constructor was paid and then he deposited this amount as kickback in Exim Bank in the account of Sharif family (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016).

Multan Metro bus project was, inaugurated on 24 January 2017 by Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. PTI opposed this project as well. Mian Mehmoodur Rashid, Mian Aslam Iqbal, and Arif Abbasi of PTI stated in the Punjab Assembly that the chief executive officer of Capital Engineering Faisal Subhan³⁵ has confessed to corruption of billions in front of the Chinese officials in the Multan Metro Bus project. He also revealed that he has done a transaction of 2 billion rupees in the bank account of a fake company and allegedly, Shehbaz Sharif was the beneficiary of this amount. Mian Mehmood ur Rashid demanded that Shebaz Sharif should make this issue clear in the Punjab Assembly. He added that the Multan Metro Bus project would prove to be Panama Papers for Shehbaz Sharif as Shehbaz would also be disqualified like his elder brother Nawaz Sharif if the scam of the Multan Metro would be probed thoroughly. He further demanded to bring the contracts and documentation of all the projects of the metro bus that were launched in different cities of Punjab as he said the corruption of billions was the hallmark of these projects. He was of the view that Subhan was underground after recording his statement to the Chinese officials and only Shehbaz knew his whereabouts. Mian Mehmood ur Rahid demanded that the details of Multan Metro Bus Project should be presented in the Punjab Assembly (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2018).

³⁵Faisal Subhan who is a director of Capital construction and Engineering Ltd, he is a CEO of Multan Metro Construction Company and very close to Shehbaz Sharif. PTI called him as front man of Shehbaz Sharif.

6.11. TO BUILD CONSENSUS ON THE KALABAGH DAM:

Mian Mehmood ur Rashid of PTI stated that Pakistan has been suffering due to energy crisis specially scarcity of water due to insufficient water storage and dams. He suggested that government Punjab should take initiative to build consensus on the issue of construction of Kalabagh dam³⁶. If Punjab government takes initiative, then a serious talk could be, managed with the government of KP. In case both provinces became agreed then the government of Sindh could also be convinced. He concluded that this project should have been started twenty years back (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013). Mian Mehmood ur Rashid disclosed in Assembly that one PML (N) was of the view that if it would get government in Centre it would construct Kalabagh dam. However, for last one-year government remained silent on this issue. He demanded that Punjab government should take up issue of Kalabagh dam with Federal Government and made efforts to develop the consensus on the construction of the Kalabagh dam among the provinces (Provincial Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

6.12. ISSUE OF LAHORE DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (LDA):

The government of the Punjab decided to extend the authority of LDA to the whole division and Chief Minister was to become Chairman of this authority. The members of PTI objected it. They were of the view that the Chairman of other authorities like Faisalabad Development Authority and rest of the authorities in Punjab were to be elected directly. The Chairman of LDA should also be, elected directly. Secondly, LDA should be restricted to the extent of district Lahore only rather than division. Thirdly, commissioner should not be, made member of LDA and government should make efforts to get rid of bureaucrats. A member should be, elected by the people

³⁶The Kalabagh Dam is a proposed hydroelectric dam on the Indus River at Kalabagh in the Mianwali District, Punjab, Pakistan, which has been, intensely debated along ethnic and regional lines for over 40 years.

rather than commissioner to devolve the authority to the grass root level. However, government did not accept the demand of PTI (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2013).

6.13. ISSUE OF DISTRIBUTION OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDS:

One of the issues, which members of PTI raised in the Punjab Assembly repeatedly, was the distribution of development funds. Mian Mehmood ur Rashid disclosed in Punjab Assembly that government has distributed development funds among representatives of different constituencies. Even those who lost election they were also, given development fund but the winning candidates of PTI were not, given any fund to spend for the development of their constituencies. He objected that development funds should not be, given to members of Provincial Assembly rather than be, given to local governments to solve the problems of the people. He also claimed that government has distributed such amount before local government election and called it pre-poll rigging (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2014). Mian Muhammad Aslam Iqbal asked government that according to which law development fund has been, given to the candidates belonging to government only and rest of the representatives of different areas not given. Government has been ignoring those areas from where candidates of PTI got victory. He cited that a candidate of PML (N), who lost in general election against him, has given development fund but the winning candidate not given any fund to work for the development of his area and people. He declared it undemocratic and unjust (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2014).

6.14. LAPTOP SCHEME:

The Laptop scheme was, announced in the budget speech of FY 2013 – 14 by the government of the Punjab. Murad Ras of PTI pointed out that government allocated one billion rupees for Laptop scheme. He was of the view that if we calculate price of laptop and distribute it per family then majority of the students could get benefit out of this

amount. He cited the article 25(A) which says that it is the responsibility of government to provide free education up to primary levels. He was of the view that rather than to invest on laptop government should spend this money on the up gradation of existing educational institutions. Dr Nausheen Hamid of PTI disclosed that government of Punjab fined 230 million rupees to repairing company of Laptop and then decided to exonerate. She demanded that there should be a proper investigation of this issue to dig out facts that on what basis fine was absolved (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2014).

6.15. ISSUE OF CREATION OF THE SOUTH PUNJAB PROVINCE:

In order to create Province of South Punjab the government of PML (N) formed a committee in which bureaucrats, retired judges, scholars, journalist, MPAs and MNAs were included as members. Although PTI was in favour of creation of the South Punjab Province but it made objection that no one was taken as a member from opposition benches. Mian Mehmood ur Rashid demanded that government should include member from opposition in this committee (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2014). Muhammad Sibtain Khan suggested that if government wanted to see development in the South Punjab and wanted to remove feeling of deprivation among the people of that area then government should create new districts. By doing, this awareness among the people would generate. People would be able to get facilities at their doorsteps (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2014).

6.16. MODEL TOWN INCIDENT:

The Model town incident happened on 17 June 2014 in which police made operation against the activists of The Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) in which more than hundred people were, killed. Mian Mehmood ur Rashid declared the government of Punjab responsible for this tragic incidence. He was of the view that due to misuse of police such incident happened. PTI would protest against such brutal action. On the same day, he

asked government to stop police operation in order to control the situation. He cited the tickers of media in which Chief Minister Shabaz Sharif was saying that he did order police to take action against PAT. He asked that who ordered police to take action (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2014). He added that such incidence did happen during the period of dictators like General Zia and General Pervez Musharaaf. Punjab government mishandled this situation, which led to killing of innocent people. He cited the statement of Chief Minister in which he said that he did know that who ordered for this operation, such Chief Minister should resign. All members of PTI criticized this incidence and demanded for independent inquiry (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2014). To investigate this issue government formed Joint Investigation Team (JIT). Mian Mehmood ur Rahid objected the findings of JIT. He stated that report did not declare anyone responsible for this event and declared some police officers as absconder. He was of the view that it was one of the most tragic incidences. in the history of Pakistan in, which fourteen people were, killed. He asked that as report stated some police officer absconder. Neither Chief Minister declared responsible nor Law Minister. Who was responsible? He asked. He rejected the report and declared government responsible for it. He pointed out that a Judicial Commission was, constituted under Justice Baqir Najfi to investigate this incident. It investigated but government has not been allowing making this report public. Mian Muhammad Aslam Iqbal demanded that the report of Judicial Commission should be. presented in the Punjab Assembly (Provincial Assembly of Pakistan, 2015).

6.17. ISSUE OF OVERSEAS' PAKISTANIS:

PTI always stressed for the rights of overseas Pakistanis and raised voice for them both in National Assembly and Punjab Assembly. Mian Muhammad Aslam Iqbal raised the point of Overseas Pakistanis. He was of the view that Overseas Pakistanis have been

the main source of foreign remittances. Despite of this they have not been given right to vote yet. He cited the example that when Kuwait War broke out Overseas Pakistanis came back to Pakistan and their problems were not, solved in Islamabad by the Pakistani government. He demanded that government should constitute a special department to address the issues of Overseas Pakistanis and protect their interests. Saadia Sohail Rana of PTI demanded that Overseas Pakistanis should be, given the right to vote. Pakistani embassies should help them in solving their problems (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2014).

6.18. SETTING-UP OF DIFFERENT COMPANIES BY PUNJAB GOVERNMENT:

The Punjab Government created fifty-six companies. These were. South Punjab Forest Company. Punjab Health Initiative Management Company. Punjab Power Development Company. Quaid-e-Azam Thermal Power Limited. Quaid-e-Azam Solar Power private limited. Quaid-e-Azam Hydel Power private limited. Punjab Municipal Development Fund Company, and the Management Company. Punjab Saaf Pani Company, Lahore Waste Management Company. Punjab Agriculture, and Meat Company, Punjab Bio Energy Company Ltd, Punjab Mineral Company, Punjab Land Development Company, and Punjab Industrial Estates Development Company in the name of improving the governance. The officers serving in these companies got incentives in the form of attractive compensations, normally 10-15 times higher than their normal salaries. For example, the civil servants serving in energy companies of the Punjab government were drawing Rs1.5-2 million per month in salaries compared to salaries of around Rs150, 000 to 200.000 for grade-21 and grade-22 officers. The legality of a higher salary to a serving civil servant as an executive officer of a limited company was questionable. Under the official rules, a civil servant deputed in a government-owned company was only entitled to a deputation allowance, which

amounts to around Rs 6,000 and could not receive higher emoluments. Some blue-eyed officers of the rulers were simultaneously enjoying benefits and privileges of being CEOs of these companies as well as government servants (The Express Tribune, 2016).

Mian Muhammad Aslam Iqbal of PTI pointed out that government has been establishing different companies with their likeminded partners from different countries and providing them much more budget as compare to whole department. He cited the example of Salt Waste Management Company that government going to allocate 12 billion of budgets for it while previously the budget of this department was only 1.5 billion. He asked that in presence of department why government established company due to which it would have to pay salaries both the employees of old departments and the new company. He gave the example that if a public servant were receiving salary of 80,000 the same person would be, given 800,000 salary and the confidants of government would be, given such attractive slots in different companies (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016). Mian Mehmood ur Rashid raised the question the government of Punjab made 56 different companies in the province of Punjab. The CEO of each company has been, given one million to 1.5 million of salary. Nevertheless, the performance of none of them has ever been, discussed in the Assembly (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2017).

6.19. CUTTING OF FORESTS IN THE PUNJAB:

Deforestation is one of the biggest problems in Pakistan. At the time of independence the country's forest cover stood at 33 percent which decreased to 3.3 percent in 2015 (<http://www.technologyreview.pk>, 2018). Muhammad Arif Abassi of PTI raised the issue of cutting of forests in the province of Punjab. He criticized that government have ordered to cut precious tree on the way to Metro Bus and Train route.

Government gave birth to forest mafia who were busy in cutting and smuggling the trees. He cited the example of cutting of Murree forests by the favorites of government. He objected that he contacted government and forest department but none of them replied (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016).

6.20. ISSUES OF MINORITIES:

The protection of the minorities' rights always remained one of the important points. Shunila Ruth of PTI raised the voice for the protection of minority rights not only, in the Punjab but the whole Pakistan. One of the important issues, which she raised, was the discriminatory articles of constitution with reference to minorities. She cited that Article 25 of the constitution says that equal opportunities would be, given to all citizens of Pakistan but on the other hand, the Article 40 of the constitution says that non-Muslim cannot become the Prime Minister of Pakistan and get high slots in Pakistan. She declared it discriminatory article. She objected that government allocated meager budget of .80 billion for minorities. She claimed that the population of minorities in Punjab has increased to 20 million. So government should have doubled the budget for minorities and allocate five percent quota in jobs. She also disclosed that Christmas fund should be increased from five thousands to ten thousands and its delivery be made on time (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016). She objected that in Census 2017 the statistics of minorities were not, disclosed. The seats, which were, allocated for minorities in 1973, did not revise after that (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2018).

6.21. VOICE FOR THE RIGHTS OF TRANSGENDER:

PTI members in Punjab Provincial Assembly raised voice for the protection of Transgender rights. Dr. Nosheen Hamid of PTI proposed the bill in the Punjab Provincial Assembly to conduct legislation for the rights of transgender. It was,

demanded that Rs. 100,000 fine and two years imprisonment in jail over discriminatory behavior towards transgender be given. It was, proposed to fine Rs. 30,000 and two months of jail on forced begging from transgender. In addition, welfare committees at provincial level for the rights of transgender and issuing special certification for community members, which would make it easy for identification, were, demanded. The bill aimed to campaign for the transgender which included provision of education and basic rights. It was, suggested that rehabilitation centers should be made across Punjab for the welfare of transgender. Shunila Ruth said that fund of 500 million should be reserved for the welfare of Transgender. Else, of it they should provided technical education and health insurance (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016).

6.22. ISSUE OF CORRUPTION IN DIFFERENT PROJECTS:

One of the issues on which PTI gave tough time to government in the Assembly was the charges of corruption against government in different projects. Through electronic and print media. PTI cashed this narrative a lot. Else, of Metro and Orange line project PTI blamed that government of PML (N) was involved in corruption in various projects. Muhammad Arif Abbasi of PTI blamed that government did corruption in Youth Laptop Scheme. As laptop were available in the market at the cost of ten to fifteen thousand but government allocated billions for it. Metro project has been causing deficit of 5 billion per year. Embezzlement of millions was, made in youth loan scheme. Corruption of three billion was, made in the project of *Chichon ki Malian* project. He added that government claimed about the Quaid-i-Azam Solar Power Project Bahawalpur that it would generate 100 Megawatt of electricity but has been, producing 25 Megawatt only. Due to this government has been making efforts to sell it. The cost of the *Nandipur* power project has risen to 123 billion from original cost of

18 billion (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016). Mian Mehmood ur Rashid presented audit report of Lahore Waste Management Company which showed that it made embezzlement of 12 billion rupees (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016). Murad Ras charged that government allocated 30 billion rupees in the budget 2016-17 for clean water but utilized only 2 billion rupees (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2017). The Shunila Ruth of PTI cited the report of Auditor General of Pakistan according to which an embezzlement of 5.14 billion was, made by Lahore Transport Company.

On the issue of promotion of former Director General Lahore Development Authority Ahad Cheema to grade-20 while he was under custody and investigation of NAB, PTI legislator Dr Nausheen Hamid, on a point of order, stood up and expressed her displeasure over Cheema's promotion. She asked what sort of message the government was giving to society by promoting a man who was in NAB custody. Murad Rass was of the view that the government was backing a corrupt mafia which means the leaders were protecting themselves as they feared Cheema may reveal their corruption if investigated by NAB. After the arrest of Ahad Cheema, his supporter in bureaucracy started strike. PTI's Mian Aslam Iqbal strongly condemned the locking of their offices by bureaucrats. He warned the Chief Secretary of a protest in front of the secretariat if the offices were, not opened. He called the bureaucracy as a wing of PML-N and the CM was being, protected through the Chief Secretary (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2018).

6.23. PANAMA LEAKS:

On the issue of the Panama Leaks, the Punjab Assembly passed a resolution by treasury benches condemnation resolution against the Panama Leaks. Minister for Law Rana Sanaullah in which the House admired Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's decision to constitute an investigative the judicial commission headed by a retired judge of the

Supreme Court of Pakistan to probe the allegations leveled by Panama Leaks tabled the treasury resolution. The treasury resolution termed the Panama Leaks as a baseless, conspiracy and wicked leaks and condemned all efforts of holding protests and creating political crisis on it. While the leader of the opposition Mian Mehmoodur Rasheed on a point of order demanded a resignation from the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on the issue of Panama Leaks.

On 4th April, 2016 Mian Mehmood ur Rabsheed urged the federal government to immediately launch an investigation into the Panama leak revelations. He was of the view that money had been, stolen from the people of Pakistan and should be brought back to the country. The Chief Justice of Pakistan should take *suo motu* notice of the matter and direct the National Accountability Bureau to submit a report on it in a month. Opposition members staged a walkout from session of the Provincial Assembly over the treasury's refusal to let Leader of the Opposition Mehmood ur Rasheed table a out of turn resolution seeking a federal government inquiry into the Panama leak revelations (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2016).

The Speaker of National Assembly Sardar Ayaz Sadiq sent reference against Imran Khan and, Jahangir Tareen. The reference against Imran Khan mentioned his offshore company, and properties abroad, income, the fact that he had not disclosed an investment to the ECP, and his alleged false statements about his Bani Gala house. It alleged that Khan had purchased a flat in London through an offshore company in 1983 and did not disclose this fact until 2016. Another allegation against him was about his sprawling Bani Gala residence, which he had declared to be a gift from his ex-wife. However, the record showed that he claimed to have purchased the land at a rate of Rs145, 000 per kanal in 2011. The reference also went on to question the sources of income that he used to construct the palatial house, accusing him of concealing his investment in the Grand

Hyatt Hotel on Constitution Avenue in the declaration of assets submitted to the ECP for the year 2014. It also accused the PTI chief of keeping the ownership of his London apartment at 165-Draycott Avenue a secret until a tax amnesty scheme was, announced by the government in the year 2000.

The reference against Jahangir Tareen alleged that as a federal minister, during the Musharraf regime, he had received a Rs. 101 million loans from the Zarai Taraqati Bank Limited in the name of *Tandlianwala* Sugar Mills, which was later, wrote off in 2005. A five-member bench of the ECP headed by the chief election commissioner, dismissed disqualification references against Imran Khan and Jehangir Tareen. Mian Mehmud ur Rashid of PTI declared it as victory of PTI in the Punjab Assembly (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2017).

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif formed a judicial commission to investigate the allegations of owning offshore companies and concealing assets disclosed by Panama Papers. Two judges of the five-member apex bench. Justice Asif Saeed Khosa and Justice Gulzar Ahmed disqualified him while three judges of the bench ordered to constitute joint investigation team. Mian Mehmood ur Rashid demanded that Prime Minister should resigned and did not perform as Prime Minister until and unless the final report of the JIT (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2017). After the investigation of JIT all five members of the Judicial Commission gave verdict against Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and declared him disqualified.

6.24. ISSUE OF KULBHUSHAN JADHAV IN THE PUNJAB ASSEMBLY:

PTI used the issue of Kulbushan as one of the points to oppose PML (N) in both the National Assembly and, the Punjab Assembly. Pakistan's military court had sentenced Kulbushan Sudhir Jadhav to death on charges of espionage and terrorism in April 2017.

His case was, taken to International Court of Justice. The International Court of Justice directed Pakistan to review his conviction and, until then, put his death sentence on hold. The court also asked Islamabad to allow New Delhi consular access at the earliest. Mian Mehmood ur Rashid opposed the decision of the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on the plea that Federal Government accepted the jurisdiction of ICJ and signed on 29th March, 2017 on its declaration in hurry. He was of the view that before doing this Government should have taken preliminary measures to prove case in favor of Pakistan (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2017).

6.25. ISSUE OF INVESTMENT ON LAHORE ONLY:

One of the points, which PTI always raised and used as an opposition, was its objection that the government of PML (N) has been using money for the development of Lahore only and ignoring other areas of the Punjab. Malik Ahmed Khan Bachar objected that throughout the history the government of PML (N) focused on the development of Lahore only and ignored rest of the areas of Punjab particularly South Punjab. He cited the example that the Nishtar Gath project was, announced in 1988. Then budget was, allocated for it in 2002 and again in 2017. He said that government started a Metro bus service of 100 billion and allocated 200 billion for Orange line train but did not pay only five billion for the project of Jampur a city in province of Punjab. The Nishtar Ghat project was, announced in 1988 by former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. The Nishtar Gath Bridge, one of the major infrastructure projects, costing Rs5.49 billion is yet to be completed. This proposed bridge connecting Balochistan and Punjab via the GT Road (N-5) and the Indus Highway (N-55) on both sides of River Indus. Sardar Ali Raza Khan Dreshak said that government of PML (N) always ignored the areas of South Punjab. He cited that government could not utilized even 20% developmental schemes in South Punjab. Government allocated only 21.70 million for South Punjab in the budget 2017-18

while 110 billion were, allocated for the upper Punjab (Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 2017).

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf played vital role as an opposition in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. It almost highlighted and debated on all issues aroused in front of it. Due to its active role in the Punjab Assembly, it spread its message throughout the Punjab. As a result, it emerged as the largest political party in the general election 2018 and formed government in the Province of the Punjab.

6.26. PTI AS AN OPPOSITION IN THE SINDH ASSEMBLY (2013-2018)

PTI got three seats in the province of the Sindh as a result, of the general election 2013. It secured one reserved of woman. Syed Hafeezuddin, Khurram Sher Zaman and Samar Ali Khan got victory from the constituencies of Karachi. Dr. Seema Zia was selected on reserve seat of woman by PTI. The province of the Sindh is, considered as stronghold of PPP since long while MQM created a space for itself in Karachi and emerged as strong contenders for rest of the political parties in the province. It was a hard task for PTI to get seats in the presence of such two political parties, which had deep roots in the province.

PPP got majority in the general election 2013 in the province of the Sindh and formed government. The first sitting of the Sindh Assembly was, held on 29 May 2013, presided over by Mr. Nisar Ahmed Khuhro, the outgoing Speaker of Provincial Assembly of the Sindh. Agha Siraj Durrani of PPP was, elected as the Speaker while Syeda Shehla Raza of PPP as Deputy Speaker of the Sindh Assembly. Qaim Ali Shah was, elected as the Chief Minister of Sindh on 30 May 2013. The three legislators belonging to the PTI did not vote (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2013).

PTI's members of provincial assembly played vital role as an opposition but the most vibrant role was, played by Khurram Sher Zaman and Dr. Seema Zia. During the span of

five years, they raised various issues in the provincial assembly. The details of role of members of PTI as an opposition are, given.

6.27. SOLIDARITY OF PTI WITH MINORITIES:

In Pakistani political culture the minorities issues plays vital role. All political parties try to keep the rights of minorities safe. If any abnormality happens, political parties cooperate with minorities. It is in the manifesto of PTI to protect their all rights in Pakistan. On the issue of Kohati Gate Church in Peshawar killing 80 innocent people, PTI supported the resolution moved by PPP. The member of the Sindh Provincial Assembly, Mahesh Kumar Malani of PPP moved resolution on 23 September 2013, which was unanimously, passed. The Assembly condemned suicide attack on Kohati Gate Church in Peshawar killing 80 innocent people. The members of PTI supported this resolution and stood in solidarity with Pakistani Christian community and pledge to continue fight against terrorism and work towards a progressive, peaceful Pakistan as envisioned by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2013).

6.28. ISSUE OF CHILD RIGHTS AND PTI:

PTI always raised voice for the child rights in the province of the Sindh. It has become serious issue in the Pakistani society that children are becoming target of mischief involved in illegal activities. Children are, not only enforced to do labour but also used for beggary. In addition to it, the serious issue of child rape has been increasing in Pakistan. In the Sindh Assembly, PTI raised issues regarding child rights. The most important of them are, mentioned below.

PTI's Khurram Sher Zaman moved a private resolution on 24 February 2014, and demanded to ensure implementation of Child Labour Laws in the province of Sindh and to impose ban on Child Labour in the Province of the Sindh. (Provincial Assembly of

Sindh, 2014). On call attention notice, Dr. Seema Zia of asked Minister for Labour that under Article 25-A of Constitution education is the right of every child between the ages of 5-18 years. She demanded to implement laws in its true letter and spirit. She also demanded to abolish and curtail Child Labour as Domestic and Commercial Labour (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

It is a serious problem in Pakistan including the province of the Sindh that, poor children do not have permanent dwelling to live and roam here and there. In this regards PTI's Dr. Seema Zia moved a private motion on 16 January 2018, and demanded that government of the Sindh should take steps to establish Shelter Home for the Street Children in every district in the province (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). She asked the Minister for Social Welfare, Sindh to take steps to provide shelter homes to beggar children seen in Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). She also demanded to take strict action against child begging and child labour. Provincial Assembly of the Sindh in its sitting held on 24 January 2017 unanimously passed the resolution moved by her that "This House resolves that Sindh Government implement and take strict action against child begging and child labour."

The incidence of rape and murder of Zainab Amin Ansari in Kasur was the most painful. The government of Pakistan hanged the culprit Imran Ali. This issue was, raised by PTI in the Sindh Assembly. Provincial Assembly of the Sindh on 12 August 2015 unanimously passed the resolution moved by Sharmila Sahebah Farooqi of PPP. PTI supported this resolution.

This House vehemently condemns the largest and worst ever incident of child abuse case in Pakistan in Kasur, Punjab. The barbarity involves more than 300 children from the age of 6 to 14. The glaring fact that the abuse had been going on since 2006 and no action whatsoever was taken until the victim parents staged protest raises serious concerns regarding the sheer negligence and apathy of the Police. This House demand immediate arrest of the culprits and their trial in Military Courts and Speedy Justice for the victims and their families (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015).

This is painful issue in Pakistan the beggars abuses children for begging. Even children are, provided on rent for begging. On all attention notice, Dr. Seema Zia of PTI asked Minister for Home to put a ban on this sad situation of the city where several infants and children are daily, abused on streets by the beggars under extreme climate (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

6.29. ISSUE OF ALCOHOL:

In Pakistan, the usage of wine and alcohol is, prohibited. Despite of this it is, witnessed that law enforcement agencies remained failed to implement laws relating alcohol in its true letter and spirit. This issue was raised in the Sindh Assembly by PTI. On call attention notice, Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI invited the attention of the Minister for Excise & Taxation, in the Assembly. He inquired that what is the reason even after raising issue in the session three months back regarding open consumption and usage of Alcohol as an ingredient in restaurants in Clifton and still not yet, any notice an action has been. taken (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014). He told that Minister for Excise & Taxation, Sindh that Alcohol Consumption outside the wine shop, most of the wine shops are located in the residential areas. After buying consumers, enjoy their drinks around that premises. These Alcoholics being drunk pass misappropriated remarks which getting intolerable and unbearable for the neighborhood and the resident. He demanded that all wine shops should be, moved away from the residential blocks (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

He added that wine shops selling alcohol to Muslims and people drinking outside wine-shops creating problem for residents (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016)? He told that law does not allow the Department to give permission for sale of liquor near public places such as Mosque. School. Residential and Commercial areas (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018) particularly during the Holy Month of Ramadan (Provincial Assembly of

Sindh, 2018). He moved a private motion and demanded to shut down all wine shops throughout the Province of Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018)

6.30. ISSUE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN KARACHI:

The performance of local government administration in Karachi remained a source of hard talk in between government of PPP and PTI. Most of the time issues of Karachi remained under discussion due to two reasons. Firstly, the situation of affairs in Karachi is not satisfactory since long and secondly all the members of PTI were, elected from different constituencies of Karachi. Therefore, the focus of PTI's members remained on the affairs of Karachi though they made efforts to address problems of whole province of Sindh. PTI raised the following problems of Karachi.

