

Constitutional Literacy Campaign

We the People of Pakistan



Illustration by
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Fundamental Rights Diversity Federalism Peace
Pluralism Civic Society Rule of Law Constitutionalism
Civic Education *Civic Activism* Good governance
Right to Information TOLERANCE, Democracy,



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Cultivating Civic Culture

The mission of the Center for Civic Education Pakistan is to cultivate civic culture by promoting values of responsible citizenship and principles of democracy.

Centre for Civic Education Pakistan is an independent educational institution that works to cultivate civic culture. The Centre is not for profit and non-partisan initiative.

The Centre undertakes policy research, offers training courses and facilitates debate and dialogue. Its programs focus on fundamental rights and spirit of the Constitution, democratic development, tradition and institutions in Pakistan. These efforts are aimed at encouraging critical and creative ways of thinking and stimulating civic activism to promote pluralism, rule of law and good governance.

Centre for Civic Education Pakistan has been recognized as a Research and Development organization in the field of social sciences by Higher Education Commission and is member of Civitas International and World Movement for Democracy.



**National Endowment
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Constitutional Literacy Campaign is supported by the National Endowment for Democracy

We the People of Pakistan

Elimination of exploitation

The State shall ensure the elimination of all forms of exploitation and the gradual fulfillment of the fundamental principle, from each according to his ability to each according to his work.

Right of individuals to be dealt with in accordance with law

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.

In particular: no action detrimental to the life, liberty, body, reputation or property of any person shall be taken except in accordance with law; no person shall be prevented from or be hindered in doing that which is not prohibited by law; and no person shall be compelled to do that which the law does not require him to do.

Loyalty to State and obedience to Constitution and law

Loyalty to the State is the basic duty of every citizen. Obedience to the Constitution and law is the [inviolable] obligation of every citizen wherever he may be and of every other person for the time being within Pakistan



What is Constitution?

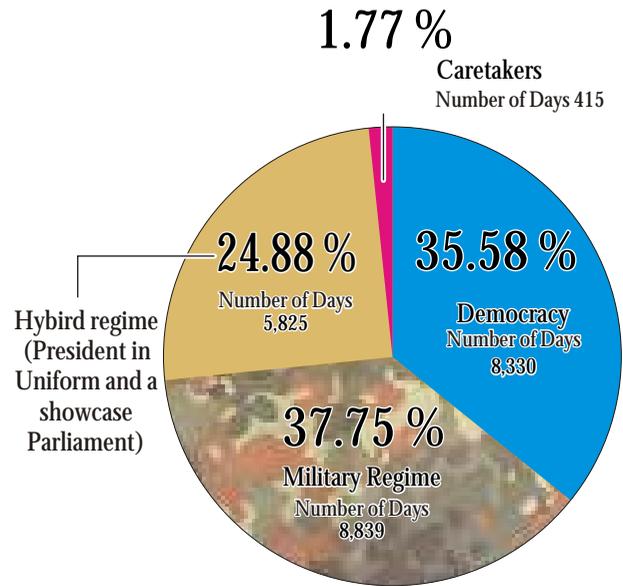
Constitution of a country epitomizes hopes and aspirations of a nation and serves as a social contract between the citizens and the state. Authored in the spirit of history, culture, political experience and character of a populace, Constitution of a nation is the product of design based on prudently privileged political choices. Constitutions are living and organic documents and can be amended according to political and economic context of the time.

Fundamental Rights guaranteed in the Constitution of 1973

- Elimination of exploitation
- Right of individuals to be dealt with in accordance with law
- Laws inconsistent with or in derogation of fundamental rights to be void
- Security of person
- Safeguards as to arrest and detention
- Right to fair trial
- Slavery, forced labor, etc. prohibited
- Protection against retrospective punishment
- Protection against double punishment and self incrimination
- Inviolability of dignity of man
- Freedom of movement
- Freedom of assembly
- Freedom of association
- Freedom of trade, business or profession
- Freedom of speech
- Right to Information
- Freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institutions
- Safeguard against taxation for purposes of any particular religion
- Safeguards as to educational institutions in respect of religion
- Provision as to property
- Protection of property rights
- Equality of citizens
- Right to education
- Non-discrimination in respect of access to public places
- Safeguard against discrimination in services
- Preservation of language, script and culture

Who Ruled Pakistan?

As on September 15, 2011
 Total days of national life since
 August 14, 1947= 23,409



S. no	Nature of Regime/Government	Number of Days	%
1	Democracy	8,330	35.58
2	Military Regime	8,839	37.75
3	Hybird regime (President in Uniform and a showcase Parliament)	5,825	24.88
4	Caretakers	415	1.77
Total		23,409	100

- We have calculated 2,567 (11.06 percent) from the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan till the imposition of direct martial law in 1958 in the category of hybrid regimes as bureaucrats like Ghulam Muhammad, Ch. Mohammad Ali and Major General Iskandar Mirza and General Ayub Khan were calling the shots. Even if we exclude these numbers still the military regimes and their hybrids under General Ayub, General Yahya, General Zia, and General Musharraf ruled for 12,097 days i.e. 52.12 % of our national life.
- We have also included 131 (0.56 percent) of caretaker government headed by Mian Muhammad Somroo in the category of hybrid regime as General Musharraf in uniform was president.
- The average ruling span of a military ruler is 3,227 days or eight years and eight months. This figure will further jump for General Ayub, General Zia and General Musharraf as General Yahya had to resign after the East Pakistan tragedy and could rule only for 988 days.
- The average is only 1190 days or three years for pure civilian governments.

