



**Preliminary Research on
Parliamentary Committees**

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Abstract

Parliamentary committees are an excellent mechanism for ensuring transparency and predictability in the functioning of ministries, public sector enterprises and regulatory bodies through effective oversight. Ensuring good governance is an important challenge for democracies, especially given the change in the way government and the private sector engage. This report presents a succinct background to the committees in Pakistan and committee systems in democracies. It discusses some prominent cases of parliamentary committee oversight and intervention in the major dealings of public sector enterprises and industry players in Pakistan. Finally, recommendations for further analysis and assessment of parliamentary effectiveness are discussed. These recommendations will form a basis for further development on this work.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	7
1 SIGNIFICANCE OF CREATING TRANSPARENCY AND PREDICTABILITY	7
2 CHALLENGES RELATED TO OVERSIGHT	8
3 THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE SYSTEM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN MODERN DEMOCRACIES.....	8
4 COMPARISON OF PAKISTANI COMMITTEE SYSTEMS WITH THE BRITISH, AMERICAN AND INDIAN COMMITTEE SYSTEMS	9
5 THE BUDGETARY PROCESS.....	10
6 CATEGORIES OF COMMITTEES.....	11
6.1 EXAMPLES OF SOME STANDING COMMITTEES.....	11
7 COMMITTEE SYSTEM AS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN	11
7.1 MEDIATION COMMITTEE - MENTIONED UNDER ARTICLE 71 OF CONSTITUTION	11
7.2 FINANCE COMMITTEE - MENTIONED UNDER ARTICLE 88 OF CONSTITUTION	12
8 COMMITTEE SYSTEM AS UNDER RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS 2007	12
8.1 PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES IN PAKISTAN	12
8.2 STANDING COMMITTEES	12
9 THE ROLE OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE IN THE PARLIAMENTARY PROCESS	13
10 COMMITTEE ON RULES OF PROCEDURE AND PRIVILEGES	16
11 HOUSE AND LIBRARY COMMITTEE	17
12 COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT ASSURANCES	17
13 BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE.....	17
14 GENERAL PROVISIONS REGARDING STANDING COMMITTEES.....	18
15 OTHER COMMITTEES.....	19
15.1 THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON BILLS.....	19
15.2 SPECIAL COMMITTEES.....	19
16 QUICK OVERVIEW OVER THE FEATURES OF COMMITTEES.....	19
16.1 LEGISLATIVE FUNCTION:	20
16.2 OVERSIGHT FUNCTION:	20
16.3 POWER OF COMMITTEES.....	20
16.3.1 Composition.....	20
16.3.2 Budget	21
16.3.3 Media Access.....	21
16.3.4 Lack of Resources	21
17 PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN 2008-2013.....	21
17.1 TIME LINE OF THE MEETINGS OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY (2011-2012)	26
17.1.1 April 19, 2011: Condemnation of Drone attacks	26
17.1.2 April 29, 2011: Meeting on Foreign Policy.....	26
17.1.3 July 19, 2011: Raymond Davis issue	26
17.1.4 July 30, 2011: Briefings by Defense and Interior Secretaries on National Security.....	27
17.1.5 August 19, 2011: Meeting on Afghanistan Situation	27
17.1.6 October 11, 2011: PCNS refused to attend briefing in GHQ	27

17.1.7	December 3, 2011: Committee endorsed DCC Decisions	27
17.1.8	December 9, 2011: Review of Pak-US relations	27
17.1.9	December 21, 2011: Probe on Memo Issue	28
17.1.10	December 24, 2011: Review of Pak-US Relations	28
17.1.11	January 04, 2012: Finalization of draft: Recommendations on Pak-US relations	29
17.1.12	January 10, 2012: Review of NATO supply and US relations	29
17.1.13	January 24, 2012: DG ISI submitted response	29
17.1.14	February 10, 2012: Memo Probe	29
17.1.15	February 11, 2012: Senator Khurshid resigned from Committee membership	29
17.2	QUICK VIEW TABLE	30
18	DETERMINING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES	30
19	REGULATING THE REGULATORS	31
20	CHARACTERISTICS OF STRONG PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES.....	32
20.1	DETERMINANTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PERFORMANCE (ILLUSTRATED IN DIAGRAM 1 ²²)	34
20.2	PERFORMANCE CRITERIA (ILLUSTRATED IN DIAGRAM 2 ²²)	34
	THE PROPOSED FRAMEWORK FOR EFFECTIVE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING PERFORMANCE CRITERIA, ON BASIS OF WHICH PERFORMANCE SHOULD BE GAUGED AND COMMITTEES EVALUATED:.....	34
20.3	STRUCTURE OF PERFORMANCE (ILLUSTRATED IN DIAGRAM 2)	34
21	EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN	35
21.1	PIA B-777 SCAM: EXAMPLE OF SENATE DEFENSE COMMITTEE’S ROLE IN OVERSIGHT	35
21.1.1	Main Findings	35
21.1.2	Achievement of the Committee	35
21.1.3	Follow-up	35
21.1.4	Documentation	35
21.2	EPHEDRINE SCANDAL: ROLE OF SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR	36
21.2.1	Investigation	36
21.2.2	Findings of the Committee	36
21.2.3	Follow-up	36
21.3	KESC UNDER SCRUTINY: SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ON WATER AND POWER’S ROLE	36
21.3.1	Main Findings	37
21.3.2	Achievement of the Committee	37
21.3.3	Follow-up	37
21.3.4	Documentation	38
22	MEASURING AND ENHANCING EFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES	38
22.1	QUALITATIVE INDICATORS	38
22.2	IMPROVING EFFECTIVENESS	38
22.3	OTHER WAYS OF ENHANCING EFFECTIVENESS	41
22.4	EVALUATION OF THE METHODS	42
22.5	QUANTITATIVE METHODS	43
22.5.1	Impact test	44
22.5.2	Acceptance Rate	44
22.5.3	Delayed Drop	44
22.6	CASE FOR QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS	44
22.7	COMMITTEE OVERSIGHT MECHANISMS (REACTIVE APPROACH)	45
22.8	COMMITTEE OVERSIGHT MECHANISM (PROACTIVE APPROACH)	46
22.9	BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER	49

Introduction

In recent history there has been an increased emphasis on ensuring not just effective administration but “good governance” worldwide. Ensuring good governance is as important a challenge for mature democracies as it is for those where institutions are still taking roots. As government institutions change the way they interact with private enterprises the need to build transparency and predictability into implementation of public policy is becoming more and more challenging. Transparency and predictability are the features which set the basis for an effective governance process. These are amongst those fundamental factors which ensure that the public interest is safeguarded in the long run.

1 Significance of creating Transparency and Predictability

Matthew Flinders¹ argues that “the condition of having to answer to an individual or a body for ones actions is accountability”. However, holding people accountable is a reactive exercise and presumes that a law has already been violated. It is more useful to ensure compliance and avoid instances of malpractices by building transparency and predictability into the system. Creating transparency in the actions of public servants is important because the state and its functionaries are invested with enormous authority to administer and ensure compliance. Authority without commensurate transparency will make the state abusive as well as inefficient.

The first problem encountered in introducing transparency and oversight is that transparency is a murky area in governance. According to Richard Mulgan², transparency when applied to scrutinizing government departments is “a notoriously imprecise term.” However it is generally agreed that since transparency includes giving an explanation, providing information when required, reviewing, revising and granting redress³, parliamentary committees are excellent mechanisms for ensuring transparency. The reason for this is that committees can investigate issues and seek clarification where necessary. Committees can perform the first three functions well. It is not clear, both in Westminster style and parliamentary democracies as to how committees can provide redress where required. In many instances committees make necessary recommendations. The power to punish is vested with the ministries and the courts not the

¹ M. Flinders, *The Politics of Accountability in the Modern State*, Ashgate 20001, p.12

² R. Mulgan, “Comparing accountability in the public and private sectors” (200) 59(1) *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 87

³ Sharman Report, n 39, para 3.8

committees. However, even in the absence of such powers the mere knowledge of public scrutiny through parliamentary committee oversight can influence government officials positively.

2 Challenges related to oversight

Making committees efficient at oversight is as great a challenge in mature democracies as it is in younger ones. Several reasons account for this. First, the way services are delivered in the public sector has undergone a change. The appointing of officials on a contractual basis is in vogue. There is also a trend of appointing “advisers” in public corporations. These advisers have a negative impact on the organization where they make unsound decisions, but in case of poor performance of the enterprise, holding them accountable is difficult. Bob Sendt, Auditor-General of New South Wales said in a speech in 2002 that “the growing influence of non-accountable political advisers was a major concern.” Another challenge is holding non-parliamentary regulatory bodies accountable. In Pakistan also there are several agencies, like the National Accountability Bureau and the Anti-Corruption Wing of the FIA, constituted under government statutes that are responsible for maintaining vigilance over government departments. Added to this factor is the trend towards public-private partnership. As private organizations get more involved in the implementation of public policy bringing them under parliamentary scrutiny is becoming a challenge. Diana Woodhouse observes the problem in Britain: “while ministerial responsibility remains a dominant feature of the accountability landscape, the political accountability it embodies is supplemented, even supplanted by managerial accountability.”⁴

3 The Legislative Committee System and its significance in modern democracies

The legislative committee system is considered to be the silver bullet in the internal operations of a parliament. It can be further described as a method which leads to division of the legislative labor, and specialization, as every committee consists of individuals holding expertise in the field, which is assigned to the committee. A strong committee system enhances the overall performance of a parliament, and gives an outlook on the progress and direction of the representatives. It also enables the system to set up with targets in mind, thus giving it a clear direction.

