

### **ABBREVIATIONS**

AJIP Awami Jamhoori Ittehad Pakistan

AMLP Awami Muslim League Pakistan

APML All Pakistan Muslim League

BNP Balochistan National Party

IND Independent Member

Jl Jamaat-e-Islami

JUI-F Jamiat-e-Ulema-Islam - Fazlur Rehman

MQM Muttahida Qaumi Movement

NP National Party

NPP National Peoples Party

PMAP Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party

PML Pakistan Muslim League

PML-F Pakistan Muslim League (Functional)

PML-N Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)

PML-Z Pakistan Muslim League (Zia-ul-Haq Shaheed)

PPPP Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians

PTI Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

QWP-S Qaumi Watan Party - Sherpao



This report is based on direct observation of National Assembly proceedings conducted by CPDI-Pakistan, a member organization of FAFEN.

# **Executive Summary**

Only 41% of legislators took part in the first budget session of the 14<sup>th</sup> National Assembly as the government's decision to implement the increase in the General Sales Tax (GST) before the passage of the budget was criticized by the opposition. On the other hand the Supreme Court also ruled the government had no legal authority to levy and charge 17 per cent GST without the parliamentary approval.

The session, that spread over 13 sittings from June 12 to June 28, 2013, lasted 85 hours. On average, each sitting started 20 minutes late and met for six hours and 32 minutes.

The first sitting saw the Finance Minister presenting the Finance Bill 2013 in his budget speech that spanned an hour and 50 minutes. The general debate started two days later with an opening speech by the Leader of the Opposition and lasted 41 hours and 25 minutes.

The opposition criticized the budget, terming it an "anti-poor budget designed to benefit the business class." The opposition parties repeatedly condemned the increase in GST from 16% to 17% and its imposition before the budget's passage. They also expressed concern over the government's failure to expand the direct tax net, increase the salaries of government employees, tax the agriculture sector and fix the promised minimum wage. The online access of bank details awarded to Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) and the abolition of tax exemption in terrorism-hit FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was also criticized.

The PTI, JI and the joint opposition staged walkouts to protest the increase in GST before the budget's passage.

On the other hand, the Finance Minister and MNAs belonging to PML-N and its allied parties praised the budget. The Finance Minister made use of the constitution, various laws and economic issues in an attempt to defend the provisions being criticized by the opposition, while the ruling parties lauded the government for taking bold steps towards reviving the economy, such as the abolition of discretionary funds, reduction in the Prime Minister House's expenditures and making a small cabinet etcetera.

On June 21 the Supreme Court voided the 1% increase in GST. It also took a suo motu notice over its collection before the budget's passage, ordering the government to deposit the additional sales tax to the Supreme Court Registrar's office.

During the eleventh sitting on June 24, the Prime Minister announced in the House that the federal government had decided to initiate a treason case against the former military ruler for subverting the constitution.

The National Assembly incorporated 21 out of 113 recommendations put forward by Senate as it passed the budget in the 12<sup>th</sup> sitting.

The members raised 770 cut motions against 53 demands for grants, most of which were directed to the Cabinet Division and the Ministry of Industries and Production. Cut motions were also moved against the Ministries of Interior, Finance, Water and Power, and Petroleum and Natural Resources among others. In total, 45 members debated the cut motions for six hours and 54 minutes. The PTI and PPPP members shared their views for 81 and 74 minutes respectively, while PML-N members debated cut motions for 101 minutes.

Twenty-one members (18 male and three female) spoke on charged expenditures on the consolidated fund for an hour and 16 minutes. Most of them (six) belonged to PTI, followed by PPPP (five), MQM (four), JUI-F (two), PML-N, JI, AMLP (one each) and an independent member. The opposition members demanded the revamping and strengthening of state-owned entities during the debate and urged the government to address issues faced by overseas Pakistanis and securing of foreign loans.

Nearly 2% of the proceedings' time was spent on protests, walkouts and boycotts. The PTI and JI legislators staged independent walkouts over increase in power tariff and GST. MQM lawmakers staged five protests, including three independent protests over the killing of a party's MPA and his son in Karachi, the alleged inaction of the government on law and order situation in Karachi, and the chair's refusal to allow an MQM member to speak on a point of order. Additionally, the party staged two joint protests; a token walkout with PPPP, PTI, JI and AMLP on imposition of increased GST before the budget's passage, and a walkout with PPPP over the government's non-serious attitude towards law and order situation in Karachi.

Only 56% of the members (182 MNAs) participated in the assembly business – submission of agenda and onfloor debates. Four percent of the members solely submitted the agenda, 28% debated it while 24% engaged in both activities. A little over half of the male and female MNAs in the House participated in the proceedings; more of the earlier debated the agenda and the latter both submitted and debated the agenda.

The House also unanimously adopted two resolutions jointly sponsored by the government and the opposition parties. The first resolution, adopted in the third sitting, condemned the attack on Ziarat Residency, the Quetta attacks, and kidnapping of five doctors in Loralai. The second resolution, adopted in the 10<sup>th</sup> sitting, condemned the terrorist attack in Gilgit-Baltistan that killed ten foreign tourists and a local tour guide.

The opposition leader was present in all sittings and attended 48% of the proceedings. The Prime Minister, however, attended two sittings. The Speaker chaired 61% of the proceedings, the Deputy Speaker 32% while the rest of the proceedings were presided by the members of the Panel of the Chairpersons.

Since the National Assembly Secretariat does not share its members' attendance record with the public, FAFEN conducts a headcount of MNAs during the start, the end, and at a time when maximum members are present in each sitting. On average, 103 members were present at the beginning of each sitting, 89 at the time of adjournment and a maximum 198 members at a point during a sitting.

The House also considered 15 calling attention notices during the session, highlighting the delayed issuance of passports, the need for a clear policy on drone attacks, power outages, floods and mistreatment of Christian women in Kasur among other issues. Two notices put forward by PML-N members focused on construction work on national highways and illegal logging of old trees in Gilgit-Baltistan.

