HUMUN IV

STUDYGUIDE

PAKISTAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

MAHAD AKBAR

SECRETARY GENERAL

Greetings Delegates,

My name is Mahad Akbar, and I am honored to welcome you all as the Secretary-General of HUMUN IV. This conference has meant a lot to me, and to a lot of other people who have been involved with it. In the past three editions, I have gone from an ACD to a USG to becoming Secretary-General and I have come to cherish every single one of those experiences. HUMUN is a place where having actually productive conversations is prioritized above all else. I hope that you spend your time here, actually trying to learn, grow and become better equipped to live in a world that needs critical thought. Our commitment to making this conference about more than just winning is not a gimmick, we take a lot of pride in ensuring that all of you gain something from your committees. The most valuable thing you can take away from this conference is not a trophy, it's the ability to look back on your time here and remember actually having learned something. The majority of our current EC have been where you are now, I think that fact alone speaks volumes to the kind of impact this conference has on people. My only request to you is to respect yourself and the people around you. Don't be afraid to ask for help, and don't make anyone feel worse if they need help.

Best,
Mahad Akbar
Secretary-General,
HUMUN IV.

HAFSA KHURRAM

UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERAL

Dear Delegates,

I am a sophomore at Habib University's Dhanani School of Sciences, majoring in Computer Science. It is my honor to be serving as Under-Secretary-General at this year's edition of HUMUN for SOCHUM and PNA.

The world as we inherit it is plagued with problems and potential, with humanity striving to solve the former and exploit the latter. But the global community as we know it coming from all corners of the world across lines they once wrote fables about crossing, disagrees on how to approach both of these. It is the art of diplomacy that helps us to reach a consensus on these and to understand each other when we don't, we have seen with unanimous goals like SDGs, etc that a lot of what humanity wants to achieve is similar if not the same. At HUMUN this year we hope that you witness and learn the art of diplomacy to be implemented not only within your future roles as leaders but also within your current roles as students of the world.

I hope you have a great time at HUMUN both learning and practicing new skills. I look forward to seeing you at the conference with good research and positive attitudes.

Looking forward to an amazing conference,

Hafsa Khurram
Under-Secretary-General

MESSAGE FROM THE COMMITTEE DIRECTOR

YELMAZ MUJTABA

COMMITTEE GENERAL

Greetings, Delegates!

It is a great honour to chair PNA at the fourth iteration of Habib Model United Nations. For this iteration of PNA, we looked towards the rising problems of Pakistan. Therefore, we are looking to discuss two topics that are fundamental to Pakistan's political and economic climate.

In light of the recent economic crisis and political conflicts that challenge human rights and minorities, the committee chairs demand focus on the structural flaws and managerial issues that plague the country.

It is of utmost importance that you carefully, thoughtfully, and responsibly deliberate on the study guide. Use credible resources for your research, and do justice to the people you're preparing to represent.
Your interest in the subsequent topics should be apparent in your research.

One important pillar of HUMUN IV is to give you an enriching academic experience. And to fulfil that promise, you must debate under an equitable framework. This is both a burden and responsibility that will be your job to fulfill.

MESSAGE FROM THE COMMITTEE DIRECTOR

ANZAL ABBAS JAFFARI

COMMITTEE DIRECTOR

Adaab,

My association with HUMUN continues since its inception. The primary goal of HUMUN founders was to make a positive impact in the debating culture by promoting inclusivity and academic integrity. Therefore, in HUMUN I, we had CPEC as the only specialized committee debating on national issues instead of PNA. It was in HUMUN II that we introduced PNA for the first time with the aim of inspiring a positive change in PNA's legacy across the debating circuits. While we were forming the committee, I felt that this committee was looked down upon in the overall debating circuit because of a 'certain' culture that prevails in our actual legislative bodies which apparently does not allow PNA to qualify as 'academic'. In my opinion, this particular view emerges from a non-critical reflection of Pakistan's democracy in general, and our political behaviour in particular. I feel in the absence of student unions and other democratic forums for the young people in this country debating bodies like PNA, National Youth Assembly and etc. can play a significant role in educating and mobilizing the youth in Pakistan on national issues. Apart from maintaining and improving the quality of debate in PNA, my primary goal is to help all the delegates understand the importance of the institution of parliament and political parties. We can never make parliament stronger without making our political parties better democratic institutions. Thus, all the committee directors will be looking forward to evaluating the delegates on their ability to manage/ balance the interest of his/her political party and the assembly. I eagerly look forward to welcoming you all to HUMUN IV!

MESSAGE FROM THE COMMITTEE DIRECTOR

MARKHAN MUSHTAQUE

COMMITTEE DIRECTOR

I hope this finds you in good spirits. First and foremostly, writing this itself is a massive honour for me. Having been closely affiliated with HUMUN IV in various different capacities since my time here at Habib University, I can assure you that the three-day journey that you are about to embark on is going to be exhilarating, illuminating, and truly momentous in all its aspects. Three years ago, when I started my HUMUN journey as a volunteer, I never perceived myself as a committee director for the very same conference, two iterations down the road. But through the utmost commitment of the people responsible for its academic integrity, and through their dedication towards ensuring that this platform gives every single person involved a place to grow, and nurture their ambitions, it became possible, for me, and numerous other people around me who were far away from being at the position that we are today.

This year, for Pakistan National Assembly, the topics were very carefully curated and designed in order to help the delegates get a better grasp of the most pressing issues of Pakistan, and help them come up with solutions, that are not just efficient but would also sustain in the longer run, and the years of progression to come. The aim for this year's committee wasn't just to give you all the grounds for a competitive, and challenging debate, but to help you all get a better apprehension over matters that aren't commonly spoken about in youth circles, and educational institutes at grass root levels.

Your responsibility this year, is to not just come prepared to win the debate, and earn yourself accolades, but rather to challenge yourself into gaining pieces of knowledge, and respecting perspectives that you were previously unfamiliar with. Come prepared, and be respectful. Show that you are keen to learn, and fight for it. I look forward to meeting you all at HUMUN IV, virtually. Best of luck!