Prepared by: www.pakistanpolitics.org

Message:

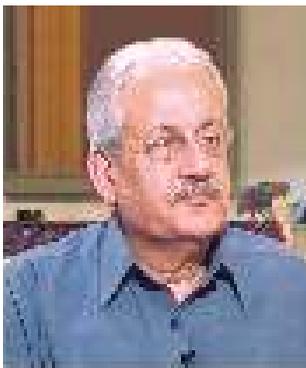
Civic Education is Vital

It is the constitution that knits all the federating units: Sindh, Punjab, Khyber Pukhtoonkhuwa, Baluchistan, Gilgit-Baltistan and Tribal Areas, all the beads of the same chaplet, the federation of Pakistan. Governing the country, running the affairs of the government, proceedings of the Parliament, provincial assemblies, and how to legislate, functions of judiciary are defined in the Constitution. The Constitution also defines the rights of the citizens and provides protection to individuals against any excesses committed by the State. The Constitution defines economic and linguistic rights of every citizen and provides protection against discrimination of every sort either in the name of gender, religion, region or ethnicity. It protects equal religious rights for minorities and also it is the constitution that protects all these constitutional provisions. If the Constitution is put aside the country would be like an emperor without clothes. If anyone wants to trivialize the constitution it means he / she does not want to respect the law and abide it.

Media have to inform the people and educate them about the significance of the constitution and benefits of respecting and abiding the constitution. Secondly, the ruling class has to implement and enforce the rule of law on itself. If the ruling class would not impose the rule of law on it and would expect that its enforcement should take place down the line, it is not possible.

Earlier, there was a subject of civics in the syllabus which has now perhaps been removed from the curricula. It taught us the duties, rights and responsibilities of a citizen. I think the subject should be revived in the syllabus and expanded even further to teach fundamental principles of the constitution and how constitution interacts in individual's life in schools and universities.

I am very much optimistic about this. I think the people of Pakistan have shown resilience on every occasion. I do not want to dig deep in the history but limit myself to the processes of 18th and 19th Amendments and their implementation. In prevailing situation, emerging from the political polarization, confrontation, and tension among the political parties, terrorism and extremism, and because of external pressures interacting with Pakistan in the form of drone attacks and threats to the sovereignty of Pakistan, we have been successful in incorporating such a huge structural change in federal and provincial structures and have negated the propaganda that Pakistan, God forbid, is a failed state. I am hopeful that if the 18th amendment is implemented in real sense and with the help of people of Pakistan terrorism and extremism are checked and brought under control, Pakistan will emerge as the best federation. We have all the elements and ingredients. The only thing we need is that the nation has to make these changes work for their betterment.



Senator Mian Raza Rabbani

Prologue

More than three years after Pakistanis voted in a civilian government, the performance of the democratically-elected government has been mixed and many ordinary citizens continue to be disappointed as inflation, severe power shortages, and insecurity continue to worsen. The government has been slow to deliver essential public goods and its response to solve these problems has been lackluster. However it has made some significant strides toward strengthening and consolidating democracy. Today entire Pakistan has a democratic umbrella in the shape of reformed framework conditions.

Pakistani Parliament unanimously voted in favor of the 18th Amendment, which restored the 1973 Constitution and repealed undemocratic amendments introduced by military dictators Zia ul-Haq and Pervez Musharraf. The 18th Amendment also conferred two new fundamental rights i.e. the right to education and information and expanded the scope of some other.

Equally important, the 18th Amendment strengthened the federal parliamentary character of the Constitution, as opposed to a unitary presidential system favored by military regimes. Contrary to the expectations of most observers, President Asif Ali Zardari agreed to weaken the powers of the presidency and bolstered the powers of the Prime Minister and the Parliament. The amendment also renamed the Northwest Frontier Province as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa to acknowledge Pashtun identity and abolished the “Concurrent List,” which had circumscribed the powers of the provincial governments. Along with the 7th National Finance Commission Award adopted in December 2009, which increased the share of government revenue for smaller provinces vis-à-vis the federal government, these measures have helped defuse some of Pakistan's most contentious political conflicts.

Despite these fundamental changes in the Pakistani polity's legal and institutional framework, public awareness of the Constitution, basic rights, and the implications of the 18th Amendment on governance remains limited. Due to a lack of a civic education curriculum in Pakistan's public education system, most Pakistanis have never read their own Constitution and even obtaining a copy of the country's basic legal document is difficult. Long-term grassroots civic education and community organizing efforts by civil society groups, combined with the rapid expansion of independent electronic media outlets in recent years, has increased public awareness and acceptance of abstract democratic norms and values such as the rule of law, independent judiciary, and media freedom. But understanding of the concrete implications of the Constitutional changes on governance remains elusive and citizen input and participation will be essential for these



constitutional reforms to become durable and functional aspects of Pakistani democracy.

By linking national-level advocacy with grassroots democratic education, civil society organizations and activists can play a critical role in setting Pakistan back on the path of democratic rule that reflects the will of the people. In order to contribute its part the Centre for Civic Education Pakistan with support from National Endowment for Democracy (NED) launched a countrywide, “Constitutional Literacy Campaign” in October 2010.

Pakistan is a society with huge democratic deficits as it has oscillated between democracy and dictatorship and many fault lines like ideological confusions, rising extremism and expanding socio-economic divides crisscross there. Therefore the culture of democracy is weak and the challenge of contextualizing and deepening democracy remains a gigantic task. We invite concerned citizens to be part of this process.

Zafarullah Khan
Executive Director
Centre for Civic Education Pakistan

National Conference Challenges of Deepening Democracy in Pakistan

“Passage of the 18th Amendment is just the first step towards achieving the goal of democratic governance, equitable distribution of resources, recognition of the ethnic, religious and language diversity in Pakistan,” said Chairman of Implementation Commission on 18th Amendment Senator Raza Rabbani while addressing the participants of Conference on Challenges of Deepening Democracy in Pakistan arranged by Centre for Civic Education on November 24, 2010.

In order to commend the historic contribution made by the members of the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms and to value the passage of the 18th Amendment the renowned human and civil rights activists I. A. Rehman, Hussain Naqi, Dr. Fauzia Saeed, Fauzia Shaheen and students representing all federating units presented souvenirs of Constitution to the members of the committee.

The presentation ceremony was preceded by the day-long conference in which a number of people participated including politicians representing all major political parties, members of the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms, human rights activists, civil society representatives and students. Later a literacy campaign to create awareness of and about the constitution with a view to create active citizenry was also launched.