In total, members' speeches on 235 points of order consumed 634 minutes, or 12% of the session's time.

# 1.0 Budget in National Assembly

In the National Assembly the budget is presented on a day and time appointed by the Leader of the House. A separate demand for grant is made for each ministry or division, unless the government directs otherwise.

The Finance Minister or any other minister authorized by the Leader of the House presents the Finance Bill before the House. No other business except for the introduction of the Finance Bill is to be transacted on this day.

According to the rules<sup>1</sup>, the Speaker allots days for different stages of the budget session, leaving at least a two-day gap between the presentation and general discussion on the budget. The Speaker has to grant not less than four days for the general discussion on the budget.

There are three stages of the consideration of budget; the general discussion as a whole, discussion on appropriations (in respect of charged expenditure) and discussion and voting on demands for grants (in respect of expenditure other than charged expenditure) including voting on motions for reduction, if any.

# 2.0 Session Time and Members' Participation

This section deals with the session's duration, attendance of members, their participation and maintenance of quorum – at least one-fourth of the sitting membership. The participation of members is recorded when they take part in the proceedings or submit an agenda item. It also reviews the presence of the Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition and parliamentary leaders.

### 2.1 Session Duration

The 13-day budget session started on June 12 and ended on June 28, consuming 85 hours. On average, each sitting began 20 minutes late and lasted six hours and 32 minutes. The tenth sitting was the most delayed, falling 41 minutes behind the schedule. The sitting, also the longest, went on for 11 hour and 54 minutes, wherein the assembly debated cut motions.

The first sitting, during which the Finance Minister presented the budget, was the shortest consuming only two hours

The general discussion on the budget lasted eight days starting from the second sitting till the ninth sitting. The time spent on budget debate consumed nearly two-fifth of the session's total duration.

In total, the House observed 10 breaks consuming 13 hours and 21 minutes – 16% of the session's time.

Sr. No.	Day and Data	Sitting	Dolov (minutos)	Sitting time	
SI. NO.	Day and Date	Sitting	Delay (minutes)	Hours	Minutes
1	Wednesday, June 12, 2013	1	25	2	0
2	Saturday, June 15, 2013	2	20	7	22
3	Sunday, June 16, 2013	3	10	5	25
4	Monday, June 17, 2013	4	10	6	40
5	Tuesday, June 18, 2013	5	10	7	47
6	Wednesday, June 19, 2013	6	5	8	13
7	Thursday, June 20, 2013	7	17	8	27
8	Friday, June 21, 2013	8	15	4	46
9	Saturday, June 22, 2013		20	7	26
10	Sunday, June 23, 2013	10	41	11	54
11	Monday, June 24, 2013	11	25	5	25
12	Thursday, June 27, 2013	12	35	7	28
13	Friday, June 28, 2013	13	30	2	7
Total	Total		Average delay: 20 Minutes	85 Ho	urs

Table 2.1: Session Day, Date and Duration

### 2.2 Key Members' Attendance

The attendance of the Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition is important

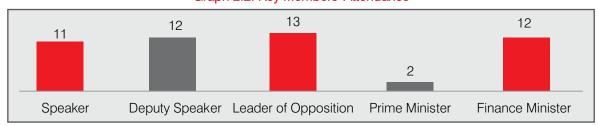
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Taken from Rule 187 of The Rules Of Procedure And Conduct Of Business In The National Assembly (2007)

in all sessions for their leadership and direction. Their attendance is more crucial in the budget session when the financial planning for the upcoming year is shared and finalized in the Lower House.

The Prime Minister attended two sittings, spending three hours and 10 minutes (4% of the session) in the assembly. He was present in the sitting wherein the budget was introduced and when the House concluded the debate on cut motions. The Leader of the Opposition was present in all the sittings, attending 48% of the proceedings. Last year, both the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition had attended only two sittings in the budget session.

The Speaker presided over 61% of the proceedings, while the Deputy Speaker chaired 32% of the sittings. The remaining proceedings were chaired by the members of the Panel of the Chairpersons. The Speaker attended 11 sittings, while the Deputy Speaker was present in 12 sittings.

The Finance Minister, who presented the Finance Bill 2013, attended all but one sitting during the session.



Graph 2.2: Key Members' Attendance

### 2.3 Members' Attendance

Since the National Assembly Secretariat does not share the attendance record of its members with the public, FAFEN conducts a headcount of present MNAs at the start, the end, and at a time when maximum members are present in each sitting.

According to FAFEN's observation, the quorum did not meet on several occasions, yet it was never pointed out by the members. The current membership of the National Assembly rests at 323, with the quorum meeting on the presence of one-fourth of the members – 81 MNAs.

The lawmakers' interest in the proceedings was observed to be quite low in terms of their attendance. On average, 103 out of 323 members (32%) were seen present at the beginning and 89 (28%) at the end of each sitting. According to FAFEN's estimate, an average maximum of 198 members (61%) were seen present in each sitting.

The first sitting witnessed the highest number of legislators (303 or 94%) attending the proceedings, while the seventh sitting saw the least number of MNAs (154 members or 48%) present.

In addition, on average, seven out of ten minority members were present in each sitting.

Sitting No.	Members at the Outset	Members at the End	Maximum Members Present	Minority Members Present	
1	246	255	303	10	
2	106	42	176	5	
3	112	58	187	6	
4	98	43	174	8	
5	40	26	168	8	
6	72	22	216	6	
7	67	35	154	8	
8	94	141	186	8	
9	96	114	212	7	
10	142	115	210	5	
11	93	124	210	7	
12	101	78	218	8	
13	67	105	156	9	

Table 2.3: Members' Attendance

### 3.0 General Debate

On the days allotted for general discussion on budget, according to Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, the assembly may discuss the budget as a whole or any question of principle involved therein, but no motion can be moved at this stage nor can the budget be submitted for the vote of the assembly.