MESSAGE FROM THE COMMITTEE DIRECTOR

ANIQA KHAN
COMMITTEE DIRECTOR

Hey guys!

My name is Aniqa Khan, and I'm a sophomore at Habib University where I'm majoring in Social Development and Policy. To be honest with you, I have often been described as an apolitical person, but my degree has encouraged me to be active citizen of this country, and speak up for what I stand for.
As the director of PNA, I expect everyone joining this committee to be passionate about making a change and having a logical approach towards solving the problems of this country, as well as being well-informed of the rules and decorum of the Parliament. This year's study guide has been prepared with a lot of effort, and I hope it will motivate you to give all your efforts in the committee.
While I am a stickler for well-prepared speeches and following procedure, I believe MUNs are a great place to work on your public speaking skills. If anyone of you leave my committee with increased self-confidence about presenting your ideas and interacting with people, I will consider my purpose as a chair fulfilled.

Cheers!

COMMITTEE OVERVIEW & MANDATE

Pakistan National Assembly (PNA), a legislative body that represents the citizens of Pakistan at the national level, is deployed per rules and regulations of the original National Assembly of Pakistan. Like its original institution, the committee will comprise the lower house of parliament. The house comprises of 342 members, out of which 272 are filled by directly elected members whereas, the rest 70 seats are reserved or indirectly elected. Out of 70 seats, 60 reserved seats are for women while the rest of them are for the religious minorities. Each party gets one reserved seat for every 4 seats that they win in the general elections. The overall tenure of the National Assembly, as per the constitution, is five years.

With a total of 342 members, the representatives are democratically elected to discuss the country's issues. The committee grants equal representation to all individuals and encourages every member to legislate and formulate policies addressing the most oppressing issues of Pakistan. Any member of the assembly can present a legislation, however, it requires ana approval of two thirds of the majority of assembly to get it passed.

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TOPIC A: REFORMING PAKISTAN'S POLICE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT STRUCTURE

Introduction :

An important part of any sovereign state is its criminal justice system, one of the main components of which happens to be the law enforcement system. To put it simply, the law enforcement system is the terminology that exists to best describe the agencies and the existing sub-system of the government that helps enforce the laws and regulations and maintain public decorum. Law enforcement agencies are also responsible for punishing the culprits behind unlawful acts. In the context of Pakistan, law enforcement agencies happen to be an integral and important core of the civil service of Pakistan. The law enforcement agencies of Pakistan are further divided into three divisions namely the federal Police, the provincial Police for all four provinces, and the territorial Police for Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan.

Federal/National Division	Provincial Division	Territorial Division
Airports Security Force	Counter-Terrorism Department	Capital Territory Police Islamabad
Anti-Narcotics Force	Balochistan Police	Azad Kashmir Police
Federal Investigation Agency	Balochistan Levies	Gilgit Baltistan Police
Frontier Constabulary	KPK Police	
National Highways and Motorway Police	Reserve Frontier Police KPK	
National Police Academy	Special Combat Unit KPK	
Pakistan Coast Guard	Khasadar Forces KPK	
Pakistan Railways Police	KPK Levies	
Pakistan Customs	Punjab Police	

Directorate General of Intelligence and Investigation	Dolphin Force Punjab Elite Police Punjab	
Gilgit Baltistan Scouts	Police Qaumi Razakars	
Pakistan Rangers	Punjab Highway Patrol	
Frontier Corps	Punjab Prisons	
	Sindh Police	
	The Special Security Unit	

Source: National Police Bureau - Ministry of Interior, Government of Pakistan

History of the Police Acts:

Police Act of 1861

After the series of brutal events in 1857, the aim of the British colonizers was to keep the population under control by exercising strict laws. One way to do so was to recruit police officers and have firm control over them to contain any possible rebellion by the colonized to achieve self-government. The idea of Police for the British was of an organization that is 'for keeping the natives on a tight leash' by being 'a public-frightening organization, not a public-friendly agency' (Suddle, n.d, p.94). Hence the Police act of 1861 was introduced with the system of dual authority. As per the system, apart from the federal control, 'the District Superintendent was simultaneously subjected to the operational – lateral – control of the District Magistrate' (Suddle, n.d, p.95). In addition to the dual control, the posting, recruitments and transfer of the police officers were under the control of the civil bureaucracy (Human Rights Watch, 2016, p.10).The dual control of the Police gave a clear opportunity for the District Magistrate to exploit the powers in situations of political unrest or demonstrations, which would often end up in violent acts (Suddle, n.d, p.98). The exploitation of power in the department of Police also created a divide in terms of creating two main categories i.e., the low ranked constables who were not professionally trained in handling the operational part of the job while the other category was of the Elite European officers who were exercising control through their authority over others (Human Rights Watch, 2009, p.19). This further resulted in unfair treatment of the lower-ranked officers as well as the deterioration of their power and living conditions.

Post-independence, Pakistan had adopted the Police Act of 1861; however, over the years, it was amended or at times repealed, depending on the situation of the region.

Police Order of 2002

The Police Act of 1861 was used for years with amendments as the process of proper police reforms has generally been slow in the country. It was until 1999, during the period of General Pervaiz Musharraf's rule, National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) formed a focus group that comprised of senior police officers that worked on the Police reforms. Based on the recommendation of the focal group, 'the Police Order, 2002 was promulgated by General Pervez Musharraf and given protection under the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Act, 2003' (HRCP, 2010, p.19). The Police Order (2002) abolished the clause related to the system of dual control over the Police of the Police Act of 1861. It supported the accountability of the Police to the public to ensure that trust is built among the population. The Order also made an attempt at providing the Police with 'operational autonomy and freedom from illegitimate political interference' so that it can improve the quality of its investigation and also prove its competency (HRCP, 2010, p.19). The Order also proposed a structure to the organization and proposed criteria for the recruitment of trained staff. Overall, the Police Order of 2002 is considered to be an attempt at changing the narrative about Police 'from an instrument of repression to public service' (Babakhel, 2020). The Order had received its fair share of criticism and feedback from the people in power. There were major concerns by the provincial governments in the implementation of the Order as they weren't consulted during its formation. As a result of an influx of pressure, several amendments were made to the act with time.