“The paradigm shift in devolution that has resulted after the 18th Amendment is a unique aspect of the process. By doing away with the concurrent list Pakistan has become more federal in outlook than many other federal countries,” said Senator Rabbani. Recognizing and appreciating the role played



Senator Muhammad Ishaq Dar and Senator Afrasiab Khattak being honored by Citizens of Pakistan



Mr Ahsan Iqbal and Sardar Mehtab Khan being honored by Citizens of Pakistan

by the members of the Parliamentary Committee he said the 18th Amendment was not a perfect document and that it was just a first step towards realization of democratic dreams of the people of Pakistan. “I think the political leadership that will come will improve on it in order to come up with more equitable distribution and joint management of resources and strengthen Pakistani federalism.”

He said another unique aspect of the 18th Amendment was that it shattered the myth of a strong center. Talking about the incremental nature of implementation process Senator Rabbani said that in the first week of December the Commission will facilitate devolution of five ministries followed by the second stage which will begin in the first week of February, 2011. “It is not going to be a smooth process. There are bound to be hiccups in our way but given the political will we are sure to surmount them”.

Senator Ishaq Dar, a PML (N) leader and member of Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms said that the politics of consensus-building and reconciliation which started with the signing of Charter of Democracy in 2006 by the leaders of two main political parties culminated in the passage of 18th Amendment.

Attributing the strength of Pakistani federalism to the diversity of cultures and languages I.A. Rehman, a veteran human rights activist, said that these were the provinces that made Pakistan and not vice versa. “The provinces are not subjects of the center but are the federating coordinates and that a strong federation does not mean a strong center. A strong federation is made of strong federating units with some powers as agreed by all lying with the center”.

Senator Abdul Malik of National Party said some of his party's suggestions were not incorporated in the 18th Amendment. “Despite that, I think we have come a long way forward and we hope to continue to move forward if the democratic dispensation remains in place.



Panelists at launch of Constitutional Literacy Campaign

Hailing the 18th Amendment for restoring the parliamentary character of state Senator Afrasiab Khattak of Awami National Party said that the successive military regimes after the 1973 Constitution had twisted primarily a parliamentary system into the presidential one. “The country was being run like a unitary state. The center, during these years, tried to impose uniformity by force. There was a culture of denial of various entities which started taking roots during these years,” he said adding after all that it was pleasant to have formed a Parliamentary Reform Committee having representation from 14 political parties including a group of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). “This gives hope also because the constitution is one way of the only two ways a society can



Speakers at the National Conference on “Challenges of Deepening Democracy in Pakistan”



Senator S. M. Zafar and Senator Haji Adeel being honored by Citizen of Pakistan

control a state. The second is the elections,” he said the Amendment also strengthened the society's hold over the state.

Senator S. M. Zafar said national consensus could be achieved even on most controversial issues if there is will and capacity to do so. “We arrived at consensus within 3 months. That shows we have capacity to visit our past and reinterpret our history. We found that in the past we had a strong central federation that didn't work because it created disharmony so we got more provincial autonomy.

Senator Haji Muhammad Adeel of National Awami Party praised the work of Committee as it helped them undo colonial nomenclature. “We are pleased that we have our name Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.



Among other who expressed their views on the occasion include: Jami Chandio, Hussain Naqi, and Aqeel Abbas Jafri. All the speakers while appreciated the role played by the Reform Committee also urged the civil society organizations to play their role. All the participants stressed the need for an initiative that could make people aware of their constitutional rights. It was unanimously agreed that the ultimate responsibility for the safeguard and implementation of the constitution lied with the civil society.

Defining the role of the Center for Civic Education (CCE) its Executive Director Zafarullah Khan announced the launching of Constitutional Literacy Campaign. He said the Center worked with 20 universities in Pakistan to capacitate young people to stand up for rule of law and governance. "I was shocked to learn that copies of the Constitution are not available in many libraries. Secondly, most of the websites according to our web watch do not offer up-dated versions. So we have printed the copies of constitution which we will share with all universities and press clubs and the other individuals who are interested". He also said that the Center had prepared a small booklet about citizens' fundamental rights keeping in view the difficulty for the people who have no legal background.



Islamabad: Renowned human rights activists, I. A. Rehman, Fauzia Saeed, Zafarullah Khan and students from all federating units presenting a souvenir of Constitution to Senator Raza Rabbani at a civil society function arranged by Centre for Civic Education on November 24, 2010

Citizens' Petition: Constitutional Literacy Campaign:

“We the concerned citizens of Pakistan realizing that the future of Pakistan and its 180 million people depends on continuity of democratic governance embedded in supremacy of the Constitution, consider democratic civic education an important instrument to provide intellectual context and develop necessary skills to actively and effectively participate in this national pursuit.

Mindful of the fact that about half of Pakistan's population is under twenty-five and not all young people are fortunate to get formal school, college and university education. Those who are lucky to be educated their textbooks by and large militate against democratic ideas. Core concepts like Constitutionalism, federalism and representative democratic institutions are missing in the textbooks taught in the nations' classrooms.

Acknowledging this deficit, the Education Policy 2009 exhorted that, “Curriculum shall emphasize the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens of Pakistan, so that each individual shall develop within himself/herself and the society at large, a civic culture strong enough to withstand any extra constitutional interference which threatens those rights.” Endorsing the Joint Communiqué of 16th Speakers' Conference (March 3, 2010 Lahore) that suggested changes in educational curriculum to inculcate in the minds of new generation the importance of democracy and to make it aware of the democratic struggle for parliamentary democracy and recalling Article 25 of the Charter of Democracy (2006) that a National Democracy Commission shall be established to promote and develop a democratic culture in the country.

We demand that:

- 1 Democratic Civic Education shall be made a compulsory part of curriculum and educational activities in the country.
- 2 The Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution of 1973 along with an unbiased account of constitutional and democratic developments in Pakistan shall be included in the textbooks.
- 3 Extra and co-curricular activities at the national campuses shall privilege themes related to democracy, fundamental rights and Constitutionalism in Pakistan.