The Minister-in-Charge has the general right of reply at the end of the discussion. The Speaker may, if he deems fit, prescribe a time limit for speeches.

The debate on the budget includes the general debate on demand for grants, debate on the Senate's recommendations, charged expenditure and cut motions. The following section provides details of each category of debate.

### 3.1 Participation

During the first sitting the Finance Minister presented the Finance Bill in his budget speech that lasted an hour and 50 minutes. As per the National Assembly rules no discussion was held on the day the budget was introduced.

The Speaker, in consultation with the Finance Minister, set the following Saturday – the second sitting – for the commencement of the general debate on the budget. The parliamentary leaders were given 40 minutes each to deliver their speeches, while the remaining members were awarded 15 minutes to express their views on the budget.

The budget debate was opened by the Leader of the Opposition, who spoke for 87 minutes. A total of 133 MNAs (41%) participated in the general discussion on the budget consuming approximately 32 hours – 38% of the session. The larger parties in the House - PML-N, PPPP, PTI, MQM and JUI-F - dominated the debate, taking up 82% of the total time. Members belonging to AJIP, PML and NPP comprising one, two and three members respectively did not participate in the general discussion on the budget.

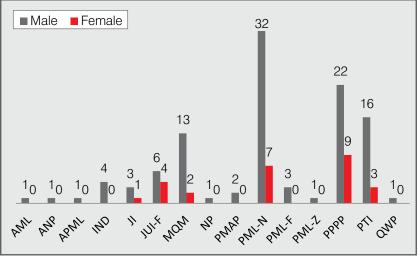
The party strengths in the National Assembly have changed following the 2013 General Elections. Although members of PML-N (total strength 184) debated the budget for the longest duration (474 minutes), only 21% of its members engaged in the debate. More members of PPPP (74% MNAs) spoke on the budget, followed by MQM (65% MNAs) and PTI (63%). Similarly, of the parties with lesser membership 10 MNAs of JUI-F, four each of JI and independent MNAs, PML-F (three MNAs), PMAP (two MNAs) did the same. Apart from AJIP, legislators belonging to all single member parties participated in the budget debate.

Party	Debating Members	Debating Time (minutes)	Percentage of Total Debating Time
PML-N	39	474	25%
PPPP	31	452	23%
PTI	19	295	15%
MQM	15	242	12%
JUI-F	10	124	6%
PMAP	2	60	3%
IND	4	55	3%
JI	4	55	3%
PML-Z	1	36	2%
QWP-S	1	34	2%
AML	1	30	2%
PML-F	3	28	1%
ANP	1	18	1%
APML	1	14	1%
NP	1	6	1%
Total	133	32 hours and three minutes	100%

Table 3.1: Details of General Discussion

The male MNAs participated more actively in the debates in comparison to their female counterparts. Out of 257 male and 66 female lawmakers, 107 male MNAs (42%) and 26 female MNAs (39%) took part in the general debate on the budget, with male members of PML-N and female members of PPPP dominating the discussion. A more balanced ratio of male-to-female debating MNAs was observed in PPPP and JUI-F.

Party-wise, male members of all parties and female members of JI, MQM, PTI, JUI-F, PML-N and PPPP shared their views on the budget.





66

Male

26

Total

Female

Figure 3.1: Gender-wise Participation of Legislators in General Discussion

#### 3.2 General Discussion

During the general debate on the budget the opposition criticized the government on presenting a hastily prepared tax-heavy budget that would bring no relief to the public. On the other hand, PML-N lawmakers and their allies in the government praised the treasury for taking bold steps to revive the economy in the budget proposal.

The opposition parties denounced the increase in General Sales Tax (GST) from 16% to 17% and its collection before the Finance Bill's passage, while also criticizing the government's failure to increase the salaries of government employees. They accused the government on relying on indirect taxes for revenue generation and failing to increase the tax net and imposing taxes on agriculture and business sector.

The policy of giving online access of bank details to the FBR, ignorance of health and education, lack of provisions to control law and order, withdrawal of subsidies on electricity, failure to fix minimum wage at Rs15,000 per month as promised by the PML-N and abolishing tax exemption in terrorism-hit areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA were also criticized by the opposition parties.

An MQM lawmaker suggested increasing the income tax of all high-paid employees, including those working in the agricultural sector. On the other hand, the PPPP, MQM and PTI members criticized the government's announcement to pay dues of circular debt within two months by saying that the government is not focusing on its primary concern - electricity theft and non-payment of electricity bills. PTI and MQM members also criticized the tax imposition on Hajj operators and construction material. The PPPP protested against changing the name of Benazir Income Support Program to Pakistan Income Support Program.

The lawmakers of ruling parties responded to the opposition by lauding the government on the upward trend in the stock exchange, policy of self-reliance, strengthening private sector and foreign investment, abolition of discretionary funds, cutting expenditures of PM Secretariat and making a small sized cabinet.

The Finance Minister, while defending the collection of the increased GST before the budget's passage, invoked the Provisional Collection of Taxes Act of 1931 and conceded that similar actions had been taken by previous governments. He said the increase in GST would yield nearly Rs60 billion, and while the Supreme Court had taken a notice on the issue, it had not stayed the application of the increased tax.

On June 21, the Supreme Court declared the 1% increase in GST as unconstitutional and ordered the government to deposit the amount collected through imposition of additional sales tax to the office of the Supreme Court Registrar. Moreover, the 9% increase in sales tax on Compressed National Gas (CNG) was also voided. The court said no additional tax could be imposed without the approval of the parliament.

The Finance Minister, winding up the budget debate in the National Assembly, said he had carefully reviewed the opposition's recommendations on the increase in GST, adding that the country's economic conditions did not leave room for withdrawal of the taxation policies.