Regarding the amendments, it is widely believed that such changes 'diluted the operational autonomy of the police and rendered the external bodies ineffective and dependent on the government of the day' (HRCP, 2010, p.19). Due to these amendments, the authority of the provincial Police was overlooked by the head of the province, i.e., the chief minister. Along with that, one of the clauses of the Police Code of 2002 mentioned that the appointment of the Provincial Police Officer (PPO) would be done by a collaboration between the provincial government, Federal government and the National Public Safety Commissions (NPSC) to ensure the merit of the appointed candidate. However, through the amendment in 2004, the National Public Safety Commissions (NPSC) was removed from the collaboration and hence it further increased the possibilities of political interference in the appointment (Human Rights Watch, 2016, p.15).

Hence the Police order of 2002 has been through multiple changes carried out by various provinces to cater to their needs of the time. A major chain of changes was made to the order post the implementation of the 18th amendment as it decentralized the power from the federal government.

The division under the 18th amendment and its after-effects

At the time of independence, the 1861 Police Act was being implemented by Pakistan which was drafted by the British during the colonial rule (Khawaja, 2020). The act supported the idea of 'an arbitrary rule over the local people by having control over the police' and also provided a 'system of dual authority over the police' (Khawaja, 2020, p.42). Since then, there has been a constant need for amendments in the acts to specify the functions and control of the Police in the country.
It was in 2002 when former President Musharraf introduced reforms to the police act by introducing Police Order 2002 which focused on the organizational structure and functions of the Police while eliminating the system of dual authority and introducing the mechanisms of public accountability (Khawaja, 2020, p.43). The Order enforced the 'superintendence of provincial police establishments in the hands of provincial governments' (Khawaja, 2020, p.44). Since a non-democratic body introduced the act, it received its share of backlash.

A few years later, the 18th amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan was passed in 2010 with 102 amendments to the existing or new provisions of the Constitution. Following the amendment, the devolution of power at the federal end has provided the provinces with autonomy to deal with their subjects. The amendment divided the subjects among the provinces and the Federation as well as abolished the concurrent Legislative lists.
Among the many changes made to the Constitution, two of the amendments i.e., articles 142 and 143 changed the dynamics regarding subjects of criminal law, criminal procedure and evidence among the provinces and the federal region. As per the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, the articles state;

142. Subject-matter of Federal and Provincial laws.—Subject to the Constitution
(a)[Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] shall have exclusive power to make laws with respect to any matter in the Federal Legislative List;

[(b) Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and a Provincial Assembly shall have the power to make laws with respect to criminal law, criminal procedure and evidence.]

[(c) Subject to paragraph (b), a Provincial Assembly shall, and Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) shall not, have the power to make laws with respect to any matter not enumerated in the Federal Legislative List.]

[(d) Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) shall have exclusive power to make laws with respect to all matters pertaining to such areas in the Federation as are not included in any Province.]
Article 143: Inconsistency between Federal and Provincial law
If any provision of an Act of a Provincial Assembly is repugnant to any provision of an Act of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) which Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) is competent to enact, then the Act of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament), whether passed before or after the Act of the Provincial Assembly, shall prevail and the Act of the Provincial Assembly shall, to the extent of the repugnancy, be void.

Hence, the articles mentioned above give the power to the provinces to either make amendments to the previous act or by introducing completely different legislation on their end.

In the case of the police laws, post the eighteenth amendment, the subject of Police has been under the control of provinces. Sindh was the first one to put into practice a law formed by them, followed by Balochistan, Punjab and then Kyhberpakhtunkhwa, respectively (Adil, 2021). The Police Act followed by the provinces differ from each other as currently, Balochistan introduced the Balochistan Police Act 2011, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa enacted Police Act (PA) 2017; while recently Sindh introduced the Sindh (Repeal of the Police Act, 1861 and Revival of Police Order 2002) Amendment Act 2019 and Punjab adopted Punjab Police Order (Amendment) Act 2013 (Babakhel, 2020).
However, the division of power in this matter has often led to confusion as article 142 (b) of the Constitution of Pakistan (2010) states that the 'Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and a Provincial Assembly shall have the power to make laws with respect to criminal law, criminal procedure and evidence'. In addition to that, if there is any law mutually made by both the governments and there is any provision of the provincial act that is 'repugnant' to any provision of the federal government, then the act passed by the federal government will be followed (Khawaja, 2020, p.49).
The provinces have the primary responsibility of the maintenance of the public Order and crime; however, all the police officers join the force under the Civil Servants Act, which is recognized

by the Federal Government (Soofi, 2013). The rulings of the Supreme Court have often addressed the concurrency of this matter among the stakeholders. One such example is the judgment given by the Supreme Court in 2019 regarding the dismissal of the Sindh government's appeal against the Sindh High Court (SHC) verdict in former Sindh inspector general of Police (IGP) AD Khowaja's transfer case. The Supreme Court had overridden the ruling of the Sindh high court that stated Police as not a concurrent subject. As per the Supreme Court, 'police was a concurrent subject, falling well within the legislative and executive competence of the federation and provinces on issues relating to all aspects of crime and maintenance of public order' (Tribune, 2019). The court supported its stance by referring to the role of federal agencies such as FIA, NAB, ANF, Railways Police, the Pakistan Motorways Police and Frontier Constabulary in ensuring law and Order in provinces without relying on the provincial government (Tribune, 2019). As per the Supreme Court, it is crucial for both governments to collaborate when it comes to the appointment or transfers of the officers to senior positions or anything related to maintaining the law and order in this regard (Malik, 2019). Building on the argument, as a part of the three-judge bench led by former chief justice Mian Saqib Nisar, Justice Bandial announced that the 'police is a concurrent subject to the legislative and executive competence of the federation and the provinces in relation to the matters covered by Article 142(b) and Article 240 of the Constitution' (Malik, 2019).