It has become a fashion in Pakistan that in time of emergency the law enforcement agencies blocks mobile services and bans pillion ridding. However, such actions are taken for security purpose but government should take such measures with the help of which issues can be resolved on permanent basis. In Karachi, this issue has become serious because most of the time the law and order remains under threat. Majority of the people use motorcycle for mobility. When government of the Sindh and Karachi administration put ban on pillion riding it creates many problems for the people-using bike for travelling. This issue was, raised by PTI in the Sindh Assembly. On call attention, notice Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI asked the Minister for Home that what are outcomes of ban on pillion riding in city of Karachi as thousands of people affected with this ban (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

The issue of billboards has become a headache for the administration of Karachi. It has defaced the beauty of the city. Local government looks failed to bring billboards owners under the ambit of law. This issue was, raised by PTI in the Sindh Assembly. On call attention, notice Dr. Seema Zia of PTI demanded Minister for Information to take notice

of the massive influence of huge billboards throughout the city at various public places and impertinent main roads. These billboards cause safety hazards & distraction to the public and spoil the beautification of the city (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014). She said that there is an influx of billboards in the city, which is increasing in numbers and size by the day. She asked that what revenue does Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC) collect through these billboards (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). Khurram Sher Zaman also asked the Minister for Local Government, Sindh to address the issue of billboards in Karachi city. He was of the view that city is getting flooded with billboards & rules are not, followed. PTI demanded that relevant department should take measures to solve this issue seriously (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

The unruly and ugly wires of the cable operating companies are one of the grave issues in Karachi. Despite of modern technologies people in Karachi has to face such mess. Dr. Seema Zia of PTI asked the Minister for Local Government, the Sindh to address the issue of overcrowded cables. She said that the areas of Saddar Karachi is, being littered by the unruly and ugly wires of the cable operating companies hanging from the electricity poles. She asked that why lose cable wires are, hung haphazardly over the electric poles in Clifton area. These are dangerous and look unsightly (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017)? Government should take notice of this menace.

Crumbling roads has become another issue of Karachi city. Whenever rain comes, the conditions of roads become aggravated. It also depicts the quality of road construction in Karachi. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI raised this issue and asked the Minister for Local Government, Sindh to explain to the House and the people of Karachi the reasons for the crumbling roads every time there is rain in Karachi. He also raised question on the poor quality of construction (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

Due to crumbling roads, the issue of traffic jams emerges. He asked government to address the issue of traffic jams throughout the day in the city of Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). He explained that due to delay in completion of Saddar development work, which is pending, the residents and traders are facing severe difficulty (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). The surrounding area of Karachi's City Railway Station has become a nuisance for travelers, area residents & traders due to the crumbling condition of roads (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). The entire maaripur road starting from Lyari is dilapidated having deep pits. Development schemes of the development authorities under the Sindh government have not attained completion even after the lapse of 2 to 3 decades due to which millions of citizens are suffering. (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). In order to minimize the issue of traffic jam government should complete such issues as soon as possible. Government should also take insurance and guarantee from the builders and constructors for the safety purpose.

Water issue has become the most serious issue of Karachi city. The city, which provides half of the revenue to Pakistan, has been facing the scarcity of water since long. This issue was raised by PTI in the Sindh Assembly repeatedly.

Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI asked the Minister for Local Government Sindh that what is the reason for shortage of water in district South specially Lyari Town (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015), district South, Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016) and areas of PS-112 (Hijrat Colony, Shah Rasool Colony (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). He asked the reason for shortage of water in his constituency PS-112 even after availability of water in Hub Dam (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). He demanded that government should take immediate notice of the long-standing delay in the two ongoing Water Supply Schemes for Karachi City of 165 million gallons per day (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

He was of the view that due to unfair distribution system of The Karachi Water & Sewerage Board (KW&SB) people has been facing this problem (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016)? He moved privilege motion and asked the KW&SB to supply water (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). Dr. Seema Zia of PTI stated that residents of DHA are suffering from shortage of water since KW&SB has failed to supply required quantity to Cantonment Board Clifton. She asked that how much million gallons of water per day is being, supplied to DHA & What is the short fall (Provincial Assemble of Sindh, 2017). Khurram Sher Zaman asked the reasons of failure by the department and what steps government has decided to take in order to address this major issue (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017)? He asked is it a fact that administrative control of KW&SB is likely to be, handed over to Pakistan Army. He demanded that every resident of Province of the Sindh should be, provided with clean water as a basic human right and necessity (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

He asked Ministry to take steps after the report by Pakistan Council of Research in Water Resources regarding unsafe water in 13 districts of Sindh, which is unfit for human consumption (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). He moved Adjournment motion on the issue of contamination of water in the Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He asked government to explain why it has failed to provide clean water to Karachi city as according to his information 40% of water is unhygienic (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). Dr. Seema Zia of PTI demanded that government should ensure that sewerage water would not be, dumped into seawater until and unless it is treated, and filtered and made safe for the inhabitants (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). On call attention notice, he disclosed that that in his constituency Bath Island, Gulshan-e-Faisal KWSB is using Storm Drain for Sewerage waste since last 3 years. This is the Second time I have brought this issue to our August House but unfortunately, KWSB has not

taken any steps to solve (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014). Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI was of the view that every resident of Province of the Sindh should be, provided with clean water as a basic human right and necessity (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018).

It is one of the issues that there is no systematic system in Pakistan to distribute money of Zakat, Usher and Eid grants among the deserved people. However, there is a ministry but political representatives distribute money of Zakat and Usher among their supporters because of political affiliations. This issue was, raised by PTI in the Sindh Assembly. PTI's Khurram Sher Zaman demanded that government of Sindh should provide list of people showing number of deserving widows, orphans, labourers and old age persons who were given Eid grant in Karachi and Hyderabad during 2010-13 (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). In addition, amount of Zakat distributed in district Karachi during 2010-13 along with number of persons benefited as well as criteria followed for the same and per person amount given. He also demanded that government should provide number of members of a district Zakat Council along with tenure of chairman of district Committee as well as power limits of the same (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). In Pakistani political culture, the members and Chairman of Zakat Council are, appointed on political affiliations.

Waste management is another issue of Karachi. The amount of the garbage has increased so much that the name of the Karachi city is included in the one of the dirtiest cities of the world. PTI raised it in Sindh Assembly. Dr. Seema Zia of PTI said that garbage rubble, litter and filth on the Sahara-e-Attar Road Clifton have become headache for the people. She asked the reasons for negligence by the Department (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). It led to hazardous sanitation issues in areas around Block-4 Clifton especially near Abdullah Shah Ghazi Mazar (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). She asked the Minister for Local Government Sindh that even after giving garbage disposed

contract to a private vendor still there is heaps of garbage dumped in Clifton on the streets (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). This issue is becoming more and more serious and needed concrete steps to be resolved.

Issue of encroachment and illegal construction has become deep rooted in province of the Sindh. The terminology like “China Cutting” has been, coined based on this phenomenon in Sindh. All this is being, done in the presence of government and affiliated institutions because it is not possible to do such act without the permission of relevant departments. PTI raised this issue in Sindh Assembly and demanded to take action. Kurrum Sher Zaman of PTI invited the attention of Minister for Local Government Sindh to take action against the illegal construction on government land designated for Eid-Gah and Playground located at Liaquat Basti Old Sabzi Mandi near Faizn-e-Madina District East (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). He also highlighted that that Sindh Building Control Authority, Karachi giving high rise permission in Karachi City to builders without upgrading Water Lines, Sewerage System & Road Network which is creating great inconvenience to the residents of the City (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). He identified that Jamaluddin Afghani Park located at Jamaluddin Afghani Road Sharfabad behind Medicare Hospital, which is being, used as restaurant and residents are not, allowed to use Public Park (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He stated on the floor of the House that in his constituency, the pedestrian are facing difficulties from Saddar to Burns Road due to illegal encroachments and asked Sindh government to take action. Due to such kinds of encroachment and illegal construction, the problems of people are increasing and the beautification of cities diminishing.

It is one of the serious issues of Karachi as well. In the twenty first century people living in Karachi has been facing such problems. It is a bitter fact that in most of the dog bites cases people died due to unavailability of anti-rabies vaccine. PTI's Khurram Sher

Zaman told that there are thousands of stray dogs in Karachi, due to which hundreds of dog bite cases are, reported on a daily basis (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). PTI demanded government to take action against stray dogs and provide anti-rabies vaccines for the affected people.

Bike racing in streets and roads creates many problems for people. Due to it accidents happens and majority of bikers loss their lives. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI moved adjournment motion regarding street racing in Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). Dr. Seema Zia of PTI addressed Minister for Home, Sindh and told that many young boys have lost their lives due to Motorbike racing. She moved a private motion and demanded that government should take measures for strict implementation of law by the Traffic Police to make it mandatory for every Motor Cyclist to wear the Safety Helmet (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014). She told that according to traffic regulations it is mandatory for all motor-cyclists and those sitting with them to wear helmet but the same is not implemented (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

Issue of parking is also serious in province of the Sindh. No specific places are designated for parking due to which people have face problems of traffic jam and encroachment. PTI raised this issue in the Sindh Assembly and Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI cited that thousands of bikes are being picked on daily basis from Saddar Area by Traffic Police on the charges of No-Parking whereas department has not installed parking signs. PTI asked government to take steps to address this issue (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

Load shedding became serious problem for the people of Karachi. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI move private resolution on this issue. He asked government to address the crisis of load shedding in Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He also moved adjournment motion on this issue (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018).

Else, of these issues PTI raised some other issues relating to Karachi. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI moved adjournment motion regarding share of residents of Karachi for Sindh government jobs (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016) and rising prices of essential commodities in Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). He moved adjournment motion on the issue regarding charged vehicle parking throughout Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He objected the exclusion of post of Director General Malir Development Authority from the cadre schedule (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He asked government to take action on regarding Cantonment Board Clifton's decision of banning residents of upper Gizri for using Gizri Graveyard (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He moved an adjournment motion and asked government of the Sindh to address the issue of funding for Karachi Metropolitan Corporation. Therefore. KMC could resolve the issue of Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.31. ISSUE OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDS:

PTI. in Provincial Assembly of the Sindh raised the issue that government was not providing development funds for those areas from where the candidate of PPP did not get victory. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI moved privilege motion and objected that the Sindh government was distributing development funds to only members of the Sindh Assembly from the treasury benches (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). Through adjournment motion, he highlighted the corruption of government funds on Larkana development (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018).

6.32. DEMAND TO PLAY NATIONAL ANTHEM BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY SESSION:

Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI moved private resolution and demanded that before commencing the proceedings of the Assembly Session National Anthem should be.

played in the House (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014). National anthem is a symbol of a country, represents the tradition, history, and beliefs of a nation and its people. It helps to evoke feelings of patriotism among the country's citizens and reminds them of their nation's glory, beauty, and rich heritage.

6.33. TRIBUTE TO PAKISTAN STREET CHILDREN FOOTBALL TEAM:

The condition of sports in Pakistan is not satisfactory. No game else of cricket is given due importance. In such situation Pakistan Street Children Football, team got third position in the world cup. Khurram Sher Zaman moved a resolution in, which Pakistan Football Team was paid tribute on playing well and gave tremendous performance in Tournament of the Street Child Football World Cup and has secured third Position (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

6.34. DEMAND OF PTI FOR BIO-METRIC SYSTEM:

In order to bring reforms and accountability in all departments PTI demanded to introduce biometric system. For this purpose PTI demanded that the Election Commission of Pakistan should take steps for then up-coming Local Bodies Election and General Election in future under Bio-Metric System in the Province. Provincial Assembly of the Sindh in its sitting held on 15 April 2014 unanimously passed the resolution moved by Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI stated that:

This Assembly resolves and recommends to the Government of Sindh to approach the Election Commission of Pakistan to have up-coming Local Bodies Election and General Election in future under Bio-Metric System in the Province. (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

He moved a private resolution and demanded to implement Biometric Attendance System in Sindh Government Departments for transparency (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015). Dr. Seema Zia of PTI asked the Minister for Services General Administration & Coordination Department, Sindh to introduce Biometric system in the Sindh Secretariat

(Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016) to improve the performance of all departments in the province.

6.35. DEMAND OF PTI TO IMPOSE BAN ON IMPORT, SALE & PURCHASE OF GUTKA:

In Sindh, most of the people eat “Gutka”. It is injurious for health. It causes different diseases. Dr. Seema Zia moved private resolution to impose ban on import, sale and purchase of Gutka in the entire Province of Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014). She moved a private resolution to impose ban on import, sale and purchase of beetal nut & Gutka in the entire Province of Sindh. Provincial Assembly of the Sindh in its sitting held on 19 April 2016 unanimously passed the resolution moved by Dr. Seema Zia of PTI stated that:

This Assembly resolves that Provincial Government impose ban on import, sale and purchase of beetal nut & Gutka in the entire Province of Sindh. According to medical statistics, chewing gutka is injurious to health and is pre-cancerous (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.36. PTI CONDEMNED ATTACK ON HAMID MIR:

Hamid Mir is known as one of the most popular and credible journalist in Pakistan. He was, attacked on 19 April 2014 in Karachi and became injured. Syed Hafeezuddin of PTI moved a resolution according to which Sindh Assembly strongly condemned the attack on renowned Journalist Hamid Mir in Karachi and declared it as a blatant attack on the freedom of Press, and prays for his early recovery (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

In the backdrop of this incidence, Geo News blamed that Hamid Mir was, attacked by ISI and Pakistan Army. PTI criticized this stance. Provincial Assembly of Sindh in its sitting held on 25 April 2014 unanimously passed the resolution moved by Mr. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI and condemned claim of Geo News.

This Assembly condemns the objectionable statement of Geo News, which defamed our National Security Agency with false accusation without proof on ISI Chief, which is an

irresponsible act of Geo News. Our prestigious defense institute (ISI) has always been pride for us (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

6.37. ISSUE OF ELECTRICITY IN SINDH:

The issue of electricity remained one of the serious issue from 2013-18. The government of Sindh blamed that Federal Government deliberately for load shedding. In reply to it the Federal State Minister for Water and Power Abid Sher Ali blamed that people in the Sindh do not pay electricity bill and are involved in theft of electricity. Provincial Assembly of the Sindh in its sitting held on 25 April 2014 unanimously carried the Motion moved by Mr. Nisar Ahmed Khuhro, Senior Minister for Education & Literacy Sindh. PTI supported this resolution, which stated that:

This Assembly censures the derogatory remarks of Federal State Minister for Water and Power Abid Sher Ali to call people of Sindh as thieves to steal Electric Power. The utterances are highly objectionable and speak of hatred. It is a dangerous trend towards damaging Unity among the provinces in particular and the Nation in general (Provincila Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

PTI demanded that the government should have a plan to control over Karachi Electric Supply Company and Hyderabad Electric Supply Company to ensure adequate supply of electricity in Karachi and interior Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). Provincial Assembly of Sindh in its sitting held on 17 June 2016 unanimously passed the resolution moved by PPP. It was, also supported by PTI.

This Assembly vehemently condemns the venomous attitude and discriminatory act by Federal Water and Power Authorities with the people of Sindh Province. It has been experienced that there is 18 to 20 hours Load-Shedding of Power supply to the subscribers and on the top of it authorities issue wrong statements, make false claims and promises that there shall be no Load-Shedding on Sehar and Iftar timings, but all in vain. People of the Province are, forced to meet their domestic, business and agriculture power needs by use of gas generators, whereas Sui Southern Gas Company cuts off the gas pressure by announcing ban on such use. Sindh has tremendous potential of Power Production and is busy in exploiting all fossil and renewable sources helping to solve the National problem of Power Scarcity, but surprisingly, the regulatory authorities are not allowing linkage to national grid. Such attitudes prove that the Province is facing discrimination, which is nothing but detrimental to national interest and integrity (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

PTI demanded that government should take action against K-Electric for excessive billing, load shedding and other malpractices (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). It asked K-Electric to move immediately towards Time of Usage (TOU) metering and billing (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

6.38. ISSUE OF SOCIAL WELFARE:

PTI raised issues relating to social welfare organization in the Sindh Assembly. In this regards PTI asked the Minister for Social Welfare to increase number of organizations working for disabled persons in the province and ensure their registration with Social Welfare Department under the Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies (Registration and Control) Ordinance 1961 to avoid anomalies and deception in the name of social welfare. Khurrm Sher Zaman of PTI asked about number of Dar-ul-Amans exist in the province along with the number of shelter-less women living in each as well as the number of government staff working therein? In addition, he inquired about number of centers for blind and deaf working under Social Welfare department in the province along with the nature of training being imparted therein (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

Women empowerment and development is one of the point of PTI's manifestos. For the development of women, PTI raised voice in the Sindh Assembly. Khurrum Sher Zaman of PTI asked the Minister for Women Development to establish display centers in all districts of Sindh as have been, established during 2011 to 2013 to introduce the work of handicraft and skills of women for other cities. He demanded that government should ensure arrangement of hotel and accommodation in the province at government level for working women. He said that number of vacant posts at Day Care Center, Karachi and Sales and Display Resources Center, Karachi should be, filled on merit (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015).

Provincial Assembly of the Sindh in its sitting held on 8 March 2017 has unanimously passed the resolution moved by Dr. Seema Zia of PTI and others to pay tribute to women:

This House pays tribute to the women of Pakistan on International Women's Day. Who against all odds challenges and hardships, have contributed bravely for the cause of nation building and community service. They have been pivotal in steering the wheel of this country towards prosperity. We honour our women today and resolve to stand against all discrimination towards them, by recognizing their efforts and by giving, those equal rights, opportunity and social protection. We must also adhere to our Islamic values and treat women with respect and social justice.

PTI asked government to ensure the implementation of scheme to establish rest houses for senior citizens implemented during 2011-12. Else, of it the scheme to upgrade the center for physically handicapped person was under consideration of the government during 2011-13 and work is being, carried out on schemes of Darul-Amans in the province should also be completed. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI asked that a scheme to enhance the sources of income for poor women were. allocated during 2012-13 (Provincial Assembly of Sindh , 2015) should be, completed in its true letter and spirit.

6.39. ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUE:

PTI made it part of party constitution and all electoral manifestos to address the environment issues. Due to different causes the environmental issues has been increasing in Pakistan. PTI raised such issue in Sindh Assembly.

In order to avoid environmental issues garbage should be disposed off in its designated place. On call attention notice, Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI asked the Minister for Local Government Sindh that what is the reason of burning garbage at Sea view Clifton opposite Bilawal House & not at designated places. (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015)

Deforestation is one of the reasons of depletion of environment. In Sindh, the powerful people occupy the forestland. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI told in Sindh Assembly that an area of 108569.3 acres forestland along both sides of river Indus has been encroached.

He demanded that government should take action against officials of Forest department and the occupants involved in it (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

Plastic bags are another reason for the degeneration of environment. It should be, banned in true letter and spirit. Dr. Seema Zia of PTI told the Minister for Environment, Sindh that the city is littered and polluted with plastic bags, which being non-biodegradable cause serious environmental threat. She asked government to take steps to control this menace (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI claimed that it is a fact that government is unable to implement environment laws in the province as most of the factories and vehicles are violating (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.40. AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

Pakistan is an agricultural country and the province of the Sindh contributes a lot in the agricultural sector. It is famous for its agricultural products particularly fruits like dates and mangoes. PTI discussed this issue in the Sindh Assembly. PTI asked government to take steps for the promotion of some rare varieties of dates in the province. Dr. Seema Zia of PTI suggested government to take measures to have a fruit festival in Karachi by inviting international exporters. She was of the view that despite excellent mango crop our mangoes are not exported to other countries. Government should chalk out a plan to keep a big international level exhibition of mangoes in Karachi and to invite all the international exporters (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI told to the Minister for Irrigation that water logging and salinity negatively affecting 38.5% of fertile land of the province (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He suggested concern department to introduce education and training program to help farmers to improve irrigation water management (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). Sukkar Barrage is one of the sources of water, which has been suffering from silt problem since long. He told that for last several years Sukkur Barrage is being, operated without proper

compliance with crucial de-silting procedures and standards (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). If government of Sindh takes serious steps regarding agricultural development it has the potential to become self sufficient in food.

6.41. HEALTH ISSUES IN THE SINDH:

Health issues are very serious in the province of the Sindh. Many people die due to insufficient medical facilities in the province particularly in the rural areas. Health issues remained the most debated issue in the Provincial Assembly of the Sindh from 2013-18. PTI raised different issues relating to health sector.

National Institute of Cardiovascular Diseases in collaboration with the Government of the Sindh are a chain of health care centers located in Sindh. On call attention notice, Dr. Seema Zia invited the attention of the Minister for Health to bring under the notice of the Health Ministry that the National Institute of Cardiovascular Diseases has been facing huge financial constrains. She inquired that why the Provincial Government is unable to give the institute its due budgetary allocation after being devolved to the Province since July 2011 (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014).

Disease of hepatitis is spreading rapidly in the province of the Sindh since long. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI asked the government to give details of number of cases of all types of hepatitis disease diagnosed at the government hospitals and dispensaries of Karachi during 01-01-2011 to 31-12-2013 along with the name of hospital and dispensaries. Dr. Seema Zia demanded that number of Hepatitis A, B and C patients reported in the province particularly in district Khairpur during 2010-2013 should be mentioned (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015). On the issue of AIDS Khurram Sher Zaman asked the the Minister for Health to tell number of women have been diagnosed suffering from AIDS in the province and number of children admitted suffering from diarrhea and hepatitis in Lyari General Hospital during 2011 to 2013 (Provincial Assembly of Sindh,

2015). He inquired that what is the strategy government has to combat the high rate of tuberculosis, Hepatitis B and C in the province (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017)? He moved adjournment motion regarding outbreak of viral disease Chikungunya in Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). He moved an adjournment motion regarding failure to, effectively control pneumonia in Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

Hospital and Health units in the province of the Sindh have been facing shortage of facilities since long due to which lots of patients die. On this issue, PTI raised different questions. Dr. Seema Zia asked the number of lady doctors at posted at BHUs and Civil Hospital, Hyderabad. She also inquired that how many women has expired during pregnancy and deliveries in district Khairpur during 2012-13 and give the reason and the cause of such deaths. Khurram Sher Zaman asked the number of posts of nurses and medical staff lying vacant at Civil Hospital, Karachi and (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015). He also asked about the total budget of all the departments of Civil Hospital and Jinnah Hospital, Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

Dr. Seema Zia of PTI raised the issue that Non-Gazetted and Gazetted Staff (including Doctors & Senior Professors) of Abassi Shaheed Hospital have not been, given salaries for more than one year. PTI demanded that government should address this issue (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). Khurram Sher Zaman pointed out that District Health Officers in Karachi have no DDO powers for last few months. He told that as many as 240 posts are lying vacant at National Institute of Child Health, Karachi for last several years that is causing inconvenience to patients and extra workload on existing staff (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

In order to highlights the performance of health ministry Khurram Sher Zaman moved adjournment motion and disclosed about ghost hospitals and health facilities throughout

the province of Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). It an irony of fate that in documents lots of hospitals exit and medical staff draws salary on daily basis but in reality no such hospitals exists. It is being, done by the responsible authorities to make illegal money. He also disclosed lack of medicine at civil hospital Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). Dr. Seema Zia, of PTI suggested that all private hospitals to should have medico legal center in the hospital (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). She also demanded that the Minister for Planning & Development give details of the health schemes from 2012 onwards with project name location, cost, and completion and ongoing schemes with current status and reasons of delay (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). PTI claimed that Ministry of Health be has no plan to improve governance and management of all public healthcare facilities throughout the province (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018).

6.42. ISSUE OF SUGAR:

Issue of sugar plays vital role in the politics of Pakistan. It is, considered the most serious issue for the stability and to, destabilize any government in Pakistan. Every government tries not to let this issue arises to maintain its grip. PPP has been ruling in the Sindh since 2008. During its reign, the issue of wheat and sugar became serious for couple of time. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI demanded that the Minister for Food should take action against those employees of food department against whom cases were, registered during 2011 to 2013. He also demanded that government should provide details of private godowns. He disclosed that due to insufficient storage capacity the departments hire private godowns for storage of wheat and sugar. (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015). He moved adjournment motion regarding price issue of sugar cane in the province of Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.43. SINDH BANK:

Banks play a vital role in the politics of Pakistan. Every province in Pakistan has established a bank in the name of the province like the Punjab Bank, the Khyber Bank and the Sindh Bank. Governments use such banks for their political purpose. Later history of Pakistan proved that some of the Pakistani Banks were used for money laundering. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI raised the question that Sindh Bank is functioning under Sindh Government or any private organization is also involved in it? (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015). He moved adjournment motion regarding merger of Summit Bank with Sindh Bank (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017) because it was blamed that Summit Bank was being used for money laundering.

6.44. ISSUE OF SPORTS:

Sports are also used for political purposes in Pakistan. Non-professionals are given high ups because of political affiliation in sports departments. Such people are sent abroad on government expenditures. PTI raised issues relating to sports and sports facilities in the Sindh Assembly. Dr Seema Zia of PTI asked the Minister for Sports to provide district wise number of sports specialists, doctors and physiotherapists working in the province along with qualification and training of the same. She also demanded district wise number of football grounds exist in the province and number out of above affiliated with schools, colleges and universities along with number of coaches designated for the same with their pay scale as well as criteria of their recruitment. In addition, she asked to provide details of various football tournaments planned at inter-district level for year 2015 along with any scholarship for national and international training given to promising players (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015). Hockey is national sport of Pakistan. Pakistan was known due to sports of hockey in the world of sports. It has won numbers of Hockey World Cup. However, due to the indifference of government it has

reached to lowest ebb. She also inquired about number of cricket, hockey and football clubs in the province supported by the Government and district wise number of tournaments for Cricket, Hockey and Football held in the province during 2010-2013 and 2014-2016 (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

6.45. ISSUE OF CENSUS:

Last Census in Pakistan was, held in 2017 but it also became politicized. Later history shows that different political parties have serious reservations on census particularly in the Province of Sindh and especially in Karachi. Before the conduct of census 2017, PTI raised question on the delay of census in the Sindh Assembly. Provincial Assembly of Sindh in its sitting held on 19 January 2016 has unanimously passed the resolution moved by Ms. Irum Azeem Farooque of MQM. It was, supported by PTI as well. It stated that;

This Assembly resolves and recommends to the Government of Sindh to approach the Federal Government to conduct fair and transparent census subject to the following conditions in view of our reservations relating to the holding of House Count in three days.