## 3.3 Charged Expenditures

The charged expenditures refer to government expenditures including all debt charges for which the federal government is liable, various administrative expenses, the remuneration payable for the presidential expenditures, the supreme and high court judges, the Election Commissioner, the Auditor General and the primary and secondary presiding officers of both houses of the parliament. In addition, any sums required to satisfy any judgment, decree or award against Pakistan or declared by the Constitution, act of parliament to be so charged.

Any expenditure met from the consolidated fund, under the constitution, must be discussed, but is not submitted to the vote of the national or provincial assemblies.

During the debate on the charged expenditure, the opposition members demanded of the government the revamping of Pakistan Railways, strengthening of Pakistan Post, directions to the Foreign Office to pay attention to the problems being faced by overseas Pakistanis and securing of foreign loans after in-depth consideration.

The opposition parties debated the charged expenditures for 76 minutes. Twenty one lawmakers - 18 male and three female - debated the charged expenditures. Leading the debate, six PTI lawmakers shared their views, followed by five of PPPP, four MNAs of MQM, two of JUI-F and one member each of APML, AMLP, JI and an independent member. The Finance Minister spoke for 25 minutes while responding to the opposition.

The female members of APML, JUI-F, MQM and PPPP also participated in the debate on charged expenditure.

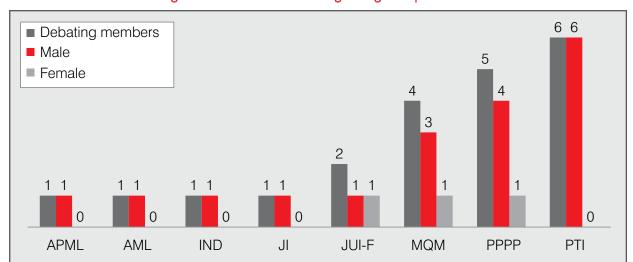


Figure 3.3: Members Debating Charged Expenditures

### 3.4 Senate's Recommendations

The National Assembly transmitted the Finance Bill containing the annual budget statement to the Senate for recommendations. The Upper House made 113 recommendations on the bill to the National Assembly, 21 of which were incorporated.

Ten MNAs (seven male and three female) took part in the general discussion on the Senate's recommendations that lasted 72 minutes. The participating lawmakers included two members each from PPPP and PTI, one member each from AMLP, APML, JUI-F, MQM, PMAP and an independent legislator.

After the debate on Senate's recommendations, the Finance Minister spoke for an hour and five minutes.

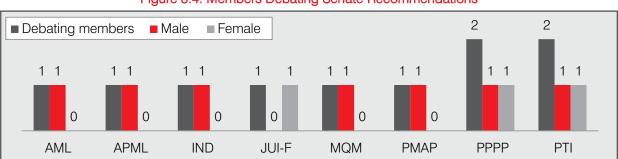


Figure 3.4: Members Debating Senate Recommendations

#### 3.5 Cut Motions

The lawmakers can move a cut motion to show disapproval of a policy, demand reduction or removal of an item in demand and ventilation of specific grievance which is within the sphere or responsibility of the government known as policy, economy and token cuts respectively. The admissibility of a cut motion is subject to the chair's discretion.

The legislators raised 770 cut motions against 53 demands for grants, most of which were directed to the Cabinet Division and the Ministry of Industries and Production. Cut motions were also moved against the Ministries of Interior, Finance, Water and Power, and Petroleum and Natural Resources amongst others. The House rejected all cut motions proposed by the opposition members with a majority vote.

Overall, 46 members including female lawmakers of PPPP, PTI and JI debated the cut motions for six hours and 54 minutes. The PTI and PPPP members shared their views on cut motions for 81 and 77 minutes respectively.

PML-N members debated cut motions for an hour and 41 minutes that included a 44-minute address from the Finance Minister.

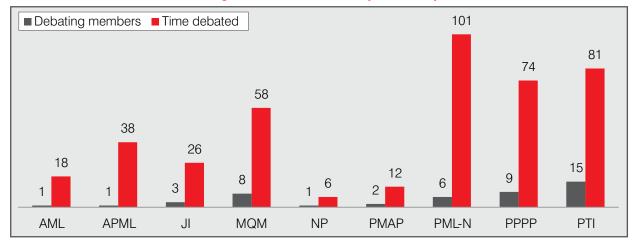


Figure 3.5: Time Debated by Each Party

# 4.0 Members' Participation

As other parliamentary business was conducted during the budget session, this section reviews the participation of legislators and other agenda on the orders of the day. The participation of members is recorded when they take part in the proceedings or submit an agenda item.

As many as 182 lawmakers (56% of the total membership) participated in the session. Eighty-nine MNAs (28%) only deliberated the agenda, 14 (4%) members only submitted agenda, while 79 (24%) both debated and submitted the agenda. The PML-N members dominated the assembly debates, with 53 members solely speaking on the agenda. Moreover, 21 lawmakers of PPPP, 20 from PTI and 17 from MQM submitted the agenda and took part in the debates.

Sr. No.	Political Party	Total Membership in the House	Members Submitting Agenda Items	Members Taking Part in Debates	Members Participating in Debates and Submitting Agenda Items	Percentage of Members Submitting Agenda Items	Percentage of Members Participating in Debates	Percentage of Members Submitting Agenda Items and Participating in Debates
1	AJIP	1	-	1	ı	0%	100%	0%
2	AMLP	1	-	-	1	0%	0%	100%
3	ANP	1	-	1	-	0%	100%	0%
4	APML	1	-	-	1	0%	0%	100%
5	IND	8	-	3	ı	0%	38%	0%
6	JI	4	1	-	3	25%	0%	75%
7	JUI-F	12	-	7	5	0%	58%	42%

