

# Open Minds

Role of Islam  
in an  
Effective  
State

Economic  
Development

Democracy  
and  
Rule of Law

Human  
Rights

Causes &  
Consequences  
of Extremism  
and  
Solutions

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

INSTITUTE FOR  
WAR & PEACE REPORTING



iwpr.net

Institute for War & Peace Reporting IWPR ([www.iwpr.net](http://www.iwpr.net)) is an independent, non-profit organization focused on building peace and democracy through free and fair media. With nearly 20 years' experience, IWPR works on the ground in more than 20 transitional countries building local capacity, establishing local institutions, and supporting practical training and information programmes to build civil society and the rule of law. IWPR is well-known for forging mutually beneficial partnerships between local media and NGOs and for building reliable and sustainable networks across state and ethnic lines. IWPR undertakes practical journalist training projects.

IWPR is registered as a charity in the United Kingdom; in the United States as a not-for-profit organization; and as a charitable foundation in The Netherlands.

Copyright: Institute for War & Peace Reporting

Published: October 2011  
Islamabad, Pakistan

Published by:

**INSTITUTE FOR  
WAR & PEACE REPORTING**



No. 5, BLOCK 16, PHA APARTMENTS, G-7/1  
ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN.  
Tel: +92 (0)51 220 4236: [www.iwpr.net](http://www.iwpr.net)

# Contents

<b>Foreword</b> .....	01
<b>Chapter 1: Economic Development</b> .....	03
<b>Introduction</b> .....	05
<b>1. What is Economic Development</b> .....	05
Economic development- A historical perspective.....	05
Defining development.....	05
Objectives of development.....	06
<b>2. Economic Development Indicators</b> .....	07
Indicators of economic growth.....	07
Income-based classification of countries.....	07
The emergence of the Human Development Index (HDI).....	08
<b>3. State of Economic Development in Pakistan</b> .....	09
Pakistan's GDP Growth Rate.....	09
Factors contributing to a low GDP Growth Rate in Pakistan.....	09
Pakistan's per capita income.....	09
Literacy in Pakistan.....	09
The state of health in Pakistan.....	10
<b>4. Achieving Economic Development- A comparative analysis with other countries</b> .....	11
China's secret of success.....	11
Economic development in Malaysia.....	11
<b>Feedback exercises</b> .....	13
<b>Chapter 2: Democracy and Rule of Law</b> .....	15
<b>Introduction</b> .....	17
<b>1. What is Democracy?</b> .....	17
Defining Democracy.....	17
Origin of the concept of Democracy.....	17
Forms of Democracy.....	17
Characteristics of Democracy.....	19
<b>2. Institutions of Democracy and its Problems</b> .....	20
Institutions or elements of democracy.....	20
Problems of democracy.....	21
<b>3. Pakistan and Democracy</b> .....	23
State of democracy in Pakistan.....	23
The National Assembly.....	23
The Senate.....	24
Performance of present parliament from 2008 to date.....	24
A comparison between India and Pakistan.....	26

<b>4. Rule of Law and Good Governance</b> .....	27
Rule of law .....	27
Essential characteristics of rule of law .....	27
Good Governance .....	28
Outcomes of Good Governance .....	29
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	29
<b>Questions for discussion</b> .....	29
<b>Chapter 3: Human Rights</b> .....	31
<b>Introduction</b> .....	33
<b>1. Evolution and Development of Human Rights</b> .....	33
What are human rights? .....	33
Evolution of Human Rights .....	33
<b>2. Distinction and Classification of Human Rights</b> .....	35
Distinction of Nature of Rights .....	35
Classification of human rights .....	35
Minority rights .....	36
<b>3. Treaties and Conventions</b> .....	38
Universal Declaration of Human Rights .....	38
Treaties .....	38
Original Geneva Convention in 1864 .....	38
International organizations .....	38
Non-governmental Organizations .....	40
<b>4. Status of Human Rights in Pakistan</b> .....	41
Status of Pakistan on Human Rights Laws & Treaties .....	41
State of Human Rights in Pakistan .....	41
<b>Questions for discussion</b> .....	43
<b>Chapter 4: Role of Islam in an Effective State</b> .....	45
<b>Introduction</b> .....	47
<b>1. What is a state?</b> .....	47
Defining State .....	47
Types of states .....	47
The state and government .....	47
<b>2. Major Principles of Islamic Governance</b> .....	48
Islam and a state .....	48
Principles of Islamic Governance .....	48
<b>3. Fundamental Rights of Citizens in Islam</b> .....	51
<b>4. Islam and Democracy</b> .....	53
Islamic State of Medina .....	53
Consultation by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) with his companions .....	53
The Concept of Electoral College .....	53
Political Diversity in Islam .....	54

Conclusion.....	55
Questions for discussion.....	55
<b>Chapter 5: Causes &amp; Consequences of Extremism and Solutions..</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>1. What is extremism?.....</b>	<b>59</b>
Defining extremism.....	59
Sources of Extremism.....	59
Consequences of Extremism.....	60
<b>2. History and evolution of extremism in Pakistan.....</b>	<b>61</b>
Evolution of Extremism.....	61
Extremism in other countries Sri Lanka's example.....	61
<b>3. Causes of extremism and its implications on Pakistani society..</b>	<b>63</b>
Causes of extremism in Pakistan.....	63
Socio-economic Aspect.....	63
Religio-political Aspect.....	63
<b>4. Possible Solutions to Addressing extremism and Role of Media</b>	<b>66</b>
Solutions to Extremism.....	66
Role of media.....	67
<b>Feedback exercise.....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>Tables</b>	
1. Missing facilities in the government schools.....	10
2. Rural-urban divide of population in relation to education.....	10
3. Allocation of seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan.....	24
4. Allocation of seats in the senate of Pakistan.....	24
5. Acts passed by government of Pakistan since 2008.....	25



## Foreword

Open Minds project is the first such initiative of IWPR in Pakistan that directly addresses the extremist propaganda that fosters discord and negative impressions of the West, by offering a fact-based, analytical approach to discussing and disseminating information on critical societal issues.

Only around 50% of Pakistani students graduate from primary schools into middle and higher secondary schools, but these young people are the primary group for terrorist organisations' recruiting efforts. The target age groups (16-19) that are the focus of this project are also susceptible to the influence of those who wish to spread violent, extremist propaganda, and thus are in need of the kinds of interventions that will help them to develop independent thinking skills and a greater ability to analytically judge the 'information' they receive from others.

It is in this context that a briefing manual on current affairs has been designed for the vulnerable groups of adolescents in Pakistani public and private schools and madaris (religious schools) to offer them a different perspective from their conventional mode of learning. This briefing manual intends to build their capacity to demonstrate an improved skill in articulating their views on issues known to counter radicalization.

This briefing manual has been developed around five contemporary issues such as economic development; democracy & rule of law; human rights; role of Islam in an effective state and; causes & consequences of extremism and solutions.

The first chapter of this manual introduces the concept of economic development and offers a basic understanding of the economic development indicators; where Pakistan stands internationally and; how other countries achieved economic growth.

The next chapter attempts to elaborate the different aspects of democracy and rule of law and gives a quick overview of the state of democracy in Pakistan while the importance of rule of law and good governance has also been touched upon in this section.

The third chapter focuses on the evolution and development of human rights and lists down the key treaties and conventions adopted by the UN. It also highlights the state of human rights in Pakistan and its position on the human rights laws and treaties. A brief introduction of some prominent and active international and local human rights organizations has also been given in this chapter.

In the fourth chapter an attempt has been made to underscore the role of Islam in effective state. Some examples from the primeval history of Islamic governance have been referred to in this section to give the trainees an opportunity to explore the relationship between the Islamic and modern forms of governance.

The last and final chapter aims to explain the concept and forms of extremism; how it evolved; its implications on a Pakistani society and; the possible solutions to address extremism.

The production of this briefing manual has been **supported [in part] by a grant from the Open Society Foundations**. IWPR is grateful to the Foundations for their support.

### **Acknowledgements**

IWPR wishes to thank **Miss Nimrah Zubair** for developing the briefing papers on 'Economic development' and 'Causes & consequences of extremism and solutions'. Miss Zubair has co-authored a booklet on "Rebuilding Lives towards a Safer Pakistan" for UNDP Pakistan and worked for different development sector organizations.

IWPR also wishes to acknowledge the valuable contribution of **Mr. Imran Gul**, a freelance researcher, in the research and compilation of the studies on 'Role of Islam in an effective state', 'Democracy and rule of law' and 'Human rights'.

IWPR is grateful to its project partners, Peace Education And Development Foundation and Swat Youth Front for their role in the selection of the themes for this briefing manual.

### **Disclaimer**

The views, analysis and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this briefing manual are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the Institute for War & Peace Reporting or Open Society Foundations. IWPR has made every effort to ensure the correctness of the contents of this briefing manual and does not accept responsibility for any error or omission as it is not deliberate.





# ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT





## Introduction

The first section of this manual introduces the concept of economic development and what it entails. It then elaborates on the various indicators used internationally to gauge the economic prosperity of a country in terms of growth and human development. This is followed by a session on the state of economic development in Pakistan and where we stand internationally. The last session emphasizes on other countries' experiences in the Asian region to attain good economic development indicators and how we can benefit from their example.

### 1. What is Economic Development?

By the end of the discussion under this topic, the participants will be able to understand:

- The concept of economic development
- The concept of economic growth
- The difference between economic growth and development
- The primary objectives of attaining economic development

### Economic development - A historical perspective

Economic development of a country has traditionally been considered as synonymous to an annual and sustained increase of a country's national income or gross domestic product (GDP)<sup>1</sup>. In the past, therefore, the development of a country has been measured solely on the basis of its economic growth. Since the attainment of development was perceived as a purely economic phenomenon, the past witnessed a drastic shift from agricultural production to rapid industrialization as a guaranteed development strategy adopted by most developing nations<sup>2</sup>. This strategy to attain development through an overall increase in a country's GDP was

envisioned to be uniformly distributed among the common masses in the form of employment opportunities as well as widespread economic and social benefits of growth<sup>3</sup>.

The industrial revolution in the 1970s, although did contribute to economic growth of developing countries, did not change the standard of living of the common masses significantly<sup>4</sup>. When increase in economic growth of these countries did not lead to a subsequent improvement in the living standards of the people, the economic growth strategy was widely criticized. Measures of economic growth to determine the level of development in a country often become misleading. This is because the level of income that a country generates does not take into account the percentage of population that reaps its benefits. A small proportion of the total population might own a large proportion of wealth in the country, hence limiting the level of overall welfare of the majority of the population.

Lessons learned from the industrial revolution paved the way for a broader, all encompassing definition of the concept of development, instead of merely focusing on achieving economic growth as an end in itself<sup>5</sup>. While economic growth is indeed an essential component in the attainment of developmental goals of any country, it should not be given exclusive focus at the expense of other important determinants.

### Defining development

The United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development defines the concept of development as:

“...development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom<sup>6</sup>.”

1. Sen, Amartya. 1983. "Development: Which way now?" The Economic Journal, Vol. 93, No. 372. p.754  
 2. Todaro, Michael. 2002. Economic Development. p. 15  
 3. Todaro, Michael. 2002. Economic Development. p. 16  
 4. ibid  
 5. Todaro, Michael. 2002. Economic Development. p. 17  
 6. [Http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm](http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm)



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

In other words, the concept of development is a multi dimensional one, where economic development initiatives aim at raising the standard of living of people through policy interventions rather than a mere increase in the national income of a country<sup>7</sup>. These policy interventions include both economic and social interventions. Therefore, economic growth is one narrow aspect of the broader concept that economic development entails. The process of development ultimately results in equal access to opportunities for the common masses.

### Objectives of development

The concept of development incorporates three main objectives:

- i. To increase the availability of basic human needs such as food, shelter, health, etc<sup>8</sup>.
- ii. To raise the standard of living including higher incomes, more employment opportunities, better education, as well as the preservation of cultural values, which are not limited to the enhancement of material well-being, but also focus on improving self-esteem of individuals and nations<sup>9</sup>.
- iii. To expand the range of economic and social choices available to individuals and nations<sup>10</sup>.

The whole idea of economic development is to expand the range of available options for people. For example, whether they can live long, escape avoidable morbidity, be well nourished, be able to read and write and communicate, take part in literary pursuits, and so forth<sup>11</sup>.

---

7. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic\\_development](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_development)

8. Todaro, Michael. 2002. Economic Development. p. 23

9. ibid

10. ibid

11. Sen, Amartya. 1983. "Development: Which way now?" The Economic Journal, Vol. 93, No. 372. p.754

## 2. Economic Development Indicators

This section will enable the participants to:

- Understand what indicators are used to measure economic growth of a country
- Comprehend how countries of the world are classified based on their national incomes
- Grasp the concept of Human Development Index (HDI) as an indicator for measuring economic development of the country
- Develop a basic understanding about the components that constitute the HDI
- Understand the various determinants that lead to economic development of a country

### Indicators of economic growth

There are numerous indicators which are used to measure the economic performance or growth of a country. The ones most commonly used are as follows:

- i. **Gross Domestic Product (GDP):** The GDP of a country is an aggregate measure of the total economic production of a country. More specifically, GDP represents the market value of all goods and services produced by a country for a given period of time<sup>12</sup>. Examples of goods include agricultural produce, industrial production etc, whereas services are offered for skills in return for a sum of money, such as carpentry, teaching, doctor, etc.
- ii. **Gross National Product (GNP):** The GNP of a country is also an aggregate measure of the total goods and services produced in a country during a particular year. GNP differs from GDP because it also includes income earned by the

citizens of a country, whether they reside within the country or outside. However, earning of those who reside in the country but are not citizens of the country is not part of the GNP. In other words, GNP measures the value of goods and services that citizens of a country produce, regardless of their location<sup>13</sup>.

- iii. **Per capita income:** The per capita income of a country is defined as the average income per person of the total population<sup>14</sup>.

All three indicators discussed above are commonly used to determine the standard of living of countries. Countries with higher GDP/GNP/per capita income are considered as developed countries, whereas ones with lower national incomes are categorized as under developed countries. It is due to this reason that countries, in their pursuit of attaining high levels of 'development' focused solely on economic growth in the past. It is also essential to mention here that the above three methods to measure economic growth, although depict a picture of the aggregate national income of a country, are unable to reflect on the income inequality or disparity present within the population.

### Income-based classification of countries

As has been mentioned above, a very common way of categorizing countries' level of economic growth is through their national incomes. The World Bank, for example, classifies countries into the following<sup>15</sup>:

- i. Low income countries
- ii. Lower middle income countries
- iii. Upper middle income countries
- iv. High income countries

**Low income countries** are defined as having a per capita gross national income of \$755 or less in year 2000.

12. <http://www.investopedia.com/university/releases/gdp.asp#axzz1Z8iaGzoC>

13. <http://www.investorwords.com/2186/GNP.html>

14. [Http://www.investorwords.com/5939/per\\_capita\\_income.html](http://www.investorwords.com/5939/per_capita_income.html)

15. Todaro, Michael. 2002. Economic Development. p. 34

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

**Lower middle income countries** are defined as having per capita gross national income between \$756 and \$2995.

**Upper middle income countries** are defined as having per capita gross national income between \$2996 and \$9265.

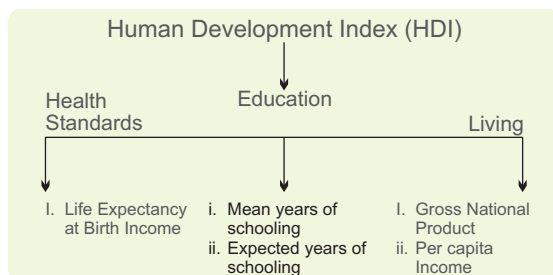
**High income countries** are defined as having incomes of \$9266 or more.

Pakistan's per capita income for 2010-11 is \$1254<sup>16</sup>. Therefore, according to World Bank's income classification, Pakistan is a lower middle income country.

### The emergence of the Human Development Index (HDI)

As has been discussed in our previous session, economic growth is one component of overall economic development. Past experiences revealed that a mere increase in countries' national incomes did little to enhance the lives of the common masses in most under developed nations. The 1990 saw the emergence of a new index of measuring development, also known as the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI assesses levels of development by taking into account the measures of health, education and incomes of a country<sup>17</sup>. Although the index encapsulates only a small component of what development entails in reality, it is a shift from the traditional concept of measuring national incomes alone.

The HDI is a composite measure of three indices: health, education and living standards. Each index is measured by certain indicators. These are:



The HDI ranks all countries on a scale of 0 to 1, where 0 signifies lowest human development and 1 the highest level of human development<sup>18</sup>. Pakistan ranks 125 out of a total of 169 countries in the HDI for the year 2010. It has scored an HDI of 0.523, hence falling into the medium human development category<sup>19</sup>.

With the introduction of HDI as a measure for the categorization of countries, rankings of countries changed considerably. Countries with higher national incomes did not necessarily have adequate levels of literacy or health care, while some countries with relatively lower per capita incomes still managed to have high literacy rates and better life expectancy. There is no doubt that countries with higher annual earnings had good human development indicators too, but this was not universally true for all countries. Since then, there have been concerted efforts by policy makers to shift their focus from attaining economic growth to monitoring the progress of human development indicators that should be achieved as a consequence of this growth.

16. Economic Survey of Pakistan. 2011. Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan. p. 13

17. The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathway to Human Development. 2010. United Nations Development Programme. P.13

18. Todaro, Michael. 2002. Economic Development. p. 57

19. The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathway to Human Development. 2010. United Nations Development Programme. P.142,143

### 3. State of Economic Development in Pakistan

This section is intended for the participants to be able to:

- Comprehend the concept of GDP growth rate of a country
- Understand the various factors that have led to a low GDP growth rate in Pakistan
- Develop a basic know how about the health and literacy statistics in Pakistan

#### Pakistan's GDP Growth Rate

In the year 2010, the GDP growth rate of Pakistan was a mere 2.4 percent<sup>20</sup>. The annual growth rate of GDP determines the increase or decrease in the value of goods and services produced within the country<sup>21</sup>. It is conventionally measured in percent rate of increase in GDP<sup>22</sup>.

#### Factors contributing to a low GDP Growth Rate in Pakistan

There have been various contributing factors that have slowed the pace of economic growth in the past year. Among them are:

- i. The security challenges that Pakistan has had to face since 2001, from suicide bombings and target killings, claiming innocent lives<sup>23</sup>.
- ii. The unprecedented calamity of floods in Pakistan that inflicted a damage of \$10 billion and lowered the GDP growth rate by two percent. Around 20 million people were displaced by the floods when 50,000 square kilometers of land was submerged under water. Apart from displacement of people, both the agricultural produce and industry suffered adversely in the aftermath of the floods. The destruction of rice and cotton crops and negligible

output in the textile and petroleum industry led to negative economic growth<sup>24</sup>.

- iii. An increase in oil prices as well as the unexpected expenditures for the flood relief in the past year led to rising inflation (or an continuous rise in prices of goods and services), that also adversely affected the rate of economic growth<sup>25</sup>.
- iv. The manufacturing sector remained victim of electricity shortages and rise in electricity tariffs, another determinant for slow economic growth<sup>26</sup>.

#### Pakistan's per capita income

Interestingly, Pakistan's per capita income, despite the economic instability, rose from \$ 1073 last year to \$ 1254 this year<sup>27</sup>. The per capita income is a very superficial way of assessing overall economic growth as it is unable to gauge how evenly economic gains are distributed.

#### Literacy in Pakistan

In terms of literacy, Pakistan's overall literacy rate (for age 10 years and above) is a mere 57.7 percent. Out of this, 69.5 percent males and 44.7 percent females are literate<sup>28</sup>. Ask participants what their opinion is about the educational facilities presently available in their region. Responses may include inadequate physical infrastructure, unavailability of teachers, lack of quality education, etc.

20. Economic Survey of Pakistan. 2011. Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan p. i

21. <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/gdp-growth>

22. ibid

23. Economic Survey of Pakistan. 2011. Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan p. i

24. ibid

25. Economic Survey of Pakistan. 2011. Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan p. ii

26. ibid

27. Economic Survey of Pakistan. Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan. p. ix

28. Economic Survey of Pakistan. Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan. p. 133

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

The following table indicates the number of missing facilities in government schools in 2009-10<sup>29</sup>:

**Table 1**

Province/ Area	Without Building	Without Boundary Wall	Without Drinking Water	Without Latrine	Without Electricity
Punjab	1,061	11,665	7,529	12,125	23,685
Sindh	10,722	24,001	24,559	21,664	41,230
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	430	8,327	9,280	7,291	13,134
Balochistan	760	1,436	5,520	8,449	9,821
AJK	2,596	5,061	3,906	4,212	4,443
Gilgit- Baltistan	202	1,053	975	934	1,065
FATA	225	1,834	3,095	3,050	2,839
ICT	0	12	9	9	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>15,996</b>	<b>53,389</b>	<b>54,873</b>	<b>57,734</b>	<b>96,223</b>
<b>In %age</b>	<b>9.8%</b>	<b>32.7%</b>	<b>33.6%</b>	<b>35.4%</b>	<b>59%</b>

**The state of health in Pakistan**

The government allocated only 0.23 percent of its entire GDP on health expenditures in the year 2010-11<sup>32</sup>. This needs to be increased substantially in order to enhance the health indicators in the country. The average life expectancy for 2010 is estimated to be 67.2 years<sup>33</sup>.

Similarly, the literacy remains higher in urban areas in comparison to rural areas. Statistics reveal that literacy in urban areas of Pakistan is 73.2 percent, whereas it is a mere 49.2 percent in rural areas<sup>30</sup>.

The table below signifies the rural-urban divide of the population in relation to attainment of education<sup>31</sup>:

**Table 2**

Province/ Area	2009-10		
	Total	Male	Female
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>57.7</b>	<b>69.5</b>	<b>45.2</b>
<b>Rural</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>63.6</b>	<b>34.2</b>
<b>Urban</b>	<b>73.2</b>	<b>80.2</b>	<b>65.5</b>
<b>Punjab</b>	<b>59.6</b>	<b>69.1</b>	<b>49.8</b>
<b>Rural</b>	<b>52.2</b>	<b>64.0</b>	<b>40.7</b>
<b>Urban</b>	<b>73.35</b>	<b>78.9</b>	<b>67.8</b>
<b>Sindh</b>	<b>58.2</b>	<b>70.2</b>	<b>44.3</b>
<b>Rural</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>58.2</b>	<b>20.3</b>
<b>Urban</b>	<b>74.9</b>	<b>82.2</b>	<b>66.8</b>
<b>KPK</b>	<b>50.9</b>	<b>70.1</b>	<b>32.3</b>
<b>Rural</b>	<b>48.4</b>	<b>68.3</b>	<b>29.1</b>
<b>Urban</b>	<b>62.7</b>	<b>77.8</b>	<b>47.4</b>
<b>Balochistan</b>	<b>51.5</b>	<b>69.2</b>	<b>29.3</b>
<b>Rural</b>	<b>45.7</b>	<b>64.2</b>	<b>22.5</b>
<b>Urban</b>	<b>69.6</b>	<b>85.0</b>	<b>50.6</b>

29. Economic Survey of Pakistan. Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan. p. 136

30. Economic Survey of Pakistan. Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan. p. 133

31. Ibid

32. Economic Survey of Pakistan. Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan. p. 142

33. Ibid



## 4. Achieving economic development- A comparative analysis with other countries

After the end of the discussion the participants are expected to:

- Develop a basic understanding of China and Malaysia's journey towards economic development post independence
- Compare and contrast Pakistan's experience with China's and Malaysia's
- Comprehend the various factors that led to China and Malaysia's success

The last session takes a glance at examples of other countries' economic development indicators, in order to compare why we lag behind. There are many countries in Asia that took a new start around the same time as Pakistan, but have prospered tremendously in comparison.

### China's secret of success

The People's Republic of China was formally established in 1949, two years after Pakistan's birth. With a burgeoning population, China's most pressing need after establishment was to fulfill the demand for food as well as to invest in capital equipment<sup>34</sup>. China capitalized on its large population and used it to its advantage. The secret to its high economic growth and subsequent development can be attributed to its high proportion of exports throughout the world<sup>35</sup>. China has captured the global market like no other

country in the world in such a short span of time. With an enviable GDP growth rate of 9.5 percent<sup>36</sup> this year, Pakistan has a lot to learn from her next door neighbor. In terms of human development indicators, China's HDI for 2011 is 0.707<sup>37</sup> with an average life expectancy of 73.5<sup>38</sup> years and literacy rate of 92.2 percent<sup>39</sup>. It is pertinent to highlight that before it was established, more than 80 percent of the Chinese population was illiterate<sup>40</sup>.

### Economic development in Malaysia

After gaining independence from Britain in 1957 (10 years after Pakistan's independence), Malaysia comes under the category of an upper-middle income country in terms of economic growth<sup>41</sup>. At independence, Malaysia was a lower-middle income country<sup>42</sup>. Malaysia has relied extensively on the export of its natural resources for the attainment of economic prosperity<sup>43</sup>. These included rubber, tin and palm oil. Despite its rich natural resource base, Malaysia did not remain solely dependent on its natural resource base and diversified its revenue generating activities by investing in the construction and manufacturing sector as well<sup>44</sup>. This helped increase its volume of exports from mere raw produce to manufactured products as well<sup>45</sup>. Today Malaysia comes under the High Human Development ranking with a HDI of 0.775<sup>46</sup>. Malaysia spends eight percent of its total GDP on health expenditure<sup>47</sup> and enjoys an average life expectancy age of 74.7 years<sup>48</sup>. Similarly, it spends 4.1 percent of its total GDP on education and hence enjoys an overall literacy rate of 88.7 percent<sup>49</sup>.

34. <http://www-chaos.umd.edu/history/prc.html>

35. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/aug/18/china-economic-growth>

36. <http://nextbigfuture.com/2011/07/chinas-gdp-update.html>

37. The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathway to Human Development. 2010. United Nations Development Programme. p. 144

38. *ibid*

39. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>

40. <http://www.china-mike.com/facts-about-china/facts-chinese-education/>

41. Yusof, Zainal and Deepak Bhattasali. 2008. "Economic Growth and Development in Malaysia", Working Paper No. 27. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank. P. 1

42. *ibid*

43. *ibid*

44. Yusof, Zainal and Deepak Bhattasali. 2008. "Economic Growth and Development in Malaysia", Working Paper No. 27. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank. P. 4-5-6


45. Yusof, Zainal and Deepak Bhattasali. 2008. "Economic Growth and Development in Malaysia", Working Paper No. 27. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank. P. 7

46. The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathway to Human Development. 2010. United Nations Development Programme.. p. 144

47. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/my.html>

48. The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathway to Human Development. 2010. United Nations Development Programme.. p. 144

49. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/my.html>



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

Despite being an agrarian economy endowed with a rich natural resource base, our country has been unable to make efficient use of these resources like Malaysia. Similarly, government expenditure on education and health-two of the most important determinants of human development has never been a priority. These factors have contributed towards a low level of economic growth and development.

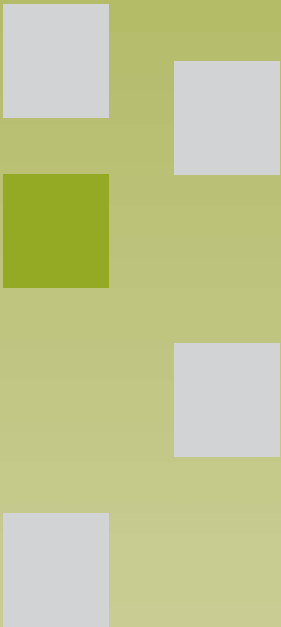
Both China and Malaysia have attained a certain level of economic development by making the best use of their available resources. China has made use of its large human resource base, and Malaysia its natural resource base. Secondly, in both countries, utmost effort has been made by the government to enhance the efficacy of its human resource base by making sure that quality health and education services are made available to the common masses. Our country is deprived of both these aspects that are vital for the attainment of economic development.



### Feedback exercise

- 1: Can you differentiate between economic growth and economic development?
- 2: Is economic growth essential for attaining economic development in a country?
- 3: What is the significance of attaining economic development? What does it aim to achieve?
- 4: Can you name some of the basic indicators that are used to measure the economic growth of a country?
- 5: Why are indicators of economic growth such as GDP or per capita income not adequate to measure the level of economic development in a country?
- 6: What is the HDI? What indicators of development does it incorporate?
- 7: What are the various contributing factors that lead to a nominal rise in GDP the past year?
- 8: What, in your opinion, led countries like China and Malaysia to achieve high levels of economic growth and development in comparison to Pakistan? Why does Pakistan lag behind?
- 9: What kind of educational facilities are available in your area? How can they be enhanced?
- 10: What kind of health facilities are available in your area? Are you satisfied with them? What kind of improvements do you suggest?





# DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW



## Introduction:

This section of the manual will begin with explaining the concept, forms and characteristics of democracy. This will be followed by listing down the institutions or elements of democracy and the problems facing democracy in Pakistan. The next section will focus on the state of democracy in Pakistan and how the parliament of Pakistan has performed during the past few years with a quick comparison of the constitutional legacy of Pakistan and India. While the last part of this chapter will underscore the importance of rule of law and good governance in the social and economic development of a country.

## 1. What is Democracy?

This session has been designed for the participants to be able to understand:

- The concept of democracy
- A brief history of democracy and how it evolved
- The most common forms of democracy and its features.

### Defining Democracy

Democracy is a form of government in which all people have an equal say in the decisions that affect their lives. Ideally, this includes equal (and more or less direct) participation in the proposal, development and passage of legislation into law. It can also encompass social, economic and cultural conditions that enable the free and equal practice of political self-determination. The term comes from the Greek: (*dēmokratía*) "rule of the people", which was coined from (*dēmos*) "people" and (*Kratos*) "power".

### Origin of the concept of Democracy

The term Democracy first appeared in ancient Greek political and philosophical thought. The Greek city state of Athens, led by Cleisthenes, established what is generally held as the first

**democracy in 507 BCE.** Cleisthenes is referred to as "the father of Athenian democracy". The Athenian philosopher Plato contrasted democracy, the system of "rule by the governed", with the alternative systems of monarchy (rule by one individual), oligarchy (rule by a small élite class) and timocracy (ruling class of property owners). Today Classical Athenian democracy is considered by many to have been a direct democracy. Originally it had two distinguishing features: first the allotment (selection by lot) of ordinary citizens to the few government offices and the courts, and second the assembly of all the citizens. All citizens were eligible to speak and vote in the assembly, which set the laws of the city state. However, Athenian citizens were all-male, born from parents who were born in Athens, and excluded women, slaves, foreigners and males under 20 years old.

Even though the Roman Republic contributed significantly to certain aspects of democracy, only a minority of Romans were citizens with votes in elections for representatives. The votes of the powerful were given more weight through a system of Gerrymandering, so most high officials, including members of the Senate, came from a few wealthy and noble families.

From there onward, democracy has gone through different transition phases while continuous efforts have been to modernize and improve the old forms of democracy. During these transition phases many countries who were being ruled under the non-democratic system of governance such as military dictatorship, monarchy, oligarchy, etc. have transformed to democracy.

### Forms of Democracy

Democracy has taken a number of forms, both in theory and practice. Following are some of the popular and common forms of democracy:

#### 1. Representative

Representative democracy involves the selection of government officials by the people being represented. If the head of state is also democratically elected then it is called a democratic republic. The most

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

common mechanisms involve election of the candidate with a majority or a plurality of the votes.

Representatives may be elected by a particular district (or constituency), or represent the entire electorate proportionally proportional systems, with some using a combination of the two.

### 2. Parliamentary

Parliamentary democracy is a representative democracy where government is appointed by parliamentary representatives as opposed to a 'presidential rule' wherein the President is both head of state and the head of government and is elected by the voters. Under a parliamentary democracy, government is exercised by delegation to an executive ministry and subject to ongoing review, checks and balances by the legislative parliament elected by the people. Parliamentary systems have the right to dismiss a Prime Minister at any point in time that they feel he or she is not doing their job to the expectations of the legislature. This is done through a Vote of No Confidence where the legislature decides whether or not to remove the Prime Minister from office by a majority support for his or her dismissal. The Prime Minister can also call an election whenever he or she so chooses.

### 3. Presidential

Presidential Democracy is a system where the public elects the president through free and fair elections. The president serves as both the head of state and head of government controlling most of the executive powers. The president serves for a specific term and cannot exceed that amount of time. By being elected by the people, the president can say that he is the choice of the people and for the people. Elections typically have a fixed date and aren't easily changed.

Combining head of state and head of government makes the president not only the face of the people but as the head of policy as well. The president has direct control over the cabinet, which is specifically appointed by the president himself.

### 4. Semi-Presidential

A semi-presidential system is a system of democracy where the government contains both a Prime Minister and a President. This form of democracy is even less common than a presidential system. This system has both a Prime Minister with no fixed term and a President with a fixed term. Depending on the country, the separation of powers between the prime minister and president varies. In one instance, the president can hold more power than the prime minister making the prime minister accountable to both the legislature and president. On the other hand, the Prime Minister can hold more power than the president.

### 5. Liberal

A Liberal democracy is a representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and usually moderated by a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the rights of minorities. In a liberal democracy, it is possible for some large-scale decisions to emerge from the many individual decisions that citizens are free to make. In other words, citizens can "vote with their feet" or "vote with their dollars", resulting in significant informal government-by-the-masses that exercises many "powers" associated with formal government elsewhere.





## Characteristics of Democracy

- i. *Change in government:* In a democratic system, no class or group has claim to political power on permanent basis. Tenure of government is fixed and after the completion of that period, people in authority have to go to the people for re-election.
- ii. *Civil Rights:* Democracy ensures every citizen's social and political rights.
- iii. *Accountability:* Another hallmark of a democratic system is political accountability of elected representatives. All elected representatives are accountable to their electorates.
- iv. *Freedom of expression:* Free expression of opinion is regarded as a major hallmark of a democratic system. Constructive criticism on official policies is considered essential for a successful democracy.
- v. *Majority Rule:* A democratic system revolves around the concept of majority rule.
- vi. *Political Parties:* Political diversity is an essential ingredient of a democratic system. Political groups or parties form public opinion, educate masses and make efforts for political power within constitutional limits.

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

### 2. Institutions of Democracy and its Problems

This section will guide the participants to:

- Develop a clear understanding of the important institutions of democracy and how they function
- Understand the major predicaments and underlying factors that did not let democracy to flourish in Pakistan.

#### Institutions or elements of Democracy

##### i. Political Parties

First and foremost ingredient of a democratic system is the political diversity in the society. There are political parties who educate masses, shape their opinion and make efforts to gain political power within the constitutional framework of the state. They hold elections within their parties and elect top officials to run the business affairs of the party. These parties contest elections and their nominated candidates are elected through people's votes. These parties, after securing victory, form governments.

##### ii. The Legislature

Legislature or the legislative assemblies are the ones who enact laws regarding procedural matters in the light of constitutional framework. Assemblies have fixed tenures. At the end of the tenure the elected representatives have to contest elections for another term. Since legislature comprises of elected members of masses therefore these assemblies are considered to be the mirror of the society.

##### iii. The Executive

The executive is the part of the democratic government which executes the laws and it includes all departments and institutions that are involved in state

administration such as President, ministers, administrative officials etc. The term "executive" strictly from political stand point refers to those office bearers who hold key positions and are primarily responsible for executing the public policy.

##### iv. The Judiciary

The judiciary (also known as the judicial system or judicature) is the system of courts that interprets and applies the law in the name of the state. The judiciary also provides a mechanism for the resolution of disputes. Under the doctrine of the separation of powers, the judiciary generally does not make law (that is, in a plenary fashion, which is the responsibility of the legislature) or enforce law (which is the responsibility of the executive), but rather interprets law and applies it to the facts of each case. This branch of government is often tasked with ensuring equal justice under law. It usually consists of a court of final appeal (called the "supreme court" or "constitutional court"), together with lower courts.

In many jurisdictions the judicial branch has the power to change laws through the process of judicial review. Courts with judicial review power may annul the laws and rules of the state when it finds them incompatible with a higher norm, such as primary legislation, the provisions of the constitution or international law.

##### v. Free Media

Free press and electronic media constitute a critical part of a democracy. If exercised responsibly, media can play an immense role in educating the masses and shaping the public opinion. Media can help create awareness among people to make prudent choices in the election of their representatives.

Another important aspect of free media is that it can keep a check on the

government and its functionaries and unfold the issues wherein there is even a little doubt of corruption and malpractices. Both elected representatives and appointed officials, therefore, abstain from any moral, social or ethical breach.

### **Problems of Democracy**

Democracy in Pakistan has had a troubled journey with several disruptions. The major features of the Pakistani polity show serious problems of democracy. At times, democracy and participatory governance are either totally non-existent or their quality is poor.

#### **i. Institutional Imbalance**

Pakistan inherited institutional imbalance at the time of independence in August 1947. The state apparatus, i.e. the bureaucracy, the military and the intelligence services, was more organized and developed than the political and democratic institutions. Further, the first Interim Constitution, 1947, also strengthened bureaucracy and authoritarian governance. This imbalance was reinforced by two inter-related trends in the political domain.

First, the process of political decay and degeneration was set in motion soon after independence. The Muslim League that led the independence movement, lacked sufficient organization and capacity for state and nation building. A good number of Muslim League leaders had feudal or semi-feudal background, and were motivated by personal or power ambition rather than building the party as a viable organization capable of standing on its own feet. Other political parties also suffered from similar problems of internal disharmony and conflict, indiscipline and a lack of direction.

Second, the bureaucracy and the military maintained their professional disposition marked by hierarchy; discipline etc. The serious administrative problems in the

early years of independence led the civilian government to seek the support of the military and the bureaucracy. Pakistan's security problems with India, especially the first Kashmir war, also helped to strengthen the military's position in the polity. All Pakistani civilian governments supported a strong defense posture and allocated a substantial portion of the national budget to defense and security.

These developments accentuated institutional imbalance and worked to the disadvantage of the civilian leaders. The weak and fragmented political forces found it difficult to sustain themselves without the support and cooperation of the bureaucracy and the military. This enabled the bureaucracy and the military to enhance their role in policy making and management and they began to dominate politics. In October 1958, the military swept aside the fragile political institutions and established its direct rule, with the bureaucracy as the junior partner.

#### **ii. Political Consensus-building**

The democratic process cannot become functional without a minimum consensus on the operational norms of the polity. The minimum consensus is the beginning point. As the political process functions over time and it offers opportunities for sharing power and political advancement, it evokes more support from among different sections of the society and the polity. The scope of consensus widens when more groups and individuals enter the political mainstream through the democratic norms as set out in the constitution and law. This makes the political institutions and processes viable.

The Pakistani polity has been unable to fully develop a consensus on the operational political norms. Whatever understanding developed among the competing interests at one point of time

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

was allowed to die down with the passage of time because of the non-accommodating disposition of the competing interests and an open defiance of constitutionalism and norms of democracy.

A low level of tolerance of dissent and a poor tradition of open debate on important national issues has hindered the growth of a broadly shared consensus on the framework for political action.

### iii. Political Parties and Leadership

Political harmony and democratic evolution is facilitated primarily by political parties and leaders. These are important instruments of interest articulation and aggregation and serve as vehicles of political mobilization. In Pakistan, political parties have traditionally been weak and unable to perform their main function in an effective and meaningful manner.

The role of the political parties has suffered due to; inter alia, periodic restrictions on political activities under military rule, infrequent elections, weak organizational structure and poor discipline among the members, absence of attractive socio-economic programmes, and a paucity of financial resources. Political parties also suffer from factionalism based on personality, region and ideology. Most Pakistani political parties lack resources and trained human-power to undertake dispassionate and scientific study of the socio-political and economic problems.

### iv. Islam and Politics

A predominant majority of Pakistanis agree that the Pakistani political system must have some relationship with Islam. However, there are strong differences on the precise nature of relationship between Islam and the polity. There is a lack of consensus on the institutions and processes to be set up under the rubric of

Islamic state. Some sections of the society want to establish a puritanical Islamic state with an emphasis on the punitive, regulative and extractive role of the Islamic state. Others emphasize the egalitarian norms of Islam and underline the principles of equality, socioeconomic justice and the modern notions of the state, civil and political rights and participatory governance. To them, Islam is a source of guidance and provides the ethical foundations of the polity rather than offering a specific political structure or a legal code for the modern times

### v. Military Rule and Constitutional and Political Engineering:

The repeated assumption of power by the military and its desire to shape the Pakistani polity in accordance with its political preferences has also undermined the steady growth and sustainability of democratic institutions and processes. The military rulers either abolished the constitution or suspended it to acquire supreme legislative and administrative powers.

### 3. Pakistan and Democracy

This session is intended for the participants to be able to:

- Develop an understanding about the different phases of democracy and polity in Pakistan
- Learn about and distinguish between the upper (the Senate) and lower (the National Assembly) houses of the Pakistani parliamentary system.
- Gain an insight into the performance of the present government over the past few years
- Make a quick comparison of the constitutional history of Pakistan & India.

#### State of Democracy in Pakistan

In Pakistan, the rulers, political parties and leaders and the civil society groups support democracy at the normative or conceptual level. The politically active circles demand representative governance and participatory decision making in the political and economic fields. They highlight fair and free electoral process, the rule of law, socio-economic justice and accountability of those exercising state power as the pre-requisites for a political system.

However, there are serious problems with these principles at the operational level in Pakistan. Power structure and style of governance often negated these principles. Most rulers, civilian and military, pursued personalization of power and authoritarian style of governance, assigning a high premium to personal loyalty and uncritical acceptance of what the ruler or the party chief decides. This was coupled with partisan use of state apparatus and resources, and an elitist and exploitative socio-economic system.

A good number of voters maintain that their vote does not matter much in the selection of the rulers. Invariably they express negative views about the rulers as well as those opposing them. Despite all this, the people have not given up on democracy. While talking about their 'helplessness' with

reference to changing the rulers, they continue to subscribe to the norms of democracy and participatory governance and emphasize the accountability of the rulers. They are therefore vulnerable to mobilization for realization of these norms and values.

Pakistan's political history can be divided into different phases with reference to the dominant style of governance and political management:

1. Civilian political government	August 1947-October 1958 December 1971-July 1977
2. Direct Military Rule	October 1958-June 1962 March 1969-December 1971 July 1977-December 1985 October 1999-November 2002
3. Selective use of Democracy by the Military (Post-military rule)	June 1962-March 1969 March 1985-November 1988
4. Military's influence from the sidelines on policy making under civilian governments	December 1988-October 1999
5. Military's direct involvement in power management after the end of military rule; constitutional & legal role for military	November 2002-March 2008
6. Civilian political government	April 2002 to date.

Pakistan has a bi-cameral parliamentary system consisting of the lower house which is called the National Assembly and the upper house termed as the Senate.

#### The National Assembly

##### Composition

The Parliament of Pakistan, according to the

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

Constitution of 1973, is bicameral. Article 50 of the Constitution clearly states that the Parliament of Pakistan consists of the President and two Houses known as the National Assembly and the Senate.

The National Assembly has a total of 342 members, including 60 seats reserved for women and 10 for non-Muslims, as per Article 51. The seats in the National Assembly are allocated to each Province, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the Federal Capital on the basis of population, as officially published in the last preceding census. The present allocation of seats is as under:

**Table 3**

Category	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtun Khwa	Balochistan	FATA	Federal Capital	Total
General	148	61	35	14	12	2	272
Women	35	14	8	3	0	0	60
Non-Muslims	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Total	183	75	43	17	12	2	342

### The Senate

#### Senate History & Introduction

The 1970 Assembly framed the 1973 Constitution which was passed on 12th April and promulgated on 14th August 1973. The 1973 Constitution provides for a parliamentary form of Government with a bicameral legislature, comprising of the National Assembly and the Senate. The membership of the Senate, which was originally 45, was raised to 63 in 1977 and to 87 in 1985. The government of Gen. Pervez Musharraf raised the membership of the Senate from 87 to 100 in 2002.

#### Composition

The Senate consists of 100 members that is:

- i. Four Provinces (Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab and Sindh) Twenty-two from each province (fourteen general, four technocrats/Ulema and four women).
- ii. Federal Capital Four (two general, one technocrat/aalim and one woman)
- iii. Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)

Even though seventeen seats have been allocated to women, there is no bar on women to seek elections on other seats. The present allocation of seats is as under:

**Table 4**

	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtun Khwa	Balochistan	FATA	Federal Capital	Total
General	14	14	14	14	8	2	66
Women	4	4	4	4	-	1	17
Technocrats/Ulema	4	4	4	4	-	1	17
Total	22	22	22	22	8	4	100

#### Performance of present parliament from 2008 to date

The Parliament since its inception despite a lot of problems has been able to enact a number of laws. There has been a general impression that the house has exhibited a below par performance. Let's have a cursory look of the performance of the parliament since April 2008.

According to the official website of the National Assembly following laws have been passed by the house during the past four years (approximately):



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

## Acts of Parliament

Sr.No	Date	Act Title
<b>2011</b>		
48.	Friday, 15th July, 2011	The Recognition and Enforcement (Arbitration Agreements and Foreign Arbitral Awards) Act, 2011
47.	Wednesday, 29th June, 2011	The Finance Act, 2011
46.	Saturday, 25th June, 2011	The National Vocational and Technical Training Commission Act, 2011
45.	Saturday, 28th May, 2011	The General Statistics (Reorganization) Act, 2011
44.	Saturday, 14th May, 2011	The National Defence University Act, 2011
43.	Tuesday, 10th May, 2011	The Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan (Reorganization and Conversion) Act, 2011
42.	Tuesday, 3rd May, 2011	The Election Laws (Amendment) Act, 2011
41.	Friday, 29th April, 2011	The Pakistan Institute of Fashion and Design Act, 2011
40.	Thursday, 28th April, 2011	The Arbitration (International Investment Disputes) Act, 2011
39.	Monday, 18th April, 2011	The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act, 2011
38.	Tuesday, 29th March, 2011	The Federal Board of Revenue (Amendment) Act, 2011
37.	Tuesday, 29th March, 2011	The Banking Companies (Amendment) Act, 2011
36.	Wednesday, 9th March, 2011	The Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority Act, 2011
35.	Thursday, 17th February, 2011	The West Pakistan Regulation and Control of Loudspeakers and Sound Amplifiers (Amendment) Act, 2011
34.	Thursday, 10th February, 2011	The Oil and Gas Regulatory Authority (Amendment) Act, 2011
33.	Thursday, 20th January, 2011	The Pakistan Engineering Council (Amendment) Act, 2011
32.	Saturday, 1st January, 2011	The Constitution (Nineteenth Amendment) Act, 2010
<b>2010</b>		
31.	Wednesday, 8th December, 2010	The National Disaster Management Act, 2010
30.	Wednesday, 8th December, 2010	The Degree Awarding Status to Dawood College of Engineering and Technology, Karachi, Act, 2010
29.	Monday, 6th December, 2010	The Sacked Employees (Re-instatement) Act, 2010
28.	Tuesday, 30th November, 2010	The Federal Employees Benevolent Fund and Group Insurance (Amendment) Act, 2010
27.	Wednesday, 6th October, 2010	The Competition Act, 2010
26.	Friday, 30th July, 2010	Islamabad High Court Act, 2010
25.	Thursday, 1st July, 2010	Finance Act, 2010
24.	Monday, 21st June, 2010	The Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 2010
23.	Friday, 21st May, 2010	The Alternative Energy Development Board Act, 2010
22.	Tuesday, 20th April, 2010	The National School of Public Policy (Amendment) Act, 2010
21.	Tuesday, 20th April, 2010	The Pakistan Naval Academy (Award of Degrees) (Amendment) Act, 2010
20.	Tuesday, 20th April, 2010	The Institute of Space Technology Act, 2010
19.	Monday, 19th April, 2010	The Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010
18.	Monday, 12th April, 2010	The Pakistan Institute of Development Economics Act, 2010
17.	Monday, 12th April, 2010	The Patents (Amendment) Act, 2010
16.	Friday, 26th March, 2010	The Anti-Money Laundering Act, 2010
15.	Friday, 26th March, 2010	The Pakistan Trade Control of Wild Fauna And Flora Act, 2010

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

Sr. No	Date	Act Title
<b>2009</b>		
14.	Wednesday, 17th March, 2010	The Transplantation of Human Organs and Tissues Act, 2010
13.	Tuesday, 9th March, 2010	The Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act, 2010
12.	Tuesday, 9th March, 2010	The National Command Authority Act, 2010
11.	Friday, 5th March, 2010	The Removal from Service (Special Powers)(Repeal)Act, 2010
10.	Friday, 5th March, 2010	The Service Tribunals (Amendment) Act, 2010
9.	Saturday, 30th January, 2010	The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2010
8.	Thursday, 29th October, 2009	The Representation of the People (Amendment) Act, 2009
7.	Monday, 19th October, 2009	The Cotton Standardization (Amendment) Act, 2009
6.	Monday, 19th October, 2009	The Election Laws (Amendment) Act, 2009
5.	Tuesday, 30th June, 2009	Finance Act, 2009
<b>2008</b>		
4.	Monday, 15th December, 2008	The Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services Act, 2008
3.	Saturday, 6th December, 2008	The Industrial Relations Act, 2008
2.	Saturday, 30th August, 2008	Pakistan International Airline Corporation (Suspension of Trade Unions and Existing Agreements) Order
1.	Sunday, 22nd June, 2008	Finance Act, 2008

The number of acts passed since 2008 is forty eight which apparently seems on the lower side. But given the social, economic and political situation of Pakistan the number may not seem that bad. Pakistan has been facing the threat of terrorism for the past many years. To add to the misery the nation had to suffer due to massive floods in 2010 and even in 2011 the monsoon rains have caused immense devastation in the provinces of Sindh and Balochistan.

#### **A comparison between India and Pakistan**

India and Pakistan started with same constitutional heritage but after independence, they embarked on remarkably different directions of political and constitutional development. Indian experience represents constitutional continuity and stability since the introduction of its Constitution in January 1950. Pakistan has gone through many ups and downs. It has experienced four constitutions; its existing Constitution (1973) has also under gone various changes, altering the very nature of it. A comparative study of the Indian and Pakistani Constitutions in five areas: provincial autonomy, president's relations with the cabinet, supremacy of the Parliament, civil-military relations and constitutional amendments shows that Indian political system has been established on the basis of democratic

Parliamentary norms. President's office is strictly 'constitutional' and real executive powers are vested in the council of ministers headed by the prime minister. The issue of provincial autonomy, due to democratic and participatory institutions and processes did not pose serious threat to national solidarity. Whatever problems arose, these are settled within the framework of the constitution. The civil-military relations have developed in a way that ensures civilian primacy over military establishment and Parliament's authority in bringing amendments to the constitution is an established rule.

Pakistan's constitutional history on the other hand shows constitutional breakdown and inconsistencies. Under the 1973 Constitution, a parliamentary form of government was envisaged but different amendments introduced in the constitution changed its substance and spirit, tilting the balance in favor of the president. The issue of provincial autonomy is becoming serious, partly due to centralizing trends introduced by the Constitution but mainly because of frequent disruptions of democratic and participatory processes and institutions. Military establishment has expanded its influence in the society and is major determinant of national policies.



## 4. Rule of Law and Good Governance

At the end of this session the participants are expected to:

- Understand the significance of the rule of law and how important it is for a state to respect the supremacy of law to ensure disposition of equitable justice to the people.
- Understand the concept of good governance and its importance in an effective state.

### Rule of law

The rule of law, also called supremacy of law is a featured characteristic of a constitutional democracy. According to this principle no one is above the law. This means that the Law is the King that rules. It is a general legal saying according to which decisions should be made by applying known principles or laws, without the use of discretion in their application or any act of will.

The most important application of the rule of law is the principle that governmental authority is legitimately exercised only in accordance with written, publicly disclosed laws adopted and enforced in accordance with established procedural steps that are referred to as due process. The principle is intended to be a safeguard against arbitrary governance, whether by a totalitarian or a democratic leader.

In a society where it functions, the rights of individuals are determined by legal rules and not the arbitrary behaviour of authorities. There can be no punishment unless a court decides that there has been a breach of law. Everyone, regardless of his/her position in society, is subject to the law in fairness and with no favour. Another critical feature of the rule of Law is that individual liberties depend on it. Its success depends on the role of impartiality of judiciary. It also depends on Prerogative Orders in which a case is taken up from an inferior court to a superior one to ensure justice is done.

There is no rule of law: where there is selective justice, where the government chooses which law to obey and which one to disobey, where there are human rights abuses like extrajudicial killing, where there is no care for human life and happiness but their destruction, where there is a failure of budget implementation - suffice to know that a budget is an enacted law, where governors and other representatives cross to other parties without relinquishing their offices, where the Government operates excess crude account without any constitutional provision for it, where votes don't count and no free and fair election; where some are above the law etc. Even though democracy does not guarantee equality of conditions, it guarantees equality of opportunity where there is rule of law.

### Essential characteristic of rule of law

- The supremacy of law, which means that all persons (individuals and government) are subject to law.
- A concept of justice which emphasizes interpersonal adjudication, law based on standards and the importance of procedures.
- Restrictions on the exercise of discretionary power.
- The doctrine of judicial precedent.
- Legislation should be prospective and not retrospective.
- An independent judiciary.
- The exercise by Parliament of the legislative power and restrictions on exercise of legislative power by the executive.
- An underlying moral basis for all law.
- "Adherence to the rule of law is what guides us in our everyday social and legal interactions, prevents anarchy, and hold us together as a people." (*Frens*)
- All are equal in the eyes of the law (*References re French Language*)
- Equality in the law as well as before the law (*References re French Language*)
- That people should be ruled by the law and obey it (*Rossiter*)

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

- The law should be such that people will be able to be guided by it (*Rossiter*)
- "Constitutionalism and the rule of law are cornerstones of the Constitution and reflect our country's commitment to an orderly and civil society in which all are bound by the enduring rules, principles, and values of our Constitution as the supreme source of law and authority." (*Lalonde*)

### Good Governance

First of all, let's try to understand the concept of governance.

**Governance** is the act of governing. It relates to decisions that define expectations, grant power, or verify performance. It consists of either a separate process or part of management or leadership processes. These processes and systems are typically administered by a government.

Following are some of the dimensions of good governance

- *Between governments and citizens:* This dimension pertains to ensuring all fundamental rights of citizens. People should have full security, they should enjoy easy access to livelihood, justice should be speedy and accessible etc.
- *Between governments and markets:* How a government controls/regulates the markets. What are rules and regulations which affect performance or output of markets? Are there any monopolies? How competition is regulated in the country?
- *Between governments and the private sector:* What are the policies of the government about the private sector? Does government encourage private sector to flourish?
- *Between elected officials and appointed officials:* What is the nature of relationship between the elected representatives and the bureaucrats. What are the boundary lines between the two and how these are

determined?

- *Between local institutions and urban and rural dwellers:* What is the nature of local institutions such as Tehsil Council or Union Council? How do these institutions play their role in the lives of ordinary citizens.
- *Between legislature and executive branches:* Legislature is supposed to enact laws for the country whereas executive's job is to execute laws of the land. What are authorities/responsibilities of both towards each other etc.?
- *Between nation states and institutions:* How do nations conduct themselves internationally? What is the nature of their relationship with their neighbours?

To distinguish the term governance from government; "governance" is what a "government" does. It might be a geo-political government (nation-state), a corporate government (business entity), a socio-political government (tribe, family etc.), or any number of different kinds of government, but governance is the physical exercise of management power and policy, while government is the instrument (usually collective) that does it.

**Good governance** is an indeterminate term used to describe how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources in order to guarantee the realization of human rights. Governance describes "the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)". The term governance can apply to corporate, international, national, local governance or to the interactions between other sectors of society.

The concept of "good governance" often emerges as a model to compare ineffective political bodies with viable political bodies. The term good governance can be focused on any one form of governance, aid organizations and the authorities of developed countries often will focus the meaning of good governance to a set of requirement that conform to the organizations agenda, making "good governance" imply many



**Outcomes of Good Governance:**

In relation to a government there are a number of manifestations of good governance which can be described as follows:

- Improved law and order situation
- Easy access to justice
- Better health conditions in the country
- High literacy rate and high educational standards in the society
- Reduction in corruption
- Inter-faith harmony
- Across the board accountability both for the elected representatives and appointed officials

**Conclusion:**

Democracy and rule of law in Pakistan have been facing a lot of problems due to the reasons mentioned earlier. However, the people of Pakistan have not given up hope and they still are of the opinion that the real solution lies in establishing a truly democratic society in the country. The presence of progressive and active civil society and free media is gradually empowering people to demand more and more transparency and accountability both for the elected members as well as the appointed government officials

The latest example was the general elections of 2008 which witnessed a lot of surprises and very strong candidates were voted out of the house by their respective constituencies because they failed to live up to people's expectations.

Another positive development has been the active role of Judiciary which despite its limitations is trying to create a system of check and balance.

The heartening fact about the Pakistani society is that it has never accepted any dictatorial rule as their ultimate fate. The civil society has always maintained a view that Pakistan was meant to be a democratically run country.

**Questions for discussion:**

1. How can democracy help in maintaining rule of law?
2. What are the advantages of a parliamentary system?
3. What can we do to strengthen democracy in Pakistan?





**HUMAN RIGHTS**

## Introduction:

This paper on human rights has been divided into four sections. The first section begins with explaining the concept and evolution of human rights and how and when these rights have changed over time. This will be followed by illustrating the distinction and classification of human rights including minority rights. The third section of this paper will list down the treaties and conventions adopted by the United Nations while some prominent international and national organizations working for human rights will also be discussed in this section. While the last section will shed light on the state of human rights in Pakistan and where Pakistan stands on human rights treaties and conventions.

## 1. Evolution and Development of Human Rights

The following section of this chapter is designed for the participants to be able to understand:

- The concept of human rights
- The evolution and historical development of human rights
- How and when these rights were recognized and changed over time.

### What are Human rights?

Human rights are "basic rights and freedoms that all people are entitled to regardless of nationality, sex, age, national or ethnic origin, race, religion, language, or other status. Human rights are conceived as universal and egalitarian, with all people having equal rights by virtue of being human. These rights may exist as natural rights or as legal rights, in both national and international law.

Many of the basic ideas that animated the movement developed in the aftermath of the Second World War and, culminating in the adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in Paris by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948.

The modern human rights movement emerged over the latter half of the twentieth century. Gelling as social activism and political rhetoric in many nations put it high on the world agenda.

Article 1 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states;

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

## Evolution of Human Rights

There are various historical developments which have supported the evolution of human rights. Major among the developments are given and discussed as under.

### i. Magna Carta


Magna Carta (the Great Charter of Freedoms), is an English legal charter, originally issued in the year 1215. Magna Carta required King John of England to proclaim certain rights (pertaining to freemen), respect certain legal procedures, and accept that his will could be bound by the law.

It explicitly protected certain rights of the King's subjects, whether free or fettered and implicitly supported what became the writ of habeas corpus, allowing appeal against unlawful imprisonment

### ii. Bill of Rights

The Bill of Rights is an act of the Parliament of England, whose title is An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown.

The Bill of Rights was passed by Parliament in December 1689. It enumerates certain rights to which subjects and permanent residents of a constitutional monarchy were thought to be entitled in the late 17th century, asserting subjects' right to petition



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

the monarch, as well as to have arms in defence. It also sets out certain constitutional requirements of the Crown to seek the consent of the people, as represented in parliament.

### iii. Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen is a fundamental document of the French Revolution, defining the individual and collective rights of all the estates of the realm as universal. Influenced by the doctrine of natural rights, the rights of Man are universal: valid at all times and in every place, pertaining to human nature itself. Although it establishes fundamental rights for French citizens and all men without exception, it addresses neither the status of women nor slavery; despite that, it is a precursor document to international human rights instruments.

### iv. Bill of Rights (USA)

Bill of Rights is actually the collection of ten amendments made in the constitution of USA. By these:

Powers of center were curtailed and state were made more sovereign; Basic rights of citizen were given constitutional protection and; Freedom of Expression, Association, Assembly, Faith, to submit petitions were guaranteed.

### v. International Committee of the Red Cross

The establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the 1864 Lieber Code and the first of the Geneva Conventions in 1864 laid the foundations of International humanitarian law.

### vi. The Creation of the United Nations

The World Wars, and the huge losses of life and gross abuses of human rights that took place during the wars, were a driving force behind the development of modern

Human rights instruments. The League of Nations was established in 1919 at the negotiations over the Treaty of Versailles following the end of World War 1. The League's goals included disarmament, preventing war through collective security, settling disputes between countries through negotiation and diplomacy, and improving global welfare.

At the 1945 Yalta Conference, the Allied Powers agreed to create a new body to supplant the League's role; this was to be the United Nations. The United Nations has played an important role in international human-rights law since its creation. Following the World Wars, the United Nations and its members developed much of the discourse and the bodies of law that now make up international humanitarian law and international human rights law.



## 2. Distinction and Classification of Human Rights

This chapter guides the participants to:

- Develop a clear understanding of the different categories of human rights
- Be able to distinguish them from each another

### Distinction of Nature of Rights

#### i. Natural and legal rights

There are two types of rights theoretically distinct according to philosophers and political scientists. **Natural rights**, also called **inalienable rights**, are considered to be self-evident and universal. They are not contingent upon the laws, customs, or beliefs of any particular culture or government. **Legal rights**, such as constitutional rights, common law rights, and statutory rights, are bestowed under a particular political and legal system; they are relative to specific cultures and governments. Legal rights are enumerated in constitutions, in statutes (by a legislative body), in case law (especially in countries with a common law tradition), in treaties, and in administrative regulations

#### ii. Claim rights and liberty rights

Some philosophers and political scientists make a distinction between claim rights and liberty rights. A claim right is a right which entails responsibilities, duties, or obligations on other parties regarding the right-holder. In contrast, a liberty right is a right which does not entail obligations on other parties, but rather only freedom or permission for the right-holder.

Liberty rights and claim rights are the inverse of one another: a person has a liberty right permitting him to do something only if there is no other person

who has a claim right forbidding him from doing so; and likewise, if a person has a claim right against someone else, that other person's liberty is thus limited.

#### iii. Negative and positive rights

Philosophers and political scientists make a distinction between negative and positive rights. According to this view, positive rights permit or oblige action, whereas negative rights permit or oblige inaction.

Negative rights may include civil and political rights such as freedom of speech, private property, and freedom from violent crime, freedom of worship, a fair trial, freedom from slavery and the right to bear arms. While positive rights may include other civil and political rights such as police protection of person and property and the right to counsel, as well as economic, social and cultural rights such as public education, national security, military, health care, social security, and a minimum standard of living.

#### iv. Individual and group rights

Group rights are rights held by a group rather than by its members separately, or rights held only by individuals within the specified group; in contrast, individual rights are rights held by individual people regardless of their group membership or lack thereof. Group rights have historically been used both to infringe upon and to facilitate individual rights, and the concept remains controversial. Group rights are not straightforwardly human rights because they are group-differentiated rather than universal to all people just by virtue of being human.

### Classification of human rights

Human rights can be classified and organised in a number of different ways. At an international level the most common categorisation of human rights has been to split them into civil and political rights, and economic, social and cultural rights.



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

Civil and political rights are enshrined in articles 3 to 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

Economic, social and cultural rights are enshrined in articles 22 to 28 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

### i. Civil and political rights

Civil and political rights are a class of rights that protect individuals' freedom from unwarranted infringement by governments and private organizations, and ensure one's ability to participate in the civil and political life of the state without discrimination or repression.

Civil rights include the ensuring of peoples' physical integrity and safety; protection from discrimination on grounds such as physical or mental disability, gender, religion, race, national origin, age, sexual orientation, or gender identity; and individual rights such as the freedoms of thought and conscience, speech and expression, religion, the press, and movement.

Political rights include natural justice (procedural fairness) in law, such as the rights of the accused, including the right to a fair trial; due process; the right to seek redress or a legal remedy; and rights of participation in civil society and politics such as freedom of association, the right to assemble, the right to petition, and the right to vote.

Civil and political rights form the original and main part of international human rights. They comprise the first portion of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (with economic, social and cultural rights comprising the second portion).

### ii. Economic, social and cultural rights

Economic, social and cultural rights are socio-economic human rights, such as the right to education, the right to housing, and the right to health. Economic, social and cultural rights are recognised and protected in international and regional human rights instruments.

## Minority rights

The term Minority Rights embodies two separate concepts: first, normal individual rights as applied to members of racial, ethnic, class, religious, linguistic or sexual minorities, and second, collective rights accorded to minority groups. The term may also apply simply to individual rights of anyone who is not part of a majority decision.

## Minority Rights in National and International Law

The first minority rights were created by the revolutionary Parliament of Hungary in 1849. Minority rights were codified in Austrian law in 1867. Minority rights, as applying to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities and indigenous peoples, are an integral part of international human rights law. Like children's rights, women's rights and refugee rights, minority rights are a legal framework designed to ensure that a specific group which is in a vulnerable, disadvantaged or marginalised position in society, is able to achieve equality and is protected from persecution. The first post-war international treaty to protect minorities, designed to protect them from the greatest threat to their existence, was the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Subsequent human rights standards that codify minority rights include the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 27), the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, two Council of Europe treaties (the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages), and the OSCE Copenhagen



document of 1990.

Minority rights cover protection of existence, protection from discrimination and persecution, protection and promotion of identity, and participation in political life.

To protect minority rights, many countries have specific laws and/or commissions or ombudsman institutions (for example the Hungarian Parliamentary Commissioner for National and Ethnic Minorities Rights). While initially, the United Nations treated indigenous peoples as a sub-category of minorities, there is an expanding body of international law specifically devoted to them, in particular Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (adopted 14 September 2007).

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

### 3. Treaties and Conventions

At the end of this session the participants are expected to:

- Understand the treaties and conventions adopted by the United Nations
- Learn about the international and local organizations working for the development of human rights

#### Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The **Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)** was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, partly in response to the atrocities of World War II. Although the UDHR was a non-binding resolution, it is now considered by some to have acquired the force of international customary law which may be invoked in appropriate circumstances by national and other judiciaries. The UDHR urges member nations to promote a number of human, civil, economic and social rights, asserting these rights as part of the "foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world." The declaration was the first international legal effort to limit the behaviour of states and press upon them duties to their citizens following the model of the rights-duty duality.

#### Treaties

In 1966, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (**ICCPR**) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (**ICESCR**) were adopted by the United Nations, between them making the rights contained in the UDHR binding on all states that have signed this treaty, creating human-rights law.

Since then numerous other treaties (pieces of legislation) have been offered at the international level. They are generally known as *human rights instruments*. Some of the most significant, referred to (with ICCPR and ICESCR) as "the seven core treaties", are:

- Convention on the Elimination of All

Forms of Racial Discrimination (**CERD**) (adopted 1966, entry into force: 1969)

- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (**CEDAW**) (adopted 1979, entry into force: 1981)
- United Nations Convention Against Torture (**CAT**) (adopted 1984, entry into force: 1984)
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (**CRC**) (adopted 1989, entry into force: 1989)
- Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (**CRPD**) (adopted 2006, entry into force: 2008)
- International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (**ICRMW** or more often **MWC**) (adopted 1990, entry into force: 2003)

#### Original Geneva Convention in 1864.

The **Geneva Conventions** came into being between 1864 and 1949 as a result of efforts by Henry Dunant, the founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross. The conventions safeguard the human rights of individuals involved in armed conflict, and build on the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions, the international community's first attempt to formalize the laws of war and war crimes in the nascent body of secular international law. The conventions were revised as a result of World War II and readopted by the international community in 1949.

#### International organizations

##### United Nations

The United Nations (UN) as an intergovernmental body seeks to apply international jurisdiction for universal human-rights legislation. Within the UN machinery, human-rights issues are primarily the concern of the United Nations Security Council and the United Nations Human Rights Council, and there are numerous committees within the UN with responsibilities for safeguarding different

human-rights treaties. The most senior body of the UN in the sphere of human rights is the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.


#### **United Nations Human Rights Council**

The United Nations **Human Rights Council**, created at the 2005 World Summit to replace the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, has a mandate to investigate violations of human rights. The Human Rights Council is a subsidiary body of the General Assembly and reports directly to it. It ranks below the Security Council, which is the final authority for the interpretation of the United Nations Charter. Forty-seven of the one hundred ninety-one member states sit on the council, elected by simple majority in a secret ballot of the United Nations General Assembly. Members serve a maximum of six years and may have their membership suspended for gross human rights abuses. The Council is based in Geneva, and meets three times a year; with additional meetings to respond to urgent situations. Independent experts are retained by the Council to investigate alleged human rights abuses and to provide the Council with reports.

#### **Other UN Treaty Bodies**

The UN has set up a number of *treaty-based* bodies to monitor and study human rights, to be supported by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR). The bodies are committees of independent experts that monitor implementation of the core international human rights treaties. They are created by the treaty that they monitor, except CESCR.

- The *Human Rights Committee* promotes participation with the standards of the ICCPR. The eighteen members of the committee express opinions on member countries and make judgments on individual complaints against countries which have ratified an Optional Protocol to the treaty. The judgments, termed "views", are not legally binding.
- The *Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* monitors the ICESCR and makes general comments on ratifying countries performance. It will have the power to receive complaints against the countries that opted into the Optional Protocol once it has come into force.
- The *Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination* monitors the CERD and conducts regular reviews of countries' performance. It can make judgments on complaints against member states allowing it, but these are not legally binding. It issues warnings to attempt to prevent serious contraventions of the convention.
- The *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women* monitors the CEDAW. It receives states' reports on their performance and comments on them, and can make judgments on complaints against countries which have opted into the 1999 Optional Protocol.
- The *Committee Against Torture* monitors the CAT and receives states' reports on their performance every four years and comments on them. Its subcommittee may visit and inspect countries which have opted into the Optional Protocol.
- The *Committee on the Rights of the Child* monitors the CRC and makes comments on reports submitted by states every five years. It does not have the power to receive complaints.
- The *Committee on Migrant Workers* was established in 2004 and monitors the ICRMW and makes comments on reports submitted by states every five years. It will have the power to receive complaints of specific violations only once ten member states allow it.
- The *Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* was established in 2000 to monitor the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. It has the power



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

to receive complaints against the countries which have opted into the Optional Protocol.

### **Non-governmental Organizations**

There is a large number of International and national non-governmental organizations working for the development of human rights. Some of the prominent NGOs are;

**Established in 1961, Amnesty International** is a global movement of more than 3 million supporters, members and activists in more than 150 countries and territories who campaign to end grave abuses of human rights. Its vision is for every person to enjoy all the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights standards.

**Human Rights Watch**, an independent, international organization, has been working for the past over 30 years and is dedicated to defending and protecting human rights by giving voice to the oppressed and hold oppressors accountable for their crimes.

**Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)** having its head office in Lahore and working since 1987, is an independent national NGO which aims to provide a highly informed and independent voice in the struggle for the human rights and democratic development in Pakistan.

Established in 1980 by Ansar Burney, Advocate in the Pakistani port city of Karachi; the **Ansar Burney Trust** is a non-political, non-governmental and non-profitable organization. It works to fight against all forms of injustices, cruel inhuman and degrading treatment, child abuse, cruelty to women and other more subtle forms of human and civil rights violations without any discrimination or affiliation.

**Pakistan International Human Rights Organization (PIHRO)** was established in 1999 as an independent non-profit, non-political and non-governmental Organization. PIHRO endeavors to serve humanity, work for human welfare and help the downtrodden and the deprived.

## 4. Status of Human Rights in Pakistan

This chapter is intended for the participants to be able to;

- Get a quick overview of the laws and treaties to which Pakistan is a signatory
- Keep themselves abreast of the state of human rights in Pakistan

### Status of Pakistan on Human Rights Laws & Treaties:

Islamic Republic of Pakistan is a signatory to all major treaties pertaining to human rights. Islam being the ideology behind creation of Pakistan already provides a source of guidance for protecting and upholding human rights in the country. Pakistan is a signatory to the following treaties;

- ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966-76 (**Signed on April 17, 2008**)
- ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966-76 (**Ratified on April 17, 2008**)
- ICERD International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination 1966-69 (**Ratified on Sept. 21, 1966**)
- CAT Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment 1984-87 (**Signed on April 17, 2008**)
- CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women 1979-8 (**Ratified on March 12, 1996**)
- CRC Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989-90 (**Ratified on Nov. 12, 1990**)
- ICMW International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families 1990-03 (**Pakistan is not contracting party**)
- CRPD Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2006-08 (**Signed on Sept. 25, 2008**)
- ICPPED-International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance 2006-

### According to the constitution of Pakistan

... fundamental rights, including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic

and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to the law and public morality, [shall be guaranteed] ... the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured.

To enjoy the protection of law and to be treated in accordance with law is the inalienable right of every citizen, wherever he may be, and of every other person for the time being within Pakistan.  
Article 4

Any law, or any custom or usage having the force of law, insofar as it is inconsistent with the rights conferred by this chapter [on Fundamental Rights] shall, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void.  
Article 8(1)

### State of Human Rights in Pakistan

The state of human rights has never been steady in Pakistan and we continue to see gross violations of human rights year after year. However, the emergence of very vocal electronic media, the activism shown by the civil society organizations and the independence of judiciary has given a new hope to the oppressed in the country. People are gradually becoming aware of their fundamental rights and they now know how to make their voices heard.

The Parliament has made some progress in the recent years and acknowledged the rights, to education, information and fair trial while two new laws to deal with sexual harassment have also been enacted. However, the growing militancy, extremism and intolerance has not only increased threats to the people's rights in the country but has also severely affected the state's ability to deal with such and many other challenges.

While the government has failed to provide a safe environment to the people and mitigate their sufferings, the most vulnerable were members of minority communities and women. Journalists and human rights activists encountered hazards in highlighting the troubles of ordinary citizens and many paid the price for their mission with their lives. It is difficult to remember a year when the picture was particularly rosy for women's rights in





## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

Pakistan as there have been incidents of women being killed in the name of honour. Despite the case of the missing persons being heard in the Supreme Court of Pakistan, more people seemed to have been picked up by those entrusted with their security and protection. The government as usual has been ineffective in terms of dealing with the growing incidents of abductions. On top of this the deteriorating economic conditions took a toll on the people's ability to access basic needs and measures to improve the situation did not seem to be a priority.

The recent flooding in Pakistan which affected and displaced millions of people aggravated the miseries of the government. These floods have not only left millions of people without food and shelter but these have also deprived them of their right to education, health and basic needs. The government and the humanitarian organizations are working to mitigate the sufferings of the flood-affected people, however, a majority of the people is still in a state of distress and despair.

As in the past, the prison population substantially exceeded the holding capacity of jails. The state did not have the funds to provide healthcare and other facilities to the prisoners and yet alternatives to imprisonment were not considered. Torture in jails and police stations continued. The police, criminals, and the United States through its drones strikes, retained their penchant for extralegal killings without any accountability. The need for special mechanisms for implementing all international human rights treaties continued to be overlooked. It may be difficult to address them all straightaway but at least a start can be made. Granted that the government faces an uphill battle in tough economic and political conditions, yet much that is required to confront those responsible for obstructing the rights of the people needs only a little more than commitment.

Pakistan's media remained a vocal critic of the government and experienced less interference from the elected government than in previous years. However, in October the ruling Pakistan Peoples Party announced a boycott of Geo TV and affiliated newspapers by designating

them as anti-government institutions. When the government's former information minister Sherry Rehman appeared on the channel, President Asif Ali Zardari in retaliation ordered PPP activists to besiege Rehman's Karachi home for several hours, threatening her and her family.

However, despite all adversities, media (print, electronic and web-based) in Pakistan is thriving to create a mechanism of check and balance in the society by bringing the issues of public interest to the fore.



**Questions for discussion:**

- 1- Why is it important to know about our rights?
- 2- What happens if people are denied of their basic rights?
- 3- Can a society flourish without ensuring basic human rights?





A decorative graphic on the left side of the page consists of two vertical columns of squares. The left column has four squares: the top one is olive green, and the three below it are light grey. The right column has two light grey squares, positioned between the top and bottom squares of the left column.

# **ROLE OF ISLAM IN AN EFFECTIVE STATE**





## Introduction

This section of the manual introduces the concept of state, its types and its relationship with the concept of government. It then elaborates on the concept of Islam and the basic principles of Islamic governance. The next section aims at giving an understanding to the participants of the fundamental rights of the citizens in Islam. While the last section attempts to explain the concept of democracy in Islam with some examples from the primeval history of Islamic governance.

### 1. What is a state?

The following session is intended for the participants to be able to understand:

- The concept of state
- Types of states and
- The relationship between a state and a government

#### Defining State

There is currently no academic consensus on the most appropriate definition of the state. The term "state" refers to a set of different, but interrelated and often overlapping, theories about a certain range of political phenomena. The most commonly used definition is Max Weber's, which defines the state as a compulsory political organization with a centralized government that maintains a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a certain territory.

General categories of state institutions include administrative bureaucracies, legal systems, and military or religious organizations.

#### Types of states

States may be classified as follows:

- i. Sovereign if they enjoy a monopoly of the legitimate use of force and are not dependent on, or subject to any other power or state.

- ii. In case of Islamic concept of state, it is subject to external sovereignty or hegemony where ultimate sovereignty lies with Allah.
- iii. Many states are federated states which participate in a federal union. A federated state is a territorial and constitutional community forming part of a federation. Such states differ from sovereign states, in that they have transferred a portion of their sovereign powers to a federal government.

#### The state and government

The concept of the state can be distinguished from the concept of government. The government is the particular group of people, the administrative bureaucracy that controls the state apparatus at a given time. That is, governments are the means through which state power is employed. States are served by a continuous succession of different governments.

Each successive government is composed of a specialized and privileged body of individuals, who monopolize political decision-making, and are separated by status and organization from the population as a whole. Their function is to enforce existing laws, legislate new ones, and arbitrate conflicts via their monopoly on violence. In some societies, this group is often a self-perpetuating or hereditary class. In other societies, such as democracies, the political roles remain, but there is frequent turnover of the people actually filling the positions.

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

### 2. Major Principles of Islamic Governance

This session will enable the participants to:

- Understand the concept of Islam in an effective state
- Develop an understanding of the major principles of Islamic governance and understand their importance in an effective Islamic state

#### Islam and a state

Islam is not merely a set of beliefs or rituals which are to be performed while praying. It is indeed an all encompassing source of guidance which not only governs individual's life but also provides guidelines for governance at a macro level.

In modern times, Islam's role in an effective state is of paramount importance in order to provide social justice and eliminate causes of extremism which has brought about a radical change in our society.

Generally, there is a widely held impression amongst youth that Islamic teachings do not specifically provide any guidelines regarding state or governance which is a misplaced notion. In fact, Islam inspires into humankind the spirit of creation of a politically organized society and by creation of this society of a system of governance ensuring equality, justice, welfare, freedom and dignity for all. One such state was effectively established by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) at Medina in 622 A.D which clearly provided the framework of a state being run according to Islamic teachings.

#### Principles of Islamic Governance

Allah is Sovereign. Islamic political system is based on its specific worldview that is essential to know in any understanding of Islam. The Quran tells us that Allah is the Creator and Lord of the whole universe including humankind and all that is associated with them. He is overpowering and is irresistibly dominant over all His creation. He knows all and governs all. Whatever He wills gets done. It is Allah who possesses all the powers and

attributes of sovereignty and none else whatever possesses any of these. Therefore, the sovereignty of the entire universe only belongs to Allah alone and none other than Him has a share in it.

Similarly, sovereignty over all of humankind rightfully belongs to Allah and no human or nonhuman power could control or decide any of the human affairs. The Quran is very explicit on this:

We have sent you the Book in Truth that you (O Prophet) might judge between men, as guided by Allah (Al Nisa, 4:105).

#### i. Popular Vicegerency

The position of humankind is that of Allah's vicegerent (khilafah), or Allah's representative on earth. The nature of this Vicegerency (khilafah) described in the Quran is as follows. Whatever capacities and abilities humans possess, they are bestowed upon them by Allah. Allah bestowed these gifts on humans so that using them and the will granted them by Allah they follow and establish His will in their lives as His representatives and not as autonomous entities.

This khilafah has been entrusted on all those who accept Allah as their Lord and Sovereign. The concept is one of popular Vicegerency, shared by all believers alike. This Vicegerency also means that limited authority has been delegated to those who run the affairs of believers. Moreover, the authority is bestowed not on any chosen person, family, tribe, ethnicity, race or group of people but on all believers, men and women. The Quran states:

Allah has promised to those among you who believe and work righteous deeds that He will assuredly make them succeed (those who rule) and grant them vicegerency in the land just as He made those before them succeed others (Al Nur, 24:55).

Therefore, the two cardinal principles of governance as laid down by the Quran are: first, sovereignty belongs to Allah and second, the popular vicegerency belongs to all believers.

## ii. Shura or Common Consultation

The whole system of Islamic State from its inception to the selection of the head of the state and all those in positions power as well as its dealings must be conducted by shura, whether it is carried out directly or indirectly through selected or elected representatives.

The Quran states:

"Their affairs are decided by consultations between them" (Al Shura, 42:38).

Even the Prophet although he was the recipient of direct guidance from the Supreme Allah, was commanded: "Consult them in affairs (of moment)" (Al Imran, 3:159).

Thus the practice of shura was the mechanism followed at all levels in the selection of political leadership by Muhammad (s) and his followers. It was the Islamic community that selected the first four rightly guided khulafa, although the method of selection and the process of approval differed. The essential principle was consent and confidence of the community and the accountability of those selected before the community.

## iii. Dispensation of Equitable Justice

Islamic Law based on the Quran and Sunnah is equally accessible to all and equally applicable on members of the society from the lowest to the highest, without any distinction or discrimination.

The Prophet (pbuh) was asked to declare that: "I have been commanded to maintain justice between you" (Al Shura, 42:15).

The Prophet (s) admonished: "The nations before you were destroyed because they would punish the lower class criminals according to the law but would let go those from the higher class." Then laying further emphasis, he continued: "I swear by the Authority in whose control is Mohammad's life, if Mohammad's daughter is guilty of stealing, I would cut her hand off" (narrated by Bukhari, Kitab al Hudud, Chapter 11-12).

These quotations show an overriding concern for justice in all its dimensions: legal, political, social, economic and international. Also, all the personal, civil, political, social, cultural and economic rights of an individual are guaranteed under Islamic law. All people have equal rights and each and everyone is equally responsible before the law. It is the obligation of the rulers to ensure that each member of the society particularly the weak, is given his due rights.

## iv. Al-Amr bil Maruf wa Nahi an al-Munkar

The above term literally means commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong and encompasses a whole gambit of duties and responsibilities. The Quran makes it the mission of the believers:

"You are the best of Peoples evolved for humankind, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong and believing in Allah" (Aal Imran, 3:110).

It means that every individual of the society has the right, nay the duty, to tell the truth and stand for it, to further all that is good and virtuous and do his utmost to remove the wrongs and vices wherever he finds them.

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

The Prophet (s) tells us: "Whoever among you sees a vice (or wrong), he should change it with his hands; if he is not able to do that, then he should check it with his tongue; and if he cannot do that, then he should consider it bad in his heart (and wish for its removal) and this is the sign of weakest in faith" (recorded in Muslim, Tirmidhi, Abu Daud and Ibn Majah).

Another famous Hadith says; "The best Jihad is to say what is just (or truth) in the face of a tyrant" (Abu Daud, Tirmidhi, Nisai and Ibn Majah).

Therefore, al-amr bil maruf wa nahi an al-munkar entails the freedom of expression and criticism, transparency and accountability and respect for human rights and abiding by the contractual obligations in respect of all people and minorities in particular. It was because of this mission of the Ummah that institutions of nasiha (advice), shura (consultation), ikhtilaf (disagreement and difference of opinion), al-amr bil maruf (commanding right and virtue), al-nahi an al-munkar (forbidding wrong and vice) and hisbah (public accountability and ombudsmanship) were established systems of the Islamic rule and continued to play their important role in various ways at all times of the Islamic history.

### 3. Fundamental Rights of Citizens in Islam

This session will help participants to;

- Develop an understanding about the fundamental rights of the citizens in Islam and
- Understand that Islam comprehensively safeguard the fundamental rights of the citizens

Prophet Mohammad while addressing people on the occasion of last Hajj said:

“Your lives, your property and your honour are as sacred as this day of Hajj.”

As regards liberty in Islam, it has been stated by Abu Dawood that in Medina, a person was taken into custody on the basis of suspicion. One of the companions of the prophet (PBUH) rose during a Friday sermon and asked as to 'in which wrong has his neighbour been arrested?' the prophet kept quiet and after hearing the question twice, hoping that the custodian of the city shall rise and explain if he has any genuine reason for this act. However, when the companion put the question for the third time and the custodian did not present any reason, the Prophet ordered, "This man's neighbour be released."

There are other sayings of the Prophet in this regard. Two of them are quoted:

- The state is the helper and friend of the one who has none.
- If a person dies and is indebted (financially) or has left behind a helpless family, we (the state) will carry the burden.

Islam has made no distinction between a Muslim and a non-Muslim concerning civic right. Once Caliph Omar saw a non-Muslim begging. He immediately exempted him from payment of tax, fixed stipend for him and wrote to the treasury officer thus:

“I swear we did not do justice to him. We utilized

his services during his youth and left him helpless in old age.”

It is interesting to note that besides Huqooq-ul-lbad as briefly defined above, "Human Rights" as we understand them today, were clearly laid down in the Quran and the Practice (Sunnah) of the Holy Prophet. The citizens were familiar with them and these were meticulously enforced during this phase of the seventh century republican Muslim State. Following are the basic human rights which can be directly traced from the Quran and the Sunnah (Practice) of the Holy Prophet:

#### i. Right to justice

Islamic state is duty bound to provide justice to all citizens irrespective of their religion, caste or creed. Every one is equal in the eyes of law.

#### ii. Freedom of religion

A hall mark of Islamic governance is that there is no compulsion in following one's religion. According to Holy Quran: "There is no compulsion in the matter of religion". (2: verse 256)

#### iii. Right to life

Islam accords immense sanctity to human life. The sanctity of a Muslim's blood has been declared to equal to that of a Muslim. "And slay not the life which God hath forbidden save for justice". (17: verse 33).

#### iv. Right to property

Islam clearly distinguishes the right to own property and to all personal belongings. Lawfully acquired property or belongings warrant protection by an Islamic state.

#### v. Right of personal liberty

Islam recognises every citizen's right to lead their lives according to their will. No one in an Islamic state can be detained without due process of law.

#### vi. Freedom of expression

Every citizen in an Islamic state is entitled



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

to have his/her opinion and its expression in a free manner. A citizen is free to criticise even the policies of government.

### vii. Freedom of movement

In an Islamic state, every citizen is entitled to move freely and to establish residence wherever he likes. "It is He Who has made the earth manageable for you, so travel through its tracts and enjoy the sustenance which He furnishes; but unto Him is the Resurrection". (67: verse 15).

### viii. Right of privacy

Every person has a legal right to privacy and transgression against it is regarded as the highest guilt. "It is not proper that ye enter houses through the backs thereof...So enter houses by the doors thereof". ( 2: verse 189) "O ye who believe! Enter not houses other than your own without first announcing your presence and invoking peace (salam) upon the folk thereof. That is better for you, that ye may be heedful". "And if you find no one therein, still enter not until permission hath been given.

### ix. Right to economic security

In an Islamic state every citizen enjoys economic security. It is the duty of the state to provide employment and basic amenities of life. According to the Holy Quran "And in the wealth of the havees there is due share of the have-nots". ( 51: verse 19).

### x. Right to self respect

Islam recognises the right of all to name and against any defamation and slander. "Neither defame one another, nor insult one another by nicknames. Bad is the name of lewdness after faith". "O ye who believe! Shun much suspicion; for lo! Some suspicion is a crime". (49: verses 11-12).

### xi. Right to education

Islam lays great emphasis on seeking knowledge and education. An Islamic state is supposed to provide educational

facilities to all the people without any discrimination.

### xii. Women's rights:

Islam has bestowed special rights to women. Women were given the right to won property and due share under the law of inheritance. Legal and moral remedies have been prescribed for marriage of widows.

The extent, to which the citizens were aware of human rights laid down in the Quran, can be cited by an example. It is stated that one night Caliph 'Omar, while crossing a street in Medina, heard the sound of debauchery of a drunkard coming from inside a house. Losing his temper, he attempted to enter the house. But no one answered his knock or opened the door. Still annoyed, he climbed on the roof, and from it shouted down to the owner in his courtyard thus: "Why are you breaking the law by permitting such an abusive drunkard in your house"? The owner replied: "No Muslim has the right to speak like that to another Muslim. May be I have committed one violation, but see how many you have committed. For instance: (1) spying, despite God's command - "Thou shalt not spy" ( 49: verse 12); (2) breaking and entering - you came in over the roof, despite God's order: "Enter houses by the door" (2: verse 189); (3) entering without the owner's permission - in defiance of God's command, "Enter no house without the owner's permission" (24: verse 28); (4) omitting the Salaam - though God orders, "Enter not houses without first announcing your presence and invoking peace on those within" (24: verse 27). Feeling embarrassed, Caliph 'Omar said: "All right, I forgive your violation of Law". The owner of the house retorted: "That is your fifth violation. You claim to be the executor of Islam's commandments, then how can you say that you forgive what God has condemned as a crime"?

Everyone was free to express his own opinion concerning the execution of Islamic injunctions about human rights and even the Caliph was accountable for his conduct and actions. Sometimes the attitude of the citizens towards the Caliph was uncouth and aggressive, and at other times it was improper and insulting; nevertheless it was tolerated. On numerous occasions Caliph 'Omar had to face such situations and to provide explanations.



## 4. Islam and Democracy

By the end of this session the participants will be able to;

- Understand the concept of democracy vis-à-vis the Islamic concept of governance
- Develop a relationship between the Islamic concept of governance and the present forms of democracy

### 1. Islamic State of Medina

When the Prophet and his companions faced severe persecution in Makkah they migrated to Medina. Medina was also basically a tribal city governed by tribal laws. Like Makkah in Medina, too, there was no state and only tribal customs and traditions prevailed. In fact Medina was worse in a way than Makkah. In Makkah inter-tribal wars were much in evidence as it was turning into a commercial society and inter-tribal corporations for trade were coming into existence. However, Medina being an oasis was a semi-agricultural society various tribes were at daggers drawn. It was to get rid of the inter-tribal warfare that the people of Medina invited the Holy Prophet as an arbitrator.

The Prophet, a great spiritual and religious personality, commanded great respect and set out to establish a just society in Medina. First of all, he drew up a pact between various tribal and religious groups known as Mithaq-e-medina (i.e. the Medinese treaty), which guaranteed full autonomy to all tribes and religious groups like the Jews, the Muslims and other pagan tribes.

Thus all religious groups were free to follow their own law and traditions without any coercion in such matters. The Mithaq-e-Medina was a sort of preliminary

constitution of the “state” of Medina that went beyond a tribal structure and transcended the tribal boundaries in matters of common governance.


### 2. Consultation by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) with his companions

During his life-time, Prophet (PBUH) always consulted his companions in important matters and acted upon their advice. Given his stature and immense follower ship as a leader he could have asserted his own opinion unopposed. But being cognizant of the future implications he always demonstrated the principle of consultation. After his demise, Abu Bakr was chosen as the first Caliph of Islam because of his knowledge and piety. However Abu Bakr waited for six months till he received the consent of the people of Yemen also in order to ensure that he was acceptable to all the Muslims under his command.

During the period of the first four Caliphs (632 AD to 661 AD) different methods were adopted for the appointment of the Caliph and in all the cases the appointment was confirmed by the Muslim community through its consent. Generally speaking, the methods adopted during the period had a common feature i.e. the selection of the best man through initial election, nomination and election through an electoral college. The course adopted in all the cases was republican in nature.

### 3. The Concept of Electoral College

Reacting to the socio-political conditions prevailing at the time, Omar before his death, constituted an electoral college of the probable candidates in order to select one from amongst them for being put up as the sole candidate for succession. Thus, council of six was formed



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

consisting of Ali, Usman, Abdul Rahman, Saad, Zubair and Talha. He also appointed his own son Abdullah to give a casting vote in case of equal division. The council through a process of elimination deputed Abdul Rahman to make a recommendation as to who out of Ali and Usman should be the sole candidate. A majority of people consulted expressed their view in favour of Usman. Abdul Rahman even questioned both of them about the manner in which they would conduct themselves if any of them was selected as the successor. Eventually, Abdur Rahman supported Usman and finally he was selected as the sole candidate. Later, the rest of the community swore allegiance to him.

#### 4. Political Diversity in Islam

Interestingly, Islam does give space to various political groups and parties. Islam secures the right of assembly and the Quran urges that groups may be formed to enjoin the doing of what is right and good and forbid what is wrong, which is the essence of politics. “And let there be from among you a community (Ummah) that calls to good and enjoins the doing of what is right and forbids the doing of what is wrong” (3:104)

The word “Ummah” used in the verse may not always mean the whole community but just a group of people, especially, when the word is connected with the proposition “from” as in the above mentioned verses, “from among you....”

Accordingly, Muslims can form several Islamic political parties: all of them are committed to Islam, but each with its own concepts or methods of political activity or with different programmes of reform when they rule.



## Conclusion

In the modern age the principles of Islamic Governance if applied by a state can help build bridges amongst peoples of different beliefs living in a society. Islam accords equal respect to all religious beliefs and does not confine its followers to a narrow mindset.

Another important hallmark of Islamic style of governance is regarding choice of the rulers or representatives. Generally, in a democracy any person based on his popularity or financial resources can announce candidature for an office of authority through elections which might result in an inappropriate choice. Islam has clearly laid down the parameters for choosing such people. The first and foremost criterion is piety and knowledge of the person to qualify as a candidate for an office. This narrowed down eligibility criterion ensures that the majority of votes will be cast in favour of only those individuals who deserve to lead.

The Holy Prophet has clearly mentioned the state as a helper which makes it binding for the state to help its citizens. According to him "If a person dies and is indebted (financially) or has left behind a helpless family, we (the state) will carry the burden.

Islam goes deep down in probing the causes of a crime before awarding any punishment. For example, if a person is not getting a chance to earn his livelihood and is facing starvation along with his family is not liable for a harsh punishment if he/she commits a theft for food. This is really an ideal solution towards removing social inequalities as well as ensuring social justice.

The Holy Quran also clearly instructs its followers in a way whereby the "haves" are required to be mindful of welfare of "have-nots". This clearly laid down commandment carries immense importance in creating a welfare state where the weak and down trodden are taken care of in an effective manner.

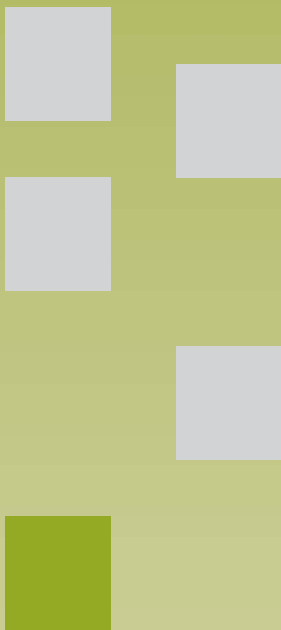
## In a nutshell:

- Islam enjoins love for the entire human race. In Islam, superiority comes with righteousness, active goodness, and justice, irrespective of colour, caste or creed. These should be the parameters for choosing or electing the persons of authority.
- There is no room for tyranny, oppression and injustice to fellow beings on any pretext whatsoever.
- The hallmark of a democratic polity in Islam is consultation and counsel through chosen representatives
- Women enjoy a special status in Islam and need to be treated in an equitable manner.
- Freedom in choosing religion is a key point in Islamic teachings. Every Muslim or non-Muslims can choose any religion according to his/her free will.
- Fundamental rights of every citizen are guaranteed in Islam.

## Questions for discussion:

1. What possibly can be features of an ideal State?
2. How does Islam guarantee rights of a citizen?
3. Are Democracy and Islamic teachings in contrast to each other?
4. In the light of the Islamic Governance, how can we ensure interfaith harmony in our society?





# **CAUSES & CONSEQUENCES OF EXTREMISM AND SOLUTIONS**



## Introduction

This chapter starts off with introducing the complex concept of extremism in detail, followed by its various sources and consequences. It then briefly touches upon the history and evolution of extremism in Pakistan and explains that how ethnic extremism affected Sri Lanka. Next, it discusses the various causes that lead to extremism in Pakistan and its implication on the common masses. While the last session attempts to identify and discuss different ways to tackle extremism which is followed by the role media can play in that regard.

## 1. What is extremism?

At the end of the session, participants will be able to:

- Understand the concept of extremism and what it entails
- Develop a know-how of the various sources of extremism
- Comprehend the consequences that extremist acts can cause

### Defining extremism

The concept of extremism can be defined as: “.....activities (beliefs, attitudes, feelings, actions, strategies) of a character far removed from the ordinary<sup>51</sup>.”

Extremism is a complex phenomenon because the labeling of activities, people and groups as 'extremist' and defining what 'ordinary' is in any setting is a subjective and political matter. Therefore, any discussion on extremism has to take into account the following factors:

- An extremist will be perceived by some people as ethical and just, and by others as unethical and immoral, depending on the person's values, politics, moral beliefs and nature of relationship with the actor.
- In a conflict scenario, power differences are also of crucial significance. The

activities of members of low power groups have the tendency of being perceived as more extreme than activities of a similar nature committed by members of groups with greater power.

- It is also important to highlight here that extreme acts are more likely to be committed by marginalized people or groups, who view more normative forms of engagement as blocked or biased for them. However, dominant groups are also known to engage in extremist activities.
- Extremists acts often employ violent means. However, different extremist groups differ in their choice of tactics used, level of violence employed and preferred targets of their violence (such as infrastructure, military, civilians, children etc). Here too, low power groups like to use direct and periodic forms of violence, such as suicide bombings. Whereas, dominant groups tend to employ more institutionalized forms of violence, such as the covert use of torture or the unspoken permissibility of police brutality.
- Most extremists who are perceived as evil and dangerous are in fact psychologically unstable and confused. Therefore, the closed, inflexible and intolerant nature of their extremist attitude is problematic and disastrous.

### Sources of Extremism<sup>52</sup>

Among the various sources of extremism, the most common ones are as follows:

- i Extremism is nurtured in conditions where the normative channels for attaining basic needs are blocked. Adverse conditions such as poverty, inadequate access to health care, nutrition, education and employment; a denial of basic human needs such as security, dignity and political participation; and continuous experiences of humiliation foster extremist acts.

51 Coleman, Peter and Bartoli, Andrea. Year. International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution.

52 Coleman, Peter and Bartoli, Andrea. Year. International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution.



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

- ii. Extremism is also constructed by dominant groups. Political leaders, for example, take advantage of the adverse conditions of the masses and incentivize extremist acts for their personal gains of attaining power by offering monetary rewards to families or emphasizing benefits to 'martyrs' in the afterlife.
- iii. Extremist acts are also an intense, emotional outlet of feelings that have been built up over a period of time due to experiences of oppression, insecurity, humiliation, resentment, loss and rage. These feelings lead individuals or groups to use violent and destructive means of getting vengeance for their sufferings, rather than for the attainment of specific goals.
- iv. Extremist actions are also an effective strategy for gaining and maintaining power in a hierarchical environment, where resources are scarce and competition for power is essential for meeting one's needs.
- v. Extremism also emerges from the misinterpretation of religious beliefs connected with the life hereafter. Adverse and unjust conditions create the notion of fighting the 'evil' ruling powers by destroying them and elevating the 'righteous' group of sufferers. Therefore, the need for self-purification through extreme acts of destruction and violence are depicted as martyrdom, and instilled in the youth from a very young age through media, politicians, educational systems etc.
- vi. Extremism is also viewed as a pathological illness where people feel excitement by invoking acts of violence on fellow human beings. The lack of identity associated with extremists is the result of self-destructive self-hatred that leads to feelings of revenge towards life itself.

### Consequences of Extremism<sup>53</sup>

The consequences of extremist acts are varied in nature, and depending on one's perspective, they can be either positive or negative:

- Extremist acts draw attention to one's opponent, the general public as well as the international community to one's hidden motives and agendas.
- These acts can sometimes persuade a more powerful foe to consider negotiating terms and conditions that are favorable to their cause.
- Extremist acts also attract other people who believe in the same cause to join hands against opposition.
- Extreme acts of violence such as bombings, kidnappings etc enrage, traumatize and alienate the affectees, opponents and potential allies who morally oppose such acts.
- Extremist acts, even if committed by a small minority within the group, are often attributed to the entire group and provoke an escalated response from the oppositional forces, which is often intentional

53. Coleman, Peter and Bartoli, Andrea. Year. International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution

## 2. History and evolution of extremism in Pakistan

At the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Understand the circumstances under which extremism originated in Pakistan
- Appreciate the various factors that lead to the evolution of extremism in the country
- Understand the history and context of extremism in Sri Lanka
- Compare and contrast the Sri Lankan example with Pakistan

### Evolution of Extremism<sup>54</sup>

The origins of religious extremism in Pakistan date back to the identity crisis faced by Muslims in the pre-partition era. Muslim revivalists in the era, such as Shah Waliullah felt that Indian Muslims felt that they had become socially and culturally 'polluted' due to their close association with Hindus. This perception translated into the need for the creation of a separate homeland for Muslims of the sub continent in order to distance themselves from the influence of Hindus and observe an Islamic way of life without any extraneous influences.

When Pakistan was established, there was always a clear division between religion and politics during its initial years, even though it is an Islamic Republic. However, only two years post independence, the Constituent Assembly moved the Objectives Resolution on 7<sup>th</sup>-March, 1949, pledging to draft an Islamic constitution. With the secession of East Pakistan, the religio-political parties sought to strengthen the ideological basis for Pakistan and incorporated Islamic injunctions into the 1973 Constitution.

The Constitution of Pakistan, 1973 provides for all existing laws to be sanctioned in the light of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. These institutional provisions laid down in the Constitution have

made religion a politically potent force in the country. Hence, the use of religion as a basis for attaining political legitimacy and national integration by the political and military leaders has heightened religious antagonism, apart from creating space for religious militancy and extremism over the years.

The potentiality of an alliance between ulema and fundamentalist leaders was first demonstrated in 1953, when serious rioting broke in Lahore over the question of whether members of the Ahmadi sect should officially be regarded as a non-Islamic minority.

In the late 1950s the Jamaat-e-Islami instigated more riots against the Ahmediyya sect and eventually succeeded in persuading the state to declare them declaring non-Muslim. The expulsion of the Ahmediyya sect from the realm of Islam set the tone for progressively more intolerant politics. The Islamization process in the late 1970s and 80s under the Zia regime depicted a commitment to the superficial performance of religious rites on the surface, while simultaneously undermining the real essence of Islam and the deeper issue of morality.

Similarly, the army's redefined role, from merely defending the country's borders from enemy forces, to that of being defenders of Pakistan's ideological frontiers was a significant factor in the Islamization process. The selection process of recruiting army officers involved religious knowledge and commitment in the Zia era.

To this date, Pakistan remains witness to the daily atrocities being caused at the hands of religious extremists, fueled by political parties who oppose the present regime.

### Extremism in other countries - Sri Lanka's example

Sri Lanka is an island country in South Asia with a pre-dominant Buddhist population and Buddhism as its state religion. Apart from Buddhists, the minority religions in the country include Islam,

54. Hashmi, Arshi. 2009. "Pakistan Politics, Religion and Extremism." Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, India.

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

Christianity and Hinduism. The Sinhalese community in Sri Lanka, who are Buddhists, form the majority of the population in Sri Lanka. Whereas, the Tamil community concentrated in the north and east of Sri Lanka constitute the largest ethnic minority of the country. Although most Tamils are Hindus, a considerable number of them are Christians and Hindus as well.

Sri Lanka was under the rule of the British before gaining independence in 1948. During the British rule, the Tamil minority was favored by the British over the Sinhalese majority. The end of the British rule intensified the tensions between the two ethnic communities. Tamils suddenly became an ethnic and political minority group post independence. In response to this marginalization, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was founded in 1976, as a separatist, liberationist group.

By 1983, the LTTE had begun armed action, embarking on a bloody campaign of violent extremism with the ultimate goal of creating a separate Tamil homeland. What had been relatively low-level violence between separatist groups and the government turned into a civil war after the events of July 1983, when some 1000 Tamils were killed in riots in the wake of an LTTE attack that killed over a dozen Sri Lankan soldiers.

The Sri Lankan government then employed the military forces to deal with the situation without any success. In their 25 year battle against the Sinhalese, the LTTE has shown extra ordinary discipline and persistence, and have murdered a host of senior government officials using suicide bombing. These include the assassination of former Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi, Sri Lankan president Ransingh Premadasa, a Sri Lankan defense minister (Ranjan Wijeratne), a former national security minister (Lalith Athlathmudali), Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar, Navy Chief Clancy Fernando, and a number of moderate Tamil politicians opposed to the radical LTTE cause.

The civil war between the two ethnicities has invoked fear in the hearts of the masses in Sri

Lanka and spread a general feeling of insecurity. The Sri Lankan government can negotiate peace with the LTTE only by offering them representation in the governance of Sri Lanka, by amending the constitution.



### 3. Causes of extremism and its implications on Pakistani society

At the end of the session, participants will be able to:

- Comprehend the major causes that lead to extremism in Pakistan
- Appreciate the significance of the implication of extremist acts on Pakistani society

#### Causes of extremism in Pakistan:

The following can be categorized as the most significant causes of extremism prevalent in Pakistan and their subsequent implications:

#### 1. Socio-economic Aspect

##### i. Economic Instability

Pakistan has been engulfed by economic turmoil for the last nearly thirty years. While the inconsistent economic policies of the successive governments have decelerated the economic growth, the internal security situation coupled with heavy spending on defence hasn't helped their cause either. Lack of investment & employment opportunities, rampant corruption, tax evasion and elite & feudal domination of the economic resources have plagued the entire socio-economic system of the country. As a result the gap between the rich and the poor has become immeasurable poverty is on the rise, the poor have become poorer. This economic disparity has increased the level of frustration among the poor which leads them to commit violent acts to meet their basic needs. The growing incidents of robberies, looting in the streets indicate a significant change in their behaviours due to their poor economic conditions.

##### ii. Lack of Education

The government of Pakistan since its

inception has not paid any serious attention to promote quality education in the underprivileged areas of Pakistan. Everybody knows that extremism and poverty could be either curtailed or eliminated only through promoting quality education and establishing standardized educational institutes. People who cannot read or write are easier to control and this provides part of the explanation for the absence of a viable state education system. Yet the illiterate are also more vulnerable to the beguiling simplicities of Islamic radicalism. If Pakistan has become the epicentre of global extremism, the fact that basic education is not on offer to tens of millions is a big part of the reason

#### 2. Religio-political Aspect<sup>55</sup>

The national unity of a state is based on the citizens' perception of common heritage and aspirations. For this reason, the recognition of faith of a particular community as a country's official religion is permitted internationally for freedom of religion or belief. This right to freedom of religion is unfortunately not implemented in its true essence in most countries, and therefore, provides one community an edge over others, leading to exploitation and even violence in the name of religion. When a particular religion is recognized and adopted as a state religion, it usually establishes an inevitable inequality among the masses, and results in discrimination. By excluding religious minorities through this discrimination, the national unity of a country is undermined.

##### i. Fear of losing status acquired over the years

The emergence of radical Islamic groups in Pakistan was a consequence of the support provided by religious political parties backed by the state, for both domestic and external reasons. These extremist groups enjoyed privileged status in the country due to their claims of protecting Pakistan's nuclear capability

55. Hashmi, Arshi. 2009. "Pakistan Politics, Religion and Extremism." Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, India.

## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

And for championing the national cause of securing Kashmir for Pakistan. Both the secular ruling parties and the military undermined them and considered them too weak and dependent to confront the power structure. Therefore, the civil-military oligarchy continued to assume self righteousness in projecting itself as the defender of the state's identity through religious and militaristic nationalism. This process resulted in a close alliance between the mosque and the military, hence discarding the notion that these groups would only serve the state's nation-building function without destabilizing Pakistan or western countries. In the post-9/11 scenario, both domestic and external dynamics of the state changed due to change in policy at the highest level.

The sudden withdrawal of state patronage to religious leaders, their parties and madrassas, led to frustration and anger within the Islamist groups. Neither the religious parties, nor their radical offshoots are ready to give up the command and control they have enjoyed for two decades. The prevailing situation threatens their existence, and in order to survive, they are willing to go to any length, even if it means drifting away from the ideological boundaries of Pakistan because for them, Pakistan matters only till its establishment supports the idea of an Islamic state. Their biggest asset is the way in which years of religious rhetoric have influenced the young within the military, bureaucracy, intelligentsia and the Pakistani society in general.

Due to the influence of al-Qaeda and Tehrik Taliban Pakistan, Pakistan has also become an important ideological centre of the global Islamist movement. The rising extremism, contrary to popular belief, is not a part of state policy, but more of a reactionary strategy on part of Islamic groups. Their extremist activities prove and display the scope of their power and influence. As long as the confrontation

between the state and these groups continues, Pakistan will continue to witness acts of extremism against its own people.

### ii. Long period of undemocratic and unaccountable governments

With the exception of Gen. Ayub Khan, there has always been collaboration between the military dictatorship and religious parties in Pakistan. Jamat-e-Islami forged an alliance with Zia and the MMA with Musharraf in the initial phase of his regime. On the other hand, Pakistan's democratic political parties and religious political parties have always been antagonistic to each other. Pakistan's military regime, which constituted a major part of its overall rule, tried to suppress all other identities, except either the overarching Pakistani identity or Islamic identity.

After the first general election held in 1969 a number of ethnic identities emerged particularly the Bengali identity which surfaced, after having found an opportunity to break away from the overarching Pakistani identity in the elections. The 1970s witnessed a very obvious opposition of Islamic parties to Bhutto. Since the Bhutto government carried the slogan of achieving economic and social justice (even though it remained unfulfilled), instead of focusing on religion, the landlords, military as well as religious parties realized that they would not benefit under the Bhutto regime.

The religious parties were well aware of their weakness and saw in the military the only opportunity to achieve their goal, and therefore, welcomed General Zia's military regime whole heartedly. None of the two sides had a purely religious goal but gaining legitimacy among the public than anything else. The escalation of the Sunni-Shiite conflict helped General Zia keep the debate on the right and wrong



interpretation of Islam alive. Religion came out of people's homes onto the streets and led to much violent conflict, denting the social fabric of the society. The use of Islam not only suited the military, but also the secular landlords and capitalists because such deliberations transformed the political debate in Pakistan. The issue of land reforms remained incomplete and the feudal aristocracy secured its future within the military regime.

**iii. Jihad as a state policy in Pakistan**

Jihad as a state policy in Pakistan gained legitimacy when religious parties were co-opted into the jihadi arm of Pakistan's Army to free Afghanistan from the Soviet invasion. This strategy had the legitimate support of the West, particularly the US. The decade long war uprooted the communism though, it also propelled extremism in the region mainly because of the fact that these Jihadi outfits were left on their own by the allied countries after the end of Afghan war in 1980s.

Also, funded by Arab oil money and zakat collections, the new Islamists glorified jihad from public platforms, madrassas and military training centers to raise cadres of youth that were used to threaten Pakistan's ruling establishment.



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

## 4. Possible Solutions to addressing extremism and Role of Media

By the end of this session, participants will be able to:

- Understand the various ways in which extremism can be addressed
- The positive and negative aspects of media's role in tackling extremism
- The significance of media in addressing extremism

### Solutions to Extremism

Acts of extremism, if permitted to continue without quickly seeking a viable solution, leads to long-term devastation and destruction. Until and unless the underlying causes of extremism were not addressed, superficial ways of fighting extremism would not be effective. Some of the ways in which extremism can be addressed is as follows:

- i. Sensitization through education**  
Most extremists are raised to believe and fight for a certain cause since a very young age. Young minds are easier to mold, and therefore, the role of educating young minds becomes extremely important. In order to address extremism effectively, the school curriculum in Pakistan should necessarily incorporate a proper interpretation of Islam as a religion, which strongly condemns atrocious acts of extremism.
- ii. Sensitizing Imams and influentials**  
Since a substantive percentage of the Pakistani population remains illiterate, it is very important to sensitize and educate Imams in all areas as well, who have a wide influence. Homogenizing the basic tenets of Islam through learned religious scholars, despite religious sectarianism in the country would help reach out to the masses at a micro level
- iii. Monitoring madrassah curriculum**  
It is very important for the Pakistani

government to standardize the quality of religious education being imparted in madrassahs. The curriculum of madrassahs should be thoroughly reviewed and quality of education being imparted should be monitored. Likewise, teachers imparting religious education should be monitored and trained.

### iv. Improving the socio-economic condition:

The government of Pakistan should develop strategies to improve the economic condition of the country in order to combat radicalization more effectively. The state should make efforts to curtail poverty, improve the quality of education and offer employment opportunities to the youth. The government needs to recognize that actions are far more effective than rhetoric.

In addition to the above military experts, diplomats, third parties, and leaders use a variety of approaches to address extremism. Some of these are as follows:

- i. Elimination**  
Elimination involves the use of information, the law, and force to identify, locate, and apprehend (or destroy) extremists or key leaders of extremist groups. Although elimination may work to remove key individuals and groups, it fails to address the underlying causes of extremism. Such strategies also have the tendency to sacrifice certain civil liberties and human rights, and invite criticism from sympathizers
- ii. Isolation**  
This strategy is often used by more moderate members of a community who disagree with the tactics of their more extreme members. It entails everything from a public distancing of the main Group from extreme members and a condemnation of their actions to a more private withdrawal of support and backing from moderates. On the downside, this

strategy can intensify the intragroup conflict (between moderates and extremists) and destabilize the group. Such a state of vulnerability might also be seen as an opportunity to be seized by hardliners in the intergroup conflict, thus further weakening the moderate's situation.

**iii. Intergroup cooperation against extremism**

This strategy entails cooperation between the parties involved in the intergroup conflict. Essentially, both groups agree to frame extremism and terrorism as a mutual problem to be solved jointly by the parties. This can be particularly effective on the heels of a peace agreement between the parties, where they attempt to anticipate and publicly label extremist responses to the agreement, thereby heading off the spoiler effects of destructive reactions. Such strategies are built on the trust and assurances made of each of the opposing parties to isolate their own extremist groups, trust which tends to be fragile at such an early stage of peace processes. If it fails it can jeopardize the entire peace agreement.

**iv. Covert negotiation chains**

It is politically damaging for the leaders of one group to have any formal contact with members of extremist groups on either side. Such contact can alienate the opposing leadership as well as one's own constituents. Therefore, unofficial chains of communication are sometimes established where the leadership of one group has contact with extreme members of her/his own group, who in turn contact sympathizers in the opposing group, until a communication chain is formed with key members of extreme groups. Thus, some progress may be made in covert negotiations, while leaders maintain some degree of political cover and deniability. A shortcoming of this

technique is its political risky nature, which involves dependency on the trustworthiness of several individuals from different segments of the conflict. Chains are also subject to unintended (and frequently well intentioned) mistakes. Due to the highly sensitive nature of the issues at stake, members of chains may intentionally or unintentionally hide, modify, or censor relevant information. Chains are also not easy to maintain and sustain over time.

**v. Peacebuilding.**

This approach aims at addressing the underlying conditions which foster extremism, requires activities at two levels. At the macrosocial-level it requires work toward: a reduction of inequity and oppression; protection of human rights; weakening of extremist ideologies; a reduction of militarism, racism, and sexism; systems that promote political empowerment, intergroup tolerance, cooperation, and non-violent conflict resolution; democratization and participatory governance; and strengthening of civil society. At the microsocial-level it requires: a reduction of stereotypes and enemy images; the promotion of empathy, caring, and intercultural understanding; and the provision of economic and social support for young people.

**Role of media**

Modern day extremism is exacerbated due to the advanced media that has converted the world into a global village. The media are attracted by extreme terrorist acts not only because it is their duty to report on any major event but also because the dramatic and spectacular aspect of terrorism fascinates the general public. For this reason, extremists exploit this fact and act in a way which will attract maximum attention at a global scale. Since the media effectively spreads the news of extremist acts, it can be considered as synonymous to transferring the message of



## Briefing Manual on Current Affairs

the globe. In other words, media publicity is the oxygen of terrorist and extremist acts. Likewise, without media coverage, an extremist act is confined to the immediate victim of the attack, rather than reaching out to the wider target audience at whom the terrorists' violence is actually aimed.

Extremist groups use media as a tool for attaining the following four major objectives:

**i. Creating fear**

Fear is sparked among the target population by gaining attention and raising awareness about extremist activities for the purpose of intimidation.

**ii. Recognition of motives**

In order to get their message across to a wide audience and publicize the motives behind their actions, media is a very effective tool.

**iii. Gaining respect and sympathy**

Apart from intimidating the target group of people, media also sends across a powerful message to supporters or potential supporters of the extremist activities that they are able to deliver effectively. This invokes respect and sympathy from the supporters.

**iv. Gaining legitimacy**

By regularly appearing in the media, terrorists are trying to become a legitimate representative of their own cause. The fact that they are treated by the media much like regular, accepted, legitimate world leaders gives them the status equivalent to that of regular leaders.

Conversely, the media also uses extremism as a tool for its own gains. Sensationalizing extremist acts helps increase viewer ratings for starters. More viewer ratings imply a higher income generation for the channel, due to a higher number of advertisements.

Since acts of extremism have far-reaching consequences on the masses, both at local and global level, the melodrama and human dimension to the news is very well received. The present day media, whether print, radio or television competes fiercely for viewer ratings. The trend of 'breaking news' has become common in order to dramatize extremist acts. Therefore, media in this era of globalization has a very critical responsibility of imparting news to the masses not for the sake of sensationalizing atrocious acts, but to send the right message across. In other words, informing and educating the masses against these acts is important as media has an extensive impact.

There has always been extensive debate about restricting media in providing full information to the masses as a way of safeguarding a country's security or not. However, freedom of information and press is a basic human right. Well informed and well aware masses can cope better with extremist situations since they are knowledgeable of the causes and consequences leading to such atrocities. The media, in such circumstances, is responsible for presenting the true picture, instead of distorting the facts in order to direct the mindset of the public in a particular direction, benefitting the government or specific groups.



### **Feedback exercise**

1. What factors make the phenomenon of extremism a complex one?
2. What factors, in your opinion, nurture extremism?
3. What do you think are the various consequences of extremism? Have you or anyone in your family experienced such consequences?
4. Can you discuss how extremism in Pakistan has affected you and your family at a personal level?
5. How do you compare extremism in Sri Lanka with that of Pakistan? Point out similarities and differences.
6. What is the role of media in addressing extremism? Is it positive or negative?



## Bibliography

### Economic Development

- Economic Survey of Pakistan. 2011. Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan
- [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic\\_development](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_development)
- <http://www-chaos.umd.edu/history/prc.html>
- <http://www.china-mike.com/facts-about-china/facts-chinese-education/>
- <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>
- <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/my.html>
- <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/aug/18/china-economic-growth>
- <http://www.investopedia.com/university/releases/gdp.asp#axzz1Z8iaGzoC>
- <http://www.investorwords.com/2186/GNP.html>
- [http://www.investorwords.com/5939/per\\_capita\\_income.html](http://www.investorwords.com/5939/per_capita_income.html)
- <http://nextbigfuture.com/2011/07/chinas-gdp-update.html>
- <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/gdp-growth>
- <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm>
- Sen, Amartya. 1983. "Development: Which way now?" *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 93, No. 372
- The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathways to Human Development. 2010. United Nations Development Programme.
- Todaro, Michael. 2002. *Economic Development*
- Yusof, Zainal and Deepak Bhattasali. 2008. "Economic Growth and Development in Malaysia", Working Paper No. 27. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank.

### Democracy and Rule of Law

- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy>
- A comparative study of the constitutions of Pakistan and India by Dr. Muntazira Nazir PILDAT State of Democracy Report
- State of Democracy in Pakistan by Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi PILDAT State of Democracy Report

### Role of Islam in an Effective State

- The Concept of Islamic State by Mohammad Nasran Mohammad
- Islam in a Modern State by Dr. Fathi Osman
- The Concept of State in Islam by Justice Javed Iqbal
- Major Principles of Islamic Governance by Siraj Islam Mufti
- Islam and Governance by Muhammad Iqbal

### **Causes & Consequences of Extremism and Solutions**

- Coleman, Peter and Bartoli, Andrea. "Addressing Extremism," International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution
- Hashmi, Arshi. 2009. "Pakistan Politics, Religion and Extremism." Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, India.
- Hassan, Azmat. 2009. "Countering Violent Extremism: The Fate of the Tamil Tigers." East West Institute.
- [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sinhalese\\_people](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sinhalese_people)
- [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri\\_Lanka](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Lanka)
- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamils>
- Parliamentary Assembly, Council of Europe. Doc. 10557. 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2005.
- "Terrorism and Media." 2008. Transnational Terrorism, Security and Rule of Law.



**INSTITUTE FOR  
WAR & PEACE REPORTING**



No. 5, BLOCK 16  
PHA APARTMENTS, G-7/1  
ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN  
+92 (0)51 220 4236

48 GRAY'S INN ROAD  
LONDON  
WC1X 8LT UK  
+44 (0)20 7831 1030