1. That the Census Authority shall has, representation of all the Provinces of Pakistan.
2. That the modalities to conduct census shall be, evolved with the consent of the representatives of all provinces (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.46. PTI ON THE ISSUE OF PETROLEUM PRICE:

The price of petroleum is, also used as political weapon in Pakistan. Every political party tries to use it as political stent. Despite of the fact that petroleum prices are determined at international level and Pakistan imports it but even then, political parties use it over the time in politics of Pakistan. Provincial Assembly of Sindh in its sitting held on 1 February 2016 has unanimously passed the resolution moved by Mr. Nisar Ahmed Khuhro of PPP. PTI also supported this resolution. It sated that;

This Assembly condemns the callous and inept attitude of Federal Government not to transfer the real benefit of decreasing international petroleum prices to its citizens. The House recommends to the Provincial Government to approach Federal Government for fixing the prices of Petrol at Rs. 40/liter and proportionally reduce the prices of all other petroleum products (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.47. LAW AND ORDER SITUATION:

Law and order situation in Pakistan as whole and particularly in the Province of the Sindh and especially in Karachi is very serious since long. During the period of 2013-18, it became aggravated in the Province of Sindh. The main reason of this is the inefficiency of Police and tug of war in between Police and Rangers on the issue of powers. Another important reason is the usage of police by political parties and politicians for their self-centered interest. Different issues regarding law and order and enforcement agencies especially police were. raised by PTI.

Street crimes have become headache in Karachi. Since long, no government could overcome this problem. It has reached to its peak during 2013-18. On call attention notice, Dr. Seema Zia of PTI told that there has been increase in the Street Crime and mugging throughout city. She demanded to take action to control the situation of law and order and take against the police officer responsible for the failure in this regard (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2014). Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI told that mobile snatching is increasing in district South jurisdiction of Nabi Bux Police Station, Karachi. He asked government to take steps in this regard (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). He moved adjournment motion regarding rise in various street crimes throughout Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018).

Since long every government blaming that RAW's involvement in the terrorist activities in Pakistan. this issue was raised PTI in Sindh Assembly and Khurram Sher Zaman moved a private resolution that government should take up in all international forums and UN-Security Council the case of India's top spy agency RAW's involvement in promoting terrorism and unrest in Pakistan (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

Violent protesters attacked an ARY News office in Karachi on 22 August 2016, which resulted in killing one person and injuring several others. Later investigations proved that

supporters of MQM were involved in it. PTI demanded that government should take action against responsible. Khurram Sher Zaman asked Minister for Home, Sindh that why government has not taken action against Target Killers involved in attack on TV Channels on 22-08-2016 after revelation of their presence in a Bank (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). Later on, it became clear through footage of CCTV of Bank, and investigation from the culprits that they had been. instigated and supported by MQM. This matter is sub judice in Pakistan and final fate of this incidence is yet to be, decided. Illegal weapons are the major cause responsible for the bad law and order situation. Despite of having information police does not take action according to law against people having illegal weapons. On behalf of PTI Khurram Sher Zam moved adjournment motion and demanded that government should take action agains illegal weapons in the Sindh Province (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

This issue started in the Sindh during the period of General Ayub Khan. It became further aggravated during the reign of General Zia ul Haq. No political party could solve it yet. This issue was, also raised by PTI in Sindh Assembly. Khurram Sher Zaman disclosed that Pushtoon residing in Karachi are being harassed on pretext of crackdown on illegal Afghan immigrants by Sindh Police (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). History shows that there has been a tug of war in between Pushtoos and Urdu speaking in Karachi since long.

In Pakistan, a large numbers of police are, deployed for the security of VIPs. It is the issue in the province of the Sindh. Due to it, law and order situation becomes serious and a layman has to bear the brunt. Majority of the police remain busy on the duties to protect politicians and high ups as protocol, which creates problems for the masses. PTI raised this issue and Dr. Seema Zia disclosed in the Sindh Assembly that 1300 Constables of district Benazirabad are, deployed for duties elsewhere for security instead

of Policing in district (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). It is a fact that every government uses police for its own security and protocol rather than the security of the people.

The issue of drug mafia has also become a threat for the society of Pakistan including the province of the Sindh. It has become deep rooted in Sindh particularly in educational institutions. Most of the students became addictive of drugs particularly ice drugs. On call attention notice, Khurrum Sher Zaman of PTI that sale of different kinds of drugs outside Schools and Colleges in Karachi has become routine activity. He asked government to address this issue seriously (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018).

Else, of above mentioned issues relating to law and order Khurrum Sher Zaman of PTI raised the issue of promotions of officials of the Sindh police. It is a bitter fact that promotion are also, given on political affiliations and loyalties rather than merit. In order to estimate the performance of Police department he demanded that government should provide list of district wise number of dacoits arrested and killed in Karachi during 2011 to 2013. In some cases, people are, killed in fake police encounter just to show performance, or to kill the supporter of opponents or to wipe out evidence in shape of witness. He also demanded that government should present the designed capacity for prisoners in each jail along with number of male and female prisoners and underage prisoners (under 16 years) imprisoned in each jail of Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). It is a fact that every government misuse department of police for its self-interest. PTI included in its constitution and manifestos to depoliticize the police in Pakistan including the Sindh.

6.48. HOUSING SOCIETIES:

Number of housing societies has increase to large extend in the Sindh. Although legal housing societies are considered, as sign of progress by illegal and unregistered housed

societies has become a serious problem for the people in the Sindh. Some people have looted laymen in the name of housing societies and run away. The owners of housing societies have become a mafia in Sindh. PTI's Khurram Sher Zaman inquired about the Minister for Co-operation about number of societies as have been registered during the year 2011-13 as well as procedure of registration and phase also be stated (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). He disclosed that about sixteen acres land of Lal Bagh at Sehwan Sharif has been occupied by land mafia through fake documents (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). In Pakistan, most of the politicians, bureaucrats and Armed Forces personnel have become prominent actors in the arena of real property. The business of real property is not bad but the way people are being cheated and looted is questionable.

6.49. ISSUE OF *KATCHI ABADIES*:

The issue of *Katchi Abadies* (Slums) was, raised in the Sindh Assembly. It has become a serious issue in the province of the Sindh. Repeatedly different political parties promised to settle down the residents of slum on permanent basis but never materialized in reality. This issue has become, politicized in the province of the Sindh. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI asked the Minister for Katchi Abadies to provide district-wise number of Katchi Abadies exist in the province and regularized in the province during 2010 to 2013 (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). He demanded that government should address this issue on priority basis.

6.50. ECONOMIC ISSUES:

PTI raised economic issues in the Sindh Assembly. The province of Sindh has been facing economic mismanagement since long. Despite of the fact that Karachi is the hub of all economic activities but its trickle down effects are not obvious. PTI raised the economic issues relating to different sector in Sindh. Some of them are:

Fisheries industries play vital role in the economic activities of the Sindh. It is a source of income of the majority of the people living across the coastal areas of the Sindh. It is one of the contributors to earn foreign exchange. PTI's Khurram Sher Zaman asked from the Minister for Fisheries to take steps to develop fisheries industries in order to improve export of seafood. He also inquires that what type of fish has been, exported annually along with revenue generated as well as detail of its utilization (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). He asked that why government has imposed ban on catching shrimp from June 2016 to July 2016. He told that according 18th amendment the department has been, devolved completely but Federal government has not completely devolved all functions to the province regarding Fisheries department (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018).

To meet the economic challenges in the twenty first Century Technical Education & Vocational Trainings plays vital role. For this purpose, the government of the Sindh established STEVTA to adapt key features of emerging economic world order, which includes Globalization and Information & Communication Technology (ICT) Revolution. Dr. Seema Zia asked the Minister for STEVTA that how technical centers has upgraded and kept updated according to international standards. She added that does any center fall under ISO-9000 standard of certification. She inquired that there is any plan of the Sindh government to establish new vocational centers (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

Livestock plays prominent role in the economic activates. The province of the Sindh has huge potential for livestock industry. However, due to mismanagement this industry has not flourished. Due to lack of medicines, most of the animals die. In order to address this issue PTI raised it in Sindh Assembly. Khurram Sher Zaman demanded that government should produce its performance report of last five years along with quantity of vaccine produced as well as per annum income accrued. He also inquired from the Minister for

Livestock about Sindh Poultry Vaccine Center; Korangi is an autonomous body or not (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

Sindh is rich with natural resources of mines and minerals. These resources can play imminent role in the development of the province. For this purpose, there is a need of political will. Regarding the discoveries of new mines and minerals Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI asked the Minister for Mines & Minerals Development to provide details about the quantity of coal available in district Dadu, Jamshoro, Thatta and Badin along with other minerals found in the same districts. He added that whether the same is being utilized or not (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.51. ISSUE OF ICE MAKING FACTORIES:

A serious scandal was disclosed in the province of the Sindh by Dr. Seema Zia of PTI that Ice Making Factories making ice with contaminated water in rustic containers and negating safety regulations, which is injurious for health. She demanded that Minister for Industries should take serious action to address this issue (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

The economic activities in the Sindh have decreased due to different reasons but most important of them is corruption. For example Khurram Sher Zaman disclosed in front of the Minister for Revenue that illegal promotions have been made in Revenue department during 2010 to 2012 (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). Else, of it the Excise department has awarded a contract to MS Sapphire consulting amount 60 million without tendering process (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). Such kinds of things have been damaging economic activities a lot in Sindh.

6.52. UNTRACEABLE VEHICLES OF GOVERNMENT OF THE SINDH:

During the reign of PPP in the Sindh a scandal was unearthed in which large number of government vehicles went missing. Later on, a group was caught which disclosed that in association with government officials, they used to pick up a government vehicle, and sell its parts on different shops of spare parts at the lowest prices. It damaged the exchequer of Sindh a lot. Dr. Seema Zia of PTI raised this issue in the Sindh Assembly. She asked the Minister for Services General Administration & Coordination Department, Government of Sindh, that there are several untraceable vehicles of Government of Sindh, which are in use of different individuals and ex-officials. Most of them have gone missing. Government should take steps in this regard (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.53. COMPUTIRISATION OF CERTIFICATES:

Making birth certificate, permanent resident card and domicile certificates in the Sindh are used for political purpose. Some people have domicile of two provinces in Pakistan, which affects job quota a lot. Majority of people make fake birth certificate. The solution of this is computerization of certificate. Dr. Seema Zia of PTI demanded that all birth certificate, Permanent Resident Card and Domicile Certificates to be computerized throughout the Province of Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.54. ISSUE OF CULTURE:

Culture and cultural heritage is one of the neglected fields in the province of the Sindh. Cultural heritage is diminishing and people occupied such places illegally. Dr. Seema Zia disclosed this issue in front of the Minister for Culture. She told that three-lac sq. yard land of Moen-jo-Daro has been occupied by, the National Highway Authority. She added that archeological site Makli Graveyard has no facility of water and electricity since long

and government of Sindh should take steps to deal with such problems (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.55. ISSUE OF RIGGING IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS- 2013:

PTI raised issue of rigging in the general election 2013 in the Sindh Assembly. For this purpose, the members of PTI resigned from the Sindh Assembly in August 2014 collectively. These members managed sit-in in different parts of Karachi and backed its leadership. In order to suppress the political worker Sindh government used police. Khurram Sher Zaman moved a private motion and condemned the attack by workers of political party on the camp PTI on 3 April 2015 in Karimabad, Karachi (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2015). Later on, the members of PTI's member reverted resignations on the direction of party leadership and joined the Sindh Assembly.

6.56. PANAMA LEAKS:

PTI also raised the issue of Panama leaks in Sindh Assembly. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI moved a private resolution and requested Chief Justice of Pakistan to constitute and head a judicial commission to inquire into the Panama leaks and bring out the facts for the people of Pakistan (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). He said that Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif has lost the moral authority and integrity to continue as Prime Minister of Pakistan and in the greater national interest of Pakistan and democracy, should resign immediately. On 25 July 2017, Provincial Assembly of Sindh passed resolution moved by PTI, which stated that:

This House demands in the wake of findings of the final Joint Investigation Team (JIT) report on Panama case and conclusion of hearings by the Honourable Supreme Court of Pakistan on June 21, 2017 that Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif [should] resign as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The findings of the final JIT report are damning that the Prime Minister and his family have misled the Nation about their assets and income. They have attempted to cover up their crimes through deceit, forgery and being evasive in answering questions posed by the JIT. This House strongly believes that Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif has lost the moral authority and integrity to continue as Prime Minister of Pakistan and in the greater national interest of Pakistan and democracy, should resign immediately.

6.57. KILLING OF AMJAD FAREED SABRI:

Amjad Sabri, a revered Pakistani Qawwali singer was, assassinated in Karachi on 22 June 2016. His murderer Ishaq and Asim belonging to Lashkar-i-Jhangvi were sentence to death by military court. PTI condemned the murder of Amjad Sabri in Sindh Assembly. On 23 June 2016, Provincial Assembly of the Sindh has unanimously passed the resolution moved by PPP and supported by PTI as well, which stated that:

This House resolves to acknowledge the great contributions of Amjad Fareed Sabri Shaheed as a Qawal, Artist and Humanitarian. He has brought many laurels and honors to Pakistan and Sindh. This House pays tribute to his contribution of enriching the culture of this country. This House expresses its heartfelt condolences and sympathies to Amjad Sabri's family over his sad demise. We stand with Amjad Sabri's family in their time of grief and sorrow. May Allah give them strength and patience. This House expresses its strong condemnation of the murder of Amjad Sabri. His death is a great loss not just to Pakistan, but also to the Muslim World. This House resolves the Government of Sindh and the various law enforcement agencies to take immediate action to apprehend all the culprits involved in this heinous murder in order that justice be done (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016).

6.58. ELECTION OF THE CHIEF MINISTER OF SINDH:

Syed Qaim Ali Shah Jillani of PPP has been, elected Chief Minister of the Sindh in 2013. In 2016, PPP decided to replace him with Murad Ali Shah. PTI decided to contest for the slot of Chief Minister of Sindh. Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI contested. Murad Ali Shah was, elected as Chief Minister Sindh on 29 July 2016. He secured 88 votes while Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI took only 03 votes and legislators belonging to MQM did not vote (Provincial Assemb of Sindh, 2016). Despite of having support of three members in the Sindh Assembly PTI demonstrated its presence by participating in electoral process.

6.59. ISSUE OF LAW COURTS:

Disposal of swift and speedy justice is one of the points of PTI's constitution and manifestos. PTI demanded in Sindh Assembly to remove impediments in the way of justice. Khurram Sher Zaman demanded that the Minister for Law should take steps to

remove legal complications in family laws creating difficulties for parents to meet and take their children. He asked government to provide the district wise details courts and judges for family law (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). He asked that how many number of courts were, established throughout all the districts in Sindh along with the number of judges appointed therein as well as number of vacancies lying vacant. He lamented that 175 thousand cases of violation of human rights, corruption and other offences are lying pending for hearing (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

6.60. ISSUE OF EDUCATION:

Unified education system for all is one of the points of PTI's constitution and manifestos throughout its political struggle. The condition of problems of education varies in all provinces of Pakistan. PTI like other provinces and center highlighted various education problems in the Provincial of Sindh as well.

One of the issues, which PTI raised during the reign of PPP in Sindh, was the issue of result tempering. Khurram Sher Zaman told that Anti-Corruption raided Board of Intermediate Karachi & Board of Secondary Education Karachi against result tempering & embezzlement in public money. He demanded that the Sindh government should take action in this regard (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). Such kind of scandals emerges every year in Sindh and all government claims to eradicate this issue but up to recent history this problem cannot be solved. People involved in cheating and result tempering has become mafias. The most serious aspect of this issue is that educational institutions are themselves involved in such activities to get top position for their students. So that to get the attention of people for more and more admissions.

Since long, it is a debate in the Sindh that Holy Quran should be included in syllabus. It was also, demanded by PTI's Khurram Sher Zaman that the Sindh Government direct the Education Department to take appropriate action to include learning to read the Holy

Quran as part of the education Curriculum (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). Dr. Seema Zia demanded to make study of Seerah and Sunnah of Holy Prophet (S.A.W) mandatory for all Muslim students in Public and Private Schools (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). In Pakistan, it is a very sensitive issue, which has created lots of discontentment among the educationists. There is a need to solve out this issue once forever so that the process of education may lead forward peacefully. Such kinds of division led towards sectarianism, which is very dangerous of all of Pakistan including the Sindh.

This is one of the most complicated issues in Pakistan. According to constitution, it is the responsibility of state to provide free education to all. In Pakistan, private educational institutions have become a mafia. The strangest this is that Pakistan Armed forces are also involved in it and has established countless educational institution across Pakistan. Something is also strange with the thinking of people that they are ready to pay colossal fee in private institutions though such institutions do not meet out the prerequisites of education but do not ready to pay nominal fee in government educational institution. Government and NGO demands to give free hand to students unions in public sectors institutions but such freedom neither demanded nor provided in private educational institution. PTI raised issues relating to private educational institution especially issue of massive fee. Khurrum Sher Zaman pointed out the issue of excessive fee from students by private schools (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). He disclosed that Private Schools forcing parents to purchase School Uniform & Books from their Schools or from their designated shops making parents pay more than from the open market (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). He demanded that the Ministry of Education should implement the Notification NO: SO (ACD-II)9-6/2005 dated September 20, 2005, which deals with rule changes in the Sindh Private Educational Institutions (Regulation and

Control) Ordinance 2001 (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). He moved an adjournment motion, which demanded that government should take action regarding exorbitant hike in fee by private schools in Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

This issue surface every year at the time of examination under Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education in the Province of the Sindh. It happens with entry tests of Engineering and Medical colleges and University. Every time government promises but in the next years it happens again. The issue of paper leakages was. raised by PTI's Khurram Sher Zaman. He moved a motion regarding to condemn the leaking of various Intermediate Boards examination papers that are reaching the hands of the students (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). He also moved adjournment motion on the issue of alleged leaking of pre-entry test for admission to MBBS and BDS programmes in Medical Universities and Colleges of Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

One of the issues which education sector is facing is the issue of job structure of teachers. It's really strange that all provinces and Federal government have separate of kinds of job structure for teachers. In fact, there should be same job structure for all teachers. Political parties use this issue for political purposes. Due to this majority of the educated class, do not prefer to join education sector as an educationist. Theoretically, teacher is, given high esteem but in reality teacher has no social, political, economic and intellectual identity in Pakistan including Sindh. Issue of pay scales of teachers was, raised by PTI in Sindh Assembly. Dr. Seema Zia asked the the Minister for Education to address the issue of pay scale of primary, middle, secondary and higher secondary school teachers (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). This issue is not resolved. Teachers have been protesting for unified job structure in all provinces of Pakistan including Sindh since long. Else, of it large numbers of teachers have been working on contract basis. PTI's Khurram Sher Zaman asked the Minister for Education to provide details of number of employees

working on contract basis in Education department (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017) and demanded to regularize them.

Special education needs specialized teachers and special kinds of polices. In Sindh, special education has been, neglected since long. In fact, education system for normal people is not up to the mark than what will be the situation of special education. PTI raised this issue in the Sindh Assembly. PTI's Khurram Sher Zaman inquired about number of colleges and functional centers in the province catering to special education students (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He asked about plans of the department to improve access to special education in the rural areas of the province (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He asked that department should address the issues of low pay and motivation of special education teachers (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018).

Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI demanded to rename the 'Altaf Hussain University at Hyderabad' as 'Maulana Abdul Sattar Edhi'³⁷ University (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). The reason of this demand was the contribution of Abdul Sattar Edhi for the people of Pakistan. Altaf Hussain was the founder of MQM but after his hated speech against Pakistan Army majority of the people turned against him. In this backdrop, PTI demanded to rename Altaf Hussain University as Abdul Sattar Edhi University.

Education sector is the most neglected sector in the province of Sindh. It has been facing various kinds of problems since. Else of above mentioned issue Khurram Sher Zaman of PTI moved and adjournment motive and asked government to take steps regarding dilapidated state of schools throughout the province of Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He also objected on the reappointment of Dr. Asim Hussain as Chairman of the Sindh Higher Education commission (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018) because this reappointment was, made based on political affiliation. Else, of it, the name of Dr.

³⁷ Abdul Sattar Edhi was a Pakistani philanthropist, ascetic, and humanitarian who founded the Edhi Foundation, which runs the world's largest volunteer ambulance network, along with homeless shelters, animal shelter, rehab centers, and orphanages across Pakistan

Asim Hussian was included in the list of NAB and different inquiries were going on regarding charges against him.

6.61. ISSUE OF CORRUPTION:

Corruption is the root of all problems in Pakistan. PTI raised this issue to its optimal level. PTI exposed corruption cases in Sindh Assembly in various departments. Khurrum Sher Zaman moved an adjournment motion regarding corruption involved in Sindh government advertisements (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). He also cited Auditor General of Pakistan's report on the misappropriation of funds by the Sindh government (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017). In another adjournment motion, he presented major irregularities and violations of the agriculture, supply and prices department pointed out by the Auditor General of Pakistan report for the audit year, 2016-17 (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He also mentioned irregularities and violations of the culture, tourism and antiquities department (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018) and energy department in the same report (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He demanded that government should provide list of the officers and employees of Finance department against whom corruption cases were, registered against during 2010 to 2013 (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018). He was of the view the view that irregularities and violations of all the departments of the Sindh Government, as reported in the Auditor General of Pakistan's Reports (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2018) shows that Sindh government was involved in corruption in all departments of the Sindh.

6.62. POLIO VACCINATION:

The issue of polio vaccination became controversial particularly after the event of Dr Shakeel Afridi³⁸. Most of the people started to refuse to vaccinate their children. PTI adopted the policy to create awareness about the importance of polio vaccination and

³⁸ Shakeel Afridi, is a Pakistani physician who helped the CIA run a fake hepatitis vaccine program in Abbottabad, Pakistan, to confirm Osama bin Laden's presence in the city by obtaining DNA samples

started campaign for it. To persuade people different kinds of suggestions were, given by PTI. Dr. Seema Zia suggested that Polio Vaccination Card should be, made mandatory for any child seeking admission in School (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2016). She moved a resolution in Provincial Assembly of Sindh on 31 January 2017, which was unanimously, passed. It stated that;

This House resolves that the Polio Vaccination Card to be, made mandatory at the time of Primary and Secondary School admissions in all the Government and Private Institutions throughout the Province of Sindh (Provincial Assembly of Sindh, 2017).

However, efforts have been, made but still controversy regarding polio vaccination prevails. Some of the polio workers have been, killed. There is lot more need to create consensus on this issue because the future of the new generation from health point of view depends on it.

PTI played an active and vibrant role as an opposition in the Sindh Assembly. However, it has only four members in the Sindh Assembly but even then; it made its presence felt on every issue. Although all four members played active, role but Khurram Sher Zaman and Dr. Seema Zia led from the front. As far as Syed Hafeezudin was concerned, he left PTI and Joined Pak Sarzameen Party³⁹ in 2016. The performance of PTI played fundamental role on the evolution and prospects of PTI in the Sindh. Due to it, PTI's strength raised from four seats to thirty including reserved seats as a result, of the general election 2018.

³⁹ Pak Sarzameen Party is a Pakistani political party founded by Syed Mustafa Kamal and Anis Kaimkhan on 23 March, 2016

CHAPTER– 7

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF (PTI) IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHAWA (KP), 2013-2018

PTI formed government in KP as a result of the general election 2013. The Governor of KP summoned the session of Provincial Assembly on 29th May 2013, for oath taking and election of Speaker, Deputy Speaker and Chief Minister. The inaugural session was chaired by Kiramatullah Khan, former Speaker of the KP Assembly (The News. May 29, 2013). On 30th May 2013, Asad Qaisar was elected unopposed as Speaker and took oath while Imtiaz Shahid was elected as Deputy Speaker (Dawn. May 30, 2013). Pervaiz Khattak took oath as Chief Minister of KP on May 31, 2013. He got eighty-four votes while Lutfur Rehman of Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F) got thirty-seven votes. PTI formed coalition government with Awami Jamhuri Ittehad Pakistan, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Qaumi Watan Party (Dawn. May 31, 2013). All Pakistan Muslim League of General Pervez Musharraf extended unconditional support to the coalition government of PTI. The one and only MPA of APML, Ghulam Muhammad elected from Chitral-II, PK-90 told that he was, directed by General Pervez Musharraf to support PTI unconditionally. He said. "I did not demand any portfolio in the cabinet or any other coveted position in the next government". He disclosed that he was also: approached by PML-N to counter PTI in KP Assembly but his party leadership refused (The Express Tribune. May 21, 2013). Three independent MPAs Amjad Afridi, Israrullah Gandapur (The News. May 26, 2013), and Sameeullah Alizai joined PTI (The Express Tribune. May 21, 2013).

Both PTI and PML (N) were against General Pervez Musharraf but despite of this PTI accepted the inclusion of his party member in the coalition government. On the other hand, according to the claim of Ghulam Muhammad that he was also, approached by

PML-N to counter PTI because PML (N) always claimed to be the staunch opponent of All Pakistan Muslim League of General Pervez Musharraf.

7.1. PTI AND ITS COALITION PARTNERS:

Down propounded (1957) a rational voter party definition of a political party. He was of the view that "A coalition of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by legal means. By coalition, we mean a group of individuals who have certain ends in common and cooperate with each other to achieve them. By governing apparatus, we mean the physical, legal and institutional equipment, which the government uses to carry out its specialized role in the division of labour. By legal means, we mean either duly constituted elections or legitimate influence."

After the announcement of results of the general election 2013, leaders of different political parties like Akram Khan Durrani of JUI-F, the provincial leaders of PTI and JI contacted Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao to seek support of QWP to form coalition government in KP. Imran Khan also had telephonic conversation with Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao for this purpose. PTI, QWP and JI agreed to form coalition. Pervaiz Khattak announced that this coalition is, formed to:

Establishing peace, ending corruption and immediately conducting local bodies' election will be the top priorities of our government. Implementing uniform education system throughout the province, providing better health facilities in government hospitals and reforms in police system will also be, dealt on a priority basis. PTI, JI and QWP have agreed to work on one agenda for the development of K-P and its people (The Express Tribune, May 17, 2013).

According to power sharing formula, three ministries were, given to QWP and JI each. JI was, given the ministries of Finance, Education and Ushar-Zakaat. QWP was, given the slots of Deputy Speakership of KP Provincial Assembly, one senior minister and a minister. AJIP was, given two ministries (The Nation, May 16, 2013).

The coalition of AJIP and PTI remained cordial and long lasting. The AJIP was founded by a well known entrepreneur Liaquat Khan Tarakai of Swabi. It got one seat of the National Assembly and three seats in Provincial Assembly of KP and became a coalition partner of PTI.

Coalition of AJIP and PTI reached to its climax when the former agreed to merge itself with PTI. The main reason behind this merger was the promise of awarding tickets to AJIP to contest Senate election. At the time of Senate election 2015, when AJIP demanded for tickets to contest Senate election, PTI agreed and "has awarded ticket to Mr Tarakai on the condition that he will announce merger of his AJIP with PTI". The Chairman of AJIP who served as senior provincial minister Shahram Khan Tarakai and later on became minister for health, according to above-mentioned deal. later on, he merged his party in PTI. He was of the view that:

We have the same manifesto and programme as PTI has. We took part in PTI's sit-in in Islamabad and backed its stand regarding election rigging, provincial rights and other matters... it was the desire of Iran Khan to field his father (Liaquat Khan Tarakai) as PTI's candidate in the Senate elections from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. We have welcomed the confidence shown in AJIP. Like PTI, we also want to perform and bring change and get in place an independent election commission and free judiciary (Dawn, Feb 23, 2013).

By doing this PTI violated its own rules that there would be no dynastic politics in the party but in this case it awarded ticket to Liaquat Khan Tarakai, the father of a Shahram Khan Tarakai who was serving as provincial minister.

As far as coalition of PTI with Qaumi Watan Party was concerned, it's a matter of grave concern because when a party having different ideological outlook and programme make such a party as a coalition partner which have different ideology and programme, make it sceptical that she may have compromised on its objectives and promises (Laver, 1992). The main objectives of PTI were to eradicate corruption, restructuring of institutions, rule of law, reformation of education and health. Coalition of PTI with QWP does not look

natural because QWP always supported *status quo* forces. For example, Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao made his faction out of PPP in 1977. In 1997, when the government of Benazir Bhutto was dissolved he shifted his loyalties to the President of Pakistan, Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari. When General General Pervez Musharraf took over, he joined his camp. He has a reference in this regard because he served in Pakistan Army and got retirement as Major. In 2000, he established his party, which is, known as PPP (Sherpao). Later on, it was, renamed as QWP. In Pakistani politics, Aftab Sherpao is known as "a master of political manipulation" (Long, 2016). So, it shows that PTI has nothing common with QWP.

According to Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao of QWP said. "We had presented our agenda to PTI's senior leadership and it's only upon their agreement that we are announcing our partnership with the political party. Our conditions were the rehabilitation of militancy affected people, establishment of a trust which will financially assist the affected families and the settlement of the issue of net hydel profit with federal government" (The Express Tribune. May 17, 2013).

Soon differences emerged between PTI and QWP. PTI ended alliance with QWP on 13th November 2013, on corruption charges. According to PTI, two ministers belonging to QWP i.e. Bakht Bedar (PK-97, Lower Dir - IV) and Malik Ibrar Hussain Khan (PK-57, Mansehra - V) were involved in corruption, due to which it decided to end coalition (The Nation. Nov 14, 2013). According to CM of KP, Pervaiz Khattak:

Regarding the coalition of QWP with PTI, the CM of KP- Pervaiz Khattak played vital role. When this coalition ended, he stressed that coalition with QWP should be, resumed. There were differences within PTI on taking QWP back as a coalition partner. Despite of this on the insistence of Pervaiz Khattak talks was, resumed. The leadership of PTI warned Pervaiz Khattak that to "...make sure no lawmaker is appointed as a minister

unless he has a clean past, [because]... PTI does not [want to] lose popularity due to others wrong doings'' (The Nation. Sep 17, 2015).

On 30th September 2015, QWP rejoined and became the coalition partner of PTI. The memorandum of understanding of seven points was, signed by both parties. They agreed to enter into strategic and open ended, partnership. A liaison committee consisted of two members from each party, would be formed to find out the solution of issues in future. A meeting of parliamentary leaders would be, held on regular basis to discuss the issues regarding parties' performance. Both agreed to act collectively and in the best interest of each other. Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao said that his party would work for the rights of people of KP. He added that;

The issue in focus is not of joining the KP government but of standing together for our people, who over the years have been suffering due to the ongoing war on terrorism. The issue of Fata reforms, denial of KP's due share in the National Finance Commission Award and the provincial government's concerns about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor were the key issues for which both the QWP and PTI will formulate a collective strategy in line with the MoU (Dawn. Sep 30, 2015).

According to new formula of power sharing, Anisa Zeb Tahirkheli and Sikandar Hayat Sherpao of QWP took oath as ministers while Abdul Karim Khan and Arshad Umarzai became advisers to CM (The Express Tribune. Oct 21, 2015).

Differences between PTI and QWP resurfaced on the issue of Panama Case. QWP did not support PTI on Panama Case against the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Muhammad Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. PTI decided to expel QWP out of coalition. Aftab Sherpao reacted that;

In accordance with the six [seven] point agreement, the QWP returned to alliance in October 2015, which makes consultation mandatory on important issues for the two sides.... we were never consulted or even informed by PTI leaders on important issues including the Panama litigation. He said that QWP is an independent party and works according to its own policies. During the meeting, and after a prolonged discussion on the current political scenario, it was, decided that QWP would join the opposition group in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly. [He added] It is the beginning...let's see how many more will be affected after the disqualification of former Prime Minister Mian Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif....however....QWP will be very careful and alert regarding future strategies and policies'' (Pakistan today. July 30, 2017).

Shah Farman of PTI explained, "Coalition with the QWP has ended as it did not support our stance on the Panama Papers case against the Sharif family," (The Express Tribune, July 30 , 2017). However, it is strange that both parties blamed each other for charges of corruption but none of them proved. In case of PTI, it neither can prove nor punish anyone in the light of charges. It is more strange that the members belonging to QWP has been enjoying the benefits of China Pakistan Economic Corridor because the team from China residing in his hotel despite of the fact that he was expelled from the cabinet of KP on the charges of corruption but government of KP didn't take any action yet.

Jamat-e-Islami is one of the coalition partners. PTI and JI have some commonalities. Both parties are against corruption. Both are in favour to making Pakistan an Islamic Welfare State. Syed Munawar Hasan, then Chief of JI announced to support PTI to form coalition government in KP. He said. "PTI has constitutional and moral right to form their provincial government in KP as it is the largest party in the province" (The Nation , 2013). JI was, given the portfolio of finance and Siraj ul Haq became Finance Minister of KP. Senior vice President of PTI, Asad Umer, said that "There is no ideological difference between the PTI and the JI as far as the finance ministry is concerned,...when it comes to matters relating to taxation, the PTI and JI see eye to eye" (The Express Tribune. May 17, 2013).

PTI was satisfied with performance of JI as a coalition partner. PTI praised Jamaat-e-Islami's ministers, and said. "Our JI ministers have proven exemplary in this regard and we respect them for their commitment towards anti-corruption" (The Nation. Nov 14, 2013). When Siraj ul Haq became the Amir [Head] of JI, he resigned from the portfolio of exchequer of KP. After him, Muzafar Syed of JI became the new Finance Minister. Although PTI and JI were not on the same page regarding the issue of sit-in but both

were, united on the issue of Panama case. Both Imran Khan and Siraj ul Haq was petitioner in the Supreme Court on the issue of Panama case.

Legislation is one of the indicators of performance of a government. During election campaign, PTI promised that it would bring reforms in fields of accountability, education, health and local government. PTI made legislation in various fields, which is mentioned below.

7.2. KP EHTESAB COMMISSION:

“Better accountability is ... the key to better governance” (Mahmood S. , 2007). In Pakistan the institutions responsible for accountability, like NAB and ombudsmen could not get desire targets to control corruption (Shah A. , 2007) because of selective prosecution of the political opponents (Martin. 2016).

During election. campaign PTI stressed on elimination of corruption and steps to be taken for the establishment of independent institution for accountability. For this purpose, an autonomous and independent body known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Ehtesaab Commission was established “to provide for the establishment of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Ehtesab Commission, for good governance to create an effective institutional structure for the prevention of corruption and corrupt practices and to hold accountable all public office holders, accused such practices” (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Ehtesab Commission Act. 2014).

A large number of legislation was made for the success of KP Ehtesab Commission. In order to improve the performance of commission, amendments like the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Ehtesab Commission (Amendment) Act 2014 and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Ehtesaab Commission (Second Amendment) Act. 2015 were made.

Strict actions were taken against different people who were involved in corruption. For example, PTI suspended the party membership of former minister Ziaullah Afridi (Nai

Baat. July 18, 2015). KP NAB arrested him in the case of embezzlement of 42 billion (Nai Baat. Sep 5, 2015). NAB KP, arrested former minister for Revenue Makhdum Murid Kazim and three other officials of revenue department – Qayyum Nawaz and Riaz Muhammad District Officer and Gul Hassan, assistant of BOR – in case of illegal transferring of 1976 Kanals of land in DI Khan (The Nation. Aug 14, 2015).

Serious problems started when an ordinance known as, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Ehtesaab Commission (Amendment) Ordinance, 2016 was, promulgated by the Governor of KP. Through this amendment, the task of the Director General of Ehtesaab Commission was made complicated and his powers were, decreased. In protest, Director General, Lt General (Retd) Mohammad Hamid Khan resigned (The Express Tribune. Feb 10, 2016). He explained that he has resigned due to four reasons:

- i. Having started the progress. I would like to apprise of the frustrations; firstly let me reiterate that the undersigned agreed to join the commission not for the sake of emoluments but to help transform the society. Now talking about the frustration, firstly, there is a serious difference between the undersigned and the commissioners on the interpretation of the Act. This has resulted in persistent interference in the operational matters, which is against the Act and this issue cannot be resolved because of the non-existence of any mechanism for the purpose.
- ii. The Anti-Corruption Establishment (ACE) was to become part of the Ehtesaab Commission, but changes were, made in the law to enable the ACE to continue working as an independent entity.
- iii. Thirdly, it is the issue of the jurisdiction of the National Accountability Bureau, which, after 18th Amendment, should restrict its activities to federal agencies only. However, the government is not taking notice of the undersigned assertion, resulting in a regular dispute between the two agencies which, if anything, is benefitting the accused, and
- iv. Fourthly, the government has issued amendments in the Act, resulting in dilution of powers of the DG: in fact these amendments in the Act have made the post of the director general redundant, made the accountability process and the autonomy of the commission controversial and thereby questionable (The News. 11 Feb. 2016).

After it, the government of PTI became under severe criticism because it could not achieve any remarkable achievement on the question of accountability in KP. The main reason due to which PTI remained unable to take action was that Ehtesaab Commission of KP could not take action by ignoring the order of Governor KP. Governor is, considered as the representative of Federal Government. The personalities who served as

Governor KP during the government of PTI were from PPP⁴⁰ and PML (N)⁴¹. It could not override the jurisdiction of the National Accountability Bureau, which was under the Federal government and the issue of jurisdiction was yet to be resolved. In order to keep check on the activities of KP Ethesaab Commission, NAB posted its officers on deputation to KP Ethesaab Commission. For example, the deputy director of NAB, Ziaullah Toru was, appointed as director for internal monitoring and public complaint wing in KP Ethesaab Commission (Dawn. April 25, 2017). However, it does not mean that PTI was not responsible for failure of accountability process in KP. If these people became hurdle in the way of accountability process, PTI should expose them in the public procession and particularly in the respected courts of Pakistan.

In order to control corruption “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Prevention of Conflict of Interest Act, 2016” was, passed. The main purpose of this act was “to establish clear conflict of interest and related post-employment principles for public office holders, to prevent and minimize the possibility of conflicts arising between the private interests and public duties of public office holders in the Province of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa” (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Prevention of Conflict of Interest Act, 2016).

In order to encourage people to raise voice against corruption and to help government to eliminate this curse “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Whistleblower Protection and Vigilance commission Act, 2016” was passed. According to this act, informer or whistleblower will be, given complete protection and security. Such kind of legislations helps government to curb corruption in all wakes of life.

⁴⁰ Shaukatullah Khan is a Pakistani politician from Bajaur Agency who served as Governor of KP from February 2013 to April 2014. He was, appointed by the President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari, on the advice of the Prime Minister Raja Pervaz Ashraf on 11 February 2013.

⁴¹ Mehtab Ahmed Khan Abbasi of PML (N) served as Governor of KP from 15th April 2015 to 08th February 2016 and Iqbal Zaffar Jhagra of PML (N) from 26th February 2016 to 20th August 2018 served as Governor of KP

7.3. EDUCATION REFORMS:

The most vibrant objective of PTI was introduction of education reforms. For education reforms, PTI took different steps. Most important of them are;

The most vibrant objective of PTI was introduction of education reforms. The Reforms Implementation Cell (RIC) of KP established working group on education to introduce and implement education policies.

Mohammad Atif, Provincial Minister for Elementary and Secondary Education was head of the group. The secretary of Elementary and Secondary Education was inducted to serve as secretary and member in this group. Other ex-chief secretary Abdullah, MD of Elementary Education Foundation Ghazala H Saifi, Zulfiqar Ahmad, Rayed Afzal, Dr Rukhsana Zia, Umbreen Arif, Nazir Butt, Dr Arif, Musarrat Qadeem and Professor Mohammad Memon were included as members in working group on education (Dawn. June 30, 2013).

The main recommendations of the working group were to set up exam commission for grade V-VIII. To develop curriculum, establishment of a curricula authority was recommended. To improve the standard of textbooks and examination, teacher training, transparent system of recruitment were included in the recommendation. quality education in public sector institutions, sound monitoring system and establishment of Independent Education Commission (The Nation. Aug 4, 2013).

PTI included in its objectives that it would work for the implementation of unified system of education in Pakistan. After coming in power, PTI increased over Rs 1bn which was allocated for education. PTI declared an 'education emergency' and took different steps to improve the condition of education in KP. To improve the monitoring system of education, the government of KP appointed 500 impartial monitors to make this programme successful (Dawn. June 18, 2013).

The government of PTI in KP amended the KP elementary Education Foundation ordinance 2002. Previously, this foundation had the task to work for elementary education. After the amendment known as The KP Elementary and Secondary Education Foundation (Amendment) Act 2014, Education Foundation was given the responsibility to set minimum delivery standards in primary schools and colleges and to put suggestion to prepare a transparent education policy and examination system in the province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. XXIX of 2014).

PTI introduced a voucher scheme in order to provide educational opportunities to the children of under privileged class. For this purpose, *Iqra Feroqhe Taleem* voucher scheme was initiated in which 100 private schools was to be registered in the province where such students would get education. This scheme was, programmed to bring those children who were out of the school due to the poverty and their parents cannot afford the education expenses (Dawn. July 23, 2014). In 2017, 20 schools were, established for out of schoolchildren under *Iqra Feroqhe Taleem* Voucher scheme. For this purpose, 500 million was reserved for the year 2017 (The Express Tribune. June 21, 2017).

The government of PTI in KP passed an Act known as “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Higher Education Scholarship Endowment Fund Act, 2014”. According to this act, “KP Higher Education Scholarship Endowment Fund” was created which provided scholarships to brilliant students who could not afford education expenditures. Such students can avail scholarship to study in Public or Private educational institution or even they can study in private institutions as well (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No.V of 2014).

Chief Minister Endowment Fund was, increased to 500 million to provide scholarships to the deserving students in the Province. 800 million was, allocated to “Rokhana Pukhtunkhwa Public-Private Partnership in Education”. Numbers of scholarships were, doubled under Scholarship Scheme of Stor Da Pakhtunkhwa. KP government allocated

100 million for the third party to access the situation and standard of education in the province. 15 million was, allocated for woman education supervisors and 50% hard area allowance to the woman teachers (Dawn. June 18, 2013).

PTI started an educational movement of 'paro likho, zindagi badlo' (bring change in life through education). It was, promised to introduce uniform education system in the province and to eliminate the concept of rich and poor from the field of education. It was promised that there would be no class base education which created 'ruling class' and 'ruled' (Nawa-i-Waqt. Sep 12, 2013).

To improve the university education the KP Provincial Assembly passed KP Universities (Amendment) Bill, 2015 and The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Universities (Amendment) Act, 2016. To improve the quality of technical education in the province the KP assembly passed the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Technical Education and Vocational Training Authority (Amendment) Act, 2017.

To provide training to teaching and managerial staff of Higher Education, Libraries and Archives department the government of PTI established KP Higher Education Academy of Research and Training. The main purpose of such training is to increase the professional abilities of participant in the field of teaching and research (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. XXI of 2016).

The government of PTI in KP established Brains Institute for the purpose of degree awarding institute in field of engineering, information technology and management (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. XXIV of 2016).

The focus of PTI was to introduce uniform education system in KP. For this purpose, the textbooks up to grade five were, revised. A uniformed syllabus was, ensured to provide uniformed education. It was a first step towards unified education system.

The government of PTI completed 450 new schools while 229 have been under construction. Government sanctioned to build 221 more schools in province. The student enrolment in public schools was, increased significantly. From 2014-15 to 2016-17, 12.663 million students were enrolled. Due to reforms in 34000 from private school shifted to public schools and this figure reached to 151,000 in 2016. During this period, 40,000 new teachers were, inducted. In order to train teachers, it was, decided that 83000 teachers would be, given training by British Council. Therefore, 45000 teachers were, trained. The independent Monitoring Unit was, established to ensure the attendance of teachers, which decreased the problem of absenteeism. Due to promulgation of Essential Services Act in KP, the ratio of attendance reached to 90%.

The education budget was, increased significantly over the year 2013. In 2013-14, 64 billion were reserved while 88 billion was reserved in 2014-15. In 2015-16, 99.4 billion was allocated while 118.7 billion in 2016-17. For the year 2017-18, 136.196 billion were reserved for education. Concisely, allocation for education increased 113.84 in five years (Pakistan Observer, 29 August 2017). The Wilson Centre's Asia Programme, which is American base Research organization, acclaimed the reforms introduced by the KP government (Daily Times, Aug 20, 2016).

7.4. HEALTH REFORMS:

The most vibrant objective of PTI was to provide best health facilities to the people of Pakistan. The Reforms Implementation Cell (RIC) of KP established working group on health to introduce and implement health policies. The head of the working group was provincial Health Minister Shaukat Yousaf Zai. Other members included in this group were Dr Yasmin Rashid, Dr Ali, Dr Faisal Sultan CEO Shaukat Khanum Memorial Hospital, Dr Mohammad Daud, Dr Perveen Azam, Dr Lubna Hassan, Dr Asad Hafeez,

Dr Sabeena Imran Durrani, and Dr Babar Sheikh. Secretary Health Abid Ali was included as a member as well as secretary. The working group was, given the task for:

- i. To integrating preventive health care, and immunisation at Basic Health Unit level.
- ii. To make district and tehsil headquarters hospitals as an autonomous and empowered.
- iii. To revamp management of tertiary and teaching hospitals.
- iv. To restructure health foundation as an autonomous and empowered institution.
- v. To, devise policy for the establishment of new medical colleges (Dawn. June 30. 2013).

In order to implement its health policy, the government of PTI decided to give autonomy to hospitals on the pattern of UK. For this purpose KP, government made legislation. KP government passed the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Medical Teaching institution Reforms Act, 2015. The main purpose of this act was to give autonomy to public sector teaching institution in the province (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Medical Teaching institution Reforms Act, 2015). However, it was a sound step on the part of the government of KP, but this decision was, challenged in the Peshawar High Court. Peshawar High Court took almost two years to decide the matter due to which PTI could not implement its health reforms agenda. PTI had to face such incidence of resentment from different sections of the society and institutions, which prove that *status quo* forces are everywhere in, shape of masses, anti reforms groups within institutions and politicians. This was and is the main hurdle in the way of PTI to implement its reforms agenda.

In order to bring further reforms, the government of KP passed “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Medical Transplantation Regulatory Authority Act, 2014”. According to

this act it was decided to establish “KP Medical Transplantation Authority” to oversee the “removal, storage and transplantation of human organs” (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. XI of 2014).

To ensure the attendance of doctors during duty time the KP government implemented The West Pakistan Essential Services (Maintenance) Act 1958 and declared health care as an essential service (Dawn. Feb 2016). The main purpose to promulgate this act was to bound doctors to be punctual and stay in hospitals according to official duration of time and to provide services to the patients. The reason behind is the culture of private practices of doctors. Most of the doctors even do not bother about their government services and remain busy in private practices. Though the salary of doctors has increased, many fold but even then, the problem is same. Again, the doctors having *status quo* type of mentality started to agitate against this act but government took stern action and became successful.

One of the bills passed by the KP Provincial Assembly, known as Tibb and Homeopathic Employees (Regularization of Services) Bill, 2014. According to this bill, Minister for Health Shaoukat Yousafzai claimed that people would get treatment of both allopathic and homeopathic in the hospitals of government (The News. March 15, 2014).

Ladies health worker plays the role of soul in the administration of hospitals. To make their position better the government made legislation. For this purpose “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Regulation of Lady Health Workers Program and Employees (Regularization and Standardization) Act, 2014” was passed. According to this act, it was decided to regularise the services of ladies health workers and to improve their standard for the smooth running of hospital (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. XXVI of 2014).

The government of KP passed one of the best acts, which is known as. “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Injured Persons and Emergency (Medical Aid) Act, 2014”. According to

this act the administration of hospital and doctors are bound to provide medical aid and treatment to injured persons in order to save life without any delay. Doctors are, given free hand to take action regarding such cases. Police and relatives of injured persons are not, allowed to interfere and doctors are given the final authority. All the hospitals are bound to have special bed for such kinds of cases. People are encouraged to contribute their role in such kinds of emergency cases without the fear of police and the relatives of injured persons (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No.XXXVI of 2014). This is one of the best acts because in Pakistani society people keep them away in such cases due to the fear of police investigation and the role of relatives.

Brest feeding is the natural and fundamental right of a child on one hand and the basic and religious duty of mother. According to Islamic teaching, a mother should feed for two years. In order to make it sure, the government of KP promulgated for the "... protection of breast feeding and nutrition for infants and young children in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa" (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. VII of 2015). The main purpose of this act is to ensure and to encourage breast-feeding. It is one of the best and positive steps because it will help to ensure the health of child and population control.

Quackery in medical field is the most serious and dangerous problem in Pakistan. In order to provide best facilities of healthcare the government of KP enforced "The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Health Care Commission Act, 2015". According to this act "... it is expedient to provide for the regulation of the health care services on sound physical and technical footings in public and private sectors, make provision for the safe and high quality health care services to the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and to set out actions needed to achieve the vision of excellent quality health care services in province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: "... to promote and improve patient safety and health care service quality in public and private sectors, it is necessary to provide mechanism for banning

quackery in all its forms and manifestations and to establish the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Health Care Commission to regulate health care establishment in public and private sectors (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. V of 2015). In order to implement it on scientific basis, the government of KP decided to establish Health foundation. The main objective of this is to keep eyes on the above-mentioned problems (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. VII of 2016).

Blood transfusion is one of the serious problems in Pakistan. There is no awareness regarding the blood transfusion. In order to regulate it on scientific basis the government of PTI in KP established Blood Transfusion Safety Authority. The core responsibility of this authority is to ensure the safety of blood transfusion from collection to transfusion (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. XXV of 2016).

To counter disease of tuberculosis the government of KP passed “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Tuberculosis Notification Act, 2016”. The main purpose of this act is to create awareness about the seriousness of disease of tuberculosis and specialised treatment to curb the spreading of this disease (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. XX of 2016).

Since independence, no step was, taken to review Medical Degree Act, 1916. The government of PTI in KP passed an Act “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Faculty of Paramedical and Allied Health Sciences Act, 2016”. According to this act it was decided that “... to re-constitute and re-organise the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Medical Faculty established under the Medical Act, 1916 (Act NO.VII of 1916) for the purpose of giving it necessary autonomy, raising its standard of training, examination, research, and improving its administration and to regulate, promote and streamline the education, training, examination and registration of paramedics and allied health professionals pertaining to preventive, promotive, curative, rehabilitative, environmental and

occupational health sectors in the Province and for matters incidental there to and ancillary...”(Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. XXII of 2016).

The quality of food is another serious issue in Pakistan. Most of the diseases are food oriented. In the absence of clean food, it is not possible to overcome diseases. For this purpose the government of KP established Food Safety Authority. The core function of this authority is to ensure standardised and safe food in the Province of KP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No.X of 2014).

Allocation of budget is the most important indicator that how much KP government was serious in implementing its health reforms. In budget of 2013-14. 7.99 billion were reserved for health while 11.29 billion were reserved in 2014-15 (Pakistan Today, 06 Jan. 2015). 29.95 billion Assigned for health budget 2015-16 (The Express Tribune. June 15. 2015). In annual budget 2016-17, the KP government allocated 21.576 billion for health which was 18.29% high than 2015-16.

The government of KP introduced Social Health Insurance programme for the first time of its kind in Pakistan in 2015. The facility of health insurance was, started in four districts of Chitral, Kohat, Malakand and Mardan in first phase. People were given Health Insurance programme, which was started with the collaboration of German government (The Tribune. Jan 19, 2015). Later on government decided to provide this facility to government servant as well.

In order to eradicate polio. PTI government started Sehat ka Insaf campaign in December 2013. It was historic and daring decision because in KP neither people nor volunteer were in favour of Polio vaccination. The main reason behind was the misconception about the drops of polio and assassination of the polio workers. (Patel. 2014). Initially this programme was restricted to Peshawar district but later on, it was, extended to the whole province of KP. This programme got success and UNO, also acclaimed it. The focal

person of this programme Younas Zaheer Muhammad said, “The programme has received social acceptability because people realise that it is totally owned by the government to safeguard our children from diseases”. In the implementation of this programme, “Tabdeeli Razakar force” of PTI played vital role (Dawn, 2014). On this, project Rs.124 million were, used provided by WHO and UNICEF (Dawn, 2014). In second phase, the government of KP started ‘Sehat Ka Insaf’ card scheme. According to this scheme, deserving people are, given card for the treatment of diseases free of cost both in public and private hospitals.

7.5. LOCAL BODIES GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN KP:

The implementation of the local government system was one of the objectives of PTI in the general election 2013. The government of PTI made enormous legislation for the purpose of introduction of local government institutions in the province. A working group for local government and rural development was, put under the chair of Inayatullah Khan, minister for local government in KP.

Shahram Khan minister for Agriculture, Yousaf Ayub, minister for communication and works, Shafqat Mehmood (MNA), Aneesa Zeb Tahirkheli (MPA), secretary administration Hifzur Rahman, Ali Asghar Khan, Rahmat Ghazi, Fariduddin Ahmad, Dr Iqbal Khalil, Ms Maryum Bibi, Mukhtar Javed, and Syed Said Badshah Bukhari, secretary local government as member/secretary.

First, “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act, 2013” was, passed. The focal point of this act is to encourage and reorganise institutions of local government in the KP, having representation from all section of the society (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No.XXVIII of 2013). Later on, the necessary amendments were, made in acts relating to local governments according to needs and requirements.

The local body election were held in KP on 30th May 2015, in which PTI got lead by securing 341 followed by JUI-F which captured 132 seats (Daily Pakistan. Aug 19, 2015). Out of 26 districts in KP, PTI became successful to elect nazims in nine districts of Battagram, Charsadda, DI Khan, Peshawar, Haripur, Karak, Nowshera, Tank, and Torghar. JI formed local government in four districts of Buner, Chitral Lower Dir and Upper Dir. PML-N captured three districts Mansehra, Shangla and Swat. ANP formed local government in districts of Mardan and Swabi, JUI-F in districts of Hangu and Kohat and PPP in Lakki Marwat and Malakand districts (Dawn. Aug 31, 2015).

7.6. CIVIL SERVICES REFORMS:

Civil Services Reforms is one of the objectives of PTI. Leadership of PTI claimed that it would take steps to reconstruct the structure of Civil Services. According to “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Civil Servants Retirement Benefits and Death Compensation Act. 2014” a fund was established to provide pension and death compensation to the civil servants. In the light of passage of 18th Amendment. “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Civil Servants (Amendment) Act, 2015” was. passed. According to this act, it was to be decided that after the devolution of departments what kinds of steps to be taken regarding the fate of employees in such departments. However, it is important to mention here that no significant steps were, taken to reconstruct the structure of civil services. In Civil Services, the most important steps were, taken in police department.

The most significant objective of PTI was to depoliticise police to make its performance better and helpful for the people. To make the performance of police better “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police Order (Amendment) Act, 2015” according to which councils for dispute resolutions were established in all police stations, districts and sub-divisions to provide speedy justice to resolve the minor issue through negotiation between the concerned parties (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. XXVII of 2015).

The main purpose of the government of PTI was to depoliticise the police. “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police Ordinance, 2016” was enforced. According to this act, “... it is expedient to make the police apolitical and accountable to the people through democratic institutions and civilian oversight bodies”. Regarding this Ordinance, the CM of KP, Pervaiz Khattak and IGP Nasir Durrani said that it is a “paradigm shift from bureaucratic to democratic in terms of a police accountability system”. Pervaiz Khattak added, “The ordinance is aimed at giving institutional freedom rather than an individual one. It has made the police accountable to the public rather than the bureaucrats—unlike that of the Police Order 2002” (The Express Tribune, Aug 3, 2016). After approval, this ordinance was, given the title of “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police Act, 2017” (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. II of 2017).

Provincial Services Academy was, established to provide training to officers belonging to executive cadre in the province of KP (Provincial Services Academy Act, 2013). Later on minor amendment was made in it which is known as “The Provincial Services Academy (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) (Amendment) Act, 2015”. In order to bring merit “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Public Service Commission (Amendment) Act, 2016” was, passed. According to this amendment, it was, decided that the posts of Junior Clerks would also be filled by the Public Service Commission.

7.7. RIGHT TO INFORMATION ACT:

According to Universal Declaration of Human Rights of UNO, “Freedom of Information is a fundamental human right and is the touchstone for all freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated.” (Stefanick, 2011). It ensures participation, good governance, accountability, transparency and decreases chances of corruption, which helps a country to make progress. In order to hear the complaints of people regarding maladministration, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq established an institution known as Federal Ombudsman

also known as *Wafaqi Mohtasib* but it was restricted to the federal government only (Khan H. , 2009).

Right to information ordinance (RTI), for the first time in the history of Pakistan was, promulgated in 1997, but it ended because the government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif did not enact it into law (Green, 2005). General General Pervez Musharraf implemented RTI ordinance in 2002 but no access to information was, given (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2003). The office of Ombudsman was established but this ordinance was not applicable in KP and Punjab (Dhaka, 2010).

One of the objectives of the PTI was to give people right to information. After the general election 2013, the government of PTI in KP passed RTI Act, 2013 (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Right To Information Act, 2013). To make it more effective amendments were, made. This act was, ranked third best act among the acts of Right to Information in the world (Consumer Rights Commission of Pakistan, 2014).

7.8. RIGHT TO PUBLIC SERVICES ACT:

Right to public service is a right given by the government to provide services within the specified timeline. Due to this, people get services in different fields of life within prescribed time limit, which ensures and fulfil their needs (Basu, 2017).

In Pakistani society, it was a serious problem that there was no accountability of the public servants to provide services within specific time limit. Due to this, people were suffering a lot because no one was authorised to ask public servant to dispose of its responsibilities according to rule and regulations. In order to ensure that public servant must do their duties in the best interest of the people, a law known as, 'Right to Public Services Ordinance' was, introduced by the government of PTI in KP. According to this ordinance, government officers are bound to provide services to the people within time limit specified in the ordinance. If any government servant does not provide services to

the people within the prescribed limit, strict action will be, taken against such offender. To regulate this ordinance an independent commission known as ‘Right to Public Service Commission’ consisting of three members under the headship of Chief Commissioner was set-up. In this regard, the government of KP implemented public services act (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Right to Public Service Act, 2014).

7.9. PROTECTION OF SENIOR CITIZENS AND DESERVING PEOPLE:

Senior Citizen means a person who has past the age of retirement (Gardner M. &., 2017). Deserving people mean deserving poor “such as widows and their young children. old and sick people, and people with disabilities. i.e., people who were not expected to support themselves through their own labour” (Gil. 2013).

In Pakistan the problems of Senior Citizens and deserving people has been increasing day by day. PTI has included in its objectives that it would work for the uplift and protection of the senior citizens and deserving people of Pakistan. In order to protect the rights of the senior citizens, widows and special persons the government of PTI in KP passed and implemented an act known as The KP Senior Citizens Act, 2014 (Provincial Assembly Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, 2014).

According to this act, a person above the age of sixty years is entitled to enjoy the rights of senior citizenship. A senior citizen will be, provided with senior citizen card to entertain rights as a senior citizen. To implement it, the government of PTI established Senior Citizen Welfare Council in KP (Dawn, June 8, 2017).

Another act which is known as “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Deserving Widows and Special Welfare Foundations Act, 2014 (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Deserving Widows and Special Welfare Foundations Act, 2014 . 2014) was passed by the government of PTI in KP. For the welfare of the indigent and disposed people, including widows and disables in KP “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Lissaaile-Wal Mahroom Foundation” was.

established. It is, tasked with to provide financial assistance for shelters, education, health, trainings and enterprises (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Lissaail-e-Wal Mahroom Foundation Act, 2015).

7.10. ESTABLISHMENT OF GALIYAT DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY:

KP is famous for its scenic beauty and has lots of potential for tourism industry. In order to give it the status of industry the government of PTI in KP decided to declare it autonomous to make its performance better, and to attract more and more tourist from across the world. For this purpose. Galiyat Development Authority was reconstituted and reorganised to develop the areas of Galiyat and Hazara Division. In this regards “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Galiyat Development Authority Act. 2016” was. passed by the KP Provincial Assembly (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Galiyat Development Authority Act. 2016, 2013).

The government of PTI in KP formulated tourism policy to attract tourist and economic growth. The draft of tourism policy was finalised in 2015 with the target to attract investment of 50bn in five years. The KP government handed over 15 rest houses to the Tourism Corporation Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (TCKP) for commercial use (Dawn. Nov 16, 2015).

7.11. KP URBAN MASS TRANSIT ACT:

Since the establishment of the government in KP, PTI was under severe criticism that it could not start any mega project in the Province. To provide best facilities of transport to the people of province of KP, the Provincial Assembly passed the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Urban Mass Transit Act. 2016 “... to provide for the planning, establishment, regulation and management of modern and sustainable mass transit and complementary urban mobility systems in the Province of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. According to this act,

“whereas it is expedient and necessary to establish the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Urban Mobility Authority, and to empower it for the purpose of planning, establishing, co-ordinating and regulating mass transit system and supporting systems, and Urban Transport Companies for coordinating, constructing, developing, operating, maintaining and carrying out all ancillary functions thereto for providing safe, efficient, comfortable, affordable, sustainable and reliable forms of mass transit system” (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Urban Mass Transit Act, 2016).

The real tug of war in between PML (N) and PTI is on types of projects. PML (N) mainly focuses on mega projects while PTI is of the view that focus should be on human development. People in Pakistan look mega projects more than education and health. Therefore, it is important for the government of PTI to give attention on mega projects as well along with education and health.

7.12. AMENDMENT IN THE CONSUMER PROTECTION ACT:

To promote and protect the interests of consumers, the consumer Protection Act was implemented in 1997. The main objectives of this act were “...to provide for healthy growth of fair commercial practices, the promotion and protection of legitimate interests of consumers and speedy redressal of their complaints and matters arising out of or connected therewith” (The Consumer Protection Act, 1997).

This was amended in 2005 and given the title of the NWFP consumer Protection (amendment) Act, 2005. In order to make it more effective the government of PTI in KP amended this act and gave it the name of “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Consumer Protection (Amendment) Act, 2015”.

7.13. PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS:

Protection of human rights is the prime duty and responsibility of government in any state. Protection of human rights is one of the omens of good governance. It also makes a difference in between democratic and dictatorial types of government and policies. In order to protect human rights the government of PTI made legislation. For the promotion and protection of human rights in the province, the government implemented “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Promotion, Protection and Enforcement of Human Rights Act, 2014”. The main objective of this act is to protect and implement all kinds of human rights mentioned in the Constitution of Pakistan and international Conventions (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Promotion, Protection and Enforcement of Human Rights Act, 2014).

For the protection of rights of labours “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Shops and Establishment Act, 2015 was implemented. This act provides “...law relating to the hours and other conditions of work and employment of persons employed in shops, commercial establishments, industrial establishments and other establishments in the Province of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and matters connected there with” (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Shops and Establishment Act, 2015, 2015).

To protect child rights, the government of KP took special steps. In order to discourage child labour on one hand and to regulate employment of adolescents in particular occupations a process was made clear (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Prohibition of Employment of Children Act, 2015). In order to protect child rights, the government of PTI made an amendment in “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Child Protection and Welfare Act, 2010” with the title of “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Child Protection and Welfare (Amendment) Act, 2016”.

The Provincial Assembly of KP passed “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 2015” according to which the system of bonded and forced labour was abolished and prevented (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 2015) to ensure the human rights in the province.

For the protection of women rights, an autonomous Commission was reconstituted and reorganised to work for uplift of women status and to discourage discrimination. This commission is known as. “Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Commission on the Status of Women” (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Commission on the Status of Women Act, 2016).

In order to protect the rights of working pregnant women “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Maternity Benefits Act. 2013” was. passed. This act states that “to consolidate and rationalise the law pertaining to the employment of women. under certain natural conditions. in establishments in Province of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa” (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act NO. XVIII OF 2013). The most import points of this act are:

- i. No employer shall knowingly employ a woman and no woman shall engage in employment in any factory or, industrial or. commercial establishment during the six weeks following the day on which she is delivered of a child.
- ii. No employer shall ask any employed woman to do any work which is of an arduous nature or which involves long hours of standing or which is likely to adversely affect her health for a period of one month immediately (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act NO. XVIII OF 2013).

7.14. ESTABLISHMENT OF EMERGENCY RESCUE ERVICES:

The government of PTI in KP established emergency rescue service to rescue and to provide medical help in case of any accident or emergency. For this purpose, Provincial Assembly passed “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Emergency Rescue Service Act. 2012” (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Emergency Rescue Service Act. 2012). Later on an amendment known as “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Emergency Rescue Services (Amendment) Act, 2014” was. made to make it more efficient.

7.15. LEGISLATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:

To promote economic activities in the province, the government of PTI in KP decided to attract private sector because in modern world it plays vital role. To encourage the participation of private sector to finance and invest in construction of infrastructure and development projects in collaboration with government in form of partnership of public private sector. To implement this concept the Provincial Assembly of KP passed “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Public Private Partnership Act, 2014” and “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Public Private Partnership (Amendment) Bill, 2016”.

Energy issue has become the most serious problem in Pakistan. During electoral campaign, Imran Khan claimed that his government would construct micro hydel projects in KP to generate energy. For this purpose, the government of KP took different steps. An amendment was made in the Pakhtunkhwa Energy Development Act, 1993 according to, which it was decided that “Government shall appoint from private sector on attractive market based salary, an established energy sector professional, preferably a bonafide resident of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province having prescribed experience as the Chief Executive Officer of the Organization” (The Pakhtunkhwa Energy Development Organisation (Amendment) Act, 2014).

To develop agriculture and livestock, the government of PTI in KP passed “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Farm Services Centres Act, 2014”. According to this act, it was “to provide for establishment and regularization of Farm Services Centres with public private partnership, in the province of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa” (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Farm Services Centers Act, 2014).

For promoting trade and investment in the province of KP, and to encourage public private cooperation for economic growth, the KP Board Investment and Trade were, established by the government of PTI in KP (Board of Investment and Trade Act, 2015).

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Economic Zones Development and Management Company were, established to promote economic activities in the province. All the properties and staff of Industrial Estate which is also known as Economic Zones of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Development Authority were given to KPEZDMC (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa taking over of the Industrial Estate or Economic Zones Act, 2016).

The majority of the people in Pakistan and particularly in Province of KP are poor and they need loans to meet their means of livelihood. There are different financial institutions which provide loans but on huge interest rates. There are different kinds of loans and one of them is private loan. The government of KP enforced “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Prohibition of Interest on Private Loans Act, 2016” according to which interest is prohibited on private loan. In Pakistan, it is one of best facility provided by the government of KP.

7.16. STEPS TO ENSURE SECURITY AND COUNTER TERRORISM:

Security was one of the most serious issues of the KP province. To deal with this the government of KP took different steps. In order to counter terrorism a mechanism was designed for the business of rented buildings in the province. For this purpose, Provincial Assembly passed “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Restriction of Rented Buildings (Security) Act, 2014” which provides rules and regulations to rent out buildings. In order to make secure the sensitive and vulnerable places, it was decided that appropriate security arrangements would be made. The DPO was given the responsibility to issue guidelines for the security of such places from time to time (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Sensitive and Vulnerable Establishments and Places (Security) Act, 2015).

A mechanism was developed to monitor the business of hotels and guesthouses to counter terrorism. According to “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Hotels Restriction (Security) Act, 2014” the owner of the hotels and guests houses were bounds to get their business

registered with Station House Officer of the area and SHO was bound to issue them receipt as an acknowledgement and proof. Owners were bound to keep all information of the guests and in case of any doubt to report the SHO (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Hotels Restriction Security Act, 2014, 2014).

The issue of arms and ammunition was very serious in the province of KP. In order to control it a systematic legislation was, done. Right after coming into government, the provincial assembly passed “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Arms Act, 2013” “to regulate the manufacture, conversion, repair, sale, transportation, bearing or possession of arms or ammunition in the Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa” (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Arms Act, 2013). For the regularisation of explosive substances “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Explosive Substances Act, 2013” and “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Explosives Act, 2013” were passed. The people possessing illegal arms were asked to surrender their arms or ammunition for which “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Surrender of Illicit Arms Act, 2014” and “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Arms (Amendment) Act, 2015” were passed. Due to such legislation, the problems of weapons and terrorism were, brought under control to the large extent.

7.17. PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE JOURNALISTS:

To protect the rights of the Journalists, the government of KP established KP Journalist Welfare Endowment Fund. The purpose of this is, “... for providing financial assistance to the journalists working in press, newspapers and news agencies enlisted in the media list of Government, who cannot afford the expenditure to be incurred on his or their family-member funeral expenses and compensation to the family members of such journalists, who embraces martyrdom in acts of terrorism” (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Journalists Welfare Endowment Fund Act, 2014). [To make it systematic through an amendment it was added that], “A sum not exceeding rupees one lac, in case of medical

treatment of the deserving journalists. The claim must be supported by vouchers or invoices verified by a registered medical practitioner or Government health authority “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Journalists Welfare Endowment Fund (Amendment) Act, 2015”.

7.18. JUDICIAL REFORMS:

One of the objectives of the PTI was to provide speedy and inexpensive justice at the doorsteps of the masses. To provide speedy and inexpensive justice at the doorsteps the government of PTI in KP established Civil Mobile Courts. The jurisdiction of the Civil Mobile Court is, described in “The Establishment of Civil Mobile Courts Act, 2015”. It is one of the best steps taken by the government of KP. Due to this the cases are resolved with pace and easily. In order to impart professional judicial education to the concern staff an amendment was, made which is, known as “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Judicial Academy (Amendment) Act, 2015”. Else, of it, an amendment was, made in “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Subordinate Judiciary Service Tribunal (Amendment) Act, 2015” which determined the jurisdiction of Subordinate Judiciary Service Tribunal.

7.19. PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES:

The government of PTI in KP took steps to safeguard and preserve the antiquities in KP. In order “to provide a law relating to the protection, preservation, development and maintenance of antiquities in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and to encourage researcher related to antiquities and for the matters connected...” (The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Antiquities Act, 2016, 2016). It was really a unique and important step by the government of PTI in KP because such articles are the identity of any nation.

7.20. STEPS TO COUNTER ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES:

Environmental issues in Pakistan getting serious. To prevent and control environmental pollution the Provincial Assembly of KP made legislation and passed “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Environmental Protection Act, 2014” to promote sustainable development in the province. The province of KP is famous for wildlife and rare species. To protect, conserve and manage the biodiversity, the government of KP passed “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Wildlife and Biodiversity (Protection, Preservation, Conservation and Management) Act, 2015”.

7.21. ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES OF PTI’S GOVERNMENT IN KP:

PTI made efforts to bring changes in province of KP in the light of its objectives in which she got success to some extent. It is important to mention that it is not an easy task to bring drastic changes in Pakistan especially in KP because for last six decades people have been witnessing the same policies. To bring changes is a very hard task. From legislation and policies point of view PTI introduced best policies but its trickle down effects yet to be emerged. Secondly, in Pakistan institutions are not one the same page. For change, it is imperative that all institutions and political parties should be on the same page, which is only possible in the presence of Rule of Law. It is important to mention here that the problem is not with rules and policies. The main problem is with implementation.

Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT), a watchdog on parliamentary affairs in Pakistan, declared KP as the best and gave it top position for the performance in second years. It received the highest score of 44% for its performance. Administrative performance is another indicator of performance of the government. It means that how much a government remained successful in implementing its policies and

how much targets it achieved. When PTI formed government in KP, the most serious problem was the situation of law and order. It was worst in KP because of terrorism. In order to counter this situation, PTI decided to make police reforms. The main reason was to depoliticise it, so that it can concentrate on its duties to maintain law and order. PTI made such legislation and implemented it.

Due to education and health reforms, PTI earned a distinguished name in Pakistan as well. PTI implemented its education and health reforms agenda. By implementing right to service act in education and health institutions, the problems of management has become less. However, people belonging to these institutions reacted and staged strikes against the government but through determination and by providing incentives. PTI overcome these hurdle. As an independent and neutral observer, one can see the punctuality and disposal of services to people in KP.

In field of education PTI spend 20% budget annually from 2013 to 2018. It was a great achievement in a sense that in Pakistan, education budget is usually not more than two percent. More than 57000 new teachers were, recruited, and 1000 new schools were established and more then it were, upgraded. Forty-seven new colleges and ten universities were, established in the span of five years.

In health sector, the performance of PTI was also good. The healthcare development budget was, increased by 200%. It provided over 1.5 million people with Sehat Insaf Cards to avail high quality medical services. It established the first ever Burn and Trauma of the province in Peshawar. In order to counter the environmental problem the government of PTI started the "Billion Tree Tsunami".

It is important to mention that though PTI could not implement its agenda fully as it claimed during election campaign. Else, of failure of PTI some other factors were also behind it. For example, in some cases when PTI started to implement its reforms agenda

in different institutions, such reforms were, challenged in Courts, which took almost two to three years. Even some cases are still pending in the Courts. Another hurdle in the way of reforms was federal government. Through Governor KP, Iqbal Zafar Jhagra and the Advisor to Prime Minister on federal departments in KP, Amir Muqam Khan, advisor to Prime Minister, hurdles were, created for PTI. Ambiguities created by 18th Amendment were another hurdle in the way of reforms agenda especially in case of introduction of mega projects, powers of Ehtesab Commission and Energy and power sectors.

Bureaucracy proved one of the main hurdles in way of reforms of PTI in KP. In three years PTI replaced three Chief Secretaries which depicts the reality of relations of PTI led government and bureaucracy in the Province (The News, 2016). According to report published in The Economist, PTI brought changes in the field of education and health but it could not materialise most of the promises made during electoral campaign. Imran Khan in an interview to BBC acknowledged that PTI could not perform in KP as it claimed. He mentioned that due to lack of experience, PTI could not perform well. He also explained that he wanted to implement local government system in KP in its true letter and spirit but due to his MPAs and bureaucracy, he could not. He further added that despite of this the performance of KP government is best as compare to others in Pakistan.

PTI implemented reforms and brought some changes in KP when it was under the dark shadows of terrorism. When, hopelessness was looming in the province. PTI made efforts to implement reforms where society was, stricken in *status quo* oriented mentality. From legislative point of view, it enacted one hundred and sixty eight laws. The most important of them were the KP Right to Information Act, 2013, the KP Local Government Act, 2013, the KP Promotion, Protection and Enforcement of Human Rights Act, 2014, the

KP Right to Public Service Act, 2014, The KP Medical Teaching Institutions Reforms Act, 2015 and the KP Police Act, 2017.

The most important indicator of satisfaction of people about the success and performance of PTI can be, estimated from the results of general election 2018. In the electoral history of KP, none of the party could get consecutive victory but PTI became victorious in the general election 2018 for second time consecutively and again formed government in the Province. The performance of PTI government in KP not only played vital role in evolution of the party but it has also contributed a lot on the future prospects.

CHAPTER- 8

POPULAR MOBILISATION AND PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF (PTI), 1996-2018

8.1. ROLE OF PTI IN POPULAR MOBILISATION (1996-1997):

Right after its inception, PTI started to contribute its role in the political affairs of Pakistan. On 5 November 1996, the President of Pakistan, Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari dissolved the government of the Benazir Bhutto under article 58(2b)⁴² (Azeem, 2017) on the charges of corruption. She challenged this decision in the Supreme Court of Pakistan, which upheld the order of the President (Benazir Bhutto v Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari, 1998). An interim government was, formed under the premiership of Malik Meraj Khalid to conduct general election.

The interim government established the National Security Council. Initially, PTI was against this decision because it was not the mandate of interim government. Interim government could only make an advisory board but just for its own duration and could not set-up a permanent institution. On this issue, the core committee of PTI made deliberations and in the light of prevailing situation in Pakistan, concluded to extend its support. Then Central Secretary Information of PTI, Nasim Zehra explained that NSC was essential for the security of Pakistan in which President, Prime Minister and Chief of Army Staff was included (Jang, Jan 8, 1997).

One of the first demands of PTI in its history was across the board accountability. As it was, promised by Farooq Ahmed Khan Legari and interim government that there would be across the board accountability in Pakistan and corrupt politicians would not be.

⁴² According to 8th amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan during the period of General Zia. President was given the discretionary powers to dissolve the National Assembly. This was undone through 13th Amendment but again included in 17th amendment. In 18th amendment, the power of President to dissolve National Assembly has deleted again (Khan H. , 2016).

allowed to contest election. For this purpose on 18 November 1996, The Ehtesab Ordinance, 1996 was, promulgated⁴³.

In the light of this promise, PTI demanded that interim government should take solid action against the corrupt politicians against whom evidences were present. By presence of evidences mean that the charges of corruption were, labelled by the President and verified by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. PTI demanded for the arrest of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto in the light of decision of the Supreme Court (Benazir Bhutto v Farooq Ahmed Leghari, 1998). PTI questioned that how could Benazir Bhutto be allowed to contest the polls after the highest judicial authority in the land found her guilty of corruption, illegal taping of telephones, nepotism and misrule. Indeed if she was responsible for even one extra-judicial death she should be, charged with murder. It is ludicrous to think that a person against whom the Supreme Court of Pakistan pronounced a verdict that she was involved in such grave acts, should be contesting polls barely five days after the announcement of the verdict.

⁴³ According to this Ordinance bribery, fraud, graft, misappropriation, possessing and enrichment of unknown resources in one's own or another's name were, declared as 'corruption' and 'corrupt practices'. The head of the commission would be, known as Chief Ehtesab Commissioner. He should be a serving or retired Judge of Supreme Court. President of Pakistan would appoint him in consultation with Prime Minister, Leader of Opposition and Chief Justice of Pakistan for the tenure of four years. It would apply to a person who has been (i). President, and Provincial Governor (ii). Prime Minister, Chairman and Deputy Chairman of Senate, Speaker and Deputy Speaker of National Assembly, Federal Minister, Minister of State, Attorney – General, Advisor, Special Assistant or Consultant to Prime Minister, Federal Parliamentary Secretary, Members of Parliament, Auditor – General, Political Secretary, Federal or State Ministers and officers attached with them, (iii). Chief Minister, Provincial Ministers, Advisor or Consultant and Assistant to Chief Minister and Provincial Ministers, Provincial Parliamentary Secretary, Member of Provincial Assembly, Advocate, Additional and Assistant Advocates Generals, Political Secretaries, (iv). Officers of Basic Pay Scale of 20 at Federal, Provincial, Corporations, banks, financial institutions under the control of Federal or Provincial Government. After receiving complaint and inquiry, reference would be made the bench of three judges of High Court by the Chief Ehtesab Commissioner. According to this Ordinance, if one found guilty would be given imprisonment for seven years or fine or confiscation of property or disqualification to contest elections and the incumbent would have left the seat. Appeal against the decision would be move in the Supreme Court (Ordinance CXI of 1996, PLD 1996 Central Statutes 1954). An amendment was made in the Ordinance in which it was decided that reference send by Chief Ehtesab Commissioner could be heard by the bench of two Judges of High rather which was previously to be consisted of three Judges (Ehtesab (Amendment) Ordinance VII of 1997), PLD 1997 Central Statutes 255).