Table 4.0: Details of Members' Participation

Sr. No.	Political Party	Total Membership in the House	Members Submitting Agenda Items	Members Taking Part in Debates	Members Participating in Debates and Submitting Agenda Items	Percentage of Members Submitting Agenda Items	Percentage of Members Participating in Debates	Percentage of Members Submitting Agenda Items and Participating in Debates
8	MQM	23	3	2	17	13%	9%	74%
9	NP	1	-	-	1	0%	0%	100%
10	NPP	3	-	2	-	0%	67%	0%
11	PMAP	3	-	-	2	0%	0%	67%
12	PML	2	-	-	-	0%	0%	0%
13	PML-N	184	6	53	8	3%	29%	4%
14	PML-F	5	-	3	-	0%	60%	0%
15	PML-Z	1	-	1	-	0%	100%	0%
16	PPPP	42	2	11	21	5%	26%	50%
17	PTI	30	2	4	20	7%	13%	67%
18	QWP-S	1	-	1	-	0%	100%	0%
Total		323	14	89	79	4%	28%	24%

Overall, 96% of MQM lawmakers participated in the proceedings, followed by 87% MNAs of PTI, 81% of PPPP and 36% of PML-N, the largest party in the House. Three independent members, along with three PML-F MNAs, two each of NPP and PMAP, and all members of the single member parties contributed to the proceedings by debating and/or submitting agendas. The two members belonging to PML in the Lower House did not take part in the proceedings.

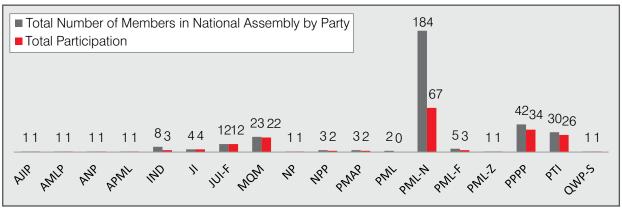
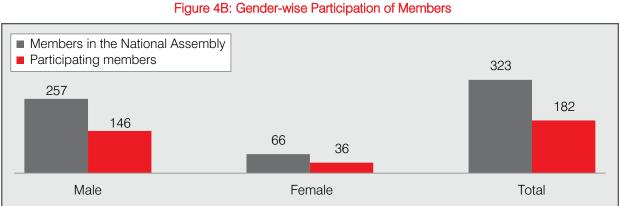


Figure 4A: Party-wise Participation of Members

Gender-wise, 146 out of 257 (57%) male and 36 out of 66 (55%) female lawmakers participated in the session. The male members showed more interest in the debates, while their female counterparts actively submitted and debated agendas on the orders of the day.



Region-wise, lawmakers from Sindh were the most active, with 59 out of 72 (82%) members participating in the proceedings, followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (30 out of 38, or 79%), Balochistan (10 out of 14, or 71%), FATA (five out of 11, or 45%) and Punjab (72 out of 177, or 41%). The sole ICT member remained absent from the session. Moreover, six out of 10 minority members participated in the assembly proceedings.

FAFEN observers noted that the members from Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa took more interest in debates and submission of agenda, while legislators from Punjab and Balochistan were more active in on-floor debates.

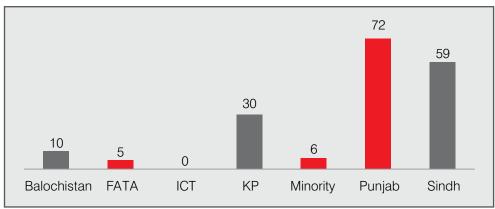


Figure 4C: Province-wise Participation of Members

The participation of elected members at 57% was slightly higher than the 54% participation of reserved members. The elected members were observed to be more interested in debates, while members on reserved seats showed interest in both debates as well as submission of agenda.

# 5.0 Representation, Responsiveness and Government Oversight

According to Section 184 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly, no other business, including questions, CANs, adjournment motions and questions of privilege are allowed on the day of budget presentation. The House, however, considered additional agendas with the Speaker's consent.

## 5.1 Calling Attention Notices (CANs)

The lawmakers sought the government's assurances on various issues of public importance through 19 CANs. Fifteen of the notices were taken up by the House, leaving four unaddressed.

A total of 41 legislators (25 male and 16 female) tabled CANs on the orders of the day. Eleven legislators of PML-N, nine of MQM, eight of PTI, six each of PPPP and JUI-F and one AMLP member sponsored the calling attention notices.

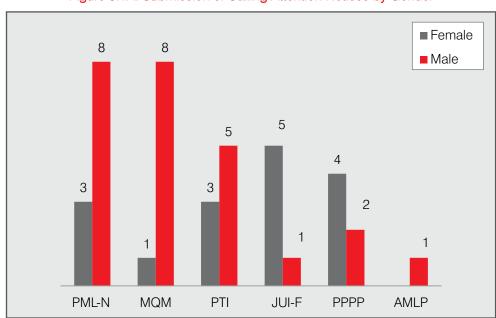


Figure 5.1A: Submission of Calling Attention Notices by Gender

The desecration of the Holy Quran's verses printed in newspapers, delay in export of citrus fruits, communications and deforestation in Gilgit-Baltistan were the issues brought on the floor through CANs tabled by PML-N. The PTI members moved notices regarding delay in issuance of passports, policy on drone attacks, quota of government jobs in Khanpur and delay in completion of PC-1 for the first university in FATA. An AMLP lawmaker sponsored CANs on import of substandard petrol, work permit for overseas Pakistanis and electricity supply and shortfall, while JUI-F tabled CANs regarding load shedding in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and financial losses from floods in Charsadda. In addition, CANs on law and order in Karachi and lack of electricity supply to KESC were moved by MQM members.

The MNAs belonging to JUI-F jointly sponsored two CANs with PML-N and PTI on load shedding in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and mistreatment of Christian women in Kasur respectively. The notices moved by PPPP on unmonitored blood banks in Islamabad and terror attacks in Balochistan were not taken up in the sitting.