In modern democracies, it plays a major role. Countries today have a greater need to scrutinize, review and investigate the workings of their agencies in order make sure that they deliver results. Every parliament is accountable to the electorate for how well it ensures the government agencies

⁴ D Woodhouse, ‘Changing patterns of accountability in Westminster systems: a UK perspective’ – http://www.apo.org.au/linkboard/results.chtml?filename_num=02206

do their job. The committee system is a very efficient means of maintaining oversight and implementing adjustments in the working of the agencies controlled by the executive. Hence, the committees help the sovereign institution (the parliament) to make sound decisions by examining and improving proposals before the house.

Committees attempt to oversee the actions of the executive departments and their civil servants. A good example of this is the Procedure Committee of the British House of Commons, which is responsible for ensuring that proper practice and procedures are used by the Commons in dealing with public business.

The Committee System in Pakistan today is stronger and more effective than before, in particular after 1992 when the National Assembly adopted its Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, which were further amended and improved in 2007. The underlying philosophy of the National Assembly's revamped Committee System has been to fulfill the three-fold role of formulation of laws, supervision of administration and pursuit of its obligations to the electorate. Rules 198-245 regulate the working of the committees of the Assembly.

4 Comparison of Pakistani committee systems with the British, American and Indian Committee Systems⁵ⁱ

The status, value and relevance of committee chairpersons largely depend upon the importance given to committees in parliamentary traditions and the experience and caliber of the person holding the chairmanship of the committee.

The United States congress is divided into two houses; the Senate and the House of Representatives. At the first session of the congress the speaker constitutes the committee, which in turn elects the chairperson immediately. Since these members are elected by house representatives through a secret ballot, the chairpersons elected are always members of the majority group.

In India the special wing of the parliamentary secretariat assists the committee chairperson when charging their duty. The chairpersons are allocated offices, but no support staff. They however, have access to telecommunication and other equipment to help them conduct their affairs.

⁵Briefing Paper No. 13: Parliamentary Committee System in Pakistan – PILDAT (2004)

Pakistani parliamentarians claim that they get no extra remuneration for serving on a committee. The compensation for the public representative in Pakistan is governed by members of parliament, Salary and Allowances Act 1974.

Under this act the MNAs are paid a basic salary of Rs 23,000 and Rs 65,224 at various allowances. The fee for attending conferences and other meeting stands at a nominal Rs. 3,750. The Act however, does not account for perks that the chairpersons of standing committees get. Each chair has a staff of four people. Together this office of five receives Rs 12,000 plus 350 liters of petrol each. Since each MNA is a member of a committee, this is the additional benefit that they receive.

The British committee system is distinctive. The chairperson performs the function of not just presiding over the procedural functions of the committees, but also make modification to committee procedure and helps effect changes to parliamentary process. Unlike the US, privileges are provided not on the basis of who chairs the committee, but on the basis of seniority. In the US seniority of the member does not determine his powers; this is determined by his rank in the committee. It is the committee chair who determines which issue would be taken up for deliberation and investigation by committee. The chairperson determines the overall legislative direction of the congress. In these matters the Vice President of the United States and the speaker of the house cannot interfere. Committees in the US congress receive monetary and specialist support in the form of experts etc., to whatever degree they require to carry out their functions properly.

In Britain bills do not have to go through a maze of departmental bureaucracies before becoming laws. The committees may be reconstituted to deal with new problems and bills as many times as necessary. In both the US and the Subcontinent that is not the case. Government in Britain, India and Pakistan are required to present bills in the parliament when they want legislation enacted. The legislative process is, therefore, very flexible. The exception to this rule, however, is the Finance Bill which has to be presented to the parliament before a set date.

5 The Budgetary Process.

The budgetary process starts with the budget resolution. Through these resolutions, important policy statements about existing and proposed levies are communicated to parliament. These in effect become the basis for the Finance Bill, which is presented by the finance minister and debated by parliament. The bill goes to three pages. The first page is the one in which the

principles of the budget are approved. In the second page, the bill is referred to the committee for further discussion. The bill is then presented back to parliament for consideration and approval.

6 Categories of committees

Generally they fall into 2 categories:

1. Standing
2. Ad hoc/others

In Pakistan there are as many committees as there are ministries.

6.1 Examples of some Standing Committees

- Public Accounts Committee
- Committee on Government Assurances
- Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges
- House and Library Committee
- Business Advisory Committee
- Finance Committee⁶

7 Committee System as under the Constitution of Pakistan

The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as modified up to April, 2010, highlights two main categories of Parliamentary Committees, which also suggests their fundamental importance.

These are as follows:

7.1 Mediation Committee⁷ - mentioned under Article 71 of Constitutionⁱⁱ

The Mediation Committee is designed to resolve cases taking the viewpoint of both parties: the Lower House and the Upper House. Both Houses of Majlis-e-Shoora nominate a selected panel of eight members representing their viewpoints. After any changes in the Bill, if there is rejection or delayed progress of more than 90 days, this committee is approached by the concerned parties. The committee is then supposed to draft a version of that bill, which would be acceptable by both parties and present to it to them separately after ninety days as under clause (4) of Article 71. After the Bill has been passed by both the Houses, it is forwarded to the President for assent.

⁶ Article 88 of Constitution of Pakistan

⁷ Constitution of Pakistan (modified on April 2010)

7.2 Finance Committee - mentioned under Article 88 of Constitutionⁱⁱⁱ

The need for a finance committee arises due to the traditional importance attached to the formulation of an effective budget for the country. This committee undertakes the tasks pertinent to the field of finance and expenditure, as the name suggests. Hence, the Standing Committee on Public Accounts is an offshoot of the Finance Committee and the composition and functions of the Finance Committee shall follow all the procedures which have been prescribed for the Public Accounts Committee in the text which follows.

8 Committee system as under Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business 2007

All the details about different committees, their features, and their functions are present in Chapter 20 of the Rules of Procedures and Conduct Business published in 2007.

Moreover, it seeks to explain the general provisions regarding standing committees and the level of power they command over the total parliamentary process.

8.1 Parliamentary Committees in Pakistan

Article 198⁸ of Procedure and Conduct of Business 2007 states that “in addition to the Standing Committees on Public Accounts, Rules of procedure and privileges, House and Library. Government Assurances and Business Advisory”, a Standing Committee would be established for each and every Ministry of the Government. Moreover, in case any subject under scrutiny arises for which a Standing Committee has not already been formulated, the subject would then directly be dealt by the Standing Committee dealing with “Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs” (Committee name amended under Article 13 (a) (iii), Article 21 (i) and Article 23 of Amendments in the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly, 2007).

8.2 Standing Committees

Any matter of concern should be directed towards the designated Standing Committees by either the Assembly or the Speaker, which would then be looked into by the committee members. Each subject would then be studied with a critical point of view in order to suggest pertinent legislation or to make enforceable recommendations to the Assembly.

⁸ Procedure and Conduct of Business (2007) – National Assembly of Pakistan

Article 200^{iv} makes the following stipulations:

- The composition of standard Standing Committees, unless otherwise stated; as in the case of any Special Standing Committees. All Standard Standing Committees shall henceforth consist of a maximum of twenty members to be elected within thirty days after the Leader of House has been elected.
- Such committees would hence be responsible for examining Bills, any sort of subject matter referred to it by the Assembly or the Speaker. Furthermore, the committee would also be liable for submitting reports and recommendations on the related subject of concern. In case of a Bill, the committee would also be held in charge of examining whether the Bill is in alignment with the Constitution.
- Amendments to the Bills may also be proposed by the committee, which would then be highlighted alongside the original document. However, it must be borne in the mind that committee would have no power to prevent the Bill from being considered by the Assembly, under any normal circumstances
- However, if the committee fails to produce recommendations or report within a prescribed period, the Assembly is free to consider the Bill without waiting for it any further. In addition to this, the subject matter would then be considered as withdrawn from the committee.
- The committee shall investigate all the concerned Ministries in their working procedures involving budget allocation, administration, passed down regulations, requests by public and other policies. All the information collected will be reported and suggestions will be provided
-
- Public petitions, any matter connected with the business pending before the House, or any matter of public interest which comes under the wing of Government action may be presented in the form of a bill to the parliament for consideration. It should also be noted that it must not include any subject matter which is in relation with the court, or any other matter pending before any other judicial or quasi- judicial authority.

9 The role of Public Accounts Committee in the Parliamentary Process

The Public Accounts Committee (PAC) was established in 1948 in Pakistan. It is the most important tool of legislative accountability in Pakistan. It is established at federal government level, provincial level and at district level. The PAC reports to the head of state/province/district. This committee should consist of a maximum of twenty three members to be elected by the Assembly and the

Minister of Finance shall be automatically included in it as one of its members. The main functions of the PAC have been described as follows in the Rules of Procedure and Business Conduct (2007):

The committee would be responsible for examining accounts showing the breakup of sums allotted by the Assembly for Government spending, yearly reports on Government's accounting statements and Auditor General's findings

- The committee is also supposed to ensure that the amounts disbursed for specific accounts were legally available and purposefully allotted.
- The committee must also scrutinize the P&L statements of the Government, showing income and expenditure of state corporations, trading and manufacturing schemes together with the balance sheet and the accounts which the president may have required to be prepared under the provisions of constitutional rules
- Financial statements of autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies, which have been audited by the Auditor General Pakistan either under the directions of the President or under act of Majlis-e-Shoora, must also be carefully examined. Similar treatment shall be applicable to all the cases where the President may have required the Auditor General of Pakistan to audit the accounts of stores and stocks.
- If, during the term, any amount additional amount to what has been allotted to any specific Ministry has been spent, it would be the responsibility of the Committee to look into the matter and examine the factors which lead to this spending in excess.
- Reports would be due within a period of one year from the date on which the subject of concern was raised by the Assembly, unless this is duration is relaxed by any special provision by the Assembly.
- In case the Assembly is dissolved, the unfinished work of the previous committee would be made available to the new committee to continue with the proceedings.

Hence it plays a vital role in the making of the budget and also in keeping track on the levels of expenditure and revenues of the country. The PAC has not been very active in Pakistan. PACs have not been established at all provincial and district levels. However, in the recent past the Federal government and Sind government PACs have been extremely active.

The Chairman of the PAC can call on the representatives of the relevant government body whose accounts are being reviewed to appear as an accounts officer witness and be subject to questioning in PAC hearing.

The World Bank has allocated US\$ 2 million for the capacity building of PAC members in Pakistan⁹. The Pakistan Government has also sent some members on training overseas. Some of the recent federal government PAC investigations that have been covered by the media are shown in the illustration on the next page.

<u>PAC works</u>
PIA Rs.22.61 million paid in unauthorized bonuses and production in incentives.
WAPDA Heavy Electrical Complex suffered financial loss of Rs 574 million because WAPDA did not honour contract with it.
Pak Arab Fertilizer Limited Payment of Rs 55.74 million inappropriate incentive bonuses.
Karachi Port Trust Financial irregularities of Rs 880.66 million because of unauthorised purchase of vehicles, inappropriate usage of and loan of assets to other parties.
Ministry of Defence In 2005-06, 23.239 million of financial irregularities and Rs. 23 million embezzlement.

However, the role of the PAC is mainly recommendatory. It cannot announce and enforce any judgments. PAC forwards its recommendations to the parliament/provincial assembly/ district council, but cannot ensure the implementation. The proceedings of the PAC are open to the public and the reports of its hearings are also released to the media. Auditor General Pakistan also acts as an advocate to the PAC in these proceedings and prepares its working papers.

Public Accounts' Standing Committee was restricted to 23 members by Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business (2007)¹⁰ in Chapter 20, and all the members were to be elected through Assembly's votes.

However, the Press Release by SDPD¹¹ mentions the appointment of then opposition leader - Chaudhry Nisar Ali, as the Chairperson of PAC. The press release also declared this step as a major achievement in the country's quest for democracy. Further, it also included remarks of Ms. Marvi

⁹ Pakistan- the Legislative Oversight Mechanism, Technical Fact sheet 3 (31 March, 2009) – prepared by ACCA Pakistan, pg 3 -4

¹⁰ Article 202 – 205 – Rules of Procedure and Business Conduct (2007) .Pg. 73

¹¹ SDPD – Strengthening Democracy through Parliamentary Development (handled under UNDP)

Sirmed – SDPD’s National Project Manager in Pakistan as: “throughout the world PAC is recognized as strongest tool for the Executive’s oversight, and giving it in the hands of opposition shows the democratic intent of the ruling coalition. In Pakistan, Speaker of the House and members of National Assembly have once again made history by taking this courageous and democratic step.”

Furthermore, an article published in Express Tribune on June 9, 2013, titled “PPP to appoint Azra Fazal Pechuho as PAC Chairperson” goes on to further emphasize the new trend of appointing a chairperson from the opposition party. The article states “PPP, during its last tenure had started a new trend whereby the leader of the opposition is appointed chairperson of the PAC as well”.

Hence, Pakistan is the only country where a chairperson of any crucial committee is appointed from the opposition party. This trend was initiated by the Pakistan People’s Party government and others are now expected to follow the suit, just like the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz government has now decided to appoint Ms. Pechuho belonging to PPP.

10 Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges

The maximum limit of members for this committee should not exceed twenty two and the members shall be elected by the Assembly. Moreover, the Minister for Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs would be automatically appointed as one of the members of this committee.

The committee operates under the following rules:

- It is binding on this committee to consider matters of procedure and conduct of business in the Assembly and make recommendations where necessary
- The committee must also examine every privilege referred by the Assembly or Speaker and use its resources to analyze whether any breach of privilege is involved. In case a breach has been involved, the committee must analyze the nature of that breach and factors which led to such a situation. In addition to this, necessary recommendations must also be made where the gap needs to be filled.
- Assembly procedures may also be critiqued upon and effective recommendations and suggestions provided to formulate effective guidelines for Assembly procedures to be conducted.

11 House and Library Committee

A maximum of thirteen members elected by the Assembly shall constitute this committee. For this committee, the deputy speaker shall be automatically made the Chairman, while the Minister for Housing and Works shall automatically be one of the members of this committee. Main responsibilities of the committee include:

- Responsibility of dealing with matters pertinent to the issue of admission cards for galleries and questions pertinent to the residential accommodation for members
- Supervision of accommodation, catering and provision of other amenities shall also be one of the key responsibilities of this committee.
- The committee shall also be duly responsible for developing library, enriching its contents, developing automation and Research Centre in order to facilitate the members of Parliament and making resources available to them.

12 Committee on Government Assurances

This committee is to consist of a maximum of sixteen members selected by the Assembly. In addition to this, the Minister for Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs shall be automatically included in the committee as one of its members.

As the name of the committee suggests, the committee shall be responsible for keeping a strict eye over government grants, assurances, special subsidies, commitments and any sort of undertakings by the government or any of the ministers, on periodic basis. The committee shall also examine the extent to which these commitments are kept and abided by and whether the assurances were complied with by within the promised time frame.

13 Business Advisory Committee

This committee may be formed at the beginning of any government term by the mutual consensus of the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition, and shall there by consist of a minimum of nineteen members. The committee would automatically be chaired by the Speaker on its formation.

The basic function of the committee would be based upon suggesting and implementing the time frame of all government dealings. This would include the recommendations upon how much time

should be allocated to the discussion over government bills and planning of discussion over them at different stages. Other functions may include those that are in direct connection with the Speaker.

14 General Provisions regarding Standing Committees

It's a rule of thumb that a membership of different standing committees may be shared. Moreover, it is on the discretion of the Speaker whom he may nominate for the post of chairman for any standing committee. However, a minister cannot be appointed for the post of chairman and in case a chairman is appointed as minister, he will automatically be disqualified. Furthermore, a meeting of a committee may be called and held if a minimum of one fourth of the total members confirm their presence. This minimum criterion is termed as "Quorum of a meeting"⁸.

In case any member is absent for three consecutive committee sessions, without any prior permission, he/she may be automatically discharged from the committee on a motion initiated by other members. All subjects under consideration of the committee shall be decided upon through a majority voting system. However, in case a situation arises where the chairperson is absent in any session and there is an equal number of votes, the chairperson will then have the final say in the matter – widely known as the 'Deciding Vote'.

Committees are empowered to appoint sub-committees to help them and increase resourcefulness. These sub-committees are to be formed by the standing committees to help them investigate specific matters under scrutiny efficiently, as these bodies help in division of labor and lead to specialization of work. Once the case referred to these sub-committees has been resolved, the sub-committees are then dissolved. Examples of the sub-committees requested to be formed include sub-committee on intelligence by the standing committee on defense, the sub-committee to scrutinize the working of the power distribution companies (DISCOs) by standing committee on Water and Power¹² and Senate sub-committee to revisit blasphemy law by the Senate standing committee on Human Rights¹³. Committees also possess the power to call for papers, records and documents. In case the government refuses to produce the document on grounds of security, question shall be referred to the Speaker for decision. The committees can also summon

¹² Pakistan Today. (6th Sept, 2011). NA sub-committee to check corruption, inefficiencies in DISCOs - See more at: <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2011/09/06/news/profit/na-sub-committee-to-check-corruption-inefficiencies-in-discos/#sthash.tUN5sRDv.dpuf>

¹³ Rana, A.Q. (5th July, 2013). Senate sub-committee to revisit blasphemy law. The Nation, retrieved from <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/editors-picks/05-Jul-2013/senate-sub-committee-to-revisit-blasphemy-law>

“witnesses”, after determining the nature of the questions. These witnesses may be experts in a particular area the committee is investigating or officials from public sector enterprises under investigation. During the questioning, the Chairman may invite other members to question the witness and the evidence given before committee may be available to all committee members.

The Secretary is supposed to maintain records of committee proceedings. The report of the committee is confidential until submitted to the Assembly. However, the Speaker may direct that any part of the proceedings may be communicated to Assembly members before the report is laid on the table. A committee may also present its findings to the government before it presents it to the Assembly, if the Speaker allows. The report must be presented within thirty days after being commissioned, unless stated otherwise.

After the report is presented to the Assembly, the committee may request the Speaker to instruct the House to consider the report. The committee chairman can request the Speaker to publish a report before presentation to the Assembly, in case the Assembly is not in session.

15 Other Committees

There are several other committees that help parliament execute its mandate, including the following:

15.1 The Select Committee on Bills

The Select Committee on Bills includes the Chairman of the standing committee concerned with the Bill and the minister in charge to the ministry to which the bill relates. The number of members of the committee is fixed by the Assembly.

15.2 Special Committees

This type of committee may be formed by the Assembly in response to a motion addressing any special issue. The composition and functions of this committee will be determined as specified by the motion

16 Quick overview over the features of committees

The parliamentary committees are mandated to perform the following functions:

16.1 Legislative function:

Requires scrutinizing the legislation to recommend or amend it; a committee examines a Bill or a subject matter referred to it by the House or Speaker and submits its report with recommendations. It also examines whether the Bill disregards or violates the Constitution.

16.2 Oversight function:

A committee may also examine the expenditures, administration, delegated legislation, etc of the ministries concerned.

Reviewing bills is a legislative function. When a bill is introduced, it is referred by the Assembly Speaker (or the Chairman in the case of Senate) to the appropriate Standing Committee with directions to submit its report by a specified date. The member-in-charge of the Bill may move that the requirements of this rule be dispensed with. If the motion is carried, the Speaker may order the consideration of the Bill without referring it to the Standing Committee¹⁴.

16.3 Power of Committees

According to both the Houses of Parliament of Pakistan, i.e. the National Assembly and Senate, committees of both the Houses are empowered to carry out the following functions:

- Summon government officials for investigative purposes
- Summon witnesses for investigative purposes, and
- The right to request documents from the government; however the government reserves the rights to claim privileges where state interest or safety could be compromised.

16.3.1 Composition

The committees should reflect the party position in the House. The chairpersons are almost always from the majority party. An exception to this convention has been recently witnessed in the Public Accounts Committee of Pakistan, where the chairperson is now appointed from the Opposition Party. This change was brought about during the Zardari – led PPP government, in the year 2011.

The committee chairs are elected by the respective committees from amongst their members. The presiding minister shall not be elected as its chairman. The Council of Committee Chairs shall be convened by the Speaker as an advisory body for the House.

¹⁴ The Process of Law Making – A Guide, published by Consumer Rights Commission of Pakistan (CRCP)

The Members of all the committees are elected by the respective Houses. Committees comprise parliamentarians both from the ruling and opposition parties, generally reflecting the same proportions of Members in the House. The Minister is an ex-officio member and remains accountable to the committee.

Term of Office: The Standing and Functional committees are established for the entire term of the House. Select and Special committees dissolve after the task for which they were created has been completed. The same is true of senate committees.

16.3.2 Budget

Committees are better equipped to handle the task of reviewing the finance bill than the entire legislative body. Two stages of pre-budget review are:

- Ex ante scrutiny - approving the budget
- Ex post scrutiny - considering audit findings

16.3.3 Media Access

In Pakistan, the committees generally do not provide access to media. There is no legal bar for the media to witness the proceedings. If a committee meeting is not declared to be held in camera, it cannot be made open to media and public.

16.3.4 Lack of Resources

Parliamentary committees in Pakistan face major resource constraints which hamper their functioning and productivity. These include insufficient and redundant staff and lack of expert advice and support.

17 Parliamentary Committees in National Assembly of Pakistan 2008-2013¹⁵

Comparing our democratic system with that of other countries, the performance has been poorer especially in the matter of national security and defense committees within parliament. This has

¹⁵ As reported by Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT).
http://www.pildat.org/publications/publication/CMR/PerformanceoftheParliamentaryCommitteeonNationalSecurity_Report_March2012.pdf

been the case for past three years in the tenure of the PPP Government. The committees that have been under scrutiny due to low performances include the NA Standing Committee on Defense, its sub-committee of Defense Production, the Senate Committee of Defense and Defense Production along with the Parliamentary Committee on National Security.

These security panels have not submitted any reports regarding their procedures and outcomes since the general elections of March 2008. The only committee that did submit its report and necessary recommendations was the Parliamentary Committee subjecting to National Security. These reports were presented to the Prime Minister and the chairperson of Senate where no implementations of any recommendation had yet taken place.

A private institution interested in the progress of Pakistan's democracy, PILDAT, compiled data regarding the neighboring democracy of India and a far-off democracy of the UK whose footsteps we are still following. According to the information provided by PILDAT in the year 2010 alone, Indian Defense Committee produced nine comprehensive reports where as the Defense Committee in the UK presented the House of Commons with nine reports alongside five special reports. It is apparent that these Parliamentary sectors relating to national defense are more active and effective in other democracies, but not so much in Pakistan.

Considering different committees and their arguments against failure to providing evidence of their performance, the first is the National Assembly's Defense Production Committee. Despite the fact that National Assembly Standing Committee on Defense Production conducted nine meetings, there was no submission of any written memo to the parliament regarding the outcomes and decision of those meetings. Sheikh Aftab Ahmed being the chairman of this committee defended himself by declaring the content of meetings to be confidential and classified. He suggested that the contents of the report could not be publicized in the interest of national security. However, he regretfully admitted that the recommendations were not being implemented even after being delayed for several years. One of such recommendations involved the construction of a shipyard at Gawadar Port that would have brought revenue of nearly Rs 115 billion yearly, but the government was not making any decision in this matter.

Another panel within the Parliament is the National Assembly Defense Committee, which has a comparatively better record than the Defense Production Committee, which held twenty-one meetings over the period of three years, discussing several important issues pertaining to Pakistan.

Nonetheless, it also faced disappointment in the question of implementation of their proposals as observed by the chairperson of the committee, MNA Dr. Azra Fazal. One such proposal focused on improvement of the Airport Security Force that was suggested two years ago. The defense ministry also had solutions for the disputes with India in Siachin and Sir Creek, but unfortunately, such critical issues were left unimplemented by the government.

There is a Senate Committee on Defense production whose Chairman, Senator Retired Lt Gen Javed Ashraf, proudly announced the presentation of three reports to the Prime Minister that included the summary regarding forty meetings conducted on different critical issues relating to state provided protection. As the reports were on sensitive and secretive matters, such as defense activities and weapons production, they were not available for public scrutiny. Even though there was some progress with regard to these reports and meeting the issue of partial implementation was still a concern for the committee.

One of the Senators Mr. Tariq Azim raised the issue of quick legislation, where national security should have been a priority especially in a developing state like Pakistan. Quick and full-scale action was necessary to make the country stable and secure, according to the senator.

MNA Aftab Sherpao also brought up the issue of below average performance of the defense committees. He suggested that each committee in the defense sector of parliament must hold two meetings in a month, each of which should be reported to members of the parliaments. The committees must also be empowered to help them implement these proposals.

The parliamentary committee on National Security headed by Senator Raza Rabbani was by far the best performing committee. It held 61 meetings with different suggestions and solutions focused towards Pakistan's security. It openly discussed a 14-point resolution in one of the Parliament's joint sessions last year. Different points were discussed including the strategic foreign policy involving NATO, ISAF, the Afghan imbroglio, Pak-US relations and border sharing states, specifically India. However, the same scenario pervaded as for other committees and no implementation was seen or can be expected in the near future.

Some lessons can be learned from the committees in other parliaments that were successful in achieving their objectives. For instance the Parliamentary Committee on National Security can revive itself through adopting a different approach similar to the approach used by the committees in the US. After the attacks of September 11, the most powerful committee of the US known as the

Senate committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs (HSGSE) was given additional responsibilities. It became responsible not only for appraising the effects of different decisions on the betterment of the US population, but also to make the country secure against any threat or attack. It had four sub-committees under its umbrella, namely, Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigations, Financial and Contracting Oversight, the Efficiency and Effectiveness of Federal Programs and the Federal workforce and Emergency Management.

Not only the United States, but many other countries have empowered their security committees to ensure the implementation of all decisions.

Fighting terrorism and securing the homeland has always been a challenge faced by any government that has been in power. Developing a counter-terrorism policy framework by the political leaders through various tools, like laws and regulation, resource allocation and actions, is one part of the solution to tackling national security. For this purpose, the Parliamentary Committee on National Security (PCNS) was established.

PCNS was formed in November of 2008 after the conclusion of a parliamentary session which formed an integrated resolution that focused on an instant examining of the national security strategy and revisiting the counter-terrorism policy, so that an independent foreign policy can address the worsening law and order situation in the country.

Furthermore, parliament recommended the formation of a special committee responsible for regular appraisals, devising code of conducts and evaluating the degree of progress made. This committee was fully empowered to obtain any information regarding the implementation of the resolution. It was also granted the right to summon any person regardless of his political or official status or affiliations. The committee took notice of the delayed actions of all the recommendations made previously by them and other committees.

Nevertheless even the special committee failed to work through deadlines in presenting reports, which was one of the reasons why it was formed in the first place. Moreover, the government had to take steps for evaluation of the committee's actions in light of its recommendations.

The committee failed to perform its main task of formalizing national security strategy or to legislate along the recommendations made on counter-terrorism activities. The PCNS achievement

was evident in Pak-US relations however: strengthening the relationship and attaining mutual agreements that were incorporated into a 16-point scheme.

During its tenure, from November 2008 to March 2012, a total of 63 meetings took place with the outcome of better Pak-US relations through a major transformation of foreign policy paradigms. "Guidelines for Revised Terms of Engagement with US/NATO/ISAF and General Foreign Policy" held the 16-points agenda that integrates all the recommendations made in these meetings.

The new government now faces the challenge of effective implementation of the different recommendations.

All investigations pertaining to MOUs and agreements linked with national security should be done through PCNS. Other committees in the parliament working for defense or foreign affairs should also consider PCNS' opinion before making any decision.

PCNS has been very effective during the period of November 2008 to March 2012. It has addressed various issues that were of crucial importance to Pakistan such as counter-terrorism, authority and legislation, Pak-US relations, Pak-India relations and many more.

However, many important issues handled by the PCNS require revisiting, especially its suggestion that the dormant NACTA be given real power and authority.

The current legislation dealing with terrorist activities in Pakistan is the Anti-Terrorist Act (ATA). It has been modified several times through different ordinances after the Government of Pakistan sanctioned it, but unfortunately, it has many loopholes that need to be dealt with. Even without an in-depth evaluation, its poor performance is evident and the new government has a challenge at hand to make ATA more effective. Only then can it hope to bring down the number of terrorist activities in the country.

The benefits and contribution of the PCNS cannot be ignored, thus its continuity is essential. To make it better all the discussions in the new PCNS must be unbiased with the collaboration of the government and the opposition in a constructive manner.

It is important to realize that the PCNS must become a part of the implementation process over and above the solutions it provides. It should practically attempt to deal with the security situation of Pakistan actively and effectively.

17.1 Time Line of the Meetings of Parliamentary Committee on National Security (2011-2012)¹⁶

From 2011 to 2012, a series of meetings were held to discuss prominent issues on National Security which has been covered in the media and documented by PILDAT, in chronological order.

17.1.1 April 19, 2011: Condemnation of Drone attacks

On April 19, 2011, the Parliamentary Committee on National Security condemned ongoing drone strikes and urged the Government to take all possible steps to curb these attacks. Senator Raza Rabbani said that officials from the Foreign Office presented details to the Committee about the Prime Minister's recent visit to Afghanistan. Rabbani noted that members of the committee were in a consensus that there could be no compromise on the sovereignty of the country especially in light of a unanimous Parliament Resolution condemning drone attacks. The official change in line means that demarches are issued when an attack takes place, which was not the case before.

17.1.2 April 29, 2011: Meeting on Foreign Policy

The Committee spent its time questioning State Minister for Foreign Affairs Hina Rabbani Khar on the country's foreign policy with respect to United States, Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan. Ms. Khar briefed the committee that the Government wanted to expand ties with China, India, Iran and Afghanistan. Furthermore, she expressed a need for these alliances to break away from past structures that created regional tensions. It was reported that nine out of 17 members of the committee were in attendance.

17.1.3 July 19, 2011: Raymond Davis issue

Foreign office was delegated the duty of creating a database for all non-residents working or visiting Pakistan by the National Security Committee. This came in the wake of Raymond Davis controversy, in which the country's authorities were unable to determine whether the American citizen who shot two Pakistanis in Lahore had diplomatic immunity against trial in local courts. According to committee chairman Senator Raza Rabbani a centralized mechanism would ensure a transparent system of protecting national interests in the confrontational atmosphere of foreign relations. The committee urged the Government to implement its recommendations regarding US-Pakistan relations after a unanimous resolution was adopted by a joint-sitting of Parliament on

¹⁶ From March 2011 to March 2012, as reported to the media and documented by PILDAT
http://www.pildat.org/publications/publication/CMR/PerformanceoftheParliamentaryCommitteeonNationalSecurity_Report_March2012.pdf

May 13, including eviction of US forces from Shamsi Airbase. The committee also asked the Interior Ministry to provide drafts of the Anti-Terrorism Bill and National Counter Terrorism Authority Bill for review.

17.1.4 July 30, 2011: Briefings by Defense and Interior Secretaries on National Security

The Parliamentary Committee on National Security summoned Interior Minister Senator Rehman Malik in regard to a statement he issued against Raiwind Tablighi Markaz, terming it as a center of militants. The Defense Secretary and Interior Secretary also briefed the committee about the state of national security in the country. The committee summoned the details of defense cooperation from the Defense ministry between the US and Pakistan after the onset of the war on terror. Furthermore, it discussed possible amendments to the Anti-Terrorism Bill and establishment of an Anti-Terrorism authority.

17.1.5 August 19, 2011: Meeting on Afghanistan Situation

The Committee met to discuss the Afghanistan situation.

17.1.6 October 11, 2011: PCNS refused to attend briefing in GHQ

The Parliamentary Committee on National Security refused to attend a briefing on the security situation and US-Pakistan impasse at the General Headquarters alongside other Parliamentary Committees. This is in keeping with the public stance taken by Senator Rabbani that it is the security agencies that must brief the Parliament and its bodies in the Parliamentary premises and not at the security headquarters.

17.1.7 December 3, 2011: Committee endorsed DCC Decisions

The Parliamentary Committee on National Security endorsed the decision of the Defense Committee of the Cabinet to abstain from the Bonn Conference, halt in NATO supplies and evacuation of Shamsi Airbase. The Prime Minister briefed the committee on NATO attacks on a Pakistani security post in Mohmand Agency, leading to the unanimous support of the joint DCC and federal cabinet decision to suspend movement of NATO supplies through Pakistan and boycott of the conference in Bonn. It was asserted that irrespective of political divisions, national interest and sovereignty must not be neglected.

17.1.8 December 9, 2011: Review of Pak-US relations

The Parliamentary Committee on National Security asked the Government to provide details of all written and verbal agreements to the United States and NATO since 2001 during the Musharraf era. The committee requested these agreements in order to finalize its recommendations on how to reformulate US-Pakistan relations in the light of NATO attacks on the check-post in Mohmand Agency and the Memo issue. Chairman of the Committee, Senator Raza Rabbani while addressing the media, stated that the committee had decided to summon the Foreign Office and Defense Ministry officials to ascertain modalities of agreements and assurances given to the US and NATO.

17.1.9 December 21, 2011: Probe on Memo Issue

The Parliamentary Committee on National Security launched its probe into the memo controversy and recorded statements of Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir and Defense Secretary Lt. General (Retd.) Naeem Khalid Lodhi. Members of the PML-N in the Parliamentary Committee wished to abstain from the memo proceeding, as their party was pursuing the case in the Supreme Court, but their request to stay away from the meeting was turned down by the committee members. Senator Raza Rabbani told the media that the committee was investigating copies of correspondence between various factors, including the army chief, DG-ISI, former ambassador to US Husain Haqqani and Mansoor Ijaz in the Supreme Court over the issue. The affidavit submitted by former US national security advisor General James Jones to the Supreme Court was also under review.

17.1.10 December 24, 2011: Review of Pak-US Relations

The details of agreements between the United States and Pakistan since 2001 were provided to the Parliamentary Committee on National Security. There was a great deal of secrecy over the modalities of the nine agreements. Despite the insistence of the Parliamentary Committee that details of the agreements were not public information, media reports indicate that the first part allows US and NATO forces right to fly over Pakistani airspace, in order to carry out operations in Afghanistan and 'bordering areas.'

Furthermore, the agreements delineate intelligence sharing with US and NATO forces for conducting operations against Taliban and Al-Qaeda; territorial access such as for fuel supply, and, transit facilities to International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF). The agreements also add that fuel shipments to Taliban must be cut off to curb terrorist activity. An agreement also refers to the Coalition Support Fund, through which Pakistan would be funded and reimbursed for its role.

17.1.11 January 04, 2012: Finalization of draft: Recommendations on Pak-US relations

The Committee finalized its draft recommendations for a new set of engagement with the United States and the future of NATO transit supplies. The Parliamentary Committee on National Security announced that the relations should be conditional on greater access to US and European markets, the transfer of civil nuclear technology and an agreement to assist Pakistan in overcoming its energy crisis. The media reported that the committee endorsed a complete halt in drone attacks and respect for national sovereignty. The draft recommendations also proposed a complete ban on NATO supplies through Pakistan.

17.1.12 January 10, 2012: Review of NATO supply and US relations

The Parliamentary Committee unanimously endorsed the cut in ground supply to US and NATO forces, while disapproving the use of Pakistani airspace without the consent of the Parliament. The members of National Security Committee were of the opinion that all overt and covert agreements with the United States should be validated in Parliament.

17.1.13 January 24, 2012: DG ISI submitted response

DG-ISI Lt. General Shuja Pasha submitted his response which the Parliamentary Committee had demanded on December 21, 2011.

17.1.14 February 10, 2012: Memo Probe

Parliamentary Committee on National Security decided not to record Mansoor Ijaz's statement outside of Parliament. Senator Rabbani noted that it was the tradition of the Parliament that committee meeting should be held within its premises.

17.1.15 February 11, 2012: Senator Khurshid resigned from Committee membership

Senator Khurshid Ahmed of Jama'at-e-Islami resigned his membership from the Parliamentary Committee on National Security in protest of the on-going confrontation between the United States and Pakistan. According to Senator Ahmed, Parliament was not willingly to implement the recommendations of the National Security Committee on drone strikes and NATO transit supplies.

17.2 Quick View Table

1.	Total Meetings	63
2.	Issues Discussed	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NATO air strike 2. Memo Scandal 3. Pak-US Relations 4. Presentation on Jinnah Institute's Report 5. Recommendations on legislations pertaining to National Security 6. Discussion on Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Bill, 2010, introduced in the Senate of Pakistan & pending before the Senate Standing Committee on Interior 7. Discussion on the draft Law on National Counter-Terrorism Authority 8. Discussion on prevailing situation in the Country 9. Internally Displaced persons (IDPs) 10. Indo-Pak Dialogue 11. Prevailing situation in relation to War on Terror 12. Formulation of Recommendations in the light interaction with major stakeholders 13. Reported US Pressure on Pakistan to go for Military Operation in North Waziristan 14. Discussion on overall situation in the Country (without specially mentioning agenda)
3.	Recommendations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security 2. Recommendations on Indo-Pak Relations 3. Recommendations on London Conference on Afghanistan 4. Guidelines for Revised Terms of Engagement with US/NATO/ISAF & general Foreign Policy

18 Determining the Effectiveness of Parliamentary Committees

Determining the effectiveness of regulatory bodies and holding them accountable for the functions they are constituted to perform is another challenge. NEPRA, PEMRA, OGRA are three of the many regulatory agencies in Pakistan. In the Pakistani context the presence of some anomalies in the constitution makes the supervision of regulatory bodies more challenging. On 15 April 2010 the senate passed the 18th Amendment to the constitution under which more powers were given to the provinces to evolve and implement public policy. However even after the passage of this amendment supervision of regulatory agencies is the responsibility of the federal government. In fact the potential for conflict increases when provinces are expected to create resources, like electricity for instance, while the input needed for resource creation are controlled by the central

government. Judging the performance of agencies like OGRA then is very subjective depending upon which house is judging the performance and at what level.

19 Regulating the Regulators

To deal with such complex issues parliamentary democracies have evolved an innovative system of “guarding the guardians” through a creation of committees for supervision of regulatory bodies. These committees are effective provided they have one key feature: they must be *independent but not autonomous* .i.e. they are fully accountable to a parliamentary committee which is accountable to parliament, which in turn is accountable to the public.

Even this simple argument is fraught with complexities. In Australia, for example, an agency “Independent Commission against Corruption” keeps watch on government departments and agencies. In addition ICAC is authorized to keep watch on corrupt parliamentarians. Parliamentary committees’ interaction with watchdogs that can in theory undermine the authority of the legislature makes oversight of investigative bodies even more challenging.

The extent to which regulatory agencies and PSEs can be effectively made accountable by parliamentary committees will depend on:

1. Commitment to enhance public welfare:

MNAs and MPAs should be wedded to idea of harnessing the power of the Regulatory authorities to enhance public welfare They must also be committed to giving the time required to dig out information necessary to investigate issues.

2. Secrecy considerations:

In Pakistan for example, the Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA) is responsible for “protecting” nuclear assets. Since these assets are of a strategic nature getting information about them is not always easy.

3. Strength of the *Patwari* system:

This is a major consideration in the Pakistani context. Committees are only as effective as the information that is made available to them. Important data is almost always held by low level staffs who abuse this privilege. In fact they derive their strength by withholding information. The

continued presence of this system can hinder the committees in their work. Computerization may help counter this menace.

As the volume and scope of government's work increases structural changes are bound to come that will necessitate the use of new methods to enhance and improve committee oversight.

20 Characteristics of Strong Parliamentary Committees¹⁷

According to the research paper titled 'The Houses of Oireachtas¹⁷', strong committees are characterized by 25 major indicators, studied initially by Strom in 1990. This research paper originated from Dublin's Institute of Public Administration and makes frequent references to the Irish Parliamentary System, such as the Oireachtas Committee System of Ireland. The most significant ones included in the article and then deeply analyzed, are as follows:

- *The number of committees:*

A minimum of ten committees is supposedly crucial to allow for specialization

- *The correspondence between government departments and committees:*

The more integrated the correspondence system, the higher the functionality, effectiveness and accountability of members

- *Committee involvement in the legislative process:*

The earlier the bills are sent to committees to seek advice and recommendations from, the greater the degree of committee's involvement in the cumulative legislative process and higher the level of committee empowerment.

- *The ability to call and compel evidence:*

Although the Constitution clearly highlights the roles and functions of a committee, the power to call for evidence is an enormous power held by only a few committees in the Parliament. Those who can be interrogated and pressed to provide substantial evidence range from politicians to civil servants and executives in power.

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¹⁷ Committee System by Martin, S (2010)

- *The incentive for committee work:*

The law of economics holds true for fairly all situations: 'Resources are scarce and hence need to be allocated efficiently amongst different areas'. Hence, legislators must also be provided incentive to execute committee work. This motivation can be intrinsic, extrinsic or both. Researchers have found evidence that degree of commitment amongst MPs varies depending upon whether they were elected under party-list or plurality ballot and even upon the amount paid for attending meetings and dinners.

- *Resources available to committees:*

A generally believed notion exists that a committee which is well resourced in terms of monetary, human, infrastructure and technical resources is likely to be more dedicated, committed and influential, as it would have all the needed resources at its disposal, crucial for its functionality.

- *The presence of sub-committees:*

Sub-committees allow for further specialization as they provide a platform to delegate workload of the committees. Hence, they are likely to strengthen the role of committee system and improve the overall efficiency levels of a committee.

- *Committee Chair Assignments:*

Although the chairperson is usually from the treasury bench, it is often believed that if the chair is from the opposition party, the overall efficiency of the committee is improved as members become more active in discussing subject matters. Hence, increased involvement of members due to the fear of compromising their interests with the opposition party strengthens the overall role of committee system.

On the contrary, however, it is interesting to note that the opposite of this, which is a common feature of most committees, may also provide a platform of strength for committee system, provided the chair is effective in conducting the matters at hand.

Another research paper issued by the Parliamentary Centre and the World Bank Institute, titled 'Parliaments that Work', have also highlighted key features of certain committees around the world. In addition to this, a framework for effective parliamentary committees has also been proposed in this research paper.

20.1 Determinants of Parliamentary Performance (Illustrated in Diagram 1¹⁸)

In essence, Parliamentary effectiveness is dependent upon the following factors:

- *Surrounding Governance Context:* Defined by relations between state, the market and the Civil Society.
- *Parliamentary Culture:* Forms the bases for the set of motivating and constraining beliefs
- *Organizational Capacity of Parliament:* includes strengths and weaknesses of political and administrative sides of Parliament

20.2 Performance Criteria (Illustrated in Diagram 2¹⁸)

The proposed framework for effective parliamentary committees includes the following performance criteria, on basis of which performance should be gauged and committees evaluated:

- *Fiscal:*
Parliament must operate within a defined budget if it is to guarantee the success of the Government
- *Compliance:*
To ensure success and smooth functioning, a Parliament must comply with the rules and regulations of the country it operates within
- *Efficiency, Effectiveness, Relevance & Sustainability:*
All these factors must be adhered to if an effective Parliament is to be formulated, that is the one which makes a difference and impact due to its existence.

20.3 Structure of Performance (Illustrated in Diagram 2¹⁸)

Parliamentary performance is gauged using the following in orderly manner:

- *Inputs* – includes raw materials of Parliament, that is MPs, staff, financial and other resources
- *Activities* – description of how MPs spend their time in the Parliamentary chamber, committees, party caucuses and other resources
- *Outputs* – refers to the products of Parliamentary procedure which includes formulation of new legislation, laws, resolutions, reports and debates.
- *Impacts* – refers to the influence of Parliament over the country in the long term in the form of establishing a basis for good governance, rule of law and peaceful mediation process suited for future needs.

¹⁸ Parliament that Works: Report by Parliament Centre and World Bank Institute

21 Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Parliamentary System in Pakistan

In order to judge the degree of effectiveness pertinent to the parliamentary system in Pakistan, this report takes into view a case by case perspective to analyze how successful the committees have been in resolving the cases. In most instances, where cases remain unresolved, the report examines the extent to which the role of committees has been valuable in avoiding such cases in the future context.

For the aforementioned purpose, four recent and noteworthy cases have been taken into account; namely: PIA embezzlement case, Ephedrine scandal, KESC fraud case and the Steel Mill scandal.

21.1 PIA B-777 Scam: Example of Senate Defense Committee's Role in Oversight

The media started highlighting the deceptive nature of PIA in misguiding the government and a parliamentary investigation began. The Senate Defense Committee brought the huge spending by PIA, on B-777 deal into question.

21.1.1 Main Findings

All the arguments regarding the owning of Boeing by PIA itself were falsified when management of PIA declared that they were rented from M/s Taxilla Ltd. The choice of Boeing 777 was believed to be influenced by loan guarantee considerations offered by Boeing. Airbus could not arrange these guarantees. However, the reason of loan guarantee is insufficient given the fact that Government of Pakistan was giving a sovereign guarantee, and regardless of this, the finance officers could not negotiate a loan agreement.

21.1.2 Achievement of the Committee

The committee succeeded in eliciting a letter from ministry of defense accepting that the deal had cost the national exchequer PKR 100 million more than it should have.

21.1.3 Follow-up

The overall consequence of this exercise was that greater transparency was introduced into government dealings because the committee exercised its oversight function independently.

21.1.4 Documentation

Details of the findings were published in a report of the Senate Committee of Defense. The committee was chaired by Nisar Memon and was published on the 24th of February, 2010.

21.2 Ephedrine Scandal: Role of Senate Standing Committee on Interior

The ephedrine quota case, a scandal involving the son of the former Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani to pressure officials of the Health Ministry to allocate a quota of controlled chemical ephedrine to two different pharmaceutical companies: A minimum of six cases were reported by the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) of ephedrine being smuggled from Pakistan into Iran, Iraq and Australia between January 2010 and April 2011

21.2.1 Investigation

The two companies' diverted ephedrine meant for export to Iraq and Afghanistan to the domestic market. It is believed that it was ultimately used on the streets. The case was investigated by the National Assembly's National Committee on Narcotics Control in December 2012. The case was simultaneously investigated by the Senate Standing Committee on Interior.

21.2.2 Findings of the Committee

According to Nausheen Sayeed (MNA), because of poor checks, drugs are easily available outside schools like Beacon House. The availability of drugs to students was a major finding of the committee.

The investigation has also established the allocation of huge quotas of ephedrine to two pharmaceutical companies: Barlex Lab International (Multan) and Danas Pharma (Islamabad) on political considerations.

21.2.3 Follow-up

The scandal broke in April 2012. Since then the standing committees of Senate and the National Assembly have worked to bring out details of the scandal. In this connection Ali Mousa Gillani, son of former Prime Minister, Yousaf Raza Gillani was interrogated by the Anti Narcotics Force in May 2012.

21.3 KESC under scrutiny: Senate Standing Committee on Water and Power's role

Senate Standing Committee of Water and Power started investigating alleged embezzlements during the privatization process of Karachi Electric Supply Company and the causes of huge distribution and transmission losses.

21.3.1 Main Findings

The committee established that KESC while enjoying a monopoly status should have been a profit-making organization. On the contrary, the organization was found to be suffering from huge losses which highlighted mismanagement and corruption. A member of the committee Mr. Shahi Syed criticized the poor performance of the KESC. Another issue with regards to KESC was that households were paying higher rates whereas KESC is purchasing at subsidized rates. Moreover, KESC is charging consumers a TV fee but not reporting it or submitting the collections to Pakistan Television Authority. The sub-committee in the Senate Standing Committee on Water and Power ordered KESC to present full details about the billions of rupees exemptions in the tenure from 2005 to 2008. The committee to the members of water and power ministry raised further questions; on the initial privatization agreement of 2005 that was amended in 2009 and which clauses were altered.

21.3.2 Achievement of the Committee

Another finding of the committee claims that KESC has a 3007 MW capacity to generate electricity but it is utilizing only about 1600 MW. A foreign company was given huge benefits when the agreement with KESC was amended by exempting billions of Rupees, reported by Senator Humayun Mandokhel. In the defense of this issue the officials claimed that this amendment occurred under the orders of Economic Coordination Committee (ECC) of the cabinet with the purpose of safeguarding national interest.

21.3.3 Follow-up

The committee chairman also instructed KESC to improve its performance otherwise its privatization would be reversed and it would be placed under the authority of WAPDA. He clarified the committee's position and power to remove 650 MW of electricity from KESC. For the purpose of further investigation, the sub-committee asked for details about the meetings of ECC and its members who made the decision of modifying the privatization agreement. The sub-committee asked for further information about KESC's own operations and the electricity it purchases from the national grid.

21.3.4 Documentation

Many committee meetings held for investigation of the issue. The details of the findings were published as meeting reports until 25 June 2013 and the investigation is still in progress.

22 Measuring and Enhancing Effectiveness of Parliamentary Committees

Committees are evolving just as democracies and parliaments are evolving. More demands being placed on the committees means that committees must constantly adapt and build capacity to make meaningful contributions towards legislative change and parliamentary evolution.

Committees take resources in order to operate and perform their functions. It is important that their output: reports and recommendations are of high quality .i.e. they are concrete and actionable. Improving committee effectiveness is therefore a work in process in all democracies. For parliamentary committees, effectiveness is best defined as the level of success achieved in the area the committee is working on. This success is gauged using a combination of qualitative and quantitative indicators.

22.1 Qualitative Indicators

The qualitative factors that we use are indicative of the “potential” effectiveness of committees. They may be a way of determining how effective a committee is “likely” to be. They are also used to judge the effectiveness of a committee it has submitted its reports and made its recommendations.

Like the performance of any organization the performance of a committee can be improved by improving the quality of “input” it receives.

22.2 Improving effectiveness

A lot has been mentioned about the “lack of resources” parliamentary committees’ face in Pakistan, which is a core reason as to why these committees are largely and inherently dysfunctional, as of now. The conference of the Chairs of Standing committees held on 7th of February, 2007, concluded that if the committees need to be made more effective, they have to be regulated more efficiently. This regulation should be clearly legislated in the Rules of Procedure of National Assembly, so that they are binding as well. Six main points highlighted which would help promote efficiency into the whole system were as follows:

1. Attendance and Participation

The following recommendations were made during the conference, regarding this issue:

- The frequency and duration of committee meetings and the way as to how they should be convened must be clearly highlighted in the Rules of Procedure of National Assembly
- All committees must set up the agenda of meetings and timetable independently from the Ministries, however, coordination must be maintained.
- Rule 220 which deals with the absences from committee meetings in the Rules of Procedure of National Assembly must be strictly implemented, to reiterate their importance.

2. Setting standards for the role of committees

The following points were recommended and seconded upon during the span of the conference, pertinent to setting the standard for the role of committees:

- Provincial committees must be equally empowered with the action to take suo-moto (self-initiative) as the committees in the National Assembly are, to dissolve any disparities.
- The importance of joint and special committees which need to be formed by the Council of Committee chairs (CCC) was highlighted. These should then be guided to study the Millennium Development Goals and form linkages with international donors and NGOs to yield results in a limited time frame over a specialized issue. This would help in contributing towards positive future policy.

3. Role of committees in Budgetary Process

The role of committees in budgetary process was also emphasized upon, using the following pointers:

- Committees should examine budgetary proposals given by ministries, evaluate past proposals and compare them to current issues and requirements.
- It was further agreed upon that there is no requirement for a constitutional amendment to include the input of committees in the budgetary process. When the budget is presented there is a time lag of two days before the discussions over the budget commence. That break could be extended to one week during which committees could review the budget and provide recommendations.

4. The Media and Dissemination of Information

A number of MPAs and MNAs agreed upon a suggestion for the government to launch a TV channel solely dedicated to telecast parliamentary proceedings. This would not only pave the way for much needed transparency, but also act as a tool for educating the public and indirectly serve as an accountability platform for those granted with power. The PLSP representative recommended that media should be given full access to committee meeting proceedings and this should also be included in the Rules of Procedure. Moreover, it was also stressed upon that ministries should respond to standing committees in writing in all issues raised by the committees to ensure accountability for their actions.

5. Composition of Committees

Different aspects of committee composition were discussed at the conference. Most of the attendants were of the view that committee membership often does not include opposition. One of the participants shared the negative impact of this problem in the Baluchistan Assembly. Committees were not formed for two years, and when formed, no opposition member was invited to join, resulting in a boycott of the provincial assemblies.

6. Training and Facilities

Committee members also need to expand access to information sources. Most members consider the availability of libraries by the secretariat to be of little value to them and make no use of them. It was recommended that the CCC should assume the role of a trainee to enhance the legislative capacity and oversight role of the parliamentary committees. In terms of legislative oversight, committees need to be facilitated to improve their review of ministerial budgets and the government's effectiveness in its implementation of policies and programs.

In addition to all of this, the Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services (PIPS)¹⁹ manual uses the example of the budgetary process to suggest improvements in committee performance. It suggests that it is important to “encourage feedback from (committee) members” who must give “priority” to policy areas that “are in need of most improvement.” This sounds easy to achieve until it is realized that partisanship is built into every parliamentary process at every step. The “priority” of a PPP committee member may be very different from the priority of an ANP member. Furthermore,

¹⁹ PIPS was instituted under an Act of the Parliament in December 2008.

“areas in need of most improvement may also be subject to party and provincial biases. Zahid Khan’s recommendation that 650 MV electricity supplied to KESC by WAPDA must be stopped forthwith, is surely not a priority of representatives from Karachi.

What else can be done is to extend the period between the stages the budget is presented and stage when it is taken up for discussion from two days to one week may also help. Members will have more time to study the budget and suggest amendments. However, this end result may be difficult to achieve even if the suggested change is made, if parliamentarians put party loyalty before the national interest. The presence of strict party discipline in parliament means that public representatives will continue to look to party leadership for guidance on which way to vote. Where members do not have strong backing from their constituents as in the case of the ANP, PTI or the MQM their ability to critique the issue at hand objectively is limited even if more time to debate the budget is allowed. What is true of the budgetary process is true of other parliamentary processes as well.

22.3 Other ways of enhancing effectiveness

1. Training programs should be designed for committee members to encourage them to discharge their responsibilities better. Linkages can be established with the world of academia and research think tanks. In Pakistan, PIPS is a good institution which can help in this area. PIPS mission is “to develop into a centre of brilliance offering quality-oriented services to national and provincial legislatures through professionals in the field of legislation, research and training, which would contribute appreciably in consolidating development of the parliamentary tradition in the country on most modern and effective lines manifesting the aspirations of the people of Pakistan.” PIPS offers the following services specifically to parliamentary committees:

- Assisting in the Committee Inquiry Process;
- Undertaking comparative studies, analyzing legislation as well as preparing studies on diverse socio-economic issues;
- Providing non-partisan, expert advice to promote effective decision making;
- Publishing policy resource guides;
- Conducting training courses as well as organizing roundtables, seminars and conferences to

increase understanding of committee effectiveness, public policy and legislative issues;

Apart from PIPS USAID, and the Parliamentary Centre may also help in this endeavor. The Parliamentary Centre is a Canadian organization dedicated to training parliamentarians in governance and economic issues. Its *raison d'être* is delivering "assessment, strategic planning and training programs, combined with research products and networking channels, help legislatures measure their performance, build capacity, tackle key issues and promote mutual learning. In short, (to) help legislatures better serve their people." Trained committee members will be more efficient, can analyze the issues better and reach conclusions without partisan considerations. However there are several factors that might hinder the achievement of this end. Firstly, how will the conditions of "getting trained" be imposed on the "elected representatives" of the people? Will compliance be ensured by the Speaker, Committee chairman or the Council of Committee chairs? How will post training increase in effectiveness of committee members be assessed and measured?

2. In western democracies the "Clerk of the Parliament" appoints "staff" to assist the committee members in the difficult job of gathering evidence, analyzing data and conducting inquiries. In Pakistan these "dedicated officers" need to be trained and developed as professional careerists. A rigorous training and selection procedure needs to be developed for their appointment.
3. The general public must keep an eye on all activities of parliamentarians including the activities of the committee members. Their voting patterns and general conduct must be scrutinized by the constituents at all time. The setting up of a TV channel like C-SPAN is suggested for this purpose. An annual report of the committees' work must be produced. The report must contain details of reports they produced throughout the year, as well as the government's responses to the reports' recommendations. This will become a means of gaining the public's trust and will also help establish a "success ratio" for each committee.
4. It is imperative that committee meetings be made as productive as possible. The Rules of Procedure state: "If any member remains absent from three or more consecutive sittings of a committee without the chairman's permission such a person loses the membership of the committee." The success with which this stipulation is put into practice will depend on the political standing of the member in question and the urgency or sensitivity of the issue at hand.

22.4 Evaluation of the Methods

As already noted, the effectiveness of committees depends on *the achievement of results*: the achievement of results however is beset with probables. The training of members for example is a difficult, tedious, costly and time consuming process. Even after such trainings are imparted measuring the increase in “output” of every “trained” committee member will remain difficult and subjective. As long as “perks” of committee members remain in place, members not suited for particular committees will continue to seek and “enjoy” the memberships, hence contributing to making them ineffective. This will bring parliament as a whole to dealing with the perplexing question of reducing its own privileges; a leap of faith most elected representatives at both the federal and the provincial level seem unwilling to take.

22.5 Quantitative Methods

Judging the performance of committees using qualitative techniques is difficult enough. Using quantitative techniques makes the task infinitely tough for the following reasons.

1. Establishing a causal relationship or even a correlation between a committee recommendation and its impact on policy is difficult.
2. Committees are constituted of members with different priorities and competing interests. Exactly how each member impacts the legislative outcome of committee work is difficult to quantify.
3. Quantifying the impact of activities like scrutiny and inquiry in improving government efficiency is an uphill task.

A publication of the Australian National Audit Office asserts: “it is acceptable to use less than perfect data as long as the weaknesses in that data are clearly explained”.

A starting point is to use those variables that can be quantified with comparative ease. These would include on the input side:

- a. Man hours
- b. Money spent

The second is to measure and quantify output: reports and recommendations produced throughout the year. However beyond these easily “quantifiable” factors there are a number of other factors that need to be expressed numerically:

1. The committees’ influence on the general debate in parliament
2. The committee’s influence on the government’s policies
3. The committees’ success at reviewing proposed legislation

4. The committees' success at investigating issues at PSEs and regulatory bodies

Effectiveness ultimately is judged not by the quantity or quality of reports produced but by the impact a committee has had policy.

22.5.1 Impact test

A quantitative indicator of the impact a committee has on government policy. In an environment which is partisan apportioning credit for a positive outcome is completely subjective. How such an indicator or index may be developed remains to be seen.

22.5.2 Acceptance Rate

The rate of acceptance of recommendations is another way of determining how successful the committee is in bringing about legislative change. However, there are difficult issues even in this area. In many countries, the phenomenon of "bureaucratic anticipation" kicks in the moment committees start their inquiries. Governments start responding even before the committees can make their recommendations. If the timing of the government's response is not taken into consideration, then the acceptance rate figures may be grossly distorted. On the other hand, the fact that government action is stimulated by the committee's investigation taking the impact of the committee into account in some form is also important. Would a system of assigning weights be suitable in this situation is for the analyst to decide.

22.5.3 Delayed Drop

This is the situation where a committee's recommendations may not be accepted forthwith, but the work of the committee brings about a change in the political climate leading to reform in the long run. Quantifying the success of the work of such committees is most difficult because current statistical analyses cannot capture the impact in any form.

22.6 Case for Quantitative Analysis

An interesting case for quantifying may be that of the Kefauver Committee²⁰ setup in 1950 to investigate organized crime in the United States. An impact analysis of this committee will reveal the intricacies involved in quantifying committee performance.

²⁰ The United States Senate Special Committee to Investigate Crime in Interstate Commerce was a special committee of the United States Senate which existed from 1950 to 1951 and which investigated organized

The committee's findings were revealing but the nineteen bills that were drafted based on its recommendations failed to pass the Congress. It was also criticized at the time for using unsubstantiated information even heresy, to arrive at its conclusions. The international climate at the time and the growing cold war hostilities led to the outbreak of the Korean War and public interest in the committee's work dwindled quickly. Even where evidence was made available, the committee failed to use it effectively to build its case. In this regard, the committee would have failed an impact test and also an acceptance test had it been conducted in 1950.

Having conceded that, no committee investigation has altered the political climate more radically than the Kefauver Committee investigation. The committee established a relationship between organized crime and corrupt politicians in the US government. It used innovative ways to maximize outreach and capture the public's imagination and attention, like no other committee in history. The use television cameras took committee hearings into people's living rooms. For the first time, it introduced the word "mafia" in public vocabulary. By focusing attention on "the enemy within" it opened the doors for future investigations and operations against organized crime. The McClelland Committee and later the investigations carried out by Attorney General Robert Kennedy are cases in point. The Kefauver Committee report was, however, the subject of delayed drop. Quantifying the impact of such committees is the greatest of all challenges.

22.7 Committee Oversight Mechanisms (Reactive Approach)

Committees are the engines of parliament. It is here that the oversight function of the parliament is performed. Committees have some tools at their disposal which if effectively used can help parliaments improve their functions. Some of these tools are:

1. Briefing Sessions
2. Department Budget Analysis
3. Public Hearings

Normally when these methods are used, a particular event has already taken place and the committee is responding to a situation. This approach is largely reactive. However, even by reacting to situations committees can contribute to future deterrence, if their recommendations are translated into sound legislation. Monitoring the performance of regulatory bodies which are supposed to oversee PSEs can be a very useful way of ensuring committee effectiveness.

crime which crossed state borders in the United States. The committee became popularly known as the Kefauver Committee because of its chairman, Senator Estes Kefauver.

22.8 Committee Oversight Mechanism (Proactive Approach)

We know from the Pakistani experience that on many occasions' reactive approaches to oversight have been implemented, as in the Ephedrine and PIA scandals. In the former case the issue was taken up only after it was highlighted by the Australian authorities and there was a danger that a diplomatic debacle would take place. In PIA's case the costly deal had already taken place when the committee on defense took notice of the issue. The results could have been long term had the government followed up on the issues and compelled the executive to take action. However the approach of the committees should be to ensure that such scams do not happen again.

Another approach can be to be proactive rather than reactive in maintaining oversight. For the purpose of this report we will call this approach Strategic Oversight Mechanism (SOM). The SOM will follow the following steps:

1. Yearly Oversight Plan (YOP)

Oversight can be made more effective when it is made more systematic. In short, YOP is an alternative to ad hoc-ism in committee oversight. A strategic plan is drawn up at the beginning of the year about the oversight functions that each permanent standing committee will carry out. Regulatory bodies like OGRA and PEMRA and PSEs (at least of strategic nature) must be asked to submit yearly reports. The relevant committees must scrutinize and critique these reports and set the necessary guidelines. Compliance with these guidelines must then be ensured on an on-going basis through the YOP.

2. Strategic Control Mechanism (SCM)

The committees must develop at the very start of the year a list of subjects to be "tracked." This can only be done after a "prioritizing mechanism" has been developed and agreed upon by the members and the committee chair. Each committee will take up issues related to its general mandate. For example, the Public Accounts Committee may take up scrutinizing the financial position of PSEs like PIA, Pakistan Steel or KESC. This will ensure that issues arising in such organizations are resolved before they become too complicated. This will also ensure that transparency is created in the operations of the PSE. For this purpose, each committee member may be assigned a PSE. Then we will have to draw up a

performance tracking sheet for that company. The following template may be used to implement SCM by individual committee members.

Figure 1 Proposed PAC control mechanism for PIA²¹

Identification of the issue	Name of the member responsible for the issue	Recommendations to be implemented	Envisaged date of response	Date and Action taken

3. Public Participation (PC):

No amount of planning or training of committee members will ever enhance the usefulness of committees unless and until the participation of the various publics involved is built into committee workings at all stages. The legislative committees must creatively devise ways of determining public inclinations, opinions and demands. There are various ways of doing this. Most importantly committees must link up with community based organizations, social sector organizations, researchers, people of the academia and the media. They must also determine the views of the business community. Representatives of these organizations may be called for hearings. How these hearings are handled and planned will determine whether the information sought from them is gathered successfully or not. Hearings should be divided into three phases:

- i. Ground work:
 - Committee support staff must gather and provide all the information available about the issue or the organization under scrutiny well in advