



POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study is to analyze the rise of Pakistan Peoples Party in Pakistan. The foundation of Pakistan Peoples Party was laid by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on November 30, 1967 and he became its first Chairman. The key objectives of Pakistan Peoples Party are; Islam is our faith, Democracy is our polity, Socialism is our economy and all power to the people. The other objectives of Pakistan Peoples Party are to introduce the idea of real democracy in Pakistan and transfer of power to the grass root level. The party initiates efforts to take the concrete measures for the elimination of feudalism in Pakistan. The ultimate goal of Pakistan Peoples Party is the achievement of a democratic rule that is only possible through the principle of collectivism. Pakistan Peoples Party will stop the old-fashioned system of government which is in the hands of few rich persons.

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Introduction

Pakistan Peoples Party was established on November 30, 1967 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who became its first Chairman. The core objectives of Pakistan Peoples Party are; Islam is our faith, Democracy is our polity, Socialism is our economy and all power to the people. The first general elections were held in the country on December 7, 1970 under the control of military led government by General Yahya Khan. But unfortunately these elections were delayed due to flood hazard in East Pakistan. The elections were re-scheduled in January 1971. In these elections, Awami League's obtained the landslide victory in the National Assembly. But power was not transferred by General Yahya Khan to the winner party. Resultantly, Awami League started the protest against the military led government. The government takes the action against the Awami League. As a result, a bloody Civil War took place in the East Pakistan leading to Indian military interventions and of Pakistan armies. As an effect, East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan on 16th December 1971. General Yahya Khan resigned from his presidency and handed over the control to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became first Civilian Chief Martial Law president of Pakistan. Later on, he became the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 14th August 1973.

The first term of Pakistan Peoples Party government was started from December 20, 1971 to July 5, 1977. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto called the 2nd general elections in the country on March 7, 1977 to elect the 200 parliamentarians for both the houses i.e. Upper and Lower (Senate and National Assembly) of Pakistan. In these elections, nine (09) opposition parties get together to form the national alliance and strengthen their position. The Election Commission of Pakistan announced the result of elections in which Pakistan Peoples Party got the majority of seats in the parliament. On the other side Pakistan National Alliance a coalition of nine opposition parties got only 36 seats in the parliament. Pakistan National Alliance failed to attain any seats from industrial cities such as Lahore, Karachi and Rawalpindi. The alliance started the huge demonstration and gigantic public gatherings against the victory of Pakistan Peoples Party. The Pakistan National Alliance blamed the widespread electoral fraud and rigging in the elections. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto approached the Pakistan National Alliance for dialogues and holds the talks. But unfortunately, alliance did not agreed with Bhutto decision. The alliance demanded 50% of representation in the government including release of party leaders and workers as well. Pakistan National Alliance further demanded for the holding of new elections before August 14, 1977 (Khan, 1985). Bhutto accepted all the demands of Pakistan National Alliance and ensured for compromises. Meanwhile, he travelled to Saudi Arabia and United States as well as Arab Emirates for further negotiations with alliance.

On July 5, 1977 Chief of Army Staff, General Zia-ul-Haq overthrew the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He also imposed martial law in the country. After his take over, he assured that fair and free elections well be held in the country within ninety (90) days but he had not fulfill his promise. However, after the presidential referendum of 1985, general elections were scheduled in the country on

February 28, 1985 on non-party basis. In these elections Muhammad Khan Junejo became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. After assuming the power of government, he launched a five-point agenda in the country. The purpose of agenda was to start a new progressive civilian order in the country. The agenda introduces the institutions of social justice; produce a free economy, increase employment opportunities, and other facilities. The program further started a education program that teaches at least 50% of the people from illiteracy, and to start socio-economic development project in the country.