Table 5.1: Calling Attention Notices

Sr. No.	CANs	Party
1	Twenty to twenty two hours daily load shedding in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	JUI-F
2	Delay in passport issuance	PTI
3	Absence of a clear policy on drone attacks, especially in the event of the US Secretary of State's visit to Pakistan	PTI
4	Twenty to twenty two hours daily load shedding in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Jhang and Chiniot districts in Punjab	JUI-F PML-N
5	Desecration of the Holy Quran's verses printed in newspapers	PML-N
6	Unmonitored blood banks in Islamabad	PPPP
7	Financial loss to cultivators due to delay in export of citrus fruits	PML-N
8	Flood in Swat River at Charsadda and consequential loss to local people	JUI-F
9	Import of sub-standard petrol which damages vehicles	AMLP
10	Non-allocation of quota for locals of Khanpur in services from BS-1 to BS-4 in Pakistan Management Organization Factory in Haripur	PTI
11	Rising incidents of extra-judicial killings and missing persons in Karachi	MQM
12	Delay in completion of PC-I for the proposed university in FATA	PTI
13	Problems faced by overseas Pakistanis in obtaining work permits and visas for Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries	AMLP
14	Stripping three Christian women and parading them in Chak 21, Kasur	JUI-F PTI
15	Non-payment to IPPs resulting in non-increase in the production of 1,700MW electricity	AMLP
16	Terror attacks in Quetta on June 15, 2013 that killed 25 people and left several others injured	PPPP
17	Non-completion of construction work on Mandra-Chakwal and Sohawa-Chakwal highways and the resultant accidents	PML-N
18	Cutting of 300-350 old trees in Gilgit-Baltistan in the garb of implementation of directive of ex-prime minister lifting the ban from bringing the chopped trees therefrom	PML-N
19	Non-supply of 350MW electricity to KESC from the national grid	MQM

Female MNAs of JUI-F and PPPP tabled more CANs compared to male legislators of the same parties. Seven notices were jointly moved by male and female legislators, followed by five CANs sponsored individually by male members. The male members jointly moved three CANs, followed by an equal number jointly moved by female legislators. Only one notice was tabled individually by a female legislator.

Nineteen of the CANs on the agenda were directed to a total of 13 ministries. Four notices were directed to the Ministry of Water and Power followed by Ministry of Interior and Narcotics Control (three), Cabinet Secretariat (two) and one CAN each to the remaining ministries.

A single CAN each addressed to the ministries of Interior and Narcotics Control and National Health Services, Regulations and Coordination, and two directed to the Ministry of Water and Power were not taken up during the session. The reason for these CANs to remain unaddressed could be shortage of time, the absence of the concerned minister and/or the mover of the notice.

3 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 Interior and Narcotics Control Defence Law, Justice and Human Rights State and Frontier Regions Broadcasting and National Heritage Minister for Foreign Affairs National Health Services Regulations and Coordination Overseas Pakistanis Petroleum and Natural Resources **Cabinet Secretariat** Commerce and Textile Industry Communications Water and Power

Figure 5.1B: Details of Ministries Receiving CANs

#### 5.2 **Questions of Privilege**

A single question of privilege was moved by an MQM member during the fifth sitting against the misbehavior of Passport and Immigration Director General. The speaker referred the matter to the Standing Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges.

#### 6.0 **Parliamentary Output**

Apart from the passage of Finance Bill 2013, the House considered resolutions appearing on the orders of the day and papers related to the budget were laid before the House.

#### 6.1 Resolutions

Lawmakers move resolutions to air an opinion, commend or condemn an action or draw the treasury's attention to a matter of public interest and are sanctioned by Section 157, Chapter XV of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly.

The National Assembly adopted two resolutions jointly tabled by 17 lawmakers (14 male and three female) during the session. MNAs of PPPP were more active in the submission of resolutions.

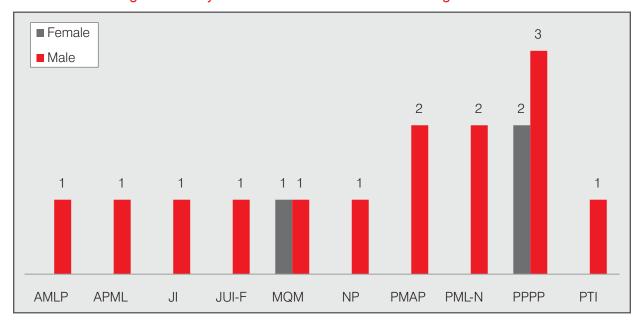


Figure 6.1: Party-wise Distribution of Members Submitting Resolutions

The House condemned the kidnapping of five doctors from Loralai on June 14 and attacks on Ziarat Residency, female students and Bolan Medical Complex in Quetta through a joint resolution. The House expressed solidarity with the Balochistan government and resolved to defeat anti-state elements responsible for the critical situation in the province on an emergency basis through a national consensus. The resolution was tabled by members of PML-N, PMAP, APML, PPPP, MQM, PTI, NP and JUI-F.

The attack on foreign tourists and their Pakistani guide at a base camp in Nanga Parbat on June 23 was unanimously condemned by the House through a resolution that termed the incident as "clearly a deliberate attempt to undermine Pakistan's image internationally, so as to portray it as an unsafe place for foreign tourists." The House appreciated the actions taken by the Interior Ministry in issuing necessary instructions to law enforcing agencies and security forces. It also called for reassertion of the professional capacity of security and intelligence setups and greater coordination among them. The resolution was sponsored by members of PTI, PML-N, PMAP, PPPP, JI, AMLP and MQM.

### 6.2 Papers Laid

In the 13<sup>th</sup> sitting, a PML-N member tabled papers related to the Schedule of Authorized Expenditure 2013-2014, Supplementary Schedule of Authorized Expenditure 2012-2013 and Excess Schedule of Authorized Expenditure 1990-1991, 1992-1993, 1994-1995, 1997-1998 and 2001-2002.

### 7.0 Order and Institutionalization

This section deals with issues discussed on points of order and instances of protests, walkouts or boycotts during the session.

