

# THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY



**2nd Generation  
Charter of Democracy  
v/s  
Manifestoes of  
Major Political Parties  
for  
General Election  
2024**



**November, 2024**

AwazCDS-Pakistan: Established in 1995 and is registered as not for profit organization with registrar joint stock companies under Societies Registration Act 1860 and enjoys special consultative status with United Nation's Economic & Social Council (UN ECOSOC). AwazCDS-Pakistan's core mission is to develop integrated and innovative solutions in cooperation with partners at all levels to secure the future of marginalised communities especially by creating rightful spaces and choices of life. For more information please visit [www.awazcbs.org.pk](http://www.awazcbs.org.pk)

Pakistan Development Alliance: Established in 2014, is an alliance of 107 national level NGOs/Networks working together through developmental and rights based approaches to address issues in governance and accountability across the country especially in the implementation of SDGs. The alliance is led by AwazCDS-Pakistan and is governed by elected national, provincial and regional executive committees at national, provincial and regional level. PDA is part of various national, regional and global alliances and forums including Asia Development Alliance (ADA), Asia CSOs Partnership for Sustainable Development (APSD), Action for Sustainable Development (A4SD), Global Call to Action against Poverty (GCAP), CIVICUS/AGNA- Affinity Group of National Associations and Transparency Accountability and Partnerships-TAP Network etc. For more information please visit: [www.pda.net.pk](http://www.pda.net.pk)

Asia Democracy Network: The Asia Democracy Network is a regional organization of more than 300 civil society groups working to advance the democratization of governance in Asia. Their core values are to promote and practice the principles of democracy through the development of inclusive governance, advancement of human rights, equality and inclusivity, prevention of discrimination, human security, promotion of free, fair and meaningful elections, democracy education, & press freedom and responsibility. For more information, please visit [www.adnasia.org](http://www.adnasia.org)

Conceived, Written and Edited by:	Zia ur Rehman
Conducted by:	AwazCDS-Pakistan
Facilitated by:	Pakistan Development Alliance
Published by:	AwazCDS-Pakistan
Supported by:	Asia Democracy Network
Designed by:	Ishfaq Khan Khalil
Publishing Date:	November, 2024
Quantity:	500

All rights reserved, however, the content of this report may be reproduced with the due acknowledgment to AwazCDS-Pakistan / Pakistan Development Alliance

# Table of Content

<b>1. Background</b>	<b>1</b>
<hr/>	
<b>2. Critical Analysis on manifestoes vis-à-vis COD 2.0 Demands</b>	<b>3</b>
<hr/>	
2.1. Constitutional Reforms	3
2.2. Intra-Party Democratic Reforms	4
2.3. Socio-Economic Reforms	5
2.4. Protection of Media and Freedom of Expression	6
2.5. Strengthening Human Rights and Enhancing Transparency	6
2.6. Reforms for Distribution and Management of Resources	7
2.7. PTI's Proposal for National Reconciliation through Truth and Reconciliation Commission	8
<hr/>	
<b>3. Critical Analysis of Political Inaction on COD 2.0 Demands in Manifestoes</b>	<b>10</b>
<hr/>	
<b>4. Policy Recommendations:</b>	<b>12</b>
<hr/>	
<b>5. Conclusion</b>	<b>15</b>
<hr/>	
<b>Annexure A: Alignment of Political Party Manifestos with Charter of Democracy 2.0 Demands</b>	<b>17</b>
<hr/>	
<b>Annexure B: Charter of Democracy 2.0</b>	<b>31</b>

**BACKGROUND**

**01**

# 1: Background

The state of democracy in Pakistan is marked by a complex interplay of political, social, and institutional dynamics that frequently challenge its stability and effectiveness. However, the people of Pakistan have never abandoned their dreams, desires, and aspirations to be governed democratically through their elected representatives and parliamentary institutions. One notable attempt to stabilize and strengthen democratic norms was the Charter of Democracy, signed in 2006 by two of the major political parties—the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N). This agreement was intended to reduce military influence in politics, ensure fair elections, and promote a cooperative political culture. Although, the pervasive influence of the military has historically played a dominant role, including direct control through coups. Civilian governments often grapple with political instability, characterized by corruption, inefficiency, and short tenures frequently disrupted by judicial decisions or military interventions. Electoral integrity is another critical issue, with frequent allegations of vote rigging and manipulation undermining public trust in the democratic process.

Despite these challenges, Pakistan has a vibrant civil society and media landscape that actively advocates for democratic norms and human rights, although activists and journalists face significant risks such as harassment and violence. The judiciary has had a mixed impact on democracy, upholding constitutional principles in some cases while overstepping its traditional boundaries in others. Efforts towards decentralization have seen uneven success, with local governance structures variably effective across different regions. Overall, while there is a strong public inclination towards democracy, actual participation is often limited by socio-economic barriers and a general lack of awareness about civic responsibilities. This multifaceted scenario underscores the ongoing struggle and gradual progress in strengthening democratic governance in Pakistan, amidst both setbacks and milestones like the Charter of Democracy.

Therefore, a countrywide discourse for national democratic consolidation was initiated in May 2022 by AwazCDS-Pakistan under the aegis of Pakistan Development Alliance with the support of Asia Democracy Network. It was culminated with a civil society call for second generation charter of democracy (CoD 2.0) which was developed after a countrywide discourse among a good number of key civil society actors, political workers, members of media, academia, and bar councils. The COD2.0 was finally adopted and endorsed by 85 plus influential leaders and change makers representing various walks of life. Many political parties indicated to consider the recommendations of CoD 2.0 in their political manifestoes.

The following detailed analysis reviews the manifestos of seven major political parties, categorizing their reforms and promises across various critical areas highlighted in COD 2.0. This analysis aims to highlight the commitments made and the gaps in practical implementation strategies, offering a clearer picture of each party's vision and approach to governance. The goal is to provide a factual record of each party's commitments, enabling stakeholders to track progress and hold parties accountable. It is our hope that this comparative analysis will serve as a guiding light, fostering a more transparent and accountable political environment in Pakistan.

**Critical Analysis  
of manifestoes  
vis-à-vis  
COD 2.0 Demands**

**02**

## 2: Critical Analysis of manifestoes vis-à-vis COD 2.0 Demands

To align the critical analysis with the Charter of Democracy 2.0 demands, AwazCDS-Pakistan/ PDA evaluated the manifestoes of various political parties. This scrutiny is essential to assess whether the proposed policies are not only feasible and impactful but also in harmony with the principles and objectives outlined in the Charter of Democracy 2.0, ensuring accountability and transparency in political commitments. Below is the detailed analysis as per different democratic areas.

### 2.1. Constitutional Reforms

The constitutional reform proposals put forward by various political parties in their manifestoes reflect a wide range of priorities aimed at restructuring judicial, legislative, and electoral frameworks to enhance governance and ensure greater equity and decentralization. These reforms are critically compared with COD 2.0.

**Awami National Party (ANP):** The ANP proposes a significant restructuring of the judicial system, suggesting that the Supreme Court function solely as a constitutional court, with High Courts managing all other forms of litigation. This definition could potentially expedite the resolution of constitutional matters by freeing the Supreme Court from the backlog of general litigation cases. However, this reform might require extensive adjustments in the judicial processing systems and could lead to challenges in defining the jurisdictional boundaries between the Supreme Court and High Courts. Additionally, this move could centralize constitutional interpretation significantly, which might lead to concerns about the concentration of judicial power.

**Pakistan People's Party (PPP):** The PPP's reforms are broad and touch on various aspects of governance. One of their notable proposals is to establish a Federal Constitutional Court with equal representation from all federating units. This could help address regional disparities and ensure a more balanced approach to constitutional jurisprudence, reflecting the diverse political and social landscapes across provinces. However, it could also introduce complexities in the integration of regional legal frameworks and interpretations into a unified national jurisprudence.

The PPP also aims to enhance the powers of local governments by revising Article 140-A of the Constitution. This change is intended to provide local bodies with financial, administrative, and political autonomy. If implemented effectively, it could lead to more responsive governance at the local level, although it also requires robust mechanisms to prevent mismanagement and ensure accountability within decentralized structures.

Furthermore, the PPP advocates for the elimination of faith-based discrimination in holding high state offices, specifically targeting Articles 41 and 91. This aligns with global human rights standards and could foster greater inclusivity in Pakistan's political landscape. However, such changes could face significant resistance from conservative factions within the country.

**Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI):** The PTI's proposal to create a Legislative List III to define the powers of local governments is an innovative approach to clarify and possibly expand the roles of local bodies within the federal structure. This could facilitate more uniform development policies across districts and ensure a fair distribution of resources. However, the success of such a reform would depend heavily on its acceptance by provincial governments, which may perceive it as an encroachment on their powers.

PTI also seeks to strengthen the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) by amending laws to ensure more transparent regulations regarding campaign finance and political party funding. This reform is crucial for enhancing the integrity of electoral processes and could significantly impact the political landscape by ensuring fair play. Nevertheless, the implementation of such reforms would require a high degree of political will and could be obstructed by parties that benefit under the current regulatory framework.

**Pakistan Muslim League (N):** The PML(N) proposes to strengthen local government provisions by enhancing their administrative and financial powers and ensuring their tenure security. These changes could lead to more stable and effective local governance structures, potentially accelerating development at the grassroots level. However, similar to other proposals focusing on local governance, the effectiveness largely hinges on the federal & provincial government's willingness to cede significant power to local entities.

Overall, these proposals reflect a growing consensus on the need for judicial and political reforms in Pakistan, aiming at a more decentralized and equitable system. Yet, the critical challenge remains not just in the adoption of these reforms but in their implementation and the political and social acceptance they garner across different segments of society.

## 2.2. Intra-Party Democratic Reforms

The proposed political reforms by Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and Pakistan People's Party (PPP) focus on enhancing democratic processes within parties, improving women's representation in political and public spheres, and incorporating important social issues into the educational curriculum.

**Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI):** PTI's commitment to conducting intra-party elections from the grassroots to the party chairman is a notable attempt to democratize its internal structure. This approach could lead to greater transparency and accountability within the party, potentially setting a precedent for other parties. By allowing party members at all levels to have a direct influence on leadership choices, PTI aims to reduce top-down control and promote a more participatory form of governance within its ranks. However, the challenge will be in maintaining a balance between democratic participation and organizational coherence, especially if intra-party elections lead to factionalism or weaken the party's unified front against opposition.

**Pakistan People's Party (PPP):** The PPP's promise to increase the reserved seats for women from 17% to 33% in assemblies is a progressive step towards gender equality in political representation. But it should not be seen as a substitute for ensuring that more women contest and win general seats through competitive elections. A more meaningful approach to gender equality in political representation would involve increasing women's participation in general elections by ensuring their nomination for winnable constituencies. Political parties should be legally bound to allocate a significant proportion of general election tickets to women, compelling them to compete on equal footing with their male counterparts. This would not only enhance the credibility and legitimacy of women parliamentarians but also shift societal perceptions about women's capability to lead and govern. The PPP also plans to urge the Election Commission to establish a task force to monitor the implementation of a 5% seat quota for women in general elections. This is a critical move to ensure that existing policies designed to enhance female participation in politics are actually enforced. Both of these initiatives, however, will require robust mechanisms for implementation and ongoing oversight to prevent tokenism and ensure meaningful participation.

In terms of educational reform, the PPP's intention to introduce subjects like environmental literacy and civic education aims to equip future generations with the knowledge and skills necessary for responsible citizenship. This could foster a more informed and engaged electorate, which is crucial for the healthy functioning of a democracy. However, the success of these educational policies will depend on their integration into the curriculum and the quality of teaching provided.

Moreover, the PPP's ambition to collaborate with other parties to develop a Minimum Charter of Human Rights, along with a roadmap for its implementation, illustrates a commitment to strengthening human rights in Pakistan. This initiative could lead to significant societal benefits if effectively implemented, but it requires cross-party cooperation and a genuine commitment to upholding human rights standards, which could be challenging in a politically fragmented environment.

Overall, these political reform proposals from PTI and PPP reflect a concerted effort to strengthen democratic processes and enhance social justice in Pakistan. However, the success of these initiatives will largely depend on their execution and the political will to sustain them against possible resistance from entrenched interests or ideological opposition.



### 2.3. Socio-Economic Reforms

The socio-economic reforms proposed by various political parties in Pakistan showcase a broad array of strategies aimed at enhancing the socio-economic framework of the country, with particular focus on gender equality, educational advancements, and health services enhancements.

**Jamaat-e-Islami-Pakistan (JI-P):** JI-P's pledge to implement Islamic Shariah for women's inheritance is indicative of the party's intent to ensure religiously guided property rights for women, which could help in addressing gender disparities in wealth and property ownership. However, the interpretation and application of Shariah principles can be complex and may require careful oversight to align with international standards of gender equality. JI-P's idea to establish separate desks for women in public service is an effort to make public services more accessible to women and could improve the efficiency and sensitivity of service delivery.

**Pakistan People's Party (PPP):** PPP's comprehensive focus on women's rights includes increasing female representation in legislative bodies, addressing gender-based violence (GBV), and amending discriminatory laws. Their approach is holistic, touching on legislative, judicial, and educational reforms to create a more equitable society. The introduction of mandatory gender sensitization for various professionals indicates a systemic approach to combatting GBV and enhancing societal respect for women. However, the effectiveness of these reforms will largely depend on their implementation and the sustained commitment of future administrations.

**Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI):** PTI's commitment to reviewing all legislation for gender discrimination and enhancing legal protections against harmful practices like child and forced marriages aims to strengthen the legal framework supporting women's rights. PTI's approach suggests a blend of legal reform and enforcement, which is critical for the actualization of women's rights in society. However, challenges may arise in ensuring these laws are uniformly enforced across different regions of Pakistan.

**Pakistan Muslim League (N):** PML-N proposes robust measures to combat violence against women, including the formation of specialized police units and task forces, and expanding infrastructure that supports women's safety and legal rights. Their comprehensive approach, which includes cybercrime and property rights reforms, indicates a deep commitment to addressing various dimensions of women's security. The success of these initiatives, however, will require significant resources and inter-departmental coordination.

**Awami National Party (ANP) and Muttahida Qaumi Movement – Pakistan (MQM-P):** Both ANP and MQM-P emphasize educational reforms with substantial GDP allocation towards education. ANP's commitment to providing free education for children of daily wage workers and MQM-P's focus on scholarships are directed towards reducing educational inequalities. Such initiatives are vital for long-term socio-economic development but necessitate sustainable funding and effective administration.

**Jamaat-e-Islami-Pakistan (JI-P) and Pakistan People's Party (PPP):** JI-P's focus on providing free education to women and non-discriminatory access to rights for non-Muslims aligns with broader societal inclusivity. PPP's emphasis on enforcing Article 25-A for free and compulsory education and ensuring accessibility shows a commitment to foundational educational reforms. These promises, if fulfilled, could significantly impact the socio-economic fabric of the nation by fostering a more educated and equitable populace.

**Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI):** PTI proposes an integrated approach to health by advocating for universal health coverage, focusing on under-served regions, and improving infrastructure. The introduction of unified health cards and the emphasis on family planning and reproductive health highlight PTI's commitment to comprehensive health care reform. The implementation of these health reforms would require overcoming logistical challenges and ensuring consistent funding.

Overall, these socio-economic reform proposals, if implemented effectively, have the potential to profoundly transform the socio-economic landscape of Pakistan, enhancing gender equality, improving health outcomes, and elevating educational standards across the country. The success of these reforms will heavily rely on their execution, continued government support, and active participation from all stakeholders involved.

## 2.4. Protection of Media and Freedom of Expression

The manifestoes from the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI), and Pakistan Muslim League (N) all include significant proposals aimed at enhancing the protection of media freedom and the safety of journalists. Each party addresses different aspects of media operations, legal frameworks, and journalist protections, reflecting their distinct approaches to reinforcing freedom of expression and the press in Pakistan.

**Pakistan People's Party (PPP):** The PPP's commitment to reviewing media-related laws, particularly Section 37 of the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act 2016 (PECA), is a crucial step towards potentially loosening restrictions that currently hinder free expression online. Their focus on consulting stakeholders in the process suggests a participatory approach that might yield more balanced and universally acceptable legal reforms. Furthermore, PPP's intent to implement constitutional articles related to religious freedoms and protection against discrimination highlights their broader commitment to human rights. This dual approach of legislative review and commitment to constitutional rights is integral for creating a more inclusive environment for media freedom, though the effectiveness of these measures will heavily rely on the thoroughness of the review process and the actual implementation of new policies.

**Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI):** PTI proposes a comprehensive set of reforms aimed at securing media independence and enhancing the safety of journalists. Their promise to protect online media platforms and ensure internet freedom addresses the growing importance of digital media in contemporary journalism. PTI's pledge to legislate protection for journalists from undue influence and harassment, alongside the creation of a national strategy for their safety, could significantly improve the working conditions for media personnel. The emphasis on equal access to government information and the financial support fund for media outlets indicates PTI's awareness of the practical challenges faced by the media industry, including financial pressures that may compromise editorial independence. Additionally, the focus on revising labor laws to better serve media personnel acknowledges the unique occupational hazards they face. These measures, if implemented effectively, could foster a safer and more robust media landscape, though they would require strong enforcement mechanisms and genuine political will to change the status quo.

**Pakistan Muslim League (N):** PML-N focuses on institutional support and protection mechanisms for journalists, exemplified by their proposal to establish the National Security and Safety Commission under the Security and Safety Journalist Act 2022. This initiative could provide a formal avenue for addressing threats and violence against journalists, offering them a greater sense of security. The commitment to ensuring the effective implementation of the Right to Information Act 2018 is also crucial for promoting transparency and access to information, which are foundational to journalistic work. Expanding health and life insurance for media workers further acknowledges the risks journalists often face, especially those covering conflict or sensitive issues. These provisions indicate a strong commitment to improving the safety nets for media personnel, though as with any policy, the true test will lie in their implementation and the actual efficacy of these measures in the day-to-day lives of media workers.

Overall, while the commitments from all three parties are promising on paper, the challenge remains in their execution. Effective implementation, continual oversight, and adaptability to feedback from the media community will be essential for these reforms to strengthen media freedom and protect journalists effectively in Pakistan. Each party has laid out a vision that, if realized, could contribute significantly to the safety and independence of the press, which is a cornerstone of any democratic society.

## 2.5. Strengthening Human Rights and Enhancing Transparency

The proposed reforms from Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI), and Pakistan Muslim League (N) focus on strengthening human rights protections, enhancing transparency, and engaging civil society in the governance of human rights. Each party addresses these challenges with varied but complementary approaches, reflecting a broader commitment to improving human rights observance in Pakistan.

**Pakistan People's Party (PPP):** PPP's commitment to addressing enforced disappearances is a significant and commendable step towards aligning Pakistan's human rights practices with international standards. By proposing legislation to criminalize enforced disappearances, the party acknowledges a long-standing human rights issue within Pakistan that has received international criticism. Their intention to sign and ratify the International Convention on Enforced Disappearances further demonstrates a willingness to engage with global human rights mechanisms.

Making reports from UN bodies and local commissions public would not only enhance transparency but also increase government accountability. However, the success of these measures depends heavily on their thorough and unbiased implementation, and on the judicial system's ability to handle such cases effectively without interference.

PPP also plans to strengthen statutory bodies like the National Commission on Human Rights (NCHR), the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), and the National Commission on Rights of Child (NCRC). By ensuring financial and administrative autonomy, these bodies could operate more effectively and independently. The implementation of international human rights conventions and the submission of periodic reports to the UN are also crucial steps towards international accountability. This indicates a structured approach to human rights that involves both adherence to international commitments and strengthening of internal mechanisms.

**Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI):** PTI's approach to human rights focuses significantly on the role of civil society. Encouraging civil society organizations to promote equal rights and social justice can enhance grassroots movements and support systemic changes. Appointing members from civil society to a judicial commission suggests an effort to incorporate diverse perspectives into the judiciary, potentially leading to more balanced and informed decisions on legal and human rights issues. This inclusion could bring fresh insights and expertise, but it also requires careful selection to ensure that appointees are both competent and unbiased.

**Pakistan Muslim League (N):** PML-N's strategy emphasizes strengthening the infrastructure for human rights protections at various levels. By focusing on the National Commission for Minorities and expanding human rights commissions to the district level, PML-N aims to address the rights of minorities and bring human rights oversight closer to the local population. This decentralization could lead to better responsiveness and tailored solutions to specific local challenges. However, like other proposals, the effectiveness of these reforms will depend on adequate funding, proper training for commission members, and real autonomy from political influences.

Overall, these parties show a clear recognition of the importance of human rights reforms in Pakistan. While their proposals are promising on paper, the actual impact will hinge on the commitment to enforce these laws and reforms consistently. Effective monitoring, sufficient resources, and ongoing engagement with both civil society and international bodies will be essential to ensure that these reforms lead to meaningful improvements in human rights within Pakistan.

## 2.6. Reforms for Distribution and Management of Resources

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has outlined several commitments related to the distribution and management of resources, touching upon crucial aspects like population indicators, royalties, constitutional rights, and community involvement. Here is a detailed critical analysis of each of these commitments:

**Discussion on Revision of Population Indicator:** The PPP's proposal to discuss the revision of the population indicator reflects an awareness of the demographic changes that may impact resource allocation among provinces. This could potentially lead to more equitable distribution based on current population data, addressing disparities that have arisen due to shifts in population densities over time. However, the lack of commitment to provide constitutional cover for such a revision raises concerns about the durability and enforceability of any agreements reached. Without constitutional amendments, any revision to the population indicators might lack the necessary legal framework to ensure compliance and could be subject to changes with shifting political landscapes.

**Legislation on Royalties:** The commitment to introduce legislation that prioritizes the allocation of royalties for the development of the local district where resources are extracted is a significant step towards ensuring that the benefits of resource extraction directly impact the communities most affected by such activities. This approach can enhance local development and mitigate the adverse effects of resource extraction, such as environmental degradation and social displacement. However, the success of this legislation will heavily depend on its specifics, including how "local" is defined, the percentage of royalties allocated, and the mechanisms for monitoring and ensuring transparency in how these funds are used.

**Implementation of Article 172(3) of the Constitution:** PPP's promise to faithfully implement Article 172(3), which deals with the joint ownership of oil and natural gas resources between federal

and provincial governments, is crucial for resolving long-standing conflicts over resource control. This commitment to operationalizing the mechanisms governing this joint ownership could lead to more harmonious federal-provincial relations and more effective resource management. However, the challenge lies in the details of these mechanisms and their acceptance by all stakeholders, particularly provincial governments that may fear losing autonomy over their resources.

**Involvement of Local Communities in Balochistan:** The pledge to ensure the full and equal involvement of local communities in the utilization of natural resources in Balochistan addresses one of the most critical issues in resource management in Pakistan. Balochistan has been a hotspot for conflicts over resource exploitation, with local communities often feeling marginalized. Ensuring community involvement can help in creating more sustainable and equitable resource management practices. However, this promise must be backed by concrete plans and robust community engagement strategies to avoid tokenism and ensure that local input significantly influences decision-making processes.

While the commitments by PPP show a proactive approach towards more equitable and community-focused resource management, the effectiveness of these promises will depend on the implementation strategies and the political will to push through necessary legal and constitutional changes. Moreover, the broader impact of these reforms on Pakistan's economic stability and inter-provincial cohesion will need careful monitoring. The initiatives are promising but require a detailed framework and strong governance structures to transform these promises into tangible improvements in resource distribution and management in Pakistan.

## 2.7. PTI's Proposal for National Reconciliation through a Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI) has proposed the establishment of a body similar to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, aiming to address historical and ongoing divides within the country. This proposal reflects a strategic approach to national healing and reconciliation, aiming to foster unity, equality, equity, and justice across diverse social, ethnic, and political lines.

PTI's proposed commission is to bridge existing societal divides, which may include ethnic, sectarian, or socio-economic disparities that have historically plagued Pakistan. By addressing grievances and injustices, the commission would aim to foster a sense of national unity and collective identity, crucial for the country's stability and progress.

The idea of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission is inspired by models that have been implemented in other countries, such as South Africa, which have experienced deep-rooted social conflicts. These commissions generally work by uncovering truths about past abuses, providing a platform for victims to be heard, and facilitating reparation and reconciliation processes. Such a body in Pakistan could potentially address issues ranging from political repression to ethnic violence, contributing to a more transparent and inclusive dialogue about the nation's history and ongoing challenges.