Challenges for the Police

Since independence, the organizational structure of the law enforcement agencies has been under debate due to a variety of concerns. From the confusion over the power under the 18th amendment to the frequent change of acts on the provincial level, there has been a lack of clarity regarding the functions as well as overall neglect towards the performance of the forces. One of the major challenges being faced by the law enforcement agencies is the lack of resources and an insufficient number of officers. The provinces allocate the budget for the Police and hence there has been a disparity in the numbers. For example, The police department of Punjab requested a budget of Rs. 155 billion for the current year, however, they were only provided with Rs. 128 billion (Ilyas, 2021). The demand for an increase comes from the fact that ninety per cent of the budget allocated for the Police goes into providing the officers with salaries, and hence there is less amount left to actually work on the training of the staff and provide them with upgraded equipment (Ilyas, 2021). This further creates a burden when the Police are also expected to do the tasks that they have not been trained for and that too without providing upgraded resources. Apart from the Police, even the Federal Investigation Agency's (FIA) special investigation group that overlooks the matters of terrorist attacks doesn't have sufficient officials to continue the work (Abbas, 2011, p.07). In addition to the need for equipment, there is also a need to improve the living conditions of the officers as there is often discrimination among the seniors and juniors in this regard (Ilyas, 2021). Along with the needed budget, there is a need for transparency in terms of recruitment and expenditure to make the most out of the increased amount and also avoid the prevalence of corruption which is a very important issue in the department.

Apart from the infrastructural issues, there is a lack of uniformity among the forces throughout the provinces. Although the provinces have individually been following different Police Acts post the 18th amendment, the senior rank officers belonging to the Police Service of Pakistan (PSP), working in provinces, are still considered to be the employees of the federal government. Hence, as per the Constitution, the federal government has an upper hand when making decisions in this regard. This advantage to the federal government gives space for possible misuse of power in cases of rifts or personal benefits to the respective government (Abbas, 2011, p.08). In addition to these discrepancies, there is a lack of uniform training programs, distribution of resources among all the law enforcement agencies as well as the recruitment of the officers.

Due to these issues, the overall image of law enforcement agencies, especially the Police, is very politicized as well as unapproachable entities. The image of the force in this regard is due to the attachment of political and social agendas of the people in power. This idea is 'inherently connected to a legacy of colonial policing, in which the institution was designed and developed as a tool of repression — largely against those deemed to threaten state or elite interests' (Waseem, 2021). Hence a resultant concern is the lack of faith from the end of the public towards the Law enforcement agencies, which is one of the hindrances in maintaining the law and order.

Police Abuse

The image of Police as unapproachable or the fear attached to them is more vivid when the public is a witness to the 'history of police brutality, in the shape of police torture and extra-judicial killings' and numerous 'encounter killings' as well as the overall understanding of the 'Thaana culture' (Waseem, 2021). As per the report titled 'This crooked system-Police abuse and reform in Pakistan'(2016), the five most common forms of police abuse include the failure in registering or investigating crime; arbitrary arrest and detention; torture and other ill-treatment; extrajudicial killings; and infringement of basic rights (Human Rights Watch, 2016, p.03).

As per the report, for the Police to start the investigation of any case, the first step is to lodge a First Investigation Report (FIR). Due to the actual incidents as well as perceptions regarding Police asking for bribes, harassing the complainant and other such actions, there is an effect on the report of a crime in the country (Human Rights Watch, 2016, p.03). In addition to the prevalence of concerns regarding the procedures of filing complaints, there have been reports of Police misusing their power of arbitrary arrest to abuse or detain people. These people or the other arrested individual often go through ill-treatment during their custody. Torture is a very common model for the Police to get the confession or any other information and, in some cases, a way to get a bribe too. Such torture can be fatal as there are multiple reports of such incidents (Human Rights Watch, 2016, p.03).

As per the report titled 'This crooked system-Police abuse and reform in Pakistan'(2016), a lot of police officers have admitted that due to the constant pressure from the authorities or to make up for the poor progress, in any case, the practice of fake encounter killings are common. Considering the fact that the ratios of accountability of Police in this regard are low, the practice has prevailed over the years (Human Rights Watch, 2016, p.04). In addition to such behaviors, there has been a prevalence of insensitive behavior of the Police towards the victims, especially with sexually assaulted women as they try to indulge in victim-blaming.

Overall, the instances of Police Abuse and the exploitation of power at their end have often led to the infringement of the basic rights of the citizens. Therefore, it contributes to the negative perceptions attached to the department. The department of Police has been facing issues related to its administration and political interference, however, such behavior towards the public only contributes to the growth of mistrust towards the Police. Owing to such incidents, as per various surveys and reports, the department of Police is one of the least trusted, widely feared and complaint against institutions (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

The issues with the police reforms are often traced back to the colonial era as the approach of the colonizers towards the Police being that of 'a tool of repression' (Waseem, 2021). Over the years, there has been, to an extent, acknowledgement of the issues, however, the progress has been slow.

(Abbasi, 2019). Due to these developments and other similar issues, there have been several questions raised regarding the progress of the current government towards the reforms.

Police encounters:

A prevalent issue within policing, that the committee is expected to discuss is the abuse of police encounters as an encompassing term. According to (CITATION NEEDED) Police encounters is a term used to describe extrajudicial killings at the hands of law enforcement in Pakistan. Police Encounters were prominently used by personalities such as Rao Anwar, Senior Superintendent Police (Malir). According to (CITATION NEEDED), Anwar used police encounters to kill 444 civilians between 2011 and 2018. During the Ranger's operations in Karachi, starting in 2014, Rao Anwar's district alone had 186 encounters where 152 people died with a death rate of 79 per cent. According to (CITATION NEEDED) 3,345 people were killed in police encounters as of January 2019.