### 7.1 Points of Order

Points of order are raised on the floor when a member has to highlight a breach in assembly rules, procedures and code of conduct. Its admissibility in the assembly output is subject to the Chair's ruling. Since bringing agenda such as CANs and adjournment motions is lengthy and cumbersome, lawmakers often find it easier to employ points of order to speak on national and regional issues.

The lawmakers spoke on 235 points of order for 10 hours and 34 minutes - 12% of the session's total duration. The last sitting saw the highest number of points of order (58) being raised by the members, consuming 17% (108 minutes) of the sitting.

Sitting No.	Points of Order	Time Consumed (minutes)
1	0	0
2	14	36
3	5	7
4	7	45
5	7	10
6	16	60
7	11	16
8	42	127
9	15	32
10	15	72
11	26	73
12	19	48
13	58	108
Total	235	634

Table 7.1: Points of Order

PML-N members raised a total of 37 points of order during the session, followed by PPPP (14), PTI (13), MQM (12), JUI-F (six) and JI (four). Independent candidates and lawmakers of PML-F raised two POs each, while a single point of order was raised by each member of AMLP, APML, NPP, PMAP, PML-Z and QWP-S.

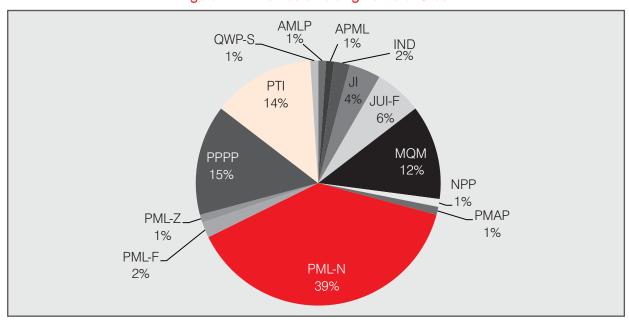


Figure 7.1A: Members Raising Points of Order

Out of a total of 264 issues raised by parliamentarians through points of order, 96 were raised by PML-N members, followed by PPPP legislators who raised 51 issues. Both PTI and MQM raised 32 issues each, followed by AMLP (14), JUI-F (11), JI (10), PMAP (seven), and PML-Z and independent members (three each). In addition, PML-F raised two issues, while each lawmaker of APML, NPP, QWP-S raised a single issue through points of order.

The POs raised by male legislators highlighted 89% of the issues (234), while the remaining issues (30 or 11%) were raised by female members in the assembly. Female legislators of PPPP raised 11 issues, followed by MNAs of PML-N, JUI-F, PTI, MQM, NPP and JI in the same order of precedence. Amongst the male MNAs, PML-N, PPPP, PTI and MQM members were the most active in raising points of order in the assembly.

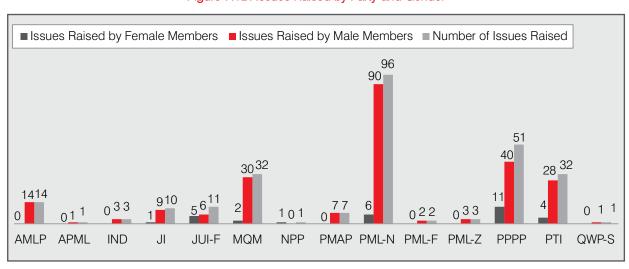


Figure 7.1B: Issues Raised by Party and Gender

Nearly 47% of the total issues dealt with the business of the House (35), annual budget (34), law and order (29), Balochistan affairs (16) and criticism of the government (12).

The issues on the business of the House included matters concerning the rules of procedures and conduct of business; parliamentarians' perks, privileges and facilities (including bonuses), lodging and security; and delay, omission and consideration of assembly business.

The implementation of GST before the approval of the Finance Bill, and lack of increase in government servants' salaries were repeatedly criticized by the opposition members on points of order. The opposition members demanded an increase in government employees' salaries and a refund or adjustment of additional GST collected between June 13 and June 21. Responding to the opposition's criticism, the Finance Minister assured the assembly that the imposition of taxes before the budget's passage was according to the constitution. He also announced a 10% increase in public servants' salaries.

The MNAs urged the government to prioritize law and order and formulate a national security policy on an emergency basis. Additionally, they condemned the killings of foreign tourists in Gilgit-Baltistan; incidents of terrorism in Ziarat, Quetta and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; and extra-judicial killings in Karachi on several points of order.

The energy crisis was reiterated through eight points of order, with lawmakers criticizing the government for prolonged power cuts in their respective regions.

Table 7.2: Issues Raised through POs

Subject	Count of Issues
Business of the House	35
Annual Budget (2013-14)	34
Law and order	29
Balochistan affairs	16
Criticism of the government	12
Miscellaneous affairs	11
Sports	8
Power and energy	8
Police	6
Arms and ammunition	5
Civil aviation	5
Constitution of Pakistan	5
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa affairs	5
Media	5
Criticism of colleagues	4
ICT affairs	4
Karachi affairs	4
Minority issues	4
Development schemes	3
Dictatorship	3
Foreign affairs	3
General Election 2013	3
Request for fatiha	3
Sindh affairs	3
Terrorism	3
Water issues	3
National security	2
Pervez Musharraf trial	2
Political consensus	2
Praise of government	2
Punjab affairs	2

Subject	Count of Issues
Tribute to Benazir Bhutto	2
Agriculture	1
Charter of Democracy	1
Communications	1
Compensation for victims	1
Corruption	1
Criticism of previous governments	1
Democracy	1
Education	1
FATA affairs	1
Financial issues	1
Health	1
IDPs of Bugti tribe	1
NAB affairs	1
NADRA affairs	1
Natural calamities	1
Passports	1
Praise of military forces	1
Privatization	1
Railways	1
Religious affairs	1
Security policy	1
Support of government	1
Supremacy of the parliament	1
Taxation	1
Tourism	1
Utility stores	1
Welfare schemes	1
Women rights	1
Total	264

## 7.3 Protests/Walkouts/Boycotts

The budget session witnessed seven demonstrations; five walkouts (including two token walkouts), one protest and a boycott that consumed an hour and 41 minutes – 2% of the session's duration.