*PTI's proposal for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission is an ambitious and potentially transformative initiative. While it presents a hopeful vision for resolving Pakistan's deep-seated divisions, the proposal's success will heavily rely on its execution details, the extent of political and public support it receives, and the independence with which it operates. Effective implementation could pave the way for a more united and peaceful Pakistan, but significant challenges remain in ensuring that the commission can achieve its goals without becoming mired in the very divides it seeks to bridge.*

**Critical Analysis  
of Political Inaction on  
COD 2.0 Demands  
in Manifestoes**

**03**

## 3. Critical Analysis of Political Inaction on COD 2.0 Demands in Manifestoes

The analysis of the lack of political engagement with the reforms proposed in COD 2.0 reveals a significant gap between the aspirations for constitutional and legal reforms in Pakistan and the political will to implement these changes. These proposals are critical for enhancing governance, accountability, and adherence to democratic principles but are clearly absent from current political discourse. Here's a critical analysis of each proposed reform and the implications of their neglect by political parties:

- 1. Conversion of Principles of Policy into Justiciable Rights:** The proposal to transform the Principles of Policy (Articles 29-40) into enforceable rights aims to enhance accountability and the government's obligation to its citizens. Making these principles justiciable would empower citizens to demand rights related to social, economic, and cultural policies. Additionally, requiring an annual report on their implementation could improve transparency and governmental performance. The absence of political commitment to this change suggests a reluctance to be held accountable under the law for policy failures, potentially due to the increased legal and public scrutiny that would follow.
- 2. Amendment of Article 254:** Modifying Article 254 to make time limits binding for constitutional obligations addresses the frequent bureaucratic and administrative delays in important meetings and decisions, such as those of the Council of Common Interests and the National Economic Council. The lack of political initiative to amend this article may indicate a preference for maintaining a status quo that allows flexibility in bypassing statutory deadlines, thereby reducing accountability.
- 3. Incorporation of Jinnah's Speech into the Constitution:** The suggestion to make Muhammad Ali Jinnah's speech of August 11 a preamble to the constitution and adjust Article 2A aims to reinforce the vision of a secular, inclusive Pakistan as intended by its founder. The resistance to this could stem from political entities favoring the status quo, which aligns with more religiously oriented interpretations of the state's identity, showing a conflict between foundational secular visions and subsequent ideological shifts.
- 4. Definition of Discrimination in Article 260:** Specifying a definition for "discrimination" would strengthen legal interpretations and enforcement of non-discrimination policies. The omission of such a definition limits the scope and effectiveness of anti-discrimination laws. Political hesitance here might be due to the potential ramifications for existing social and political structures, where certain discriminatory practices might be historically ingrained or politically expedient.
- 5. Electoral Results Acceptance Agreement:** This agreement would presumably reduce political instability and foster a more cooperative political environment post-elections. The lack of enthusiasm for such an agreement highlights the entrenched competitiveness and mistrust among political parties, which may prefer retaining the ability to contest and destabilize governance structures for political gain.
- 6. Periodic Review of the National Action Plan:** Making the review and debate of the National Action Plan's implementation mandatory would ensure continuous attention to counter-terrorism and security reforms. The absence of political commitment to this proposal might be attributed to the complex, often contentious nature of security policies and the diverse interests within political entities and state institutions.
- 7. Mandatory Asset Declaration:** Requiring all public office holders, including military officials, to declare assets would enhance transparency and reduce corruption. Political reluctance can be linked to potential personal or institutional losses that such transparency would entail, reflecting broader issues of accountability in governance.
- 8. Constitutional Cover for National and Provincial Finance Commissions:** Providing constitutional backing for these commissions would ensure regular and systematic resource distribution, which is crucial for equitable development. Political disinterest in this reform could be due to current power dynamics where central or provincial governments may prefer to control resource allocations without the binding constraints of periodic and transparent redistribution mechanisms.

Overall, the reluctance to address these reforms indicates a broader issue of political entities prioritizing immediate political gains over long-term institutional improvements and democratic consolidation. The failure to engage with these reforms undermines the potential for substantial progress in governance and democratic practices, perpetuating cycles of instability, inefficiency, and limited accountability in Pakistan's political landscape.

Policy  
Recommendations

04

## 4. Policy Recommendations:

Here are concise and substantial policy recommendations to enhance governance, transparency, and democratic engagement across key sectors in Pakistan:



### Strengthen Electoral Integrity

- Pass comprehensive legislation to safeguard electoral integrity, mandating free, fair, and transparent voting practices.
- Introduce stringent penalties for electoral fraud, ensuring robust legal frameworks to counteract vote rigging and manipulation.
- Deploy electronic voting and biometric verification systems nationwide to minimize electoral malpractice.



### Enhance Judicial Independence

- Amend the constitution to solidify judicial independence, shielding the judiciary from political influences.
- Standardize transparent, meritocratic judicial appointments to uphold professional integrity.
- Strengthen judicial oversight mechanisms to ensure judicial conduct and decision-making are beyond criticism.



### Promote Intra-Party Democracy

- Enforce regular, transparent electoral processes within parties to democratize internal leadership selection.
- Guarantee equal leadership opportunities for all party members, regardless of seniority.
- Mandate diversity and inclusion policies within parties, focusing on gender and minority representation.



### Decentralize Power and Strengthen Local Governance

- Decentralize significant administrative and financial powers to local governments by amending Article 140-A.
- Legislate fair distribution of resources to eliminate regional disparities.



### Improve Civic Education and Public Participation

- Initiate comprehensive national campaigns to educate citizens on their democratic rights and responsibilities.
- Foster active citizen participation in democratic processes through structured public forums and consultations.
- Encourage regular dialogue and debates to engage the public in meaningful policy discussions.





### Ensure Freedom of the Press and Expression

- Enact and enforce laws that safeguard journalists from intimidation, violence, and censorship.
- Strengthen legal guarantees for freedom of expression and media independence.
- Hold violators accountable and support independent media as a democratic cornerstone.



### Strengthen Anti-Corruption Measures

- Establish autonomous bodies with full authority to investigate and prosecute corruption.
- Promote open data practices and enhance public access to governmental information.



### Enhance Human Rights Protections

- Strengthen the legal and institutional framework for protecting human rights.
- Implement specific policies to combat discrimination, gender-based violence, and protect minority rights.
- Incorporate human rights education into public awareness campaigns to foster respect for rights across society.



### Foster Economic Inclusivity and Social Justice

- Develop policies aimed at reducing income inequality and promoting fair wealth distribution.
- Enhance social protection mechanisms to support the economically vulnerable especially women, elderly people, PWDs and transgender.



### Develop a Comprehensive National Reconciliation Strategy

- Promote dialogue among various groups to enhance mutual understanding and strengthening national unity and social cohesion.



### Strengthen Legislative Oversight and Accountability

- Empower parliamentary committees to rigorously oversee government actions and spending.
- Ensure all legislative processes are transparent and accountable.
- Facilitate active involvement of civil society in monitoring government performance and policy implementation.

# Conclusion

05

## 5. Conclusion

The state of democracy in Pakistan is marked by a vibrant yet volatile mix of political, social, and institutional forces. The Charter of Democracy, signed in 2006 by key political leaders, represented a significant milestone in Pakistan's democratic journey, aiming to diminish military sway in politics, secure fair elections, and cultivate a spirit of political collaboration. This agreement, however, has been tested by ongoing challenges including political instability, concerns over electoral integrity, and instances of judicial overreach. Despite these hurdles, Pakistan boasts a dynamic civil society and an assertive media, both staunch advocates for democratic values and human rights, albeit under considerable pressure.

In response to evolving democratic needs, the Charter of Democracy 2.0 was crafted by civil society of Pakistan, engaging a broad spectrum of voices from across the nation and garnering endorsements from influential figures. This revised charter is a testament to the enduring desire for democratic deepening and reform. An examination of the political party manifestos in light of this charter illustrates a varied landscape of commitment, with some parties aligning closely with the charter's objectives while others reveal significant gaps in their approach to implementation. To further advance democracy and reinforce democratic norms in Pakistan, a suite of focused policy recommendations is imperative. Key among these are electoral reforms to ensure transparency and fairness in voting processes, and the fortification of judicial independence to shield the judiciary from political influences. Promoting democracy within political parties through regular, transparent intra-party elections is also crucial, as is the devolution of power to enhance local governance.

Strengthening civic education is essential to empower citizens with knowledge of their democratic rights and responsibilities, while safeguarding freedom of the press is critical to maintaining an informed electorate and a transparent government. Robust anti-corruption measures are necessary to restore public faith in institutions. Moreover, enhancing protections for human rights, driving economic inclusivity, formulating a comprehensive national reconciliation strategy, and bolstering legislative oversight are all vital steps towards building a more accountable, transparent, and resilient democratic framework.

In conclusion, while Pakistan has made notable steps in its democratic journey, sustained effort and unwavering commitment from all societal sectors—government bodies, political entities, civil society, and the general population—are essential to navigate the remaining challenges and realize the full potential of its democratic ambitions. The road to a stable and effective democracy is paved with continuous vigilance, proactive reforms, and the active engagement of the entire nation.