After the lift of martial law in the country Muhammad Khan Junejo move towards for the establishment of independent government from General Zia-ul-Haq. Junejo makes effort to launch an independent foreign policy, particularly on Afghanistan issues. For this purpose he had approached to all the political leaders in Pakistan. He also contacts with Benazir Bhutto, chairperson of Pakistan Peoples Party. But unfortunately, an incident of Ojheri Camp had occurred and became the visible cause of removal of Junejo government. On May 29, 1988 General Zia-ul-Haq had overthrow the government of Muhammad Khan Junejo under article 58(2) b of the constitution. But after the lapse of three months, Zia was died in an air crash near Bahawalpur on August 17, 1988.

The third general elections were held in the country on November 16, 1988 to elect the 336 members and 100 senators in Pakistan. In these elections Pakistan Peoples Party obtained the majority of seats in the parliament. After proclaims the results, the interim President of Pakistan Ghulam Ishaq Khan invited the Pakistan Peoples Party to form a government. In this regard, Pakistan Peoples Party established the government, alliance with other political parties and independent groups. Benazir Bhutto, Chairperson of Pakistan Peoples Party became the first woman Prime Minister of a Muslim country. She remained in power upto 1990. Later on, her government was dissolved by Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the President of Pakistan on the charges of corruption. She had started the serious attempt to abolish the Eighth Amendment in order to strengthen her position being a Prime Minister of Pakistan but she could not succeed. In meanwhile, she established closed relations with United States. Benazir Bhutto continued her efforts to maintain the successful relations with president of Pakistan and Military elites. As per 1973 constitution of Pakistan, president was allowed to schedule the elections in the country within the ninety (90) days. But he could not hold the elections within specific time.

The fourth general elections were held in the country on October 24, 1990. In these elections, Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) got the majority of seats in the parliament and led the government under the leadership of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. The Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) challenged the leadership of Nawaz Sharif and started the campaign against the privatization and general traditional policies of the government. In the meantime, Mohajir Quami Movement, a liberal front, political party led by Altaf Hussain cut its support in Sindh Province. The victory party was the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad, which won 106 out of the 207 seats (Rizvi, 2013).

On November 06, 1990, Nawaz Sharif was elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan, a coalition of Islami Jamhoori Ittihad. However, Nawaz Sharif could not complete his five (5) years term due to dissolution of his government by Ghulam Ishaq Khan, president of Pakistan in April 1993. In this regard, Nawaz Sharif filed a suit in the Supreme Court of Pakistan regarding the reinstatement of government. The Supreme Court of Pakistan restored the government. But unfortunately, Nawaz Sharif has resigned from the government including Ghulam Ishaq Khan President of Pakistan in July 1993. The elections were scheduled on October, 6th & 9th 1993 respectively. These elections were boycotted by the Mohajar Quami Movement. As a result, no single party obtained an absolute majority in the elections. Pakistan Peoples Party formed the coalition government and Benazir Bhutto became its Prime Minister of Pakistan. The government of Benazir Bhutto has faced different challenges. In 1994, Nawaz Sharif started a "train march" from Karachi to Peshawar against the government of Benazir Bhutto.

In 1996, the government of Pakistan Peoples Party was dissolved by Farooq Khan Leghari president of Pakistan, on account of corruptions and misbehavior. Malik Miraj Khalid became the care taker Prime Minister of Pakistan. He announced the schedule of elections in Pakistan for National Assembly and four Provincial Assemblies in Pakistan on February 3, 1997. In these elections, Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) won the majority of seats in the parliament and Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. On second time, the government of Nawaz Sharif was overthrown by General Pervez Musharraf Chief of Army Staff on October 12th, 1999. The coup d'état was took place in the country on the basis of miserable conditions between Nawaz Sharif and General Pervez Musharraf. Nawaz Sharif makes efforts to expel the General Pervez Musharraf from the service, at that time he was on official visit in Sri Lanka. But military high ups command refused to follow the orders of newly appointed Chief of ISI, Ziauddin Butt. When Pervez Musharraf was flying back from Sri Lanka to Pakistan, the Corps Commanders had decided to defend the Pervez Musharraf from incident. The schedule of coup was changed within 17 hours, from the effort to sack Pervez Musharraf to the overthrown of Nawaz Sharif. The Corps commanders took over all the key control of State buildings throughout the country. They placed the entire cabinet under house arrest. They also took over the control of state broadcaster and intact critical infrastructure, as well as communications system and dismissed the government of Nawaz Sharif. Two days later, on 14th October 1999, Pervez Musharraf declared a State emergency in the country and issued the Provisional Constitutional Order and ruled the country for ten (10) years. General elections 2008 were scheduled in the country to be held on January 8, 2008. But unfortunately these elections were postponed due to State Emergency declared by General Pervez Musharraf on November 3, 2007. During this period, Benazir Bhutto, the Chairperson of Pakistan Peoples Party lost her life in the incident at Liaquat Abad Rawalpindi on December 27, 2007. These elections were re-scheduled on February 18, 2008. Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) have participates the elections. In these elections, Pakistan Peoples Party obtained the majority of seats in the parliament and formed the coalition government with

Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N). On September 9, 2008, Syed Yousaf Razza Gallani became the Prime Minister and Asif Ali Zardari became the President of Pakistan. Asif Ali Zardari was the first ever democratically elected President of Pakistan who had completed his five year term. General elections 2013 were announced in the country to hold on May 11, 2013 to elect the members of the National Assembly and four Provincial Assemblies in Pakistan. In these elections, Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) won the majority of seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan. The Election Commission of Pakistan officially announced the results of elections and declared Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) was the 1st winner party, with 189 seats. Pakistan Peoples Party was the second largest political party in Pakistan, with 45 seats, and Pakistan Tehreek Insaf of Imran Khan was the third political party, with 33 seats, emerged as a 3rd largest political party in Pakistan.

1.2. MANIFESTO OF THE PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY

Following were the manifesto of Pakistan Peoples Party:

- Islam is our faith
- Democracy is our politics
- Socialism is our economy
- All power to the people

The foundation of Pakistan Peoples Party was led on the basis of above mentioned manifesto that signified the vital goal of the party. The main theme of Pakistan Peoples Party was to introduce the idea of true democracy in Pakistan and transfer of power to the grass root level through the process of elections. The major object of Pakistan Peoples Party was to resolve the socio-economic problem in the country, particularly the grievances of common people. The 1st steps initiates by Pakistan Peoples Party about the abolishing of feudalism system in Pakistan. The party also took the concrete measures in accordance with the principles of socialism to protect and preserve the rights of workers. The peoples of Pakistan are desired to live in the country with peaceful manner. They wanted to get better education, good health, social justice, economic development and distribution of equal resources among the peoples.

The political rights are indivisibly related to economic privileges and disparities. The purpose of Pakistan Peoples Party move towards for the welfare of human will being. Because Pakistan is a sovereign State and its people will choose for country goals. The major function of Pakistan Peoples Party was to send his/her representatives to the National Assembly for the framing of a new constitution of Pakistan. As 1962 constitution of Pakistan did not meets the requirements of democratic form of government. It was not so framed as to allow and, indeed, start changes in the economic and social system. It was shaped only for the vested interests of capitalist class and ignored the middle class. Pakistan Peoples Party will, however, effort its best to help in making a really good constitution. Pakistan Peoples Party program will abolish the system which holds the means of production which was in the hands of few rich peoples. This act will stop the theft of capitalist class and their supporters.

Pakistan Peoples Party adopted the principles of useful understanding which was held at Lahore in 1967. The ultimate goal of Pakistan Peoples Party was the achievement of a free society, which is only possible through the strategy

of socialism (Hussain). It is usually believed that an independent foreign policy of Pakistan is the essential feature of safeguarding and promoting the national interest of country. Bhutto believed in an independent foreign policy of bilateralism in which no country would be allowed to interfere in the affairs of other countries (Zain, 2012).

Tashkent agreement was signed by Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Muhammad Ayub Khan on January 10, 1966 regarding the settlement of issues (Cheema, 2015). After signing of the agreement, India and Pakistan were agreed to release the prisoner of war as well as withdrawal of forces from the disputed areas. Pakistan would follow the policy of bilateralism to promote the unity of Muslim worlds. The government of Pakistan Peoples Party launched new Industries and also makes effort to boost up Pakistan national economy at international level. The process of all produce, whether in the public or the private sector, will be finalized by the policy of government. General Muhammad Ayub Khan's Land Reform policy was not benefited for general masses of the country. Because it's, only promotes the rights of feudal class in Pakistan. The feudal class divided the extra land among their family members. This situation was more complicated by the reason that in most parts of the West Pakistan the feudal owners live in a social castes and joint family system. For this purpose a special meeting was held at Lahore in 1967 to resolve the key issues. It was decided in the meeting that excess land will be handed over to the landless peasants.

The development will be carried out towards the obtaining of maximum representation of the peoples in the local government system. The government would be responsible to provide the equal justice to all the citizens in Pakistan. The education reforms policy in Pakistan would bring the social change in the country and primary education will be compulsory for all citizens.

1.3 ACHIEVEMENT OF PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY

After taking over the control of government, Pakistan Peoples Party introduced the numerous reforms in the country. The formation of 1973 constitution of Pakistan, development of atomic power, labor policy, administrative reforms, agricultural reforms, industrial reforms, education reforms, economic reforms, banking reforms, passport reforms etc (Shafqat, 2011).

The purpose of labor reforms to provide the more facilities to the workers particularly in industrial organizations. The administration would be responsible for the provision of free education of one child of every worker. The new revised policies would be implemented in the country including various benefits like bonus, gratuity, leave, compensation and retirement facility. These measures would quickly solve the solutions of mutual disputes, protection of workers rights against discrimination and encouragement of trade unionism". (Amir Ali Chandio, Ali Nawaz Soomro, 2012).

PRINCELY STATES

The government of Pakistan Peoples Party would abolish all the princely States in Pakistan. The government further promised that no area of Pakistan would be allowed to be governed being a princely State. The remaining princely

States in Northern areas would be abolished in August 1972 & September 1974 and emerged into one single District.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The emergent need of the country was to improve the status of armed forces as well as its defense technology. The necessary steps were taken in order to rebuild the self-esteem of our armed forces in the heart of peoples. It is further planned that armed forces should perform jobs in their respective field. As thirteen years of military involvement in politics is the symbol of defame.

1.4 REFORMS

LAND REFORMS

In 1972, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced the Land Reforms policy in Pakistan and protects the rights of general masses. He wanted to built the country self sufficient and fulfill the promise of a commitment with the people. He redistributes the excess land among the peasant through the Land Reforms Regulation Act. The reason was that to reallocate the extra land among the less land peasant. Actually, Pakistan Peoples Party desired to improve the socio-economic level of the country and improve the economic system at international level (Khan A. Q., 1969).

1972, land reforms policy of Bhutto has fixed the following limits about the holding of individual property i. e 150 acres of irrigated land and 300 acres of un-irrigated land. The excess lands would be used without payment.

LABOR REFORMS

In 1972, the government of Pakistan Peoples Party introduced the wide range labor reforms in the country. The government further assured to the workers about their basic rights like freedom of association and collective good deal, and assurance of protection of service; representation in administration, group-insurance, employee old age benefit scheme, free education for children's, housing and health facilities.

INDUSTRIAL AND CORPORAT REFORMS After taking over the control of government, Pakistan Peoples Party immediately finances the ten (10) major industries in Pakistan and kept under the direct control of government. These were Heavy Engineering, Heavy Electrical Industries, Basic Metal Industries, Petro-Industries, Iron and Steel Industries, Cement Industries and Oil refineries, Public Utilities and Power Generation Transmission and Distribution.

ECONOMIC REFORM

In 1971, the government of Pakistan Peoples Party has faced the severe problems of economic shortcoming in the country at the time of transfer of power due to bad governance of Yahya Khan and separation of East Pakistan. The key problem seen by Bhutto government was devolution of Pakistani currency (Kiran, 2015). Pakistan Peoples Party government started the broader level of reforms in Pakistan. According to 1973 constitution of Pakistan, the Council of Common Interest was established by government under article 153. The purpose of institution was to safeguard the economic interests in Pakistan and also to follow the economic policy.

BANKING REFORMS

The core objectives of Banking Reforms in Pakistan were to commercialize all the banks in Pakistan. For this purpose, a national credit consultative committee was constituted by

the government to achieve the objective. The loans amounting to Rs. 1,560 million were given to private sector to help the poor families for the use of agricultural production.

EDUCATION REFORMS

In 1972, Pakistan Peoples Party government introduced the New Education Reforms Policy in Pakistan. The theme of policy was to eliminate the illiteracy rate in Pakistan through the model of combined education policy at elementary level. The government also initiates the new adult education program for man and women. According to Education reform policy all the educational institutions were state-owned. The reform education policy became a part of 1973 constitution of Pakistan under Article-25(a).

HEALTH REFORMS

In 1972, Pakistan Peoples Party introduced the Health Reforms Policy in Pakistan with the motives that this area is the most ignored sector of self-government. No health system could do well and common man did not have the earnings resource to meet the expenditure of medications. It was essential to make necessary arrangement of medicines for the treatments of common people and also reduced the prices of medicines.

LAW REFORM

The Law Reform Policy in Pakistan was considered as a remarkable achievement of Pakistan Peoples Party. The government of Pakistan Peoples Party abolished the shameful and conservative British model of government. Pakistan Peoples Party government separated the judiciary from the executive. According to these amendments the legal systems of the country have been justified, rights and duties clearly defined. The legal systems of the country are become more open which were the long outstanding desires of the peoples.

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

In 1972, Pakistan Peoples Party launched the integrated Rural Development Program in Pakistan. The program joint the whole community of villages with their fundamental needs of the individual. The program also comprises to improve the socio-economic conditions of the general masses. Its major themes were to prevent the rural society from the misuse of agricultural manufacture through the development of services into the rural areas.

PEOPLE'S WORKS PROGRAM

The government of Pakistan Peoples Party established the People's Works Program in Pakistan in order to improve the living condition of general masses in Urban as well as in rural areas. The government desired to contacts with the general masses in their extra time and got the honored in society.

1972-73, the government of Pakistan has allocated the budget provision for amounting to Rs. 220.3 million, for the welfare of people's living standard, (out of which Rs. 140 million for Punjab, Rs. 11 million for Khyber Pakhtoon Khawa), Rs. 47.5 million for Sindh and Rs. 8.8 million for Baluchistan). The program also formed 450,000 housing plot units in Punjab as well as in Sindh province.

NATIONAL VOLUNTEER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

In 1973, the government of Pakistan Peoples Party launched the national volunteer development program in the country. Its purpose was that to provide short-term service to the unemployed scientists, engineers and technicians. The

program would utilize the services of 20,000 engineers and young technocrats. The agenda would present the hopeful result to communicate the necessary guidance to those who are important to run the affairs of Pakistan Peoples Works Program.

NEW GLANCE FOR POLICEMEN

On April 12, 1972, the government of Pakistan Peoples Party introduced the police reforms in the country. These reforms provided the sufficient development like education services, good environment of study and more loyal faithfulness with the excellent job proficient.

REVOLUTION IN SERVICES

On August 20, 1973, the government of Pakistan Peoples Party announced the administrative reforms in the country. The Prime Minister of Pakistan followed the East India Company's as an executive model. The government has abolished all service cadres and curriculum and changed with a joint composition. By inclusion of all the cadres, the improvement eliminated the disorderly and unfair classification of group within the public service. The engineers and capable persons have provided the chance to compete the examination in public service commission.

1.5 FOREIGN POLICY

After the distress of 1971 War, Pakistan was in poor position and miserable state, while India, in a position to dictate its provisos. The state affairs of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was very complicated, his path was full of scratches; but one of his amazing traits was that he had never missed spirit even in the hardest and the most worried state of affairs. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Foreign policy of Pakistan was considered as the main symbol of developed country. Pakistan foreign policy is the totality of its dealing with the external milieu. Foreign policy of Pakistan is the matter of nation's effort to promote its interests with other countries. Bhutto rebuilt the morale in the hearts of Pakistani people and removed the consequences of 1971 War. The government of Pakistan Peoples Party normalized its relations with Soviet Union by withdrawing Pakistan membership from SEATO and CENTO. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto developed close relations with the Muslims countries, mainly with Saudi Arabia. Z.A. Bhutto believed an independents foreign policy of Pakistan beyond the control of foreigner influence and also independent from the control of United States (Quddus).

1.6 ISLAMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE AND THE THIRD WORLD

In 1974, the government of Pakistan Peoples Party scheduled the 2nd Islamic Summit Conference at Lahore and where all the key leaders of the entire Muslim Worlds participated (Bhutto). Zulfikar Ali Bhutto chaired the Conference of Muslim Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Foreign Ministers with full confidence. The arrangement of 2nd Summit Islamic Conference in Pakistan was a profound victory of Pakistan Peoples Party government. Under the leadership of Bhutto, Pakistan foreign office launched the many steps for its upgraded policy towards the Muslim countries. Bhutto followed the policy of bilateralism in its relations with all Muslims countries.

1.7 BENAZIR INCOME SUPPORT PROGRAM

In 2008, Benazir Bhutto Income Support Program was established by Yousaf Raza Gillani former Prime Minister of Pakistan who took the initiatives on the advice of

President Asif Ali Zardari. The program's name is a tribute to former Prime Minister of Pakistan and wife of President Asif Ali Zardari, Benazir Bhutto, who was assassinated in 2007. Since 2005, the purchasing power of many Pakistani families has been eroded by high inflation and the increasing cost of food and oil. Benazir Income Support Program was started against the inflation and increasing of food and oil, as earnings to tackle decrease in obtaining power. The program also comprised for the issue of economic development. Benazir Income Support Project further efforts to allow women by presenting cash transfers directly to female members of households.

The Benazir Income Support Program is a non-conditional cash transfer program. The program was established by former Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani who administer the early stages of the program after taking the formal approval from the ex-president of Asif Ali Zardari. The program provides financial help to low-income families through bi-monthly cash payments. Benazir Income Support Program is the mega aid project in Pakistan. For this purposes the government of Pakistan provided the huge budgetary provision for every year.

In 2008–2009, more than 3 million Pakistani families were received cash amounts from this program. In 2009–2010, the government further supports the 5 million low-income families in Pakistan.

CONCLUSION

The foundation of Pakistan Peoples Party was laid by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on the principles of socialism, Roti, Kapra, Makan and Shelter as the basic slogan of Pakistan Peoples Party. The main theme of Pakistan Peoples Party is to resolve the socio-economic problem in the country. The manifesto of Pakistan Peoples Party is focused for the elimination of feudalism in the country and to protect the rights of general masses. The government of Pakistan Peoples Party also demands for the future development of real democracy in Pakistan. The key responsibility of the peoples is to elect their representatives at grass root level. As 1956 and 1962 constitutions of Pakistan did not meets the requirement of democratic form of government. It is framed only for the vested interest of capitalist class and ignored the rights of general masses. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the 9th Prime Minister of Pakistan on August 14, 1973 and remained in power upto 1977. Pakistan Peoples Party is still working for the welfare human well being and it is the largest political party in Pakistan. The government of Pakistan Peoples Party played the significant role to unite the Muslim Worlds at single platform. The government of Pakistan Peoples Party makes efforts to create an economic alliance with the Islamic countries. Islam has been declared as State of religion. The first permanent constitution of 1973 was passed on April 12, 1973 and enforced in the country on August 14, 1973. The constitution is allowed federal form of government and autonomy was given to the provinces.

However, Council of Common Interests was established in the country with the equal representation of the federation. The government has accountable to the parliament. The nature of government is parliamentary. The government of Pakistan Peoples Party introduced the numerous reforms in the country and improved the living conditions of the

general masses. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the founder of 1973 Constitution of Pakistan and the chief architecture of Pakistan's nuclear program. The period of Pakistan Peoples Party government is always considered as brighter period.

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