The MQM lawmakers staged five protests, including three independent protests over the killing of a party's MPA and his son in Karachi, the government's inaction towards law and order and target killings in Karachi, and the Chair's refusal to allow a party member to speak on a point of order. In addition, the party staged two joint protests; a token walkout with PPPP, PTI, JI and AMLP over imposition of increased GST before budgets' passage and a walkout with PPPP over the government's non-serious attitude towards the law and order situation in Karachi.

Moreover, PTI and JI members staged independent walkouts for 60 and 10 minutes respectively during the

Table: 7.3: Protests/Walkouts/Boycotts

	Protests/Walkouts/Boycotts							
Sitting No	ng No Party Reason			Protest/Walkout/Boycott				
2	PTI	To protest the increase in GST from 16% to 17%	60	Walkout				
	JI	to protest the increase in GST from 16% to 17%	10	Walkout				
6	MQM PPPP	The government's non-serious attitude towards law and order in Karachi	5	Walkout				
	MQM	The government's apathy towards law and order and target killings in Karachi	4	Token Walkout				
	MQM	Killing of MPA Sajid Qureshi and his son in Karachi	16	Boycott				
8	MQM PPPP PTI JI AML	Imposition of increased GST before the budget's passage	2	Token Walkout				
12	MQM	Chair's refusal to allow a party member to speak on a point of order on opening a trial against former president Pervez Musharraf	4	Protest				

Disclaimer: This report is based on the direct observation of parliamentary proceedings. Every care has been taken to ensure accuracy. However, errors and omissions are excepted. To intimate any errors and omissions, please contact House 145, St 37, F-10/1, Islamabad - 051-8466232

## **GLOSSARY**

### **Adjournment Motion**

A motion to adjourn the business of the assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of recent and urgent public importance.

#### Chairperson

In relation to a sitting, any person who is presiding at that sitting.

### Calling Attention Notice

A notice by which a special question of public importance involving law and order may be raised.

#### Chai

The presiding officer at a meeting of the house.

#### Committee

A parliamentary committee constituted under pules of procedure, comprising various members of parliament.

#### **Deputy Speaker**

When the office of Speaker is vacant or Speaker is absent or is unable to perform his functions due to any cause the Deputy Speaker acts as the Speaker of the House.

#### Leader of the Opposition

"Leader of the Opposition" means a member who, in the opinion of the Speaker, is the leader of the majority of opposition members for a certain time period.

#### Legislation

The process of crafting law.

#### Member

A member of the assembly and for purposes of moving or opposing a bill, an amendment, a motion or a resolution, includes a minister.

#### Minister

May refer to the Prime Minister a Federal Minister or a Parliamentary Secretary in respect to any function delegated or entrusted to him by a minister.

### Opposition

The party or parties who do not belong to the governing party.

### 'Orders of the Day'

"Orders of the day" means the list of business to be brought before the assembly on any day.

#### Point of Order

Relates to the interpretation or enforcement of parliamentary rules of business or articles of the constitution that regulate the business of the assembly. The mover of a point of order raises a question which is within the cognizance of the chair.

#### Private Member's Bill

A proposed law introduced by a private member.

#### **Proceedings**

The actions taken by the house or by a committee, the most important parts of the proceedings are the decisions that are taken.

#### Quorum

Quorum is the minimum number of members of assembly necessary to conduct the business of the assembly. Under Article 55 of the Constitution 1/4th of the total membership of the assembly is required for quorum.

#### **Question Hour**

A time fixed under the rules for asking and answering questions.

#### Resolution

A motion for the purpose of discussing and expressing an opinion on a matter of general public interest.

#### Starred Question

A question that requires an oral answer in addition to a written reply.

### Sitting

A meeting of the assembly on a day.

#### Table

The table of the house.

We wish to extend our acknowledgment to the National Assembly Website for material contributions presented in the Glossary.

# **About FAFEN**

Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN), established in 2006, is a coalition of 42 leading civil society organizations, working to strengthen all forms of democratic accountabilities in Pakistan. Governed by Trust for Democratic Education and Accountability (TDEA), FAFEN's key achievements are:

- Observed the public display of Pakistan's draft electoral rolls and conducted the country's first statistically-valid voters' list audit in 2007
- Deployed more than 18,829 trained, neutral Election Day observers nationwide to watch the February 18, 2008 polls and 264 long-term observers to monitor the pre-election process
- Fielded long-term observers nationwide and published 19 pre-election reports
- For the February 18, 2008, General Elections, FAFEN conducted 260 simultaneous Parallel Vote Tabulations (PVTs)- the largest effort in the world
- Conducted its first survey, Constituents Aspirations Survey, in December 2008 with a sample size of 3,124 respondents to get the description of the state of public opinion and also to get a deeper understanding of the values, attitudes and beliefs of people living in the constituencies
- Conducted mapping of organizations working for human rights within Pakistan
- Observed general elections at Gilgit-Baltistan in 2009 and by-elections in various constituencies of the Punjab, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2010
- Implemented a unique methodology to observe parliamentary proceedings under its Parliament Watch
- Monitors public institutions across Pakistan and issues monthly reports on the state and performance of educational, health and other local level institutions. In addition, monthly reports on prices, crimes, incidence of disease, caseload in lower courts and political and electoral violence are issued

FAFEN continues to implement robust programs in-between elections related to monitoring parliamentary affairs, connecting constituents to their elected representatives, monitoring the performance of public and elected institutions and advocating electoral and democratic reforms. FAFEN is also monitoring political and electoral violence, peace activities and promoting active citizenry through ongoing civic education activities across the country. FAFEN is currently implementing Supporting Transparency, Accountability and Electoral Processes in Pakistan in 200 National Assembly constituencies in 119 districts across Pakistan.

## **FAFEN Election Observation Secretariat**

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