Pakistan Rangers, its Role and Executive Powers

Operating as a paramilitary regiment for Pakistan's peacekeeping and security, Pakistan Rangers is commissioned under the Interior Ministry. As of now, two-division of Rangers are operational in Sindh and Punjab. The primary role of the Rangers is to protect and secure the security parameters that are significant to the country's military defense and hold gravitas for the holistic safekeeping of the citizens. However, working jointly with the Pakistan Army, Rangers now exceed in their duties with overlooking internal provincial matters that are tied with the questions of terrorism, political unrest, and organized crimes. On a provincial level, Pakistan Rangers work in collaboration with the police forces but the concerns over hierarchies, areas of jurisdiction, and overriding decisions are a recurring issue. In the recent past, the Sindh regiment for Pakistan Rangers played a vital role in curbing down the terrorism-centric situaRecent developments towards the reforms

As a part of their manifesto, Pakistan Tehreek E Insaaf (PTI) promised to replicate the Police Act of 2017 that is being followed in Khyber Pakhtun Khwa (KPK) to depoliticize the department and also work towards improving the Law and order situation in the country.
Before coming into power in the 2018 elections, PTI had established a government in Khyber Pakhtun Khwa (KPK) where they passed the K-P Police Act of 2017 which is coined as ' as it is Pakistan's first-ever provincial legislation related to the police' (Mahmood, 2017). The government was lauded for adhering to the implementation of its agenda in this regard. Over the years, the act has been through amendments based on the needs of the time or the concerns of the authorities. The current government has been using it as an example to present their idea of reforms. As a part of their agenda, the government also introduced a Reforms Commission under the supervision of Nasir Durrani who was the former IGP KP (Abbasi, 2019). His selection was based on the work that he had done during his tenure under the former Pervaiz Khattak government in bringing reforms in the Police Department. However, due to the 'premature transfer of the then IGP Punjab Muhammad Tahir', Nasir Durrani resigned from the committee tion in Karachi that was laced with politically motivated targeted killings, demands of extortion, kidnapping for ransom, and microforms of terrorism.

The Pakistan Rangers Ordinance 1959 has given Pakistan Rangers a holistic operational power. Duri under Article 147 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the Government of Sindh has requisitioned Pakistan Rangers (Sindh) to continue to execute function (of an LEA) as per law and to help Sindh Police in maintaining Law and Order concerning the internal and external matters of the province. These authorities/requisitions are revalidated on a yearly basis. Under the new Anti-Terrorism Act of 1997, the Karachi Police Force has been given special powers (Pakistan Rangers Sindh)

According to Pakistan Rangers Ordinance 1959, functions assigned are as follows (sourced by Pakistan Rangers Sindh):

- Protection of personnel and property in border areas.
- Apprehension of persons unlawfully entering or going out of Pakistani territory.
- Organization of village defense in border areas.
- Prevention of smuggling.
- Collection of intelligence in border areas.
- Coordination of the activities of Police and other civil agencies in the prevention and de tection of crimes.
- Assistance of Police in the prevention and detection of crimes in border areas.
- Provision of reinforcement to Police for the maintenance of Law and Order, whenever, necessary.

Problems Associated with Pakistan Rangers and its Provincial Units

Pakistan Rangers has been accused of systematically weakening democratic structures by alleging the role of political leadership in uncontrolled corruption in the province of Sindh and exceeding its role as defined in the 1959 Ordinance.
In the recent past, Pakistan Rangers has shied away from providing the details of the investigation to the provincial government as per the law before raiding public offices.
Since Anti-Terrorism Act allows Rangers to arrest without a warrant, it becomes highly inconvenient to hold the paramilitary organization accountable for any of their investigation.
Due to the special prioritization of the Rangers and their program-specific training programs, in many cases, the provincial police forces has been rendered ineffective. Not only the Rangers has diminished the role of the local police force in the realm of security maintenance but has also created a discourse on questioning the legitimacy of the personnel.
It is also noteworthy to consider that the Rangers has a separate and private line of communication with the citizens through mass media channels such as radio shows, TV segments, and other forms of media such as movies.

Police Training, its Limitations, and Systematic Issues

1. According to both former and present police officials, one of the main reasons that investigating officers resort to torture is that they lack the necessary training and competency. The former CIA Special Projects Officer decried the current lack of police investigating capacity. "In police stations, investigation officers don't even have a good seating arrangement," he said. "Of course, many of them are unfamiliar with contemporary inquiry tools and tactics." The existing infrastructure that trains the potential police force of Pakistan lacks modern education on behavioral analysis, investigation, evidence collection, and crime scene preservation. Officers, who are deployed to the police on the basis of nepotism, do not go through necessary training and examination procedures which further ads to the incompetency of the police.

2. With the skill set of the local police personnel, it gets increasingly difficult for the LEAs to carry out investigations under strict budget constraints and resource allocation. Working under a stringent budget of as low as 10,000 PKR per case that too without the necessary technological infrastructure is something that is never incorporated in police training and relevant education.

3. Lack of sensitivity training, unawareness of questioning ethics and protocols, and the paucity of applying special techniques to minor-sensitive cases is huge problem with the existing police forces of Pakistan. Due to the systemic lack of prioritization by the higher authorities, cultural restraints, and personal biases, such issues are pronounced during the cases of s*x**l ass**lt, violence, r*ape, and other gendered threats. Not only a large number of cases are left inadequately and fairly reported, but many also do not get reported in the first place.

4. As the new and asymmetrical forms of terrorism and crimes emerge, the police education system of Pakistan lacks the required modification and adaptation. It is not to say that nuanced familiarity with the technological intervention, its use, and application is entirely missing from the policing structure. It is, however, reserved for the specialized task forces that are hardly harmonized with the local police officers on lower hierarchies. Gatekeeping newly techniques and resources is another massive issue that contributes to the inefficacy of the local police.

5. The lack of women police officers and consequently, their lack of training is another issue that needs immediate attention. Especially when the cases are gender-sensitive, the women personnel of the police often comes shorthanded and is gauged to misreport and misfile the information. The issue of lack of sensitivity training becomes prominent in settings like female prisoners and detention of minors, where the non-male personnel adopts torture as their only methodology to exert control as an authority.

Structural Issues: Corruption and Politicization in Police

One issue that holds extreme importance in this particular agenda is the characterization of the police force of Pakistan as a corrupt entity. The sheer extent of police corruption is most keenly shown by the National Corruption Perception Surveys that Transparency International conduct in Pakistan. From 2002 to 2010 the public identified the police as the most corrupt state organization in the country (Transparency International-Pakistan, 2011). The notions of justice and equality are obstructed by the Police when the mechanisms of an investigation are tipped in the favor of an entity that offers monetary (or other non-monetary benefits) incentives to the personnel. Because of the increased perceived threat faced by political, business, and media elites – and because these elites have access to the kind of influence and contacts stated above - such 'VIPs' receive significantly stronger levels of police protection than regular citizens could ever expect for. In the mainstream, this preferential treatment of the elites, fuelled by police corruption, is cited as the rise of VIP Culture. This reinforces the perception that police (and other security services) exist to serve the elite rather than provide security to the masses, weakening public trust in the police's ability to serve all residents equitably.

Former Inspector General of Police Zulfiqar Cheema, who has extensive field policing experience, stated when asked about the basic criteria of an SHO, "Two basic qualities required for police officers, whether they command the basic unit of the police station or a district or division, are integrity and effectiveness'' (Anjum, 2020). Some cops are honest but inefficient; they are likewise ineffective in the sphere of the law enforcement because they may make little contribution to the system. Some are effective but corrupt; such rogues should not be allowed to work at police stations." In our context, this statement becomes integral in dissecting the rise of Thana Culture that identifies police stations as a centre of corruption that is facilitated by the higher-ups and widely practiced by the personnel on hierarchical margins.

The extent of corruption has no particular scale- from escaping police investigation for politically motivated murder to hit and run cases, there are a plethora of cases that were 'closed' on the basis of bribery. In Thana Culture, whereas accountability checks are present and are also used routinely, the penalties are often overturned after unexplained 'internal investigations.' In the same context, there are also uncountable instances of police making unfair demands from the public for free resources (such as food) as part of their 'service' and duty to public safety. Upon the refusal by the public, either the police induce an unwarranted case on an individual or the entity that often results in torture or extrajudicial locking up or the police creates a wave of chaos or disruption in the daily (or commercial) conduct of that entity.

On a more profound level, the corruption of police also upholds the notion of custodial killings as a tool to obstruct justice. Such custodial killings are charged with political gains and is a direct result of the political patronage of police, an idea that will be discussed later in the guide.

The corruption and politicization of the police in Pakistan happen on 6 broad and holistic levels:

1. Patronage and loyalty (recruitment is based on connections and a patrimonial bureaucracy);

2. Unprofessionalism (not performing duties correctly and treason) and lack of motivation (no noble cause or sense of mission);

3. Bribery and extortion (the alleged cause is low pay to supplement income which is culturally accepted, but this is also due to the lack of police oversight and high solidarity);

4. Violence and protection rackets (demanding payments for vendors to continue selling produce or operating businesses);

5. Direct involvement and protection of drug-related activities (involves kickbacks paid to senior officers to continue working in high drug-producing areas); and

6. Payment for posts (internal payoffs to secure positions).

In the recent political history of Pakistan, almost all political parties have contested in elections with a promise of police reform in their mandate. However, such efforts are either not institutionalized or any sort of perceived reform is weapon zed by political agents to garner political incentives. The notion of 'police protection' becomes vital here as illicit engagement of the political parties, such as silencing the victims, custodial killings, preferential treatment in prisons, use of violence and torture, malicious intervention in elections, etc., comes from direct patronage. Under the influence of a certain political party or ideology, police limit their role to only those who are not an 'inconvenience' for their loyal higher-ups. Both the provincial and federal administrations have used favoritism to make transfers and post orders of police officers, disregarding merit and service record.

It is also imperative to notice that despite the 'push' for police reforms from the political front, the political parties, which assume the positions of government and opposition, have historically obstructed any legislative measure to institutionalize any reforms. Because of the blurred division of the police, as an LEA, and the conduct of a public officer (to facilitate governance) that political agendas are carried forward with the aid of the police. Arbitrary posting of provincial IGs is evidence of micromanaging constituency politics through police control. Arbitrary decision-making in the appointment and postings of police chief demoralizes the forces under their command, creates a domino effect of corruption, and is a major contributor to the police's overall incompetency. It is well known that IGPs are appointed without due process of meritocracy- each appointment is made in haste considering the existing political climate with no concrete provision on the duration of the appointment. The officers experience unease as a result of this unpredictably fragile organization, which extends to the lower-tier positions in the police force.

Questions a Resolution Must Answer (QARMA)

1. Define the scope of article 142 and 143

2. How to achieve uniformity in the structure of Police while ensuring a smooth relationship between the provinces and federal government.

3. To what extent should the government be involved in the working of the police departments?

4. What changes are needed in the existing police acts followed by the provinces

5. How the changes in the Police Acts will affect the government on provincial and federal levels.

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TOPIC B: NATIONAL ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK: CURRENT STATUS OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND ECONOMIC FUTURE

Introduction :

Pakistan's economy can be primarily divided into three key sectors: agriculture, industry, and services. All three industries are interdependent vis-à-vis revenue, but also affect each other in terms of production and exports.

As an agrarian country, Pakistan's agriculture industry is a key player in the overall economy. It contributes 18.9 percent to GDP and employs 42.3% of the labour force, as well as being an important source of foreign exchange and export (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2017-2018). The agricultural sector is also heavily dependent on natural resources like water, and fertile land, and these diminishing resources are often the cause of friction between local workers and the government. The current government is encouraging development in this sector by diversifying crops, as well as introducing biotechnology to enhance crop quality. While these improvements have improved the performance of the agricultural sector, sustainable solutions are imminent if present levels of growth wish to be maintained.

The industry sector is also intricately connected with the agriculture and services sector, and is responsible for providing energy and technology for the country's production and exports. Under the industry umbrella, Pakistan is host to a multitude of energy sources like electricity, gas, and hydro-power, as well as organizational behemoths like K-Electric and Sui Gas. These sources are channeled by hundreds of large-scale and small-scale industries that produce an array of goods and services. To put things into perspective, Pakistan's industry sector consumed 27% of the energy share in FY 2019 (Abbasi, 2020). This is a substantial share, and is an ever-growing demand.

The services sector is a rapidly expanding section of Pakistan's economy, and has witnessed exponential growth, especially after the global pandemic. While this industry may not be the core focus for the topic of natural resources, it is important to understand the contribution of this sector on a larger scale in terms of employment and revenue generation.

Current policies:

As a developing nation, Pakistan's primary focus is on sustainable growth and expansion to accommodate the growing population. However, the country is also heavily dependent on natural resources like gas and oil. Squandering these resources may result in a stagnant economy, and there is an urgent need to use renewable resources so as to balance the amount of natural raw material used.

The agricultural sector is plagued with many problems. The rate of technological advancements is low, and limited investment in livestock and infrastructure has given way for low-quality crops. Since export is a major source of income, high-quality crops are rarely distributed in Pakistan, instead sent off to other countries. Not only does this leave a smaller portion for the local population, the substandard quality of these crops can also often cause health problems. The water used for irrigation is often polluted with waste material, and has high levels of chemicals

The impending consequences of climate change on Pakistan's agriculture also pose a serious problem that needs to be acutely managed before drastic measures are forced. Higher predicted rainfall is often perceived to be a viable solution but the variability in weather is making agriculture unpredictable for the future. Coastal areas like Sindh are also prone to salinity issues due to exploitation of fresh groundwater and incorrect tubing methods. Fertile land is an invaluable natural resource, and mismanagement may force Pakistan out from being an influential player in wheat and fruit export. Pakistan also has a water storage capacity of roughly 10% of the country's available water resources which will make it increasingly difficult to sustain crops during possible periods of drought. This is made worse by the mismanagement, considering that 95% of water in Pakistan is diverted towards agriculture through its extensive canal system but half of this water is wasted (WWF).

Impact of COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic has severely affected the industry. The industry sector went into an energy shock, and the recovery period has been slow. There was a steep decline in demand, given the closure of factories and offices, and 90% of all firms reported a negative impact on revenue (UNIDO, 2021). The pandemic also caused a decrease in demand and production. The reduced cash flow occurring from the lowered production has caused an energy shock, causing the industry sector to halt. International border closures caused new challenges for the country, barricading exports and contracting Pakistan's economy. Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) also took a hit since the pandemic affected the level of export orders firms received, and low in-person attendance resulted in many unfinished orders that were not delivered on time. Most SMEs run on a cash-credit cycle, which was hampered by the pandemic causing firms to go bankrupt, or worse, go deep into loans. The industrial sector also struggled to obtain raw materials due to the pandemic. Containment policies by the government uprooted the supply chains for many firms who sourced their raw materials from local vendors, but international border closures also disrupted imports like palm oil from Malaysia or medicinal input from Italy.

The agricultural department also took a significant hit. The Asian Development Bank (ADP) surveyed more than 400 farmers for a study brief, and reported that 22% of the surveyed households had a loss in income because of the pandemic. Fortunately, the wheat harvests were not negatively affected, but the supply chain for perishable goods such as fruits, vegetables, and milk took a turn for the worse.Since farmers' earnings were much lower this

Natural resource scarcity

While Pakistan may be rich in mineral resources like coal and gas, political conflicts and wavering economic policies have had adverse ramifications. At present, the country is facing a severe gas and electricity shortage which cascades into the agriculture and industrial sectors, putting pressure on the economy.
About $250 million of textiles exports were lost last month after mills in Punjab were forced to shut for 15 days due to the gas shortage (Ann Koh, 2022). Textiles are a major form of income for the economy, and government data estimates that the $250 million probably amounted to around 20% of Pakistan's textiles exports last month. Domestic users are also suffering due to this shortage, with many areas in Sindh and Balochistan being affected, particularly localities such as Orangi Town, Korangi, and Lyari. Representatives of Sui Southern Gas Company (SSGC) have stated that the shortage is merely due to a spike in demand, although data has shown that Pakistan's natural gas fields are seeing a depletion of about 9% each year (Al-Jazeera) which can be a problem in future years. At present, Pakistan faces a gas supply gap of 1,300mmfcd. Almost 10 foreign companies have left Pakistan in recent years because of bad policies and bureaucratic hurdles, resulting in declining exploration activities and no new important discoveries in the last decade and more. (Dawn, 2021)

Land scarcity is another rising problem for the country. 40% of Pakistan's total land area is arable land, with 90% of the land situated near the Indus River in Punjab and Sindh. 25% of the irrigated land is plagued with salinity, with 1.4 million hectares have been reduced to uncultivable land. Imprudent agricultural practices have caused heavy soil erosion, with deforestation and overgrazing causing lowered reservoir levels, affecting the potential to generate hydro-power or use water for irrigation. Many people from rural areas have turned to raising livestock as well, but this also disrupts the natural balance. Due to the overflowing number of animals, livestock populations have contributed to soil erosion and diminishing water resources.

Another pertinent cause of the environmental damage is the errant water usage, which adds to the salinity and soil erosion. However, this ignorance is not only on the part of famers and users, but is also due to the unplanned irrigation system and incomprehensive land planning. For areas that do not have sufficient water, the water from aquifers is often diverted towards domestic supply rather than being used for irrigation. There has also been significant growth in the private-sector, yet again adding pressure to an already stressed resource. Many major cities like Karachi either depend on tube wells, or private tanker systems for their water. Currently, only 60% of the population has access to municipal water and 85% of this access is limited to urban areas. The water from tube wells however, is not entirely clean either. The sewage systems in Pakistan are limited in number, and they are extremely under-maintained. This often results in contaminated water entering the irrigation canals, which has a negative effect on the crops and the soil, as well as the individuals who consume this water or use it for household purposes. Since there is not a check-and-balance by government authorities, many industries also dump toxic waste into open canals or drains which seeps into tube wells and aquifers (World Bank).

Since water is an essential resource, the government has been actively involved in trying to improve the water situation. In 2012, the PPP government initiated the Gomal Dam project. This included building a system of canal networks that was 256-km long and provided irrigation all year round. This also included a flood protection bund that was financed by USAID in 2016. By providing permanent irrigation, this project vastly improved the quality of crops in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region. It created multiple jobs in construction and maintenance, as well as improving food security and trade. The USAID also financed another project known as the Satpara Dam near Skardu in Gilgit-Baltistan in 2012. This was a $19.75 million project and built a network of dams across 15000 acres to improve agricultural production. This was followed by further donations by USAID for agricultural development, given the efficient water system that Satpara Dam provided (USAID, 2018).

However, the Pakistani government is not new to receiving donations for projects that remain unfinished. For example, Nawaz Sharif laid the foundations for the Diamer Bhasha Dam in 1998. This project was estimated to be $13.368 billion, and promised millions of jobs for local workers, as well as being appealing to construction stakeholders. Unfortunately, this project is yet to be completed. It was originally planned to be built in Northern Pakistan, but the site of construction has received controversy due to land disputes between GB and Kashmir. Projects like the one aforementioned can be risky, since it involves investing money into unfinished projects thereby raising questions about the credibility of the project, as well as the government that received the grant.

Pakistan's mineral resources are untapped, but there is slow progress being made. The mineral manufacturing sector's main export is cement and marble, which uses local limestone. Other minerals mined in Pakistan include gypsum, sulphur and zinc. In 2013, marble exports made up 9.75% of the country's exports (Renaud 2015). Many individuals also partake in informal artisanal mining operations. While this can be a good source of income, informal mining projects are often dismissive of SOPs and can be hazardous for employees, as well as causing environmental damage. To encourage business, UNDP initiated a four-year Decentralization and Local Governance program which entails information about natural resources and sustainable development for potential investors.

After recognizing the potential of mineral resources, the National Mineral Policy (NMP) was updated in 2013 to accommodate new entries into the industry. The policy bifurcated the industry into small-scale and large-scale industries. For small scale industries, three types of licenses were awarded, namely mineral permit, exploration license, and a mining lease. Subsequently, the large-scale industries had four categories of licenses: reconnaissance license; exploration license; mineral deposit retention license, along with a mining lease. This allows private corporations to own and produce non-fuel minerals. This policy also made advancements in sustainable environmental practices. Companies who procure a license under the NMP are required to conduct audits and comply with the national environmental law. Companies found breaching any of the requirements from the NMP will have their license revoked, as well as being subjected to significant penalties. This is an appreciative step, as it tries to recover the legal gaps that the mining industry has long suffered from.

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IMF policies shaping the current progress:

The International Monetary Fund is an international body consisting of 190 countries established by the United Nations itself. Though IMF was created for a social security net for countries with financial troubles to discourage poverty and conflict it is also heavily criticized for its recommendations and loan conditions that are typically uniform across the board not tailored to a country's individual needs often limiting the country's economic growth and places then by extension a hurdle on the road to self-dependency. Similar debates about the IMF have continued within Pakistan with the government being heavily criticized every time an IMF loan is acquired. But the brunt of the impact of these conditions is often faced by the industries of the country in question as it significantly impacts the policy making of the government in terms of their financial plans.

The conditions the IMF places on borrowing countries are divided into four categories:

1. Prior actions:

These are actions a country takes prior to a review being taken place this makes sure that the country is financially capable of undergoing the program to restore its econo my. Examples of such policies could be the elimination of price controls and budget consistency with the fiscal framework.

2. Quantitative performance criteria (QPCs):

These are typically quantifiable policy agreements leaders of said countries can make with reference to their financial plans. This metric can be assessed using different economic variables and is a direct track of the country's progress. Examples of this may be policies like a cap on government borrowing.

3. Indicative targets (ITs):

When the economic conditions are uncertain a country may then be assessed based on indicative targets. With modifications, these may turn into a QPC instead and this is typically done when economic conditions become more certain. Examples of ITs may include the minimum level of the general government primary balance.

4. Structural benchmarks (SBs):

These identifiers are usually not quantifiable but are just as important to make sure that the country is on track for the economic progress required to make sure the loans can be repaid and financial stability is found. Examples of SBs may include improving financial sector operations.

("IMF Conditionality")

Pakistan has been acquiring loans from the IMF since the late 1980s making it increasingly more in debt to the organization. While the country's current prime minister ran a campaign including promises to not return to the IMF engaging both the country's religious and economic census in 2018, Khan returned to the IMF for loans. While Pakistan has a close relationship with China in terms of industry development, China and the IMF do not enjoy the same relationship, due to the IMF's interrogation of Dar regarding the current Chinese loans and how Pakistan is to deal with them. (Husain) With the 1 billion+ bailout approval approaching in January in light of the pandemic, Pakistan will once again be approaching the IMF. The current government is also required to pass a mini-budget as a prerequisite for said loan. Despite the PTI government enjoying a majority, the national assembly was still unable to pass the mini-budget. The government maintains that the budget will be passed within this month only. The opposition including prominent political parties like PML-N and PPP are opposing the mini-budget a spokesperson of PML-N claiming that the budget is dictated by the IMF and will infringe upon the country's fiscal sovereignty. This loan, if approved, won't be the PTI government's first IMF bailout with the government having already taken a 6-billion-dollar 3-year loan in July of 2019 before the pandemic hit. This becomes even more critical with the government having maintained as far as in 2018 that Pakistan might not need to go to the IMF at all and can instead rely on other allies for economic support and focus on other policies to relieve the country of the financial pressure. (Zaafir) The passing of this budget is even more critical when the government is facing a potential confidence vote for the prime minister given the inability of the government to pass the budget. (Aamir)

Questions a Resolution Must Answer (QARMA)

1. Assess the current policies of the government towards natural resource scarcity.

2. How is natural resource scarcity affecting the lives of the public?

3. How much of a strain has COVID-19 put on the industry and economy?

4. To what extent is efficient resource allocation possible for a sustainable future?

5. Why is Pakistan currently struggling to equally distribute resources across rural and urban areas?

6. Are IMF policies effective in giving the economy relief?

7. What does the future look like in terms of scarcity and economic debt?

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