- 4 For general public, the Public Service Broadcasters and independent private media under their public service obligations shall devote a fair amount of time to expand understanding about the Constitution and its relevance as a vibrant contract between the citizens and the State.
- 5 National Democracy Commission envisaged in the Charter of Democracy shall be established to promote and develop a democratic culture in the country.”

More than five hundred citizens including prominent human rights activists and academicians have signed this petition and it has been sent to the President, the Prime Minister, federal and provincial education ministers and the Textbook Board in all the four provinces and other relevant institutions. Prominent among those who endorsed it includes:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 Mr. I. A. Rehman, Director Human Rights Commission of Pakistan | 14 Dr. Sarfraz Khan, Educationist |
| 2 Mr. Ahsan Iqbal, former Minister for Education | 15 Mr. Ashfaq Saleem Mirza, Intellectual |
| 3 Senator Haji Mohammad Adeel | 16 Ms. Tahira Abdullah, Civil Society activist |
| 4 Mr. Hussain Naqi, Renowned journalist/Human rights activist | 17 Dr. Pervez Tahir, Economist |
| 5 Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmed, University of Karachi | 18 Prof. Ahmad Ali Khan, Educationist |
| 6 Dr. Rasul Bakhsh Rais, Lahore University of Management Sciences | 19 Dr. Fauzia Saeed, Civil Society Activist |
| 7 Dr. Zarina Salamat, Council of Social Sciences | 20 Ms. Fauzia Shaheen, Women Media Centre |
| 8 Ms. Beena Sarwar, Social Activist | 21 Mr. Zafarullah Khan, Centre of Civic Education |
| 9 Mr. Karamat Ali, Pakistan Institute of Labour Education | 22 Mr. Aqeel Abbas Jafri, Writer |
| 10 Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy, Educationist | 23 Mr. Kamran Ahmed, Civil Society Activist |
| 11 Dr. Nizamuddin, Vice Chancellor, University of Gujrat | 24 Mr. Nadeem Iqbal, The Network |
| 12 Mr. Ahmad Salim, Writer | 25 Ms. Saira Malik, Educationist |
| 13 Mr. Jami Chandio, Writer | 26 Mr. Kaleem Ullah Bareach, Educationist |
| | 27 Mr. Murtaza Noor, Higher Education Commission |
| | 28 Ms. Rabia Anees, Educationist |
| | 29 Mr. Amjad Bhatti, Civic Activist |

Citizens' Group on Constitution



Member of Citizen's Group on Constitution

Members:

Balochistan:

Barrister Adnan Kassi-Principal Law College,
Quetta
Mr. Shahzada Zulfiqar, Journalist

Islamabad (Federal Capital):

Dr. Fouzia Saeed-Women rights Activist
Mr. Aniq Zafar- Entrepreneur
Mr. Zafarullah Khan-Civic Educator

Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa:

Dr. Ijaz Khan-Educationist
Dr. Khadim Hussain-Educationist
Dr. Sarfraz Khan-Educationist

Punjab:

Mr. I. A. Rehman-Human Rights Campaigner
Dr. Saeed Shafqat-Educationist
Dr. Rasul Bakhsh Rais-Educationist
Mr. Iftikhar Ahmed-Journalist/Anchor
Mr. Amjad Bhatti-Researcher
Mr. Mohsin Aziz-Entrepreneur
Mr. Ahmad Salim, Writer

Sindh:

Prof. Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmed-Educationist
Dr. Muhammad Ali Shaikh-Educationist
Ms. Fauzia Shaheen-Journalist

The first meeting:

Some leading civil rights activists, academicians, independent constitutional experts and journalists from four provinces and the federal capital areas in a meeting held on February 26, 2011 agreed on formation of the Citizens' Group on Constitution (CGC). Organized by the Centre for Civic Education the Citizens' Group defined its role for creating informed and active citizenry to promote Constitutionalism and Rule of Law in Pakistan.

Purpose of this Group is to play an active role in order to cultivate and promote democratic culture in the country, to examine developments that impact supremacy of the Constitution, to review the pace of implementation of the 18th Amendment from citizens' perspective, identify gaps and offer policy suggestions to the Implementation Commission.

Sharing views on low level of public awareness about the Constitution and fundamental rights the Group members identified following gaps: lack of participation and input from the citizens in the representative institutions and functional aspects of Pakistani democracy. Attributing this disinterest to the lack of civic education curriculum in Pakistan's public education system the Group agreed to make efforts to fill the gap.

To achieve this purpose the Group agreed to hold meeting after every three months, to issue public statements and articulate policy positions, to produce periodic performance cards and monitoring reports and to interact on regular basis with the relevant institutions.



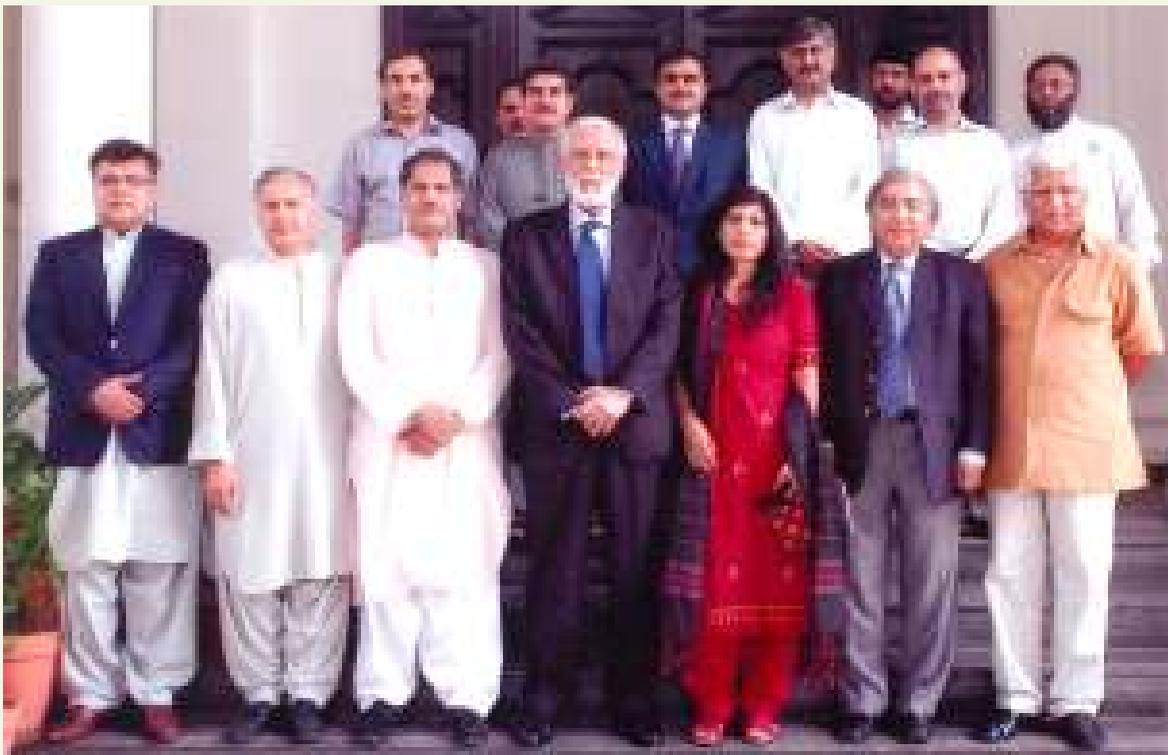
A view of the meeting of Citizens' Group on Constitution