PTI opposed the amendment in the laws of election⁴⁴ by the interim government because it enabled Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif to contest the election⁴⁵. PTI claimed that, President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari has dissolved the National Assembly for the sake of his personal interests and has made an underhand deal with Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Therefore, in his presence neutral election would not be possible. PTI demanded that he should resign because he promised that there would be across the board accountability of corrupt politicians but letting them to contest election again⁴⁶.

The fact about underhand pact was, rectified by Fakhruddin G. Ebrahim, who was then the Federal Law Minister in the interim government, resigned from the office in protest. He explained that President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari claimed that there would be across the board accountability but he had joined hands with Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (The News, Dec 19, 1997) and results of the general election proved this statement true.

⁴⁴ According to amendments it was said that (i). Every candidate has to declare that he/she and his/her spouse, dependent children or parent are not bank defaulters and government dues or utilities. (ii). Candidate has to give statement showing assets, liabilities and payment of income tax of last three years and his/her spouse and dependant. (iii). A candidate could pay any loan, tax, government dues and liabilities before the rejection of nomination papers. (vi). A candidate cannot spend more than one million for the seat of National Assembly and six lakh for the seat of Provincial Assembly which has to be filed before the election results. (v). A party is not allowed to spend more than thirty million rupees on elections and have to submit report about it within thirty days of elections. (vi) Hording, posters, banners, wall chalking and party flags were banned on any public places or property (Representation of the people (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance, 1996 (Ordinance CVII of 1996), PLD 1997, Central Statutes 6)).

⁴⁵ The most important two concessions made Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif able to contest elections were; (i). Relation in law for defaulters on public loans. According to election Laws, it was said that loan defaulter of any financial institution or bank taken for any business mainly owned by the candidate. It would make him defaulter and he would not be. allowed to contest elections. In this, 'mainly owned' was defined as the holding or controlling of a majority interest in said business. (ii). On 19 December 1996, a new ordinance was promulgated in which sole proprietor, a partner and a director was redefined in a business at the time of loan was written off (Representation of the People (Fifth Amendment) Ordinance, 1996, Ordinance CXIX of 1996, PLD 1997 Central Statutes 215).

⁴⁶ PTI demanded that President of Pakistan Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari should resign immediately. He issued six points charge sheet against him. (i). Appointment of corrupt man like Khawaja Tariq Rahim as Punjab, Mumtaz Bhutto as governor of Sindh, Dr Zubair as minister for commerce and Shahid Hamid as a legal counsel. (ii). Failure on opening the election arena for honest people. (iii). Inability to stop the defaulter and corrupt from contesting elections. (iv). on violation of code of conduct of election commission. (v). By changing the definition of defaulter by making amendment in the Representation of People's Act 1975-76 on December 19. (vi). Sharp about turn on the payment of outstanding utility bills (The News, Jan 27, 1997).

If such amendments were not made in the Laws of the Election, both Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto would have not been in position to contest election. However, due to such amendments, both of them contested election and Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister for second time. This damaged the democratic norms in Pakistan because no new political leadership could emerge and the same families and politicians made their roots strong in the country. Electable started to think that even courts could not stop them. Therefore, they repeatedly joined these two parties according to their convenience of interests.

Another important point because of which PTI was demanding that PML (N) should not be allowed to contest election was the Mehran Bank Scandal⁴⁷ in which Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and his party was involved. PTI requested the Supreme Court of Pakistan to invoke original jurisdiction under Article 184(3)⁴⁸ of the constitution to probe the Mehran Bank scam.

If the courts of Pakistan have declared and clarified such case in time the political culture in Pakistan would have changed. The culprits could not get their feet entrenched in the political structure of Pakistan. Later politicians would have the fear of the courts and might have not indulged in corruption and illegal activities. Later history proved that the stance of the PTI in Mehran Bank Scandal was true.

⁴⁷ Mehran Bank Scandal also known as Mehrangate. In the general election 1990 and 1993, the Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan Army supported PML (N) and its alliance known as Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) to get victory by rigging in order to defeat Benazir Bhutto of PPP. Younis Habib of Mehran Bank was the main character who used to provide money for this purpose through bank. He confessed it in front of Supreme Court of Pakistan in Asghar Khan Case (The Express Tribune March 8, 2012).

⁴⁸ According to article "184. Original jurisdiction of Supreme Court.-

(1) The Supreme Court shall, to the exclusion of every other Court, have original jurisdiction in any dispute between any two or more Governments. Explanation.-In this clause, "Governments" means the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments. (2) In the exercise of the jurisdiction conferred on it by clause (1), the Supreme Court shall pronounce declaratory judgments only. (3) Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 199, the Supreme Court shall, if it considers that a question of public importance with reference to the enforcement of any of the Fundamental Rights conferred by Chapter I of Part II is involved, have the power to make an order of the nature mentioned in the said Article" (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973).

8.2. POPULAR MOBILISATION BY PTI (1997-1999):

In the general election, 1997, held on 3rd February, PML (N) got two third majorities in the National Assembly. PML (N) got ninety percent seats in Punjab Assembly and majority in NWFP. PPP got majority in Sindh and no party could get majority in Balochistan (Election Commission of Pakistan, 1997). Muhammad Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister of Pakistan for second time. PML (N) formed federal government with the coalition of ANP and MQM. In Punjab, Shabaz Sharif of PML (N) became Chief Minister. In NWFP, PML (N) and ANP formed coalition government under the Chief Ministership of Mahtab Abbasi of PML (N). In Sindh, PML (N) and MQM formed coalition government and Liaqut Ali Jatoi of PML (N) became Chief Minister. In Balochistan, a coalition government under the Chief Ministership of Akhtar Mengal was formed (Khan H. . 2009).

PTI could not get a single seat and decided to play the role in political affairs outside the parliament. Imran Khan congratulated Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and said that PTI would play constructive role of opposition and would support any constructive measures that would be, taken by the government in the best national interest on one hand and it would criticize the wrong government policies on the other hand.

When Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif launched Debt Retirement Campaign,⁴⁹ PTI supported it and Imran Khan donated ten thousands rupees (The News. Feb 26. 1997). PTI suggested that government should take such steps with the help of which economic problems of Pakistan could be, solved on permanent basis rather than temporary basis. It appreciated steps taken by PM to curb the VIP culture but PTI was not in favour of

⁴⁹ "The federal government [during Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif reign] launched the National Debt Retirement Programme (NDRP) [also known as "Qarz Utaro Mulk Sanwaro" in Urdu] to pay off the ever-increasing national debt in 1997. Funds in the NDRP were accepted from individuals, firms, companies and institutions as donations (NDRP-I). Qarz-e-Hasna (NDRP-II) and term deposits (NDRP-III). A total of Rs1.2 billion was received in local currency and \$178 million was received in foreign currency under the programme (Dawn. April 13. 2017).

yellow cab scheme. When Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif announced Self-Reliance scheme, Imran Khan offered his conditional services⁵⁰.

It was a very a good compaign and PTI supported it as well but it is yet a question to be answered that the money which was collected in this scheme is where. Is there any audit report of collected money? The purpose, for which it started meted out or not. As far as yellow cab schme was concerned who was the main beneficiers of this schme. These are very important questions to be, answered because Pakistani politics revolves around such issues. Now whenever such kinds of schemes and programmes are, announced in Pakistan people do not trust them in the light of previous experiences.

The main point around which the politics of PTI revolved was demand for accountability. PTI demanded that government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif should take steps for accountability including army and judiciary. It explained that after seeking heavy public mandate Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif should fulfil his responsibilities and should not give concession to any officer of any department. It also demanded that government should not release Asif Ali Zardari and recover Rs.60 billion misappropriated by him (The News. March 14, 1997). Along with it Benazir Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari should be declared disqualified forthwith on the basis of Swiss Bank

⁵⁰ Imran Khan said that "I will work day and night to collect 1.5 billion dollars in the six months from the people of Pakistan if Prime Minister guarantees the implementation of eleven points which I have raised in a recently dispatched open letter on him". He explained that "As one of the most successful fund-raisers of Pakistan, I am offering my services to the nation in the present crisis". (i). Prime Minister should ensure that the members of parliament should give up all perks and privileges and live and work like leaders of poor nation. (ii). The Premier would have to ensure that misuse of discretionary funds and massive use of public properties by his family are stopped. (iii). From the fund raised Prime Minister will provide 5 million jobs to unemployed youth and set up an Awami Bank to provide credit only to the poor. (iv). Setting up of an independent Ehtesab [accountability] Bureau headed by people of impeachable integrity to conduct swift, impartial and non-partisan accountability. (v). Prime Minister should immediately disclose the total amount of loans which he and his family have taken from banks and later rescheduled. (vi). The Prime Minister should set a precedent by depositing 25 per cent of his assets in the Self-Reliance Fund. (vii). Audit of accounts of all the money the government has received under the Qarz Utaro Mulk Sanwaro Scheme. (viii). "... immediate reforms in the police, judiciary and local government be made to empower the people, provide them speedy, cheap and impartial justice. (ix). Prime Minister to donate his Raiwind estate and palaces to the self reliance scheme, setting an example for the countrymen. (x). To impose education emergency instead of imposing the emergency to suspend fundamental rights." (Frontier Post, July 8, 1998).

corruption case⁵¹. When government did not take the process of accountability serious, PTI claimed that government was not serious in the accountability process and declared it as “it is noorakushti [fixed fight or pretending to fight to fool a target audience] and nothing else” (Frontier Post. Oct 6, 1997).

PTI welcomed the decision of the Lahore High Court Rawalpindi Ehtesab Bench and the London High Court. The former disqualified Benazir Bhutto and Senator Asif Ali Zardari and fined them 8.6 million dollar with five years imprisonment while the later declared the Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's family as a defaulter against the loan obtained from Al-Towfeek Company (The News. March 16. 1999). Despite of the presence of such decisions leadership of both parties were, allowed to participate in the general election 1997.

On the issue of Aimal Kanshi⁵², PTI criticised the government on handing over Aimal Kanshi to America and explained that PTI did not support that Pakistan should protect murderers and terrorists but the Constitution and the national institutions of Pakistan should be, respected. It was, explained that in any civilised country the Americans would have expected to firstly, sign an extradition treaty and secondly, a local court order before they were, allowed to take away the country's citizen but it was, not done in this case. Therefore, Aimal Kanshi handing over to America proved that government was without vision. Same thing was done by Benazir Bhutto in case of Ramzi Yousaf⁵³ (The Nation. June 30. 1997).

⁵¹ According to the report of John F. Burns, Asif Ali Zardari has millions of dollars in Swiss Bank. He also disclosed the cases of corruption in which Zardari has taken kickbacks and commission (The New York Times. Jan 9. 1998).

⁵² Aimal Kanshi was a Pakistani immigrant. In 1993 he was found involved in killing of two employees of American CIA by shootings at CIA Headquarters in Langley, Virginia. He came back to Pakistan where he was arrested by FBI and ISI. During the reign of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif he was handed over America and sentenced to death (The Washington Post. Nov 15. 2002).

⁵³ Ramzi Yousaf was the main character found involved in bombing of World Trade Centre in 1993, Philippines Airlines and Bojinka plot. He was arrested in 1995 by ISI and American Diplomatic Security Services from Karachi during the reign of Benazir Bhutto and handed over to USA (The Washington Post. Nov 13. 1997).

The handing over of such character to America has become a very sensitive issue. The reality of such acts is known Pakistan's intelligence agencies but political parties have to bear the brunt of such issue. It plays the role of catalyst for those who want to interfere or misuse situation created by incidence like this. It also damages Pak-USA relations. In the later history of Pakistan, the issue of Afia Sadiqui and Dr Shakeel Afridi created problem for political governments. Political parties should share truth with Nation rather than to play politics on similar kinds of issue because it hurts nation on one hand and waste time and energies on the other hand.

On the question of resignation of President of Pakistan Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari and then nomination of Rafiq Tarar for President of Pakistan the stance of the PTI was ambiguous. Initially, PTI was against the policies of the President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari because it was of the view that Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif got victory due to his collaboration. When tug of war started between the President Farooq Ahmed Khan and Prime Minister led to the resignation of Farooq Legari on 2 December 1997. PTI declared resignation as an unfortunate because it was of the view that Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif wanted to bring a powerless President to become "all in all" (The News, Dec 8, 1997). PTI declared the nomination of Rafiq Tarar⁵⁴ as harmful for the office of the President of Pakistan and declared that declared the whole process of the selection of a President as unnecessary exercise. It proposed that the Prime Minister should have taken the dual charge of the President because it would save a lot of money on the establishment of Presidency, which was now, reduced to a decoration piece only. If there was any utility of this office then President should be, taken from smaller province because "The selection of the president now is an exercise choosing another 'Fazal

⁵⁴ Muhammad Rafiq Tarar served as senior justice of Supreme Court of Pakistan. After retirement he joined PML (N) and became Senator in 1997. He became President of Pakistan after Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari and took oath on 1st January, 1998 (The News, Jan 2, 1998).

Ilahi'⁵⁵, but also an exercise in depriving the smaller province of their legitimate right. The procedure by which president has been selected is open to question. In simple language, previously the country was ruled by 'Zardari and Associates', and now it is 'Abbaji [father of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif], sons & Associates" (Dawn. Dec 22, 1997).

During 1997, the political situation of Pakistan became aggravated. Benazir Bhutto proposed to set up National Government in Pakistan. PTI opposed the idea of National Government because it was, based on power sharing with army and agencies. PTI explained that Benazir Bhutto was looking to find excuses for her bad governance and was blaming other for her failure to resolve issues like collapse of institutions, corruption, fall of economy and failure of foreign policy (The Nation. July 15, 1997). That was why she floated the idea of National Government to regain power. PTI objected this proposal and claimed that it would support ballot politics only and oppose any other extra-constitutional method to bring change in the political set-up. Instead of National Government. PTI demanded for Interim Government on two point's agenda that was reforms and accountability. For this purpose, PTI demanded that referendum should be held under the supervision of the Supreme Court of Pakistan to know the will of the people about reforms and accountability (The News. Aug 29, 1998).

During the reign of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments were made in the Constitution of Pakistan. The first two were passed and before the passage of 15th amendment, his government was taken over by General General Pervez Musharraf. By 13th Amendment, the power of President to dissolve the government was removed (Gazette of Pakistan, 1997). PTI opposed those amendments because due to 14th Amendment, according to PTI parliament had become a rubber stamp

⁵⁵ Chaudhry Fazal Ilahi was the 5th President of Pakistan. He served from 1973-78. He did not have any significant authority in the political affairs of Pakistan. He was so called Presidents and has become a symbol of powerless President in Pakistan.

and Prime Minister assumed the status of dictator. With the help of the 15th Amendment Bill, government wanted to save itself by utilising the element of religion. PTI explained that Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was making an effort to befool people in the name of 'Sharia' to save his government. In reality Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif did not want to enforce real Sharia, PTI termed it as 'Nawaz Bachao Sharia' [to save Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif] with the help of which he wanted to rule Pakistan (The News. Aug 29, 1998).

At this stage, PTI protested that Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif had brought the country on the brink of disaster. and in such a circumstances 'doctrine of necessity' could be revoked. Regarding ultra-constitutional step PTI explained. "Although it will be extra-constitutional step. it has become inevitable to save the country from economic collapse". [because] "the constitution is for the country and the country is not for the constitution. [PTI] would rather save country and in the prevailing circumstances such sort of extra-constitutional step has become imperative" (The News. Aug 29. 1998). Researcher is of the view that this demand of PTI was wrong because democratic government in any form is much better than extra-constitutional step. However, it is bad example in the politics of Pakistan that political parties like PML (N) and PPP who are against the use of religion in politics tried to use this card. Every time both of them made religious parties as coalition partner and it has become a permanent phenomena that every political government has affiliation of different religious parties belonging to different sects. If these parties profess that they are against the use of religious elements in politics than they should not make such kind of affiliations with them or on the contrary they should not make such objection on the politics of religious parties because it is the right of all schools of thought to participate in political affairs of Pakistan.

During Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif government, the issue of Judiciary got serious and led to the stoning by PML (N) members of Assemblies. PTI demanded that six members⁵⁶ disqualified by the Supreme Court of Pakistan should be unseated. It further demanded that, the Supreme Court of Pakistan should take *suo moto* action against 'large-scale corruption as well as tax evasion by Sharif family' (The Nation. Aug 17, 1998).

On the issue of establishment of Military Courts in Sindh, PTI opposed the decision of government. Due to the murder of the Hakim Saeed⁵⁷, the government made amendment in the "Pakistan Armed Forces (Acting in Aid of the Civil Power) Ordinance 1998" and established Military Courts to trial civilians. PTI was against the establishment of Military Courts. Later on the Supreme Court of Pakistan gave verdict against the establishment of Military Courts as well (Mehram Ali v Federation of Pakistan, PLJ 1998 S.C. 1415, 1998). This decision might have increased the confidence level of leadership of PTI. Here PTI took right decision because in the presidency judiciary there was no need of military courts.

PTI kept on demanding for an Independent Election Commission in Pakistan, which should be able to bar the corrupt from contesting election. The main reasons behind this demand were that four governments were, dismissed on the charges of corruption and the same corrupt people were allowed to contest election. In the presence of article 62 of the Constitution, such politicians could not contest election. Therefore, there should be an independent election commission to implement the article 62 in its true letter and spirit. Else, of it the bank defaulters and plunderers of national wealth should not be, allowed to

⁵⁶ Two MNAs and four MPAs, among these members were: MNA Tariq Aziz, Mian Muhammad Munir, and MPA Chaudhry Tanvir Ahmed Khan, Ch Akhtar Rasool, Akhtar Mehmood, Sardar Muhammad Naseem Khan.

⁵⁷ Hakeem Muhammad Saeed is, known as medical researcher. He founded Hamdard Foundation. He served as a Governor of Sindh from 1993-96. He was, assassinated in 1996 during the reign of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (The Express Tribune. Oct 17, 2011).

contest elections. PTI objected that in Pakistan mafias like feudal mafia, drug mafia and timber mafia were, allowed to participate in election. Due to the influence of such mafias, honest people could not win election because they could fight against them. This problem could be, resolved by independent election commission. So “An independent election commission should be formed which like the Election Commission of India, should at least disallow the thieves and dacoits to contest elections” (The News. Sep 17, 1999). In order to counter all mafias and to end the controversies relating to electoral process in Pakistan Independent Election Commission is essential.

Another important issue during the government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was nuclear issue. On 11 May 1998, India conducted five nuclear tests in Pokhran during the Premiership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee (Times of India. May 12, 1998). PTI demanded that government of Pakistan should carry out nuclear test swiftly but rather strategically irrespective of American pressure. Pakistan conducted nuclear tests successfully on 28th May 1998 (The Gurdian. May 29, 1998). After nuclear test government of Pakistan declared emergency in the country and freezed all foreign currency accounts. PTI opposed this step and challenged it in the Supreme Court of Pakistan (Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari and others v Federation of Pakistan and others, PLD 199, S.C. 57). In the light of than prevailing situation the decision of government was right because there was apprehension in the mind of the people who had assets in the bank and started to take them out of the country. Such flight of the foreign currency could create problems for Pakistan. It was the main reason that government freezed all foreign currency accounts but PTI opposed it.

During this period, PTI constantly criticised the leadership of *status quo* parties. PTI opposed the leadership of PPP and PML (N) and declared Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhuto as the enemies of Pakistan and protecting each other for the

mutual interests. PTI entitled PML (N) as “Sharif League”. It criticised both leaders for their Raiwind estate in Lahore⁵⁸ and Surrey palace in England⁵⁹, which they built with the money of poor and put a huge burden of loans on Pakistan. PTI always criticised leadership of both parties for such kind of assets but could never prove them in the courts. Even both PML (N) and PPP blamed each other for this but none of them took action either in the parliament or in the court of justice.

In order to remove the government of PML (N), different parties started to form alliances. PTI was also invited. Initially PTI refused to join such alliances because of PPP on the plea that Benazir Bhutto wanted to save herself and refused to join fifteen party alliance led by Maulana Tahirul Qadri⁶⁰. Benazir Bhutto and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan⁶¹. It was claimed that PTI would not become part of any such alliance in which Benazir Bhutto would be included because she wanted to join such alliance to save her Swiss Accounts. PTI blamed that she destroyed the country and due to Benazir Bhutto and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif government for last ten years, the country had become on the brink of destruction. PTI would talk with other parties to form grand alliance on one point agenda that was to “Save Pakistan and save democracy” (The News, May 10, 1999).

For this purpose, PTI started efforts to unite opposition parties on one point agenda to remove the government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. It was of the view that the government had no justification to remain in power after compromising national interests

⁵⁸ The residence of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif situated in Raiwind Lahore. It is extended on the area of 1700 acres. It is also, known as Jati Umrah.

⁵⁹ Surrey Palace is property of Asif Ali Zardari in England.

⁶⁰ Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri is a known as a religious Scholar. He founded Minhaj-ul-Quran in 1981. He founded a political party known as Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) in 1989. He was elected as a member of National Assembly in 1990 (Dawn, Jan 12, 2013).

⁶¹ Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan was one of the senior politicians in Pakistan. He served as a member of Provincial Assembly and National Assembly. He is well known due to formation of different alliances. He formed Democratic Action Committee against General Ayub Khan, Pakistan National Alliance against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and Movement for the Restoration of Democracy known as MRD against General Zia and Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy against General Musharraf. He established Pakistan Democratic Party (Azad, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, 2003).

and demanded to making of an Interim Reform Government (IRG) for the task of accountability in all institutions including the judiciary and after achieving this objective, general election should be, held. To head IRG, the name of Asghar Khan⁶² and Sajjad Ali Shah⁶³ was, suggested. To form IRG for two years, there should be referendum. In IRG, technocrats should be included and people having any role in the interim government should not be, allowed to contest election.

PTI announced its seven point agenda of formation of interim government in which across the board accountability of all political leaders before the next election. independent Election Commission. Voters ages should be. reduced to 18 years. institutional reforms, right of information and introduction of local government were included. For this purpose, PTI asked all religious and political parties to support these points (Frontier Post. Aug 5, 1999).

Soon PTI felt that it was not possible for her to dislodge the government single-handed. Therefore, PTI changed its initial strategies and decided to join hands with other political parties like Pakistan Awami Tehrik of Allama Tahir-ul-Qadri and Tanzim-ul-Akhwan of Maulana Akram Awan against the government of PML (N). PTI contacted Qazi Hussain Ahmed of JJ, Farooq Ahmed Khan Laghari, ANP and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi to built strong opposition against the government. The stated purpose of alliance was to “Mulk bachao Nawaz hatao” i.e. removing Nawaz to save Pakistan (Pakistan. July 30, 1999). PTI became so aggressive and stated that in order to remove Nawaz’s government PTI would be “even ready to form an alliance with the *Satan* to achieve this goal” (Frontier Post. Aug 22, 1999). In this backdrop. PTI joined GDA on one point agenda that was to oust Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif government (The News. Sep 30, 1999).

⁶² Asghar Khan remained Air Marsnal of Pakistan from 1957-65. After retirement from Pakistan Air Force. he founded a political party in 1972 known “Tehrik-i-Istiqlal”. He became member of National Assembly in the general election 1977. He is. well known as an opposition leader in the politics of Pakistan (Khan A. M.. 2008).

⁶³ Sajjad Ali served as Chief Justice of Pakistan from 1994-1998 (Shah S. A.. 2001).

Here PTI joined alliance in which Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari was also included. Against this PTI protested that he had helped Nawaz Sharif to get victory in the general election 1997. Else, of it PTI was of the view that it would make alliance even with *Satan* to oust the government of Nawza Sharif. It means there was no politics of ideology rather than it had become a matter of self-interest.

Another important issue during the Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif government was clash of government and Military. Chief of Army Staff, General Jahangir Karamat proposed that to address the important issues, government should establish National Security Council, which was, disliked by the Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. As a result, General Jahangir Karamat was compelled to resign and replaced by General Pervez Musharraf. On this PTI was of the view that Jehangir Karamat's ouster from the scene would not bring any good to the government. Rather, it would further fuel the already charged political situation. According to democratic rules and regulations in a parliamentary system, Prime Minister is authorised to remove any officer of beaucracy or Army. PTI should not made objection on this because such support encouraged military to interfere in the political affairs of the country.

On Kargil issue,⁶⁴ PTI opposed Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and charged that Prime Minister inflicted Pakistan \$700 million loss and heavy casualties (Frontier Post, 1999). PTI demanded that Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif should oust the government because his government had lost the credibility both at national and international level. Due to controversial relations between government and army on the issue of Kargil, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif decided to remove General Pervez Musharraf, when he was on the official visit to Sri Lanka. In his absence, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif appointed General Khawaja Ziauddin Abbasi, also known as Ziauddin Butt as the Chief of Army

⁶⁴ Kargil is, situated in Kashmir. In 1999, armed conflict started between India and Pakistan over this area (Lavoy, 2009).

Staff (Dutt, 2000). Before his oath taking, Martial law was, declared in the country and General General Pervez Musharraf took over the government (Crossette, 1999).

In this incidence, two anomalies had happend. As far as casualties are concernced it is pertinent to know that either the Prime Minister of Pakistan knew about this operation or not. If he did not know as he claimed than who was responsible for keeping Prime Minister unaware of this. That was definitely General Musharraf. However, as a Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif should take Nation into the confidence by keeping the history of Amry so that they could not think of taking such step. Secondly, it was also wrong action on the part of the Prime Minister that when head of his country's armed forces was representing Pakistan in Sri Lanka, he took this action. It's an indefinite debate, that who was right or wrong, but as a political party the decision and demand of the PTI was wrong because no inquiry was made on this issue when PTI started to criticised PML (N) and it once again infuriated and encouraged army to step into the political arena of Pakistan.

8.3. POPULAR MOBILISATION (1999 - 2002):

The role of PTI in popular mobilisation during the rule of General Pervez Musharraf is, divided into two parts. In the first part from 1999 to 2002, PTI supported Musharraf policies while in the second part i.e. after the general election 2002, PTI opposed Musharraf policies.

General Pervez Musharraf took over on 12th October 1999, and became the Chief Executive of Pakistan. He announced his seven point agenda. PTI supported the decision and made it clear that it supported him because seven points reflected the agenda of PTI (Jang, Oct 24, 1999). It was, added that GDA also endorsed seven point agenda but it should not be taken as a support for the military rule in the country. In an interview with

BBC, Imran Khan clarified that “The nation is supporting the Chief Executive General General Pervez Musharraf and will continue to support him as long as he sticks to his agenda. But if he did not implement that agenda...the nation would withdraw its support” (The News. Nov 8, 1999).

It was a wrong decision of PTI that it welcomed General Pervez Musharraf and extended its support on the plea of his seven point agenda, which was the personification of PTI’s vision. It is an important question that had PTI made any written agreement with Musharraf that he would not deviate from his promises, which he did in the later history of Pakistan.

In the meanwhile the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Irshad Hassan Khan upheld the Musharraf’s decision on 12 May 2000 and granted him period of three years to achieve his declared objectives and hold general election (Zafar Ali Shah v General Pervez Musharraf , 2000). PTI welcomed this decision and explained that there was no way out on 12 October 1999 except military take over.

According to the constitution of Pakistan, every successful revolution is acknowledged in Pakistan but when General Pervez Musharraf deviated from his stated objectives, why court did not take action against him. It is a matter of irony that Pakistani courts directed verdicts against Generals when they were out of the country or had died like decision against General Yahya Khan and General Zia-ul-Haq respectively.

As Chief Executive of Pakistan, on 20 June 2001, Musharraf promulgated President’s Succession Order 2001. According to this order, the office of the President of Pakistan was, declared vacant and Chief Executive was empowered to become President. In the light of this order, General Pervez Musharraf became President in place of Rafique Tarar and Chief Justice Irshad Hassan Khan took oath from him (The President's Succession Order, 2001).

In 2001, General Pervez Musharraf was, invited to visit India (Gaur, 2005). In order to take all political parties into confidence before the visit, he convened All Parties Conference. PTI supported this step of Musharraf and extended its support. It explained that it supported Musharraf's decision in order to support the cause of Kashmir as Musharraf became President due to the visit to India and the office of Chief Executive had no identity. About the fate of Musharraf, either to remain as President or not the future parliament would decide. Regarding the invitation to participate in APC, PTI suggested that PML (N) should also be, invited. In APC, PPP did not participate. On the refusal of PPP to attend the APC, PTI claimed that PPP want to make a deal with the government that was why it did not participate (Nawa-i-Waqt, 2001). Here General Musharraf used Indo-Pak relations and Kashmir issue for the political legitimacy of his government. That is why it is, said that relations of Pakistan with India and Kashmir issue have become a challenge for every government and every government use it as a card for its political purpose.

On the question of devolution plan introduced by General Pervez Musharraf Musharraf. PTI extended its support and claimed that the power devolution plan of this government was actually, given by the PTI four years ago. It expressed its concerned that bureaucracy would not let devolution plan to be implemented and successful in Pakistan because it would decrease their powers and influence. In this regard, PTI was right because bureaucracy always created hurdle in the way of devolution of powers to the grass root levels. It has the fear that in this way, its powers would decrease and its influence would end. The second reason of failure of devolution of powers is that at grass root levels the people who come up to represent people they are usually illiterate and inexperienced. They are not trained like bureaucrate and do not have the skills manoeuvring due to

which all the plan come to fiasco. To make such plan successful there should be some qualifications and training prerequisites.

The referendum by Musharraf was one of the big decisions in the history of Pakistan because it has deep imprints on the political development of the country (Hussain Y. , 2008). On this issue, PTI got divided into two factions. One group led by Meraj Muhammad Khan, was of the view that, PTI should not support the referendum. while Imran Khan was in favour. It was the idea of Imran Khan that Musharraf should hold referendum in order to avoid legal and constitutional ambiguities and to validate reforms which he wanted to introduce (The Nation. Jan 2, 2000). So, later on, when Musharraf decided to hold referendum, PTI supported it. Imran Khan explained that Musharraf's referendum could not be justified on legal or constitutional basis but he supported referendum because of "Doctrine of Necessity" (The Nation. April 22, 2002).

It was a political blunder of PTI when it extended support to the referendum of General Pervez Musharraf. In this case, responsibility lies with Imran Khan because one group of PTI led by Meraj Muhammad Khan against the support of the referendum. Imran Khan insisted and favoured it. In spite of the fact that Supreme Court of Pakistan had given Musharraf, three years to materialise his reform agenda which he could not. Than on what kind of hope Imran Khan extended his support. However, in later years of his political struggle, he accepted it as his blunder but it damaged the democratic norms and process a lot in Pakistan.

Soon difference occurred between PTI and the government of General Pervez Musharraf. PTI opposed Musharraf's policies, which were mainly not according to the seven point agenda. One of the points was the accountability. It was demand of PTI that "Those who had been enjoying undue perks and plundering national exchequer since 1985 including Nawaz government officials should be brought to book under Prevention of Corruption

Act 1947” (The Nation. Oct 20, 1999). As a result, of a deal in between General Pervez Musharraf and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (Anwar, 2013), later was allowed to go to Saudi Arabia (The Guardian, 2000). Deal was, kept secret and in later years, it was, disclosed⁶⁵. PTI was against this decision. PTI objected that it would encourage looters to loot the national wealth and then go abroad.

Independent Election Commission was another main demand of the PTI. It demanded that Musharraf should establish an independent Election Commission of Pakistan like Indian Election Commission. In an interview with BBC, Imran Khan said that PTI wanted real democracy in Pakistan, which was only possible in the presence of an independent election commission, like Election Commission of India, which has the powers to investigate and remove elected members from legislative assembly. In this regard, PTI opposed the decision of appointment of Chief Justice (Retd) Irshad Hassan Khan as Chief of ECP, because he upheld the military takeover as Chief Justice of Pakistan (Khan H. , 2009). Else of it referendum of General Pervez Musharraf and the role of ECP put a question mark on the credibility of the President of Pakistan and Chief of the ECP. Based on the objections, PTI demanded that after referendum he should resign. PTI stressed that without across the board accountability and independent election commission the general election would be the biggest fraud of the history.

In order to consolidate his position, General Pervez Musharraf decided to form National Alliance and consulted different political parties and invited politicians to join this alliance (John L. Esposito, 2016). PTI was also invited but it refused to join and re-interpreted that it did not support Musharraf but his seven points, which were according to party’s manifesto. PTI asserted that it would participate independently in the general election 2002. It claimed that Musharraf government was making efforts for the victory

⁶⁵ According to deal Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Shabaz Sharif assured that they would not participate in politics. Under this deal they were allowed to go to Saudi Arabia (Dawn. June 16, 2015).

of Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam Group) which was one of the members of National Alliance of Musharraf.

To counter General Pervez Musharraf, opposition parties decided to use the Grand Democratic Alliance. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan gathered all likeminded parties including PML (N). Due to the inclusion of PML (N) in GDA, PTI left it and did not attend APC convened by Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan. PTI was of the view that GDA was formed to oust the government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif but due to the inclusion of PML (N) it became an alliance to save Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. PTI also refused to join ARD because of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. In order to counter GDA, Imran Khan, Tahir-ul-Qadri, Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao, Ajmal Khattak, Attaullah Mengal, Kabir Wasti, Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Akbar Bugti and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi agreed to form new alliance known as People's Democratic Alliance (PDA) (The News, 2000). When PTI could not get desired results, it decided to work with PML (N) and the Pakistan Peoples' Party Parliamentarians on one point agenda of free and fair election to counter the manoeuvring of Musharraf (Khabrain, 2002). Here PTI joined GDA and ARD in which PML (N) and PPP were included. It might have triggered the thinking of the people that before 1999 PTI was roaring against the leadership of both these parties. Then it started to praise Musharraf for three years but at the time of general election 2002 it became against Musharraf. So which version of PTI should be, taken as true one? It is significant to explain, that PTI was in its embryonic stage, and wanted to bring change either with the help of political parties or Military, but none of them come to the expectations of PTI.

PTI opposed the establishment of the National Security Council established by General Pervez Musharraf. It suggested that instead of NSC, President should be empowered to dismiss an inefficient and corrupt government. It became agreed to the idea of a military

sharing of power for a transitional period of four or five years but opposed the permanent role of military in the governance because it could not help in strengthen the democratic institutions in the country (The Nation, 2002). Again, PTI looked confused because such concession encouraged and strengthened the influence of military in political affairs of Pakistan.

In this case, PTI adopted clear stance, as it was not in favour of proposed amendments in the constitution by General Pervez Musharraf government because those amendments were, made to give unlimited powers to President due to which President became all and all while Prime Minister became useless. Although PTI supported articles like representation of women and minorities, right of vote for 18 years old but did not support powers to be, given to President - powers which were, given in LFO.

PTI opposed PML (Q) because when Musharraf came into power he promised to bring real democracy in Pakistan but later on, he formed Grand National Alliance, which was, joined by those parties, which were in favour of continued rule of Musharraf. PTI was not in favour of this. After that, Musharraf decided to support PML (Q) and made it successful in the general election 2002. PTI was of the view that majority of the people joined PML (Q) due to the fear of accountability and demanded that the people who written off loans from banks like Chaudary Shujahat and Pervaiz Elahi should not be allowed to contest election (Nawa-i-Waqt, Sep 17, 2002).

Another reason due to which PTI turned against PML (Q) was expectation that Imran Khan would fill space created by the absence of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. In this regards there were some symptom and signals on the part of the government of General Pervez Musharraf. During initial years of Musharraf, Imran Khan became a popular and well-known leader in Pakistan. Musharraf donated Rs. 32 million for Shaukat Khanam Hospital (Dawn, Feb 20, 2002) which improved relations of both.

However, at the time of the general election 2002, relation between PTI and Musharraf deteriorated. Musharraf extended his support to PML (Q) and the parties, which decided to join National Alliance. Imran Khan started to criticise allies of Musharraf especially Chaudhry brothers and launched a forceful movement against them but it became difficult for him to convince the people against Musharraf, whom he supported previously. He himself accepted that he lost his credibility among the people by defending a military regime. After election, when Musharraf invited him, he refused to meet him but it was too late. (The News. Nov 20, 2002).

The support of General Pervez Musharraf to PML (Q) was a huge setback in the evolution of the PTI, because it was an excellent opportunity for PTI to get success. If PTI had taken GDA and ARD in confidence, and had use, their support in the general election 2002, the results would have been comparatively better for PTI, because the leadership of PML (N) was, banned and Benazir Bhutto was on self-exile. In this way, Imran Khan could fill the leadership gape in Pakistan. Due to change of mind of Musharraf, PTI suffered a lot. People started to take PTI as a party manoeuvred by the establishment. Secondly, if Musharraf would have fulfilled his promise of across the board accountability, Imran Khan was the only leader who could fill the vacuum of leadership created by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. Thirdly, it would clean up the mess of the past but Musharraf and his policies proved the biggest hurdle in the evolution of PTI.

Pakistani politics is, influenced a lot by international politics as well. This international influence also damaged the evolution of PTI. The incident of terrorist attack on World Trade Centre and Pentagon in USA, on 11 September 2001 changed the global politics. It has deep impacts in Pakistani politics. Musharraf government decided to side with America in war against terrorism (Kellner, 2003) but PTI was against this policy. This

further widened the rift between PTI and Musharraf. PTI demanded that government should take a decision in the light of national interest of Pakistan after consulting all political parties and took masses into confidence and should not impose American war on Pakistan. This incident proved, one of the hurdles in the evolution of PTI, because at national and international level, the stance of PTI on war against terrorism was, translated as sympathiser of terrorist and Taliban (Hussein, 2016).

In such environment the general election, 2002 were held in which PML (Q) got victory while PTI got only one seat won by Imran Khan himself (Nawa-i-Waqt. Nov 17, 2002). Despite of poor electoral performance, PTI continued its role as an opposition inside the parliament and by popular mobilisation outside the parliament.

8.4. POPULAR MOBILISATION BY PTI (2002 - 2008):

After the general election, 2002 PML (Q) formed government. PTI criticised the claim of General Pervez Musharraf that he had restored democracy in Pakistan by conducting general election. PTI described it verbosity of Musharraf as power was still in the hands of Musharraf and was not, vested in the Parliament. PTI called then parliament as dummy and that no sooner did Musharraf take off uniform PML (Q) would end. Its result would be the same, as of Convention League of General Ayub Khan. PTI refused to accept PML (Q) as a political party and declared it as an instrument in the hands of military dictators.

Imran Khan won election from Mianwali. Initially he refused to take oath under PCO but later on he did. He explained that for last three years, Pakistan was, run through PCO and we should not refuse to take oath under PCO. Here again Imran Khan looked confused and inexpedient. Such incidence damaged his stature as a leader.

On the question of Seventeenth Amendment and the Legal Framework Order, the reaction of the PTI was confused. Initially PTI was of the view that if Musharraf would step down as Chief of the Army, opposition should favour him, so that the issue of LFO

could be resolved (Pakistan. March 7, 2003) but later on PTI took strong stance and declared LFO unacceptable even if legislative assemblies are, dissolved. It demanded that without the acceptance of parliament, PTI would not accept LFO (Jang. March 9, 2003), "If LFO is accepted as part of the Constitution, it would mean an end to supremacy of the parliament, guaranteed in the Constitution". In this way, on the other hand. army and NSC would get permanent role in politics. The revival of 58^{2b} would make the President all the more powerful which would render the parliament as a rubber stamp". PTI explained that at the time of amendments, which were. made in August 2002, there was no parliament. Therefore. LFO could not be. made part of Constitution without its approval. If it became the part of the constitution, it would make three institutions. Judiciary, Parliament and the office of the Prime Minister powerless. PTI also rejected the ruling of the Speaker of the National Assembly. Chaudhry Amir Hussain. to call LFO, as a part of the constitution.

After the general election 2002, Musharraf got himself elected as President of Pakistan. PTI opposed and resented the passage of resolution by parliament in favour of General Pervez Musharraf in uniform. PTI was of the view that Musharraf could not hold two offices at the same time. It was strange that government servants were not, allowed to contest election in Pakistan, but the serving Chief of Army Staff was allowed by the parliament to hold both the offices. PTI started a National Campaign of Public Mobilisation to end Army rule by criticising the slogan of 'Pakistan First' and 'Supreme National Interest' by Musharraf and declared it as the personification of 'General Musharraf First'. PTI demanded that Army should not have any role in politics. (The Nation. Sep 3, 2004).

Another issue during this period was the replacement of Prime Minister of Pakistan. Musharraf government decided that the Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz would contest

election from Attock and become Prime Minister. PTI committed a mistake here when Imran Khan decided to contest election against Shoukat Aziz and contacted ARD and MMA for this purpose. The President of Pukhtunkhawa Mili Party, Mehmood Khan Achakzai extended his support to him (Nawa-i-Waqt, 2004) but later on, he cancelled his programme, which damaged the stature of the leadership of PTI.

In order to elongate his reign, Musharraf decided to get himself elected as a President for the next term from the same parliament in 2007. PTI challenged it in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. PTI took stance that being government servant, Musharraf could not contest election for the President of Pakistan. PTI asked the All Parties Democratic Movement⁶⁶ to make all out efforts to stop Musharraf from contesting presidential election. In protest, Imran Khan tendered resignations along with more than one hundred and fifty legislators belong to National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies (The News. Oct 3, 2007). Despite of this General Pervez Musharraf got himself elected as President for next term from the same Parliament on 6 October 2007 (The Nation. Oct 7, 2007). As case against his candidature was in the Supreme Court of Pakistan and it was in the mind of Musharraf that the Court could give verdict against him (Khan H. . 2009). In such situation, Musharraf declared emergency and implemented the Provisional Constitutional Order in Pakistan on 3rd November 2007 (The Nation. Nov 4, 2007).

On the question of emergency, PTI started to mobilise people especially the youth. Imran Khan was, arrested from the Punjab University, Lahore because he refused to accept Provisional Constitutional Order. He appreciated those Judges who refused to take oath under PCO and declared them as the real representatives of judiciary. He called “Deposed Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry and others who did not take oath under PCO are our heroes” (The Nation. Nov 27, 2006). He went on hunger strike until death to

⁶⁶ The All Parties Democratic Movement was a political alliance consisting of thirty-two parties opposed to the military rule of General Pervez Musharraf

restore the judiciary. He was of the view that it would be an honour to die for the restoration of Constitution, judiciary and media. PTI supported lawyer movement⁶⁷. It played important role in the evolution of PTI because due to this, Imran Khan got attention in the circle of lawyers' community, which was, led by Hamid Khan, President of PTI. He was serving as lawyer of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary. It also gave huge coverage to PTI in media.

PTI was against the policies of PML (N) and PPP but in order to oust the government of Musharaf, it decided to join hands with PML (N) and PPP. PTI made it clear that it joined hands with Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto for the revival of democracy but at the time of election, it would part ways with both of them. Imran Khan met Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Shabaz Sharif in London (Dawn, Dec 6, 2006) and asked them to come back to Pakistan to play their role. PTI also joined ARD for this purpose. Imran Khan asked both Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Qazi Hussain Ahmed to start anti-Musharraf Movement with one point agenda of ousting Musharraf (Nawa-i-Waqt, Dec 13, 2006). He attended APC convened by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in London to form Grand National Alliance (The News, Dec 22, 2006). He criticised Benazir Bhutto, because she did not participate but send her representative. Another reason was the negotiation of Benazir Bhutto with Musharraf government (Munoz, 2014). He was of the view that Benazir Bhutto would get nothing out of a deal with Musharaf because people would reject her in the election. He cited that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto accepted to be hanged but did not compromise while his daughter made a deal with the dictator to get rule. On the question of participation in the general election 2008.

⁶⁷ Against the imposition of emergency by Musharaf, lawyers and civil society started movement to force Musharaf to restore Judiciary which led to the resignation of Musharaf and after him Judiciary was restored by the government of PPP in 2009 (Faqir Khan, 2013).

Imran Khan was also annoyed with PML (N) and PPP because both of them promised to boycott general election but later on participated.

During the period of General Pervez Musharraf, another important issue was the relations of PTI and Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal. In the general election 2002, PTI supported MMA. Imran Khan assured that PTI would support the policies of Qazi Hussian Ahmed of JI and cast his vote in favour of Liaqat Baloch and Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman for Speakership and Premiership respectively. However, PTI had not made any alliance with MMA but it promised to support MMA on issues and the biggest issue was to acknowledge the superiority of the Constitution and not to accept LFO. Both were so close to each other that once Imran Khan uttered that it was his mistake that PTI did not make an alliance with MMA in the general election 2002 (Nawa-i-Waqt. Jan 29, 2003).

Soon differences occurred between PTI and MMA due to different reasons. Firstly, ARD opposed the passage of 17th Amendment. In this case, PTI took ambiguous stance because Imran Khan said that he was neither with ARD nor with MMA. He said that he would support principles only. This was an awkward decision because if PTI was against the policies of Musharraf it should take clear decision on the issue of 17th Amendment because it was totally in favour of Musharraf. Secondly, on the questions of 17th Amendment, LFO and uniform, MMA made deal with Musharraf. Imran Khan withdrew his support to MMA because PTI was not in favour of 17th Amendment and LFO. Thirdly, when Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman was appointed as an opposition leader by the Speaker of the National Assembly using his discretionary power, Imran Khan was not happy and declared it a trick of government to divide opposition. Fourthly, when Imran Khan demanded for collective resignation from Parliament, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman did not despite of the fact that he promised to do so in all parties' conference. Fifthly, PTI criticised the role of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, which he played in the victory of

Musharraf's presidential election for the second term. Another reason due to which PTI and MMA parted ways was participation of Fazal-ur-Rehman in the general election, 2008.

One of the big political developments during General Pervez Musharraf period was the Charter of Democracy between PPP and PML (N). PTI was also confused in this regard. However, later on PTI gave it the nickname of "Muk Muka" [give and take] but in the beginning, Imran Khan called Charter of Democracy as an historic document (Pakistan Observer. May 26, 2006). He extended his conditional support to the charter of democracy. It was demanded that new articles like both Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto announced they would not participate in the general election 2008, in the presence of Musharraf as President. All leaders should present them for accountability in front of independent judicial commission. No member should be allowed to join any political party who joined PML (Q) and supported military regime. Scrutiny of defence budget and police reforms. PTI argued that it would not sign it, until the proposed amendments would not be included in it despite of the fact that it called Charter of Democracy as a part of the manifesto of PTI (Pakistan Observer. July 5, 2006). Assassination of Benazir Bhutto was a tragic incident in the history of Pakistan. She came back to Pakistan on 18 October 2007, after eight years in self-exile to London (Insaaf, 2011). She was murdered in Liaquat Bagh Rawalpindi when she was going back to home after addressing a public gathering (The News, 28 December 2007). Imran Khan was of the view that the murder of the Benazir Bhutto was the proof of wrong policies of government both at national and international level and declared, "It is a dastardly act designed to destabilize Pakistan with the government responsible for not providing her security though she was demanding it. They must fight this menace of terrorism. It is a

black day in the history of Pakistan and an irreparable loss to this country” (Hussain Y. , 2008).

On the question of participation in the general election 2008, PTI demanded that all parties included in APDM should boycott the general election because if parties did not boycott, it would legitimise the illegal and unconstitutional actions of Musharraf because of PCO, absence of independent Election Commission and judiciary (The News. Nov 27, 2006).

PTI boycotted the general election 2008 but PML (N) and PPP decided to participate. In the evolution of the PTI, this decision was big setback because to boycott election in the political culture of Pakistan does not suit any party. Parties should not leave field open for others. In this way the vote bank of the party dispersed and other forces get advantage. PTI should not have boycotted the election because by then, it had stature in lawyer movement and media. PTI should have exposed all those political parties, which despite of the promise to boycott the election, participated in it. PTI should had made an effort to get into parliament to further expose all those political forces, which later on forgot their promises of across the board accountability and independence of Judiciary.

8.5. ROLE OF PTI IN POPULAR MOBILISATION (2008 - 2013):

As a result, of the general election 2008, PPP formed government in the Centre as well as in the Sindh⁶⁸. During this period, PTI played vital role as an opposition and mobilised people.

⁶⁸General Elections were held on 18 February 2008, in which PPP became the leading party in centre (Dawn, 20 Feb, 2008). In provinces, PPP got upper hand in Sindh, PML (N) in Punjab, and ANP in NWFP (The News, March 2, 2008). In center, PPP, PML (N), ANP and JUI (F) formed coalition government. Dr Fehmida Mirza became Speaker of National Assembly while Faisal Karim Kundi became Deputy Speaker (Jang, March 20, 2008). Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani became Prime Minister of Pakistan on March 22. He took oath of office from Musharraf on 25 March (Dawn, March 26, 2008). On 31 March, Federal cabinet consisted of PPP, PML (N), ANP and JUI (F) sworn in (Dawn, April 1, 2008).

The first objection of PTI was on the coalition partner of PPP. PTI opposed PPP for making MQM and JUI (F) as coalition partner and declared it as a part of underhand deal with General Pervez Musharraf. The reason behind this was the incident of 12th May⁶⁹. PTI claimed that PPP made them coalition partner to get their support on the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance. It was strange that the party like MQM against which evidences were available but despite of this PPP made them coalition partner. Secondly, Fazal-ur-Rehman who played the role of right hand man of General General Pervez Musharraf he was also made coalition partner in the government.

On the question of restoration of the judiciary, PTI played its role in lawyers' movement to reinstate Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammed Chaudhry (Chak, 2017). PTI demanded the very first thing from government to restore judiciary. According to Murree Declaration, Judiciary was to be restored on 30 April 2008 and later this date was changed and 12 May was fixed, but both dates were not met. Yousaf Raza Giliani, after taking oath, issued his first order to release the judges (Dawn, March 26, 2008) but government did not restore the judiciary as agreed in the Murree declaration⁷⁰. PPP was not in favour of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary. It was playing delaying tactics like constitutional amendment and minus Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary formula because PPP and Asif Ali Zardari were in favour of Chief Justice Abdul Hameed Dogar, who abolished the condition of graduation for the member of the National and the Provincial Assembly, which paved the way for Asif Ali Zardari to become MNA (Khan H. , 2009). Reacting on this, PTI made it clear that no compromise would be acceptable on the restoration of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary. It objected that Asif Ali

⁶⁹ During lawyer movement, Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary was to address lawyers and civil society in Karachi. But MQM with the support of General Musharraf started violence in which 50 people lost their lives (The Nation, May 13, 2007).

⁷⁰ Both parties, PPP & PML-N, re-affirm their commitment to restore all the judges, who was removed by General Musharraf unconstitutionally on November 3, 2007 and to bring judiciary back to the position and form in which it existed on November 2, 2007 as agreed between the parties in Murree Declaration, signed on March 9, 2008 (The News, August 26, 2008).

Zardari wanted to save NRO⁷¹ because it exonerated him from all charges of corruption. Due to this, both Asif Ali Zardari and Musharraf were afraid of Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary and did not want to restore him because the former had the fear of repeal of NRO and the later knew that he would have to leave the office of the President.

To restore judiciary, lawyers started long march in which people from civil society, and different political parties participated. PTI supported the long march and participated in it but even then, Judiciary was not, restored. After this, PTI announced that there would be a long march to restore the judiciary to the position of pre 2nd November 2007 (The News. Feb 21, 2009). Due to successful 'Long March' in which PTI, PML (N), and JI participated, the PPP Government restored Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammed Chaudhry (The News. March 17, 2009). In fact, it was in the mind of PTI that once Judiciary is, restored, it would take action for across the board accountability especially against NRO. However, later on, it proved wrong and due to this, PTI started to criticise Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary.

On the question of General Pervez Musharraf, PTI demanded that PPP and PML (N) should take decision for his resignation and new members should not take oath under PCO. General Pervez Musharraf must be, brought in the court of Justice and there should be a trial under Article 6 against him. Under such pressure, On 18 August 2008, Musharraf resigned.

After the resignation of General Pervez Musharraf, Asif Ali Zardari decided to contest for the President of Pakistan. PTI opposed the candidature of Asif Ali Zardari and demanded, "A president should be a credible not like Asif Ali Zardari who has backed out from written agreements to the nation thrice and has been relieved from corruption cases through unconstitutional National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO).... "General Pervez

⁷¹ NRO was, introduced by Musharraf according to which amnesty was given to more than 700 people against whom charges of corruption were registered including Asif Ali Zardari.

Musharraf has been accusing Asif Ali Zardari of piling more than hundred billions while Asif Ali Zardari has been blaming General Pervez Musharraf for embezzling 50 billion rupees granted by the US as financial assistance in the war on terror” (Pakistan Observer. Aug 15, 2008).

Despite of this Asif Ali Zardari became President of Pakistan on 6 September 2008. PTI opposed him and refused to accept him as a constitutional President of Pakistan (Daily Express. Oct 16, 2008). In order to counter him, PTI started to raise voice against NRO (Jaffrelot, 2016). PTI declared it as an unconstitutional and illegal. PTI demanded that NRO should be presented and discussed in the Parliament and names of beneficiaries should be disclosed. PTI demanded that Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry should bring Asif Ali Zardari to Court of Justice to review the deal in the shape of NRO, which had protected Zardari from prosecution. Imran Khan explained that “If he doesn’t take up that case I’d say it would be the biggest let down in history” (The News. March 23, 2009) of Pakistan because due to it, criminals have become the ruler of Pakistan (Nawa-i-Waqt. March 31, 2009). Without NRO most of the candidates of PPP could not contest election and due to NRO government of PPP would not trial Musharraf. This proved true because Musharraf was not trialled in court by the government of PPP; even it had been blaming him as the murderer of Benazir Bhutto. PTI demanded that President Asif Ali Zardari should resign on moral basis because his name was also in the list of NRO beneficiaries.

Another point due to which PTI was criticising the government of PPP, the introduction of Benazir Income Support Programme for which 70 billion were reserved. According to PTI, if that amount given to Independent Power Producer and invested in energy sector, the problem of electricity would be solved. Such programmes could not contribute in the

society in long run. If such huge amount was, used in development sector, it could produce positive results by creating jobs for people.

Although PTI did not have cordial relation with PML (N) but in order to restore Judiciary, PTI decided to mend its relations. When different parties decided for long march, Imran Khan met Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and demanded that authority should be in the hand of the Parliament to restore deposed judges. He convinced Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on the issue of long march (Nawa-i-Waqt. Jan 12, 2009). PTI opposed the decision of Chief Justice Abdul Hameed Dogar, which disqualified Sharif brothers and banned to contest election. Soon differences surfaced and from this point onwards, PTI did not trust any one. It became clear about every political party that none of them was trustable, as it had almost tested all political parties since its inception. From this onwards, it started a new journey and decided to play in the world of Pakistani political culture by their rules. Therefore, PTI took a fresh started to target both PML (N) and PPP. It declared that PML (N) had become a friendly opposition, which was dangerous for democracy and declared that both PPP and PML (N) were following the policy of "Muk Muka" (give and take) (Nawa-i-Waqt. Dec 24, 2009). The reasons due to which PTI claimed that both parties had made underhand deal were: accepting the candidature of Asif Ali Zardari for Presidentship, despite of the fact that his name was included in the NRO and charges of corruption put by PML (N). Secondly, PML (N) did not challenge it, neither in the Parliament nor in the court. However, both parties were talking against Musharraf but none of them took action against him. Both parties made promise to find out the killers of Benazir Bhutto but did not. PTI questioned that the government of PPP could not, unveil the killers of Benazir Bhutto, how would it be able to protect the national interest of Pakistan. PTI reiterated that PPP and PML (N) were the

beneficiaries of NRO and were Family Limited parties. Neither they showed their assets nor did they conduct intra-party election.

On the question of 18th amendment in the Constitution, PTI opposed it on the ground that government wanted to control the judiciary through 18th Amendment, because it would make them able to appoint judges of their own choice. PTI criticised Sharif brothers on accepting 18th Amendment. By doing so, according to PTI, PML (N) violated judiciary because they got vote in the name of independence of judiciary. Due to eighteenth amendment, it was, allowed that one could become Prime Minister of Pakistan more than twice which later on enabled Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif to become Prime Minister of Pakistan for third time. The main reason due to which PML-N accepted 18th Amendment was its own interests. PTI also criticised PML (N) on extending support to 19th Amendment. PTI objected that parliamentary committee should not be, given veto power regarding the appointment of judges because in this way, judiciary could not keep check on the government. PTI termed 20th Amendment as 'Muk Muka' (give and take or settlement) in between PPP and PML. PTI claimed that it was, passed through horse-trading. PTI objected that according to this Amendment, Election Commission was, given authority to appoint interim Prime Minister while the duty of Election Commission was only to conduct free and fair election. PTI declared 20th Amendment as a fraud because with the help of this amendment, the bogus electoral lists were also, given protection. PTI kept on criticising PML (N) on friendly opposition to government and claimed that PPP remained in power due to the support and help of Sharif brothers.

In the case against Yousaf Raza Gilani, Imran Khan was a petitioner on behalf of PTI. The Supreme Court of Pakistan asked Yousaf Raza Gilani to write letter to the Swiss authorities to find out the cases of corruption of Asif Ali Zardari, but he did not. The Supreme Court of Pakistan took action against the Prime Minister of Pakistan for

contempt of Court and declared him disqualified (Contempt proceedings against Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani, 2009). PTI supported this decision and demanded for the resignation of Yousaf Raza Gilani.

On the question of interim government, PTI demanded that government should have consulted those parties, which were outside the Parliament. It claimed that PPP and PML (N) had made deal on the formation of caretaker government. PTI argued, "If only PPP and PML (N) bring the caretaker government ignoring all other political parties, it will mean that it is not an impartial setup. PTI will oppose such a decision by using its democratic right to protest. The interim government has to be consisted of people who are impartial and who can conduct independent elections". "...We need an independent interim government that has support and confidence of all political parties, not just two" (The News. Jan 9, 2013).

Among other issues that PTI highlighted to mobilise people were reinstatement of administrative system by dissolving local bodies, memo-gate scandal and information disclosed by wiki-leaks about Pakistani politicians including Asif Ali Zardari (USA Today. March 7, 2017).

8.6. POPULAR MOBILISATION (2013-2018):

PTI proved its worth as an active opposition party from 2013 to 2018 that led to the successful culmination in the shape of results of general election 2018. In the general election 2013, PML (N) got majority and formed governments in the Centre and Punjab. PTI got majority in KP and formed government.

On the next day of the general election 2013, PTI claimed that PML (N) had won the election through rigging. PTI started protests in different parts of Pakistan and demanded for verification of votes, initially in the four alleged constituencies⁷². PTI submitted

⁷² NA 110, 122, 125, and 154.

White Paper to ECP in which details of rigging were mentioned. PTI demanded for the verification of thumb impression in this regard.

In reply, the ECP presented its report but PTI was not satisfied with it. The core committee of PTI elaborated that PTI had accepted election results in the best interest of Pakistan but would not accept rigging. PTI requested the Supreme Court of Pakistan to take *Sue Moto* action (The Nation, Oct 13, 2013) but did not file any petition for investigation (Yap, 2016). The Supreme Court of Pakistan did not accept the request of the PTI for verification of thumb impression of voters in the four constituencies. It directed PTI to submit its report in the election tribunals of Lahore and Multan. The Chief Justice, Tassaduq Hussain Jilani said that if the Supreme Court of Pakistan orders for the thumb verification of voters in the four constituencies, then others parties would also make such requests (Pakistan Today, Dec 17, 2013).

The core committee of PTI said that if her demand of verification of thumb impression was not entertained, PTI would quit and resign from National and Provincial Assemblies after Eid-ul-Fitr and would hold a long march thereafter. It demanded that judicial commission should be made for inquiries of riggings in the election but it was turned down. Despite of all kinds of protest, PTI could not get its demand fulfilled. After it, the Core Committee of PTI decided to come to the streets and launched long march, which was given the name of Azadi March. PTI started Azadi March from Lahore on 14th August 2014 and asked youth and party workers to support to create a 'Naya Pakistan' envisioned by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Dawn, 2014). If the government of PML (N) had accepted this demand, PTI would have not opportunity to protest and did flourish so much. Again, the follies of government provided PTI with an opportunity, which it cashed successfully.

Initially, PTI was demanding resignation of Prime Minister. When demand was not met, PTI asked Prime Minister to resign for thirty days. During this, the judicial commission would make investigation of rigging and the future of the Prime Minister would be decided in the light of the findings of the commission.

To put pressure on the government, the members of National and Provincial Assemblies other than KP belonging to PTI submitted their resignations. PTI decided to stage *darna* (sit-in). For this purpose, it started Azadi March on 14th August 2014, from Lahore followed by civil disobedience movement. A mob attacked PTV and Parliament.

After it, PTI decided for *darna* (sit-in) which remained for 126 days (Sadioglu, 2016). Due to terrorists attack on Army Public School, Peshawar. All Parties Conference was convened by the government, which recommended for the National Action Plan. In such situation, PTI decided to call off sit-in. One of the main points of the NAP was establishment of Military Courts for speedy trial of terrorist. To establish Military Courts, government decided to bring 21st Amendment in the Parliament. The session of the Parliament was convened and PTI was persuaded to participate in the session of National Assembly. PTI decided to participate conditionally⁷³ and said that if government would not frame judicial commission to probe rigging in the general election 2013, PTI would re-launch protest after 14th January 2015 (The Nation. Dec 30, 2014).

PTI attended the session of parliament and 21st amendment was passed, according to which Military Courts were established. On the question of establishment of Military Courts PTI get divided because its President Hamid Khan was not in favour of

⁷³ PTI and government reached to an agreement to set-up the Judicial Commission according to which it was decided that PTI would return to Parliament and the Judicial Commission would investigate that either elections were impartial, manipulated or free and fair (The News. March 22, 2015). In the light of this agreement members of PTI took their resignations back (The News. April 6, 2015).

establishment of Military Courts. Even some people called the establishment of Military Courts in Pakistan as “soft or post modern coup” (Shaun, 2016).

To probe rigging in the general election 2013, Judicial Commission, consisted of three members was, made under the headship of Chief Justice Nasir-ul-Mulk. The other two members were Justice Ejaz Afzal Khan and Justice Amir Hani Muslim. Judicial Commission found out that no systematic rigging and manipulation took place in the general election 2013, though some anomalies were, found on the part of the ECP. It also concluded that the request of the PTI to probe rigging was not. “entirely unjustified” (Dawn. July 23, 2015).

In the backdrop of rigging in the general election 2013 and role of the ECP, PTI had been stressing on the introduction of electoral reforms. The most important demands in this regards were to change the procedure of appointment of interim government, introduction of biometric voting system, right of vote to overseas Pakistanis and restructuring of the ECP. For this purpose, PTI assured to work together with PPP, PML (Q) and JI. In the National Assembly, PTI tabled a bill for electoral reforms (Jang. June 1, 2014). A Special Parliamentary Committee on Election Reforms consisted of twenty-five members was constituted and Finance Minister, Ishaq Dar was elected as its Chairman. This committee finalised and approved its report. Finally, Election Reforms Bill 2017 was passed but the four demands of PTI were not incorporated (Pakistan Today. Aug 23, 2017).

On the issue of election of President of Pakistan due to the end of term of Asif Ali Zardari as a President, election for President was, held. Justice (Retd) Wajihuddin Ahmed was, fielded by PTI as a candidate in competition with Senator Mian Raza Rabbani of PPP. Senator Saeed Mandokhel on behalf of PML (Q) and Mamnoon Hussain of PML (N). Mamnoon Hussain got success and became President of Pakistan.

PTI mobilised people against PPO and declared that it agasint the fundamental rights of freedom of expression and freedom of media. By doing this, it got the support of media on one-hand and human rights activists on the other hand. On the question of Pakistan Protection Ordinance, PTI was not in favour of it. Shah Mehmood Qureshi, vice Chairman of PTI was of the view that PTI would challenge PPO in the Supreme Court of Pakistan because "This law will turn Pakistan into a police state" (The News. April 3, 2014). PTI declared PPO as unacceptable because of violation of democratic norms and conventions of human rights.

Regarding the issue of opposition leader, PTI decided that it would dislodge opposition leader Khursheed Shah because PTI consider PPP as a dummy and friendly opposition to PML (N). In this regard, there were four major political parties in the National Assembly. PML (N) was ruling party, PPPP had 44 members and MQM had 24 MNAs. Therefore, PTI had the option to win over MQM to her side but most of the members of PTI did not support to form alliance with MQM and decided to abandon to dislodge Khursheed Shah. Therefore, PTI cancelled this move because it could not get required majority to dislodge the opposition leader.

On the issue of Governor of Sindh, Dr Ishrat-ul-Ibhad, after the statement of Saulat Mirza that the MQM leadership and Dr Ishratul Ebad was included in terrorist activities, PTI demanded for resignation and the investigation of allegations which culminated on his resignation 2016 (Dawn. Nov 9, 2016). It helped in popular mobilisation and later results of the general elections proved that PTI got success in Karachi though it could not perform well in rest of the province of Sindh.

One of the issues due to which PTI had been opposing federal government and PML (N), were imbalanced developmental projects. By highlighting this issue, PTI mobilised people. PTI objected that KP had been, deliberately neglected by the ruling party. To

highlight this issue the members of Provincial Assembly of KP staged protest in front of the Parliament in Islamabad and demanded for protection of the provincial rights. They were of the view that the federal government was deliberately keeping KP as a backward province. It remained a serious issue in Pakistan. Most of metropolitan kinds of projects were, introduced in Lahore, which infuriated rest of the areas of Pakistan. It also led to imbalance development in different areas of Pakistan.

PTI challenged the appointment of Qamar Zaman Chaudhary as Chairman of NAB. President of PTI, Hamid Khan was of the view that he did not fulfil the pre-requisites for the slot. Despite of this government appointed him as the Chairman of NAB. His appointment and performance raised many questions of the neutrality of the NAB on one hand and the process of the accountability on the other hand. He proved safe heaven for the members of PML (N) and PPP. During his span. no important decision was, taken regarding the accountability. Despite of the continuous protest of PTI NAB did not become active which infuriated PTI more and trust of people on NAB decreased.

Senate election also became a cause of disagreement in between PTI and PML (N), especially the method of Senate election. PTI decided to take part in the Senate Election from KP only. Due to the resignations from Punjab and Sindh Provincial Assemblies, it could not take part in Senate election from these two provinces. Therefore, core committee of PTI decided to take part in Senate elections from KP.

PTI fielded five candidates for Senate polls from KP. Its allies JI and QWP was, given one seat each (The News. Feb 14, 2015). PTI demanded that Senate election should not be through secret ballot. It proposed that the name of the voters should be, printed on the vote. For this purpose, government decided to bring 22nd Amendment to counter horse trading in Senate election. PTI said that in case of any horse-trading in the Senate

election, PTI would dissolve the Provincial Assembly of KP and would not let any kind of unfair practice like horse-trading in the assembly (The News. March 2, 2015).

The government of PTI, in Provincial Assembly of KP passed a resolution in which it demanded that “This House recommends to the provincial government to ask the federal government to take proper steps for ensuring free and transparent Senate elections” (The News, 03 March , 2015). PTI moved to Islamabad High Court to stop the election of Chairman and Deputy Chairman of Senate until the arrival of the decision of cases of Raheela Magsi and GG Jamal. It was of the view that Raheela Magsi belonged to Sindh but given a seat from Islamabad by PML-N. On the other hand, GG Jamal challenged the Presidential Ordinance according to which four members of National Assembly from FATA was counted one instead of four.

For the election of Chairman of Senate PTI did not support Raza Rabbani of PPP. PTI was surprised that both PPP and PML (N) supported Raza Rabbani for the slot of Senate Chairman and called it give and take. In the Senate election. PTI won six seats. (The News. April 6, 2015). Shibli Faraz of PTI contested for Deputy Chairmanship of Senate. Out of total 96 votes, Abdul Ghafoor of JUI-F got 74 votes while Shibli Faraz got 16 votes (Pakistan Today. March 15, 2015). PTI made an effort to get the chairmanship of standing committees of Senate. For this purpose. PTI provided a list to Saeed Ghani of PPP. consisting of names of seven committees. It was said that: “The PTI’s first choice is the chairmanship of committees on water and power and petroleum and natural resources because the two subjects are related to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa which is ruled by the party” (Dawn. April 20, 2015). For the chairmanship of these committees Shibli Faraz and Mohsin Aziz were nominated. PTI made it clear that “If we do not get the chairmanship of the two committees, we will continue to play the role of an independent opposition group in the house [Senate]” (Dawn. April 20, 2015).

On the issue of local government election in Punjab, PTI was not agreed with government and decided to challenge the Local Government Act and launched a protest campaign against it. PTI demanded that local government election in Punjab should be on Party basis. It declared 'Punjab government's local bodies' bill as draconian bill and declared it as an undemocratic. In Lahore Registry of the Supreme Court, the president of Punjab PTI, Chaudhary Ejaz demanded that Local government election should be held under the supervision of the judiciary. He added that the delimitations of the constituencies should be marked by the ECP. He blamed that government servants were marking constituencies in Punjab on the order of the government which he declared as pre-poll rigging (Nawa-i-Waqt. Dec 27, 2013).

PTI used Model Town Incident to mobilised people throughout Pakistan especially in Punjab. By doing, this PTI got the sympathies of supporters of party of Tahir ul Qadri. Later history shows that some of the members of party of Tahir ul Qadri joined PTI. Model town incident happened in Lahore, in which fourteen supporters of Pakistan Awami Tehreek were, killed by the Punjab police. (The Nation. June 17, 2014). PTI condemned this action and demanded to bring real culprits in front of the masses. To probe the issue, Joint Investigation Team was formed which gave clean chit to the government of Punjab. PTI termed the report of the JIT "shocking" and said that it was the "height of injustice" (Dawn. May 24, 2015). PTI extended its full support to PAT against the government.

On the issue of Dawn Leaks⁷⁴, PTI criticised government of PML (N) and declared it as a National Security Breach. PTI used dawn Leaks to mobilised people. By citing, this PTI exposed the leadership of PML (N), and defame them as traitors. PTI moved adjournment

⁷⁴In dawn Leaks, assistant editor and columnist for Dawn Newspaper, Cyril Almeida reported on sensitive issues discussed in the meeting between government and military personnel which led to controversy (Financial Express. Oct 11, 2016).

motion over this issue in the National Assembly. PTI also criticised the report of JIT. It demanded “The inquiry report on the issue be laid before Parliament so the issue can be discussed thoroughly and the government provide answers to serious questions raised not only by the incident itself but also by the non-transparent manner in which the issue was claimed to have been ‘resolved’...because nation was being “kept in the dark” (Dawn. May 11, 2017).

Such kind of issues made different institutions in Pakistan controversial. Due to this controversialism in Pakistan, different people define and express things differently. There is no consensus of opinion on the performance of the institutions. It leads to division and disintegration in Pakistani society. Trust deficit increases day by day. Such issues must be settled down based on law, which is only possible when there will be rule of law.

The Panama Leaks proved a fateful incidence and PTI utilised it to optimum level. PTI mobilised people with the help of this incidence. So much pressure was put that at last government succumbed to it. According to the reports of The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) who disclosed the documents of Panamanian law firm Mossack Fonseca (Obermayer, 2017) the name of Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (Sottilotta, 2017) was included in the list which showed that he had eight off-shore companies (The Express Tribune. Oct 7, 2016). In the light of this report, PTI demanded for the resignation of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif for the investigation of the Panama leaks. Initially government tried to put it off. The opposition parties made an effort to make terms of references to solve the issue within parliament, but could not reach to an agreement. In order to put pressure on the government, PTI decided to lock down Islamabad on 30th October 2016 (The Express Tribune. Oct 7, 2016). Under such pressure, the government promised to constitute commission for

investigation. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif addressed the Nation on 22nd April 2016 and said, “I announce to present me and my family for accountability.” he added that. “I will go home if found guilty,” (The News. April 23, 2016).

PTI decided to take this case in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Initially, registrar of the Supreme Court called it frivolous but later on decided to investigate. The Supreme Court of Pakistan comprised larger bench of five judges including Justice Asif Saeed Khosa, Justice Gulzar Ahmad, Justice Ejaz Afzal Khan, Justice Azmat Saeed Sheikh and Justice Ijazul Ahsen. On 20 April 2017, two Judges of the Supreme Court, Justice Asif Saeed Khosa and Justice Gulzar gave verdict against Prime Minister (The Express Tribune. May 2, 2017) and other three asked to make JIT for further investigation. JIT was bound to conduct investigation within six months. JIT submitted its report on 10th July (Express Tribune. July 11, 2017). The Supreme Court resumed hearings on 17th July and reserved decision on 21st July (Dawn. July 22, 2017). Finally, on 28th July, the Supreme Court of Pakistan disqualified Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on charges that he did not mention his employment in off shore Company Free Zone Establishment (FZE), situated in Dubai (Final decision of the Supreme Court in Panama case. 2017). This decision proved true the blame of PTI that the leadership PML (N) was involved in the corruption. This decision had deep impacts on the political development of Pakistan on one hand and brightened the prospects of PTI on the other hand. People started to give head to the claims of PTI. It rejuvenated PTI.

PTI played the role of vibrant and active opposition in Pakistan generally since its inception but particularly since 2013. This role of PTI not only contributed in its evolution but it also helped in brightening its prospects. As an opposition, it has deep impacts on the performance of the party. It always kept its followers mobilised and active. With the help of continuous popular mobilisation, it spread its message in nook

and corner of Pakistan. The role of PTI in popular mobilisation and as an opposition party contributed a lot in the success of PTI in general election 2018.

CONCLUSION

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was founded by cricket star, Imran Khan who was personally interested in philanthropy rather than politics after retiring from cricket. As a philanthropist, he was, deeply moved by the affection and warm response of his compatriots. His direct attachments with the common people led him to realise that the nation is extremely disappointed and are suffering from miseries but the political leadership is indifferent to the solution of their problems. In this background, he decided to step into politics by expressing his disappointment with the failure of the political system and of politicians to solve the public problems and lack of commitment on their part to give people their right to bring about a change within the framework of the constitution.

Before entering the political field, he was already been invited on different occasions by different leaders like General Zia, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Moeen Qureshi to join their cabinets or political parties but he had refused. The exploitative governance of Benazir Bhutto according to him compelled him to jump into politics and he founded Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf on 25th April 1996 in Lahore to work for a change and welfare of the downtrodden.

PTI started its political activities in 1996. It participated in the general election 1997. However, it could not get a single seat but proved its clarity of vision when Imran Khan refused to form electoral alliance with PML (N) in the general election 1997 despite of the offer of thirty seats in the Parliament. During the reign of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, PTI proved its worth as an opposition party.

PTI supported General Pervez Musharraf initially but when he deviated from his seven point agenda, PTI turned against him. It refused to be a part of National Alliance of Musharraf and run election campaign from its own party platform to groom. From 2002-

2008, it gave a tough time to the government of PML (Q) and General Pervez Musharraf as an opposition. PTI boycotted the general election 2008 because these elections were, held under the Provisional Constitutional Order. It spread its message in nook and corner of Pakistan by popular mobilisation from 2008 onwards. In 2011, from Lahore, it took a new turn with the slogan of tsunami of change and “Naya Pakistan” new Pakistan which led it to emerge as the third largest party in the Centre and the first largest party in KP as a result of the general election 2013.

Along with it, since 2013, the persistent pressure and active politics of opposition helped PTI to keep intact the newly recruited political workers by engaging them in mass and protest rallies, set-ins, and organising public gathering across the country. The persistent involvement of its workers helped PTI to inject sense of political ownership to its workers.

PTI also proved it is mental as a government. It formed government in KP in 2013. Due to its reforms regarding accountability, education and health, it proved itself. As a ruling party in KP since 2013, PTI proved its worth. The comparison of performance of PTI government with the previous provincial governments proves that it has an edge on the former governments. PTI implemented reforms and brought changes in the province education, health and police departments of KP when it was under the dark shadows of terrorism. It was so successful that it got second consecutive success in the province and formed government as a result of general election 2018.

The organizational structure and party programme of PTI also played an important role in the evolution and party expansion. Due to increase in its popularity, PTI managed to gain support from cross sections of Pakistani society from youth, women, minorities and even overseas Pakistanis responded vehemently to PTI. It gave representation to women, youth, students, labours, minorities overseas Pakistanis, technocrats, professionals and

intellectuals in central organizational structure. PTI over the years has evolved as a mass party and working on democratic norms since its inception.

PTI through its successful and innovative mass mobilisation strategy of reaching the youth of Pakistan through social media and mobile technology; engaged so far neglected segments of Pakistani population. This strategy gave an edge to PTI over its counterpart in attracting the youth. It is important to note that with lowering of voting age from 21 to 18 provided PTI with enthusiastic political youth. Its wing, Insaaf Student Federation played a significant role in spreading its message in country. The use of inspirational songs and motivating poetry in the public gathering also made it an attractive political platform for some of the youth. Furthermore giving party tickets to young and new politicians of both gender made PTI rational choice for the unemployed middle class. Imran Khan's personality also motivated the politically indifferent upper middle class youth.

The making of alliances with other political parties and the inclusion of electable also played vital role. These electable have a huge vote bank and fan following. Their inclusion in PTI brought the party in forefront of the political scene of Pakistan as in political culture of Pakistan, mostly majority of the electable gets victory.

PTI stance on elimination of corruption, nepotism, VIP culture, equal constitutional rights for all including FATA played significant role in generating awareness among the masses. PTI consistently discouraged and opposed dynastic politics in political parties of Pakistan.

The introduction of dozens of new news channels in the country also provided PTI an opportunity to spread its political ideology, standpoints on a number of national and international issues of political importance of Pakistan. The devoted party workers giving

enough time to the talk shows and debating forums on these new non-official media channels helped PTI popularise its ideology.

Imran Khan who had already proved himself a gallantry cricketing leader and a successful philanthropist had proved himself as a charismatic political leader. In the evolution of PTI, leadership of Imran Khan played a central role. He remained determined since the establishment of PTI and got it recognised as the largest political force in Pakistan. The fame and popularity still revolves around the personality and ideology of Imran Khan. So, as a result of general election 2018 it emerged as the largest political party in Pakistan and formed governments in the Centre and province of KP and Punjab.

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