**Annexure A:  
Alignment of Political  
Party Manifestos with Charter  
of Democracy 2.0 Demands**

06

## Annexure A: Alignment of Political Party Manifestos with Charter of Democracy 2.0 Demands

	Thematic Reforms demanded in Charter of Democracy 2.0	Promises made in Political Manifesto
01	<p><b>(a) Constitutional reforms:</b></p> <p>i. Creation of a Federal Constitutional Court.</p>	<p><b>Awami National Party (ANP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legislation for the Supreme Court to serve as a constitutional court, with High Courts handling litigation, limiting Supreme Court cases to constitutional matters only.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establish Federal Constitutional Court with equal representation from all federating units.</li> </ul>
	<p>ii. More firm constitutional cover for the Local Governments by amending Article 140-A to ensure their uninterrupted continuity</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The PPP will strengthen local governments by revisiting Article 140-A to ensure financial, administrative, and political autonomy for grassroots governance in consultation with all stakeholders.</li> <li>• Strengthening local government as third tier of government.</li> <li>• Ensuring FATA and PATA areas are duly empowered with local self-governments in tribal areas.</li> </ul> <p><b>Muttahida Qaumi Movement Pakistan (MQM-P)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establish empowered local government system &amp; allocate 70% share to local government.</li> </ul> <p><b>Jamaat-e-Islami- Pakistan (JI-P)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transferring financial powers to local governments</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A constitutional amendment is suggested to form Legislative List III, delineating local governments' powers and roles as clearly as Legislative Lists I and II. This move seeks to establish a consistent framework for devolution, decentralization, delegation, and resource distribution.</li> <li>• Fully transfer ten specific functions to local governments</li> <li>• A linkage of the National Finance Commission (NFC) to the Provincial Finance Commission (PFC), reinforcing the financial autonomy and administrative capacity of local governments.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provisions regarding the Local Governments to be strengthened including enhancing their administrative and financial powers and security of the tenure.</li> <li>• Provincial finance commission with minimum 30% gross revenue for local governments</li> <li>• Constitutional amendment to strengthen the local governments including elections within 90 days of dissolution and devolve all social infrastructure departments.</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empower local governments to administer urban planning, devolve following departments to local governments: Primary Health (Basic Health Unit), Primary Education (Primary and Middle Schools), Social Welfare, Family Planning, Sports, Transport, Child Protection, Public Health, Disaster Management, Rescue Services, Tourism and Environment.</li> <li>• Merge all parallel bodies, companies and authorities including Development Authorities, PHAs to form an integrated city/district wide local government.</li> <li>• Develop a specialized local government service cadre</li> <li>• Restructuring Provincial Finance Commissions for equitable distribution, prioritizing under-developed districts.</li> <li>• Empowering local governments for localized revenue generation through taxation methods including reforming property tax.</li> <li>• Develop innovative financing methods such as municipal bonds and land value capture.</li> <li>• Empowering local governments in environmental management, particularly in land use, energy, and transport.</li> </ul>
	<p>iii. Amend Article 2 and should add, a sentence after "Islam shall be the State religion of Pakistan" however, "the State shall ensure equal status and equal right in the practice of all other religions in the jurisdiction of Pakistan".</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Any faith-based discrimination against non-Muslims from holding high state offices is contrary to Article 25 of the Constitution, which ensures equality before the law and fundamental human rights.</li> </ul>
	<p>iv The condition of being a Muslim should be removed for the offices of president in Article 41 (2) and Prime Minister in Article 91(3). Likewise the oath for all offices in 3rd schedule should carry no suggestion or condition of belonging to any religion but allegiance to Pakistan and its people.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Articles 41 and 91 of the Constitution reserving some state offices for Muslims only need to be revisited.</li> </ul>
	<p>v Reforms to strengthen independent and autonomous Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP)</p>	<p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amendments to election laws are imperative to augment the independence and authority of the ECP, ensuring transparent regulations are in place for campaign finance and political party funding.</li> </ul>

## Unaddressed Constitutional Reforms as demanded through COD 2.0

1. While Pakistan has signed and ratified all major international conventions and covenants on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, therefore time has arrived to convert the Principles of Policy (Article 29-40) in to admissible fundamental rights and make it mandatory to present an annual report on their implementation, and
2. We need to amend Article 254 that help condone 'failure to comply with requirement as to time does not render an act valid'. Majority of the constitutional deviations, including non-adherence to the periodicity of the quarterly meetings of the Council of Common Interests and the biannual meeting of the National Economic Council are condoned through this article. Time has arrived to make the delays-time bound as well.
3. Make Jinnah's speech of 11th August preamble of the Constitution, and a mention of this in Article 2 A, before Objectives resolution (although removing the latter would be the most appropriate as it was undemocratically adopted in 1949 and made a substantive part of the Constitution in 1985).
4. Add a definition of the term “discrimination” to article 260 since the constitution guarantees non- discrimination in several of its Articles in chapter II.

<b>02</b>	<p><b>(b) Political parties:</b></p> <p>(i) There shall be equal opportunities for all to excel for the leadership positions in the political party through intra-party elections and parliamentary boards. Political parties must ensure equal electoral opportunities to all segments of the society. Affirmative steps must be taken to increase women's presence on every table where major policy decisions are taken. At least 10 percent general seats in all elections shall be allocated to women</p>	<p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intra-party elections from the grassroots to the party chairman</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PPP will raise women's reserved seats from 17% to 33% in assemblies and boost female representation in committees, corporate bodies, and institutions. PPP will urge the Election Commission to create a task force to monitor the 5% seat quota for women in general elections.</li> </ul>
	<p>(ii) Consider creation of 'National Commission for Democracy' as envisaged in the CoD-2006 to support civic education, study circles and training of future leaders and cadre through the political parties.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Party will implement the clauses in 2006 Charter of Democracy relating to constitutional amendments which have remained unimplemented. Introduce subjects such as environmental literacy and civic education to prepare students for responsible citizenship.</li> </ul>
	<p>(iii) Political parties shall sign a consensus-based 'Bill of Rights for Pakistani Citizens' for the protection and promotion of their existing fundamental rights and work on continuous expansion in these rights with emerging contemporary consciousness.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We will collaborate with other political parties to develop a Minimum Charter of Human Rights and a road map for its implementation.</li> </ul>

	<p>(iv) All political parties shall in their manifestos and policy documents ensure that all citizens irrespective of their gender, class, economic background and creed are valued and equally involved in the affairs of the party.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intra-party elections at all levels, from the grassroots to the party chairman, this initiative is expected to fortify democracy within party structures, allowing members to have a direct say in their leadership.</li> </ul>
--	---	--

### Unaddressed Political Reforms as demanded through COD 2.0

All political parties need to sign an “Electoral Results Acceptance Agreement” to respect the mandate of each other and allow the winners to serve the nation well without political chaos and instability.

<p>03</p>	<p><b>(c) Parliamentary Reforms:</b></p> <p>(i) Population is considered as one the major indicator for division of resources through federal exchequer under NFC Award however “capping population” as an indicator would bring healthy controls over population growth in Pakistan.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NFC formula envisages distribution of resources on the basis of population needs to be revised.</li> </ul>
	<p>(ii) We need smaller constituencies to make them feasible for citizens with modest financial resources.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We advocate for smaller, more balanced national constituencies, limited to a maximum of 300,000 residents, thus improving the representation of our people.</li> </ul>
	<p>(iii) Senate of Pakistan be given equal right to discuss and approve finance bill of the country. We support direct election for the Senate of Pakistan.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Senate will undergo a transformation, becoming a directly elected body based on 50% of the senators elected by proportional representation, with an equal number of seats for each province.</li> </ul>
<p>04</p>	<p><b>(d) Judiciary</b></p> <p>(i) We need an increased role of Parliamentary Committee for Judicial appointments to oversee the appointments in the higher judiciary.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Federal Constitutional Court with equal representation from all federating units will be established, comprising judges qualified for Supreme Court judgeship, serving six-year terms, while Supreme and High Courts handle civil and criminal cases.</li> <li>• Judicial reforms in consultation with all stake holders in three critical areas namely appointment &amp; accountability of judges, use of <i>Suo motu</i> powers to ensure right to fair trial in accordance with Article 10-A of the Constitution and the setting up of the Constitution Court as envisaged in the Charter of Democracy.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establish an independent judicial commission responsible for the selection and appointment of judges.</li> </ul>



		This commission should be free from political influence and include members from diverse backgrounds, such as legal experts, representatives from the bar associations, and civil society.
	(ii) There shall be a culture of proper parliamentary hearing to judge their track record of judgments, especially their track record about adherence to the Constitution.	<p><b>Muttahida Qaumi Movement – Pakistan (MQM-P)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Eliminating judicial delays, case backlogs, and prison congestion through judicial reforms.</li> </ul> <p><b>Jamaat-e-Islami- Pakistan (JI-P)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ensure justice for all and establish an impartial accountability system to eradicate all forms of corruption.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz (PML-N)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Structural reforms for accountability of superior courts.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To ensure transparency in the judicial process, rules governing Suo moto powers will be formulated.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Independent Judicial Commissions (IJC) for hiring of judges and fixed tenure for judges.</li> <li>Forensic audits of our governance and judicial system's performance</li> <li>Video communication technology to prevent court proceeding delays.</li> <li>Speed up family court cases ensuring resolution within six months.</li> <li>Appoint local judges with jurisdiction over areas comprising approximately three Police Stations.</li> <li>Access to justice will be freely available.</li> <li>Reform in family courts.</li> </ul>
05	(e) Extremism:  All political parties unequivocally oppose reemergence of extremism and the problem of terrorism and this menace should be dealt unitedly.	<p><b>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Adopt a 'zero tolerance' policy towards terrorism.z</li> </ul>

### Unaddressed Parliamentary Reforms as demanded through COD 2.0

1. Close the gate of so-called development funds for MPs and divert all development resources towards the Local Governments.
2. Periodic review on the implementation of all clauses of National Action Plan 2014 and corresponding debate and discussion in the parliament shall be made mandatory.
3. Constitutional cover for periodic National Finance Commission awards capping division of federal resources on the basis of population.
4. Constitutional cover for periodic Provincial Finance Commission awards to ensure devolution of resources at local / district level.

<p>06</p>	<p>(f) Socio-economic Reforms:</p> <p>(i) All parties must commit to take concrete measures to implement women protection laws in their letter and spirit as their first priority.</p>	<p><b>Jamaat-e-Islami- Pakistan (JI-P)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implement Islamic Shariah for women's inheritance</li> <li>• Establish separate desks for women in public service.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PPP remains dedicated to upholding rights enshrined for women in the Constitution, protect women from the various manifestations of discrimination and violence, and sensitize the justice system to address gender-based violence (GBV).</li> <li>• We will undertake a thorough examination of discriminatory laws against women and introduce amendments addressing harassment, domestic and sexual violence, and forced conversions.</li> <li>• Mandatory gender sensitization will be instituted for law enforcement personnel, judges, lawyers, civil servants, and especially for media personnel involved in reporting on cases of sexual violence, to preserve the safety and anonymity of survivors.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We will conduct a thorough review of all legislation, identifying and eliminating laws that discriminate against women.</li> <li>• Strengthen legal protections against early and forced marriages, as well as child marriages. Enforce laws that support women's rights and autonomy.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Form a task force on Violence Against Women involving Law enforcement, Women's Rights NGOs and Legal Experts to probe and prosecute cases.</li> <li>• Establish women police units in all Police Stations and Increase Gender Responsive Budgeting (Grb) Funds.</li> <li>• Advertise and expand Punjab Women's Safety Helpline (1043) to cover all of Pakistan.</li> <li>• Establish a separate cybercrime wing managed by female IT experts to curb online threats and harassment.</li> <li>• Enforce legislation and legal support to guarantee and expedite women's rights to property and inheritance.</li> <li>• Ensure gender-responsive public infrastructure with separate facilities such as washrooms, breastfeeding areas, daycare centers and prayer rooms.</li> <li>• Expand violence against women centers to cover every district in Pakistan.</li> <li>• Collaborating with media associations to promote gender-sensitive ethics especially in the portrayal of women and girls.</li> </ul>
-----------	--	--

(ii) Free & Compulsory Education be ensured for all boys and girls between the age of 5-16 according to the Article 25-A of the Constitution of Pakistan.

**Awami National Party (ANP)**

- 4% of GDP for education
- Free education for daily wage workers' children

**Muttahida Qaumi Movement – Pakistan (MQM-P)**

- Increase health and education budget to 5% of GDP
- Scholarships in every educational institute.

**Jamaat-e-Islami- Pakistan (JI-P)**

- Free education to women
- Providing education, employment, and civil rights to non-muslims without discrimination.

**Pakistan Muslim League (N)**

- Increasing education funding to 5% of GDP.
- Develop a 'National Action Plan' for AI, STEM, ML, and technology-driven education.
- Establishing science and technology parks.
- Achieve universal primary enrolment by 2029.
- Ensure social protection of labor by effectively implementing minimum wage, health card and education card.
- Introducing national school nutrition program.
- Reactivate Girl Guides Associations in urban and rural Schools.
- Ensure Separate Washrooms for Girls in All Schools and Colleges.
- Expand Punjab Education Endowment Fund and Pakistan Education Endowment Fund (PEEF) to include marginalized communities.

**Pakistan People's Party (PPP)**

- Implement in letter and spirit Article 25-A of the Constitution on free and compulsory education of children of 5-16 years of age.
- Allocating 5% of GDP to education.
- Constructing primary schools within a 30-minute and secondary schools within 60-minute radius.
- Stipend fund for school-going children
- Regularizing katchi abadis schools.
- Inclusive education to enable children with ASD meets their individual needs; and launching public awareness campaigns

**Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)**

- We commit to fostering an inclusive and comprehensive national education system that offers both vocational and academic pathways up to the secondary and college levels.
- We will integrate gender studies into the national curriculum to challenge stereotypes and promote gender equality from an early age.

<p>(iii) Food security for all be considered as fundamental right.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Employ a rights-based approach and promulgate the Right to Food Act in Parliament. Under this Act, every eligible household will be entitled to purchase essential food items at subsidized rates.</li> <li>• Provide a free 1000-day nutritional program for expectant/new mothers to decrease stunting, wasting and infant mortality.</li> <li>• Begin the journey of providing free meals to all school-going children.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Supporting agriculture, including cooperative farming, ensures food security and rural livelihoods.</li> <li>• Incorporation of community gardens on rooftops or within high-rise buildings to promote local food production and green spaces.</li> <li>• We will secure food sovereignty, carefully allocating water resources to maximize self-reliance and economic gain.</li> </ul>
<p>(iv) Universal Health Coverage be ensured and health be considered as a fundamental human right.</p>	<p><b>Awami National Party (ANP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Universal Health Coverage through Essential package of health services.</li> <li>• Establish Drug Rehabilitation and child psychological centers in district hospitals.</li> </ul> <p><b>Muttahida Qaumi Movement – Pakistan (MQM-P)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase health and education budget to 5% of GDP.</li> <li>• Health card to entertainment industry.</li> </ul> <p><b>Jamaat-e-Islami- Pakistan (JI-P)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensuring health for all.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz (PML-N)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensure essential reproductive health services including family planning services are affordable and readily available to all citizens of the country.</li> <li>• Ensure social protection of labor by effectively implementing minimum wage, health card and education card.</li> <li>• Introduce mental health clinics at all DHQs and THQs.</li> <li>• Provide free-of-cost healthcare services specifically to low and middle income households.</li> <li>• Launch Clinic-on-Wheels for urban slums across provinces. Each Clinic-on-Wheel to offer basic OPD,</li> <li>• Family Planning, Ante-natal, Post-natal care, nutritional screening.</li> <li>• Scale-up the ambulance system by increasing the fleet of well-equipped ambulances manned by trained paramedical staff.</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduce telemedicine facilities, especially for hard-to-reach areas.</li> <li>• Ensure access to safe family planning services through Lady Health Workers, Clinic-on-Wheels, BHUs, and RHCs.</li> <li>• Provide essential family planning services at tertiary hospitals.</li> <li>• Introduce a school hygiene and adolescent children's health Program.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PPP will prioritize universal health coverage at all primary health facilities, including free treatment for chronic diseases like hypertension &amp; diabetes.</li> <li>• Free primary healthcare and medicines nationwide</li> <li>• Enact legislation for Right to Healthcare for accessibility to quality universal healthcare.</li> <li>• Increasing health spending by 500 %.</li> <li>• Digital medical record : One patient-one ID</li> <li>• Free DNA tests in sexual abuse cases.</li> <li>• Enhance post-pregnancy and post-abortion family planning with dedicated counselors. Empower midwives in remote areas through training and clear referral pathways.</li> <li>• Ensure access to family planning services and free contraceptives in healthcare facilities.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unified health cards across Pakistan</li> <li>• Improve healthcare infrastructure, particularly in underserved regions, and ensure the availability of family planning services and reproductive health care.</li> <li>• Ensure access to quality healthcare for families with unmarried daughters, including reproductive health services and awareness programs.</li> <li>• The party is committed to providing universal healthcare for all citizens of Pakistan, aiming to enhance the overall well-being of the population.</li> </ul>
	<p>(v) Landless farmers and marginalized rural women agricultural workers be given 2-1/2 acre of land instead of corporatization of agriculture in Pakistan.</p>	<p><b>Muttahida Qaumi Movement – Pakistan(MQM-P)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Allocate state land to landless cultivators</li> <li>• Redirect subsidies from large to small farmers</li> </ul> <p><b>Jamaat-e-Islami- Pakistan (JI-P)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Providing uninhabited government lands to landless farmers and <i>bares</i>.</li> <li>• Subsidy to farmers on all inputs</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Registering female agricultural workers for greater access to social protection and opportunities.</li> </ul>

		<p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PTI commits to Introducing targeted credit facilities with preferential interest rates for small farmers to enhance their access to capital.</li> <li>• We will prioritize land allocation to landless farmers and marginalized communities, ensuring that they have the opportunity to uplift their economic status</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interest-free loans, specialised social safety-nets and economic support to hawkers, fishermen, and small farmers.</li> <li>• Enact comprehensive land reforms to empower tenant farmers and sharecroppers.</li> <li>• Provide economic &amp; operational facilitation through awareness, Kisan Packages, elimination of middle-man exploitation.</li> <li>• Introduce Smart Credit Guarantees at banks, specifically designed for small farmers (less than 5 acres) who constitute 65% of the total farming community.</li> </ul>
07	<p><b>(g) Accountability:</b></p> <p>(i) Establishment of self-governing independent accountability commission with constitutional cover with powers for across the board accountability including the accountability of public office holders in civil, military and judicial institutions.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Efforts will be made to create a balance between security of tenure and accountability of civil servants. The existing mechanism based on the Annual Confidential Report (ACR) will be reviewed and a culture of accountability will be cultivated through the implementation of performance metrics, while concurrently enhancing the effectiveness of the Ombudsman's office.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We propose the establishment of a Special Core Group for Justice Deliverance under the Ministry of Law. This group will lead the transformative efforts and oversee the implementation of high-level decisions, ensuring transparency and accountability.</li> <li>• The PTI manifesto places a strong emphasis on instilling accountability and eradicating corruption within the government.</li> </ul>

**Unaddressed Accountability Reform as demanded through COD 2.0**

1. Mandatory declaration of assets by all public office holders including civil and military.

**(h) Media:**

- (i) All parties must ensure that state should provide just, peaceful, secure and dignified life to the citizens of Pakistan and should not silence voices of dissent. It should fulfill its constitutional and international commitments.

**Pakistan People's Party (PPP)**

- The PPP will review media related laws, including Section 37 of the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act 2016 (PECA 2016), in consultation with stake holders to protect and enhance freedom of speech.
- Concrete legislative and administrative measures will be taken for the implementation of the Constitutional Articles 20, 22 and 36 bearing on religious freedom, safeguards against discrimination in educational institutions with respect to religion and protection of rights of religious minorities.

**Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)**

- Ensure freedom for online media platforms and social networks.
- To uphold a truly democratic system, we need to ensure that the media is free from any kind of influence. Journalism should be independent and free from fear. We aim to bring legislation in line with these principles. Enact and enforce legislation that explicitly protects the rights of journalists and media houses from undue influence and harassment.
- Introduce a national strategy for the safety and protection of journalists, ensuring that threats, violence, and other forms of harassment against media personnel are addressed promptly and effectively.
- Encourage the development of a robust code of ethics for journalism, designed and upheld by independent media associations, to foster freedom, accountability, and responsibility.
- Mandate that all media outlets and organizations have equal access to government information and events without any discrimination based on editorial policies or viewpoints.
- Create a fund to support media outlets, especially in the digital sphere, to help them remain financially viable without compromising their independence.
- Uphold digital rights and ensure internet freedom so that online media platforms and social networks can operate freely and securely.
- Appropriate and robust accountability and redress mechanisms will be introduced for a smooth and transparent operation of media.
- Encourage public-private partnerships aimed at developing regional media sectors, leveraging both public funding and private expertise.
- We are committed to championing a series of reforms and initiatives designed to safeguard the fundamental rights and job security of media personnel.
- We aim to revise existing labor laws to account for the unique challenges faced by media personnel, ensuring that provisions specific to the media industry are in place.

		<p><b>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establish National Security and Safety Commission under Security and Safety Journalist Act 2022</li> <li>Ensure effective implementation of Right to Information Act 2018</li> <li>Expand National Health Insurance for Media Workers</li> <li>Expand Life Insurance for Media Workers who lose their lives in the line of duty.</li> </ul>
09	<p><b>(i) Rights:</b></p> <p>i Implement legislation on enforced disappearances on urgent basis and in letter and spirit.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We will introduce legislation to criminalize enforced disappearances, aligning our laws with international standards and commitments.</li> <li>The PPP will sign and ratify the International Convention on Enforced Disappearances.</li> <li>The reports of the United Nations Working Group on Enforced Disappearances (UNWGED) and the Commissions on Enforced Disappearances will be made public, ensuring transparency and accountability in addressing this critical issue.</li> </ul>
	<p>ii Commitment to create enabling environment for Civil Society Organizations and respect the mandate of civil society sector in the light of international obligations.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The civil society will be encouraged to advance the human rights agenda.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We will encourage civil society organizations to promote equal rights and social justice.</li> <li>Appoint members in judicial commission from civil society organizations that focus on legal and human rights issues.</li> </ul>
	<p>iii Commitment to ensure the autonomy of all Rights commissions in the light of Paris Principles. Moreover, provide them ample resources so that they can fulfill their mandate.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Statutory bodies for the protection and promotion of human rights like National Commission on Human Rights (NCHR), the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) and the National Commission on Rights of Child (NCRC) will be strengthened by ensuring financial and administrative autonomy in accordance with Paris Principles.</li> <li>All International Human Rights Conventions and treaties including the International Convention for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Convention on Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and additional protocols will be implemented, with periodic reports submitted to the United Nations bodies.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strengthen the National Commission for Minorities to curb violation of the rights of the minorities.</li> <li>Strengthen National and Provincial Human Rights Commissions and expand to District-level subsidiaries</li> </ul>



10	<p><b>(j) Resources</b></p> <p>i Constitutional cover for periodic National Finance Commission awards capping division of federal resources on the basis of population.</p> <p>ii Respect the provincial right to use natural resources first besides accepting joint and equal ownership in the light of Article 172 (3) of the Constitution.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pakistan People's Party discussed about discussion on revision of population indicator but did not talk about providing constitutional cover.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We will introduce legislation to prioritize the allocation of royalties from these resources for the development of the local district; and (iii) faithfully implementing Article 172(3) of the Constitution, focusing on the operationalization and mechanisms governing joint ownership of oil and natural gas by both the federal and provincial governments.</li> <li>• We are also committed to the full and equal involvement of local communities in the utilization of natural resources of Balochistan.</li> </ul>
11	<p><b>(k) General:</b></p> <p>i Establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission aimed at addressing historical grievances and fostering national unity. This initiative is modeled on similar commissions globally, designed to investigate and acknowledge past injustices, particularly those related to political violence, human rights abuses, and systemic corruption.</p>	<p><b>Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PTI proposes the formation of a body along the lines of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to bridge the existing divides in the country and bring people together in fostering unity, equality, equity, and justice for all.</li> </ul>

*Annexure B:*  
*Charter of Democracy 2.0*

07

## Annexure B: Civil Society's Call For 2nd Generation

### Charter of Democracy

**We the representatives** of civil society organizations, social and development alliances, human rights networks, women rights forums, journalist unions, press clubs, humanitarian organizations, bar councils, traders associations, chambers of commerce and industries, academic institutions, marginalized groups, labour and workers unions fully support and endorse the call for 2nd generation Charter of Democracy.

**We acknowledge** the efforts and unwavering commitment of two pioneer political parties, namely, Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League-N for their vision about the CoD and adherence to it since 2006.

**We appreciate** what has been implemented during the last 17-year and call for making sincere and renewed efforts and enthusiasm to implement what is still the pending agenda of the CoD. We honestly consider that many of the contemporary problems are due to deviation from the original spirit of the CoD. Therefore, we have included all unimplemented points in this call.

**We understand** that since 2006 country's political landscape has significantly changed and many new political parties have emerged on political scene and earned citizen's electoral trust. Therefore, it is imperative to expand the scope of the 2nd generation Charter of Democracy. Broader consensus among political parties will provide impetus to translate the CoD in to tangible gains for the nation.

**We sincerely feel** that the increased polarization among political community has affected the supremacy of the Constitution, centrality of parliamentary institutions and independence of judiciary. Resultantly, the perennially imbalanced civil-military equilibrium is further disturbed. Moreover, all this is promoting only troubled trichotomy and odd judicialization of politics.

**We emphasize** that the time has come to initiate a dialogue and meaningful deliberations for the 2nd generation Charter of Democracy. We urge that this process should be inclusive and participatory and shall involve all relevant stakeholders. This politics-led initiative will inspire the confidence of the electorate during Election 2023.

**With a desire to be part of this vital national process we the members of civil society** are articulating our points and suggestions for the consideration of political parties interested in the 2nd generation of Charter of Democracy.

#### (a) Constitutional reforms:

While celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the Constitution of 1973 and looking at the recent constitutional interpretations by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, especially during the times of political crises-we have realized that in order to address the grey areas in the Green book we need to embark on a comprehensive constitutional review. This exercise is vital to reclaim original spirit of the Constitution of 1973 and delete all aberrations incorporated in to it during non-democratic disruptions in 1977 and 1999

Additionally, we demand:

- i. Creation of a Federal Constitutional Court,
- ii. More firm constitutional cover for the Local Governments by amending Article 140-A to ensure their uninterrupted continuity,
- iii. While Pakistan has signed and ratified all major international conventions and covenants on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, therefore time has arrived to convert the Principles of Policy (Article 29-40) in to justiciable fundamental rights and make it mandatory to present an annual report on their implementation, and
- iv. We need to amend Article 254 that help condone 'failure to comply with requirement as to time does not render an act valid'. Majority of the constitutional deviations, including non-adherence to the periodicity of the quarterly meetings of the Council of Common Interests and the biannual meeting of the National Economic Council are condoned through this article. Time has arrived to make the delays-time bound as well.
- v. Reforms to strengthen independent and autonomous Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP)

## (b) Political parties

Political parties are considered as the nurseries of democracy. Their vibrancy and inclusiveness enrich nations' democratic experiences. We call upon the political parties to:

- vi. Consider creation of 'National Commission for Democracy' as envisaged in the CoD-2006 to support civic education, study circles and training of future leaders and cadre through the political parties,
- vii. All political parties shall in their manifestos and policy documents ensure that all citizens irrespective of their gender, class, economic background and creed are valued and equally involved in the affairs of the party.
- viii. There shall be equal opportunities for all to excel for the leadership positions in the party through intra-party elections and parliamentary boards. Political parties must ensure equal electoral opportunities to all segments of the society. Affirmative steps must be taken to increase women's presence on every table where major policy decisions are taken. At least 10 percent general seats in all elections shall be allocated to women,
- ix. Political parties shall sign a consensus-based 'Bill of Rights for Pakistani Citizens' for the protection and promotion of their existing fundamental rights and work on continuous expansion in these rights with emerging contemporary consciousness, and
- x. All political parties need to sign an "Electoral Results Acceptance Agreement" to respect the mandate of each other and allow the winners to serve the nation well-without 24x7 political chaos and instability.

## (c) Parliamentary Reforms

The parliamentary institutions are regarded as the brain of the nation. Their centrality is significant to offer a better legal framework, oversight mechanisms, taxation and pro-people resources appropriation.

- xi. Pakistan is the fifth populous country and here parliamentary community is witnessing unique family planning. After the merger of erstwhile Federally Administered Areas (FATA) in 2018 through the 25th Constitutional Amendment, the Senate of Pakistan will have only 96 members instead of 104 in 2018. Similarly, the 342-member National Assembly of Pakistan will be reduced to 336-member in Election-2023. Only Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly's membership has witnessed an increase from 124 in 2018 to 145 after the merger of erstwhile FATA. We need smaller constituencies to make them feasible for citizens with modest financial resources.
- xii. Senate of Pakistan be given equal right to discuss and approve finance bill of the country. We support direct election for the Senate of Pakistan,
- xiii. Close the gate of so-called development funds for MPs and divert all development resources towards the Local Governments.
- xiv. Population is considered as one the major indicator for division of resources through federal exchequer under NFC Award however "capping population" as an indicator would bring healthy controls over population growth in Pakistan

## (d) Judiciary

- xv. We need an increased role of Parliamentary Committee for Judicial appointments to oversee the appointments in the higher judiciary.
- xvi. There shall be a culture of proper parliamentary hearing to judge their track record of judgements, especially their track record about adherence to the constitution.

## (e) Extremism

In recent history, Pakistan has successfully fought war against terrorism. Peaceful Pakistan is necessary for prosperous Pakistan. We demand:

- xvii. All political parties unequivocally oppose reemergence of extremism and the problem of terrorism and this menace should be dealt unitedly.
- xviii. Periodic review on the implementation of all clauses of National Action Plan 2014 and corresponding debate and discussion in the parliament shall be made mandatory.

## (f) Socio-economic

- xix. All parties must commit to take concrete measures to implement women protection laws in their letter and spirit as their first priority.
- xx. Advocate for marriageable age of all boys and girls irrespective of their religion to be increased to 18 years.
- xxi. Free & Compulsory Education be ensured for all boys and girls between the age of 5-16 according to the Article 25-A of the Constitution of Pakistan.
- xxii. Food security for all be considered as fundamental right
- xxiii. Universal health coverage for be ensure and health be considered as a fundamental human right

## (g) Accountability

- xxiv. Establishment of self-governing independent accountability commission with constitutional cover with powers for across the board accountability including the accountability of public office holders in civil, military and judicial institutions.
- xxv. Mandatory declaration of assets by all public office holders including civil and military.

## (h) Media

Free and independent media offers oxygen to nation's democratic process

- xxvi. All parties must ensure that state should provide just, peaceful, secure and dignified life to the citizens of Pakistan and should not silence voices of dissent. It should fulfill its constitutional and international commitments.

## (i) Rights

- xxii. Implement legislation on enforced disappearances on urgent basis and in letter and spirit.
- xxiii. Commitment to create enabling environment for Civil Society Organizations and respect the mandate of civil society sector in the light of international obligations.
- xxiv. Commitment to ensure the autonomy of all Rights commissions in the light of Paris Principles. Moreover, provide them ample resources so that they can fulfill their mandate.

## (j) Resources

- xxv. Constitutional cover for periodic National Finance Commission awards capping division of federal resources on the basis of population.
- xxvi. Constitutional cover for periodic Provincial Finance Commission awards to ensure devolution of resources at local / district level.
- xxvii. Respect the provincial right to use natural resources first besides accepting joint and equal ownership in the light of Article 172 (3) of the Constitution.

## (k) General

- xxviii. Establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to ascertain facts and fix the responsibility regarding extra constitutional moves and offer recommendations to avoid such instances in future.
- **We expect** the commencement of a **Grand National Dialogue** on behalf of political parties, civil society, media, academia and other stakeholders in the course of action to achieve 2nd generation Charter of Democracy.
- **We further expect** a comprehensive mechanism on behalf of all stakeholders to do regular follow up and accountability processes towards the commitments made under 2nd generation Charter of Democracy.
- **We emphasize** all political parties should adopt the civil society demands under 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Charter of Democracy in their forthcoming political manifestoes.
- **We commit** for a regular civil society oversight and citizens tracking on our submissions under 2nd generation Charter of Democracy.

**Adopted & Endorsed by 89 Civil, Legal & Political Fraternity as on August 09, 2023**



<https://www.awazcds.org.pk/>



<https://www.pda.net.pk/>



<https://www.sdgscitizenscorecard.pda.net.pk/>



<https://www.ujalapk.net/>



<https://www.pcsm.info/>

**Awaz Foundation Pakistan: Centre for Development Services**

**Website: [www.awazcds.org.pk](http://www.awazcds.org.pk), [www.pda.net.pk](http://www.pda.net.pk)**

**Email: [info@awazcds.org.pk](mailto:info@awazcds.org.pk)**