The Group also proposed to publish simplified versions of the selected parts of the Constitution in all major languages of the country so that to expand peoples' understanding of the Constitution and its relevance as a vibrant contract between the citizens and the state. It was also proposed to make the Public Service Broadcasters and independent private media organizations to fulfill their public service obligations by devoting a fair amount for civic education messages and programs.

The second meeting:

The Citizens' Group on Constitution (CGC) held its second meeting on May 29, 2011 to review the progress on implementation of the 18th Amendment, to plan for public awareness campaign on the 18th Amendment, to demand for declaring first of July as the Day of Provincial Autonomy and to discuss the impact of recent developments on the rule of law in Pakistan.

The meeting resulted in a detailed discussion to understand and examine the process of devolution the group members shared views based on their observations and identified challenges posed by the centrist mindset, certain vested interests and a lack of ownership among the provinces. The CGC members observed that the provincial governments, civil bureaucracy, media and civil society



Members of the Citizen's Group on Constitution with Sardar Zulfikar Khosa, Senior Advisor Chief Minister Punjab

organizations had yet not realized the role they were expected to play in the on-going process of democratic devolution. To address these multiple challenges, the Group proposed forming of a coalition of civil society organizations to initiate efforts to sensitize the media about different aspects of the devolution process.

It was also decided to expand the scope of public awareness campaign on 18th Amendment and design it in a way that could engage different audience groups in the debate on Constitution. For this, the groups proposed to organize different activities to engage different audience groups such as national and provincial decision-makers, youth, students, politicians, civil bureaucracy and the media. The CGC also announced to hold week-long festivity beginning from the first of July to rejoice the process of devolution of powers to the provinces which started after the 18th Amendment and is set to be completed by 30th of June, 2011. For this, the CGC decided to send a letter to the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan demanding to declare first of July as the 'Day of Provincial Autonomy.' "The centralized One Unit was dissolved on 1st July, 1970. Now after 41 years, provinces will be getting autonomy after abolition of Concurrent list," observed the members of the Group.

The process of devolution shall not suffer due to any political expediency and the hollow concern of provincial capacity, said the members terming transfer of policy, planning and resources to province 'making of a new federal Pakistan.' The Group observed that only adherence to rule of law and constitutionalism can hold Pakistan together and offer better future to its 180 million citizens.

"Provinces were yearning for provincial autonomy and time has come to exhibit ownership of the devolution under the 18th Amendment," urged the group comprised of leading academicians, civil



Discussing Post-18th Amendment scenario with Punjab Government

society activists and media professionals. “The provinces have to become proactive in crafting new policies, enacting effective laws, rearrange institutions and taking the spirit of democratic devolution down to districts,” they highlighted and urged the universities, professional and civil society organizations to join hands with the provincial governments to realize this transformation.

The third meeting:

The third meeting of the Citizens' Group on Constitution was held on July 31, 2011 in Lahore and the participants reviewed the implementation of the 18th Amendment. The Group noted with a sense of satisfaction that for the first time a Constitutional deadline has been adhered to. However, the Group expressed its concern over the creation of three new federal ministries. “This development negates the spirit of democratic devolution. New federal ministries shall be created only after consensus among the provinces or at least an endorsement by the Senate,” the group observed.

The Group viewed that in absence of Local Government in the country the state of Pakistan is constitutionally incomplete. Provinces appear to be least interested to fulfill the constitutional command regarding the local government. The Charter of Democracy, article 140-A of the Constitution that calls for fiscal, political, administrative devolution to districts, and the manifestos of all political parties promise local governance, still people are deprived of vibrant local government. The Group asked to translate the multiple criteria for resource distribution of National Finance Commission in the Provincial Finance Commissions to offer equitable development to districts.

The group proposed to prepare a comparative analysis of 1979 and 2000 Local Government and design an effective system.

The group also stressed that politics must define the national political discourse. Today neither politicians, nor intellectuals are framing it rather electronic media has assumed this role. The pattern of electronic media is to perpetuate conflicts by highlighting differences. The points of consensus are rarely highlighted. The Group examined reports from the provinces about the steps being taken and examined various concerns and confusions prevailing in provincial capitals.

Members of the CGC also met Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa, senior Advisor Punjab at the Chief Minister secretariat. The Senior Advisor briefed the participants about steps being taken by the Punjab Government to make democratic devolution a success. He also responded to the questions and concerns raised by the members of the group. He informed that Punjab has written to the federal government to complain about the incomplete devolution.

The Centre arranged a five-day Diploma Course on Fundamental Rights in Pakistan from March 19-23, 2011 in Islamabad. Twenty-five participants recruited from all over Pakistan actively participated in the course, conducted by a highly qualified faculty including: Barrister Zafarullah, Prof. Ahmed Ali Khan-dean school of law at Behria University, Ch. Mohammad Shafique-Ministry of Human Rights and Zafarullah Khan. The Course covered the following topics:

- Fundamental Rights: evolution and global perspectives
- Fundamental Rights in Pakistan
- Expanded scope of Fundamental Rights after 18th Amendment
- International obligations and indigenous responses
- Constitutional Literacy
- Field visit to Citizens' Resource Centre.

The learning out-comes set for the course were that upon completion of the course the participants will be able to;



Group Photo of the participants of Diploma Course on Fundamental Rights

Diploma Course on Rights in Pakistan



- *Reflect on the concept and evolution of fundamental rights in the world and in Pakistan.*
- *Explain fundamental rights and their relevance in light of the Constitution (including the expanded scope of Fundamental Rights after the 18th Amendment).*
- *Describe the key methods to realize and do advocacy on fundamental rights in Pakistan.*
- *Explain the main features of internationally articulated instruments to promote fundamental rights.*

The Centre prepared a reader on Fundamental Rights in Pakistan i.e. the collection of reading materials and relevant documents on the theme. This reader was shared with the participants of diploma course.

Participant's views after the diploma course:

Awareness of fundamental human rights would prevent the manipulation of people's rights. It will

contrary, is one of the most modern constitutions. Why, then, there have been human rights violations on regular basis. It directly emanates from the fact that the people of this country are unaware of the duties that accrue onto the state, of the securities the constitution guarantees them, and of the safeguards provided in the constitution. To improve social and economic condition of the citizens and to ensure that the exploitation does not stretch any longer than it has the awareness about fundamental rights is imperative. (Gul Andaam Orakzai, Quaid-i-Azam University)



Lecture at Citizens' Resource Centre

Seminars/Public Events:

Demagogues DEMOCRATS dissent VOTEPOWER diversity
TOLERANT hypocrites ROT ELITE Confused CLEAR Exclusion
Divided Society Inclusion Active citizens *STREET POWER* Marginalized
MAJORITY governance gap VIGILANTE vote STATE society PEOPLE, Minority

Citizens' Discussion: Marginalized Majorities

The brutal assassination of Governor Punjab, Salman Taseer in Islamabad sent a perturbing shockwave among proponents of civility and rule of law in Pakistan. The obscurantist lot monopolized the public sphere on the basis of their gun power. To break expanding spiral of silence, the Centre arranged a Citizen's Discussion on January 15, 2011 at its' Citizens' Resource Centre. The participants discussed various aspects of the emerging situation and figured out ways and means to come out of this quagmire. The participants were of the view that democracy must address the hardware (institutional architecture) and software (policies and textbooks etc) to check increasing extremism and militancy.

Understanding Fundamental Rights

The Centre arranged a day long discussion for university students from various parts of the country to



A View of Citizens' Discussion

“Understand Fundamental Rights” on March 12, 2011 in Islamabad. The students were briefed about the concept of fundamental rights, their evolution, perspectives from the Constitution of Pakistan and how citizens' can realize their justice able rights. The students asked to include these concepts in their regular curriculum and signed the Centre's petition in this regard. Later the participants recorded a discussion program on Fundamental Rights and aired it through the Campus Radios-an emerging medium of communication at universities.



A View of Students Seminar on Constitution

Workshop on Fundamental Rights at Sindh University

A workshop on Fundamental Rights in Pakistan was organized by the Department of Political Science Department University of Sindh Jamshoro, in collaboration with Centre for Civic Education Pakistan, at Nelson Mandela Conference Room, University of Sindh Jamshoro on 14th April 2011. The workshop was organized for the benefit of Students and to create awareness about the Fundamental rights in Pakistan. The participants were selected from the Political Science, International relations and General History Department of various semesters. The key speaker and coordinator of Workshop was Professor Imran Noonari (*One of the trainee of course on Fundamental Rights*) from department of Political Science University of Sindh Jamshoro.

In the second session the participants' views on fundamental rights in Pakistan were obtained and in the last session of workshop group presentations were given by the participants. This event was arranged on voluntary basis and the Centre provided only the copies of the Constitution and other related materials.



Senator Nayyer Bokhari MNA Farah Naz Isphani, Tariq Malik Wilson Lee and Zafar Ullah Khan

Roundtable on Road to Election 2013

The Centre with support from the National Endowment for Democracy arranged a Roundtable on Road to Election 2013 on June 4, 2011 in Islamabad. Colleagues from the NED, Mr. Wilson Lee and Mona Dave also graced the event. The speakers included Leader of the House in the Senate, Senator Nayyer Hussain Bokhari, MNA Farah Naz Isphani, Deputy Chairman NADRA, Tariq Malik, Wilson Lee of NED and Zafarullah Khan.

The speakers pinned hopes that reforms in the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) under the 18th Amendment and collaborative effort of the Election Commission of Pakistan and National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) to prepare error free Computerized Electoral Rolls will enrich Pakistani democracy.

The NADRA will print the Final Electoral Rolls by March 2012 to help the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) achieve the objective of 'One CNIC One Vote' in the General Elections to be held in 2013, informed Tariq Malik, Deputy Chairman of NADRA. "Before we took up the assignment at NADRA some three years ago there was only 55% of the population registered with the Authority. But now the percentage of the registered population stands at 91 percent", Malik said.

Giving the province-wise breakdown of the registration he said they had registered 98 percent population of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 82 percent in Federally Administered Tribal Areas, 92 percent in Punjab, 85 percent in Sindh, 73 percent in Balochistan, 99 percent in Islamabad and Azad Jammu and Kashmir. "In Sindh and Balochistan the ratio of women registered has increased to 78 percent as compared to the previous ratio of 28 percent," he added.

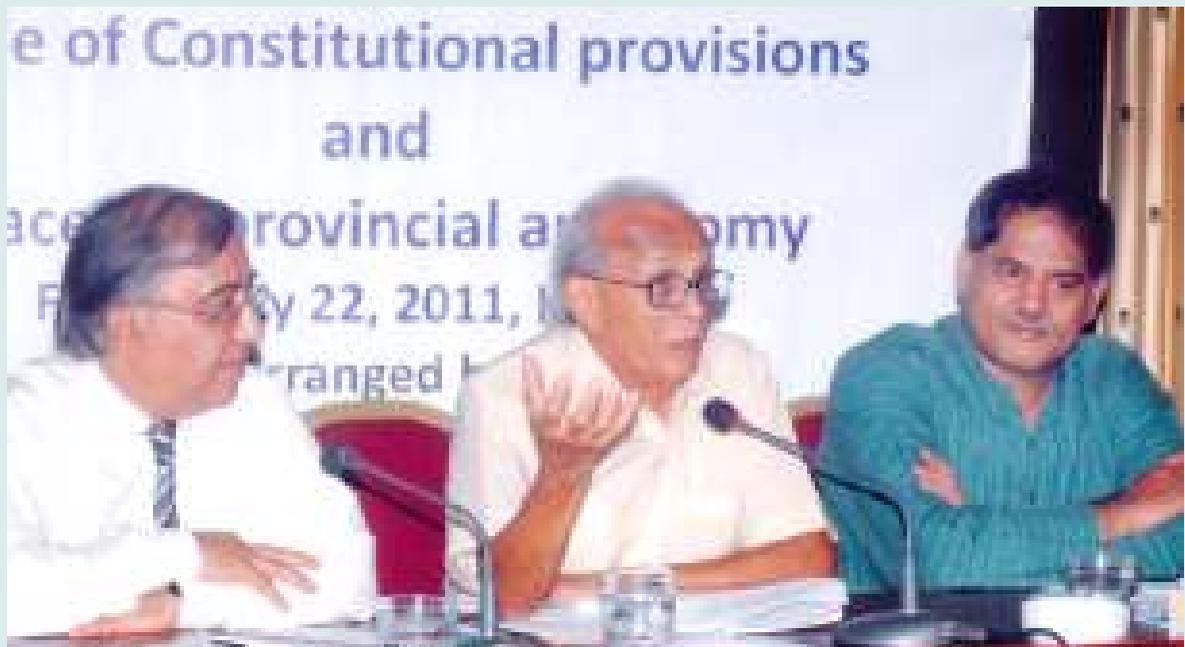
Earlier, Zafarullah Khan, Executive Director Centre for Civic Education, during his presentation on the changes brought about in the Election Commission of Pakistan after the 18th Amendment said:

“The Presidential discretion has been omitted in appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner and the overall functioning of the ECP. This has put a full stop to the military dictators to hold referendums”. He said earlier there was no explanation of the mandate of the caretaker government but after the 18th Amendment it has been categorically defined.

Mr. Wilson Lee, Senior Program Officer, Asia for National Endowment for Democracy, said events in Tunis and Egypt have raised expectations for democracy around the world and the people, the media and analysts are guessing which place is the next and there is a talk that conditions are ripe in Pakistan for an Egypt-like change, but people forget that Pakistan had its own democratic transition in 2008. They are missing a big story in Pakistan in terms of democracy. There is the 18th Amendment, president has relinquished his powers which is remarkable. It is a positive development and things are moving in the right direction. There is a strong judiciary and media and that story needs to be told. There needs to be series of discussions about how we should be supporting the indigenous actors here. There is lot of discussion in the US government and Congress on may be cutting aid or reviewing the relationship with Pakistan after Raymond Davis and Osama bin Laden incidents. He said that it was disappointing to note that despite all the money coming in from the United States really very small portion of that aid is devoted to democracy and governance.

Scope of constitutional provision and space for provincial autonomy

The constitution is the soul of the country and independent judiciary is the spirit, but both were crushed by the military dictators in the past, said former governor Sindh and eminent lawyer Justice



Justice (R) Fakharuddin G Ebrahim, Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmed and Zafarullah Khan

(retired) Fakhruddin G Ebrahim on July 22, 2011 while speaking as the chief guest at a dialogue on 'Scope of constitutional provision and space for provincial autonomy' in Karachi.

“The chief justices of all four provinces were ready to become acting governors on the second day of General Ziaul Haq's coup. These chief justices agreed to work under a dictator and did not consult the Chief Justice of Pakistan. General Zia wanted to eliminate Bhutto, and for that purpose, he wanted to control the judiciary,” he said. Justice Ebrahim said that the time has come to speak the truth. The problems faced by Pakistan are due to the blunders committed by those who abrogated the constitution. “All are suffering because they are silent and not speaking on real issues of the country and the citizens,” he added.

He said that many people have been killed in Karachi but nobody has taken to the streets to condemn these murders. Earlier, Mr. Zafarullah Khan made a presentation on the theme of the dialogue and documentary, “Constitutional Journey of Pakistan” was screened. Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmed of Karachi University moderated the event.

Scope of constitutional provision and space for provincial autonomy

The Centre for Civic Education Pakistan arranged a citizens' dialogue on 'Scope of constitutional provision and space for provincial autonomy' in Lahore on July 31, 2011. Renowned journalist and human rights activist, Hussain Naqi chaired the meeting. Mr. Tahir Khalil Sindhu, Parliamentary Secretary on Minorities Affairs, Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmed and Shahzada Zulfiqar shared their views. Earlier, Mr. Zafarullah Khan made a presentation on the theme of the dialogue and documentary, “Constitutional Journey of Pakistan” was screened.



Khalil Tahir (MPA), Hussain Naqi Zafarullah Khan and Shahzada Zulfiqar

Museum of Political History

Hassnain Ghayoor



Visitors at the Citizens' Resource Centre

There is always a past to each present or at least it seems so as one comes out of the small museum set up at the Centre for Civic Education.

This is a museum of political history. It chronicles promises and pledges, made over the years, with the people of Pakistan, and documents their struggle for democratic rights. From the oldest constitutional documents, speeches, and personal diaries of political leaders to the recently amended constitution the museum also displays several commission reports, white papers, and a number of books on the political culture of Pakistan.

An imposing portrait gets the attention as one enters the museum in which Jinnah is seen standing with cigar in his hand and pensively looking away through the window pane. This portrait is hung on the front wall, a little above the glass cabinet which showcases manifestos, badges, electoral signs and flags of different political parties. A copy of the constitution is placed on the left of the portrait.

There are some rare images displayed on the right wall in which political workers and leaders are seen protesting and sloganeering for the rule of law and restoration of democracy. They are exhausted and blood-stained. There are images showing people, old and young, men and women, being ruthlessly beaten and dragged by the security forces.

Memories come haunting as one moves along the same wall to see some other pictures. Seeing the first Prime Minister speaking in the national assembly, seeing Zulfikar Ali Bhutto taking over as martial law administrator, seeing Ayub Khan talking with Fatima Jinnah and various images of military men jumping over the walls, tell the story of democracy in Pakistan.

Citizens' Resource Centre

Documenting struggle for democratic Pakistan



Mission:

“To preserve and highlight the democratic struggle of the valiant people of Pakistan and to offer an opportunity to the future generations to understand the country's political history, traditions and institutions”

The Resource Centre is a non-profit civic education initiative to preserve and project Pakistani dreams, aspirations and struggle of realization for democratic ideas and ideals since 1947. The Centre offers an opportunity to the citizens, especially the future generations, to learn about the political history of Pakistan through a collection of documents, pictures and other memorabilia available under one roof.

The Centre arranges exhibitions, facilitates education, and research work to stimulate public dialogue relating to the development of democracy in Pakistan. The Centre consists of five display sections covering the following aspects:

- 1 The Constitution: to highlight the constitutional journey of the nation.
- 2 The Parties: to highlight the role of major political parties.
- 3 The Parliament: to highlight the role of the Parliament.
- 4 The Political Workers: A special wall inscribed with the names and possibly pictures of political workers and leaders who fought for the cause of democracy.
- 5 The People's Movements: to highlight the major people's movements.

Citizens and political parties are encouraged to contribute to this unique collection.

Pictures of the Parliament House and the Supreme Court add to the effect, however, they do not show the fenced gates. A copy of the national anthem written and signed by Hafeez Jalundhary, poet of the anthem, is hung above the government buildings.

Then there is this whole section displaying somber looking presidents taking oath from prime ministers and chief justices. This is a section meant to recall different undercurrents of political history, for example, the reluctance of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan while taking oath from Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and President Farooq Laghari's eagerness while taking oath from Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. General Pervez Musharraf appears thrice in this section while taking oath from three Prime ministers; Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, Chaudhary Shujat Hussain, Shaukat Aziz and the current Chief Justice of Pakistan.

If you feel bothered by this reluctance or eagerness there is a smart collection of books to relieve you from it.

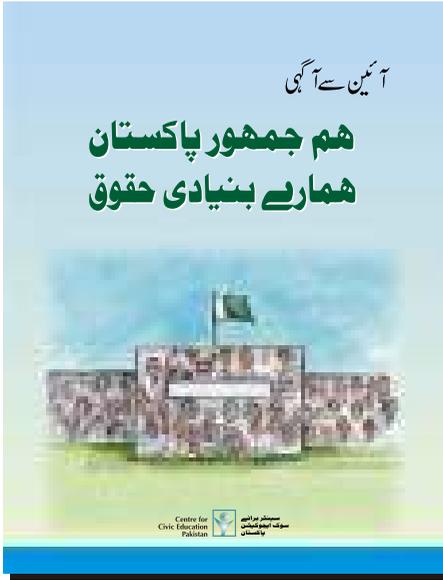
In the middle rack of a bookshelf placed in the right corner there is a report which was commissioned by none other than General Muhammad Zia-ul Haq and was headed by Zafar Ahmad Ansari. In terms of its politico-administrative approach and ideological orientation this Commission is diametrically opposite to the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms and the Implementation Commission on the 18th Amendment.

In order to appreciate the context of ongoing process of democratic devolution and changes brought about by the implementation on 18th amendment leafing through the Ansari Commission Report would not be an exercise in vain.

The Ansari Commission Report tells all about the day we have just begun. Wondering how a report written by military cronies in 1983 could tell anything about today. It does. And this is what the museum is intended for, to keep record of the political past in order to relate it with the current political debates and developments.

In the city of clamor and glamour called Islamabad, nothing sells like half-baked opinions, half-hatched ideas and ill-conceived plans. The clamor mongers find it easy selling all of this because of a present which has been systematically disassociated from the past. The Centre of Civic Education (CCE) believes that this dissociation owes to a set of factors which helped the apparatus of ignorance thrive on for years. The single most important achievement of this project has been to isolate altogether the current debates from the past or to restrict them to a particular past, of which the Ansari Commission Report is an apt example.

The idea behind this museum is to cultivate an understanding of the present with a sense of the varied past. For this, the Centre has collected all of these political and constitutional artifacts and has put them together in a way to wed the time-present with the time-past. Zafarullah Khan, curator of the museum and executive director of the CCE, says to have come up with this idea because of his longing for a future born of the wedded bliss.



Research and publications:

- The Centre for Civic Education Pakistan has produced a series of “Web-watch” to highlight how the majority of official websites carry the Pre-18th Amendment Constitution.
- The Centre distributed more than three thousand copies of the amended Constitution among citizens, the participants of various events and educational institutions.
- The Centre produced a Handbook on Fundamental Rights in Pakistan (Urdu). The Handbook explains the history and context of the fundamental rights and how to realize them through civic and legal actions.
- A special poster has been printed on Fundamental Rights in the Constitution. The poster has been prepared in a way that it could be displayed in classrooms to have a quick glance of fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution.
- A training module on fundamental rights has been prepared and has been tested at a weeklong Diploma Course.
- The Centre produced series of Citizens Monitors on the implementation of the 18th Amendment.
- The Centre has produced a 20-minutes documentary on the “Constitutional Journey of Pakistan” for its civic education programs. The documentary has been screened in Islamabad, Karachi and Lahore and it helped stimulate an engaging discussion among the participants of public events.

What do citizens expect from their parliament



I N T E R N A T I O N A L
DAY OF DEMOCRACY
S E P T E M B E R 1 5 , 2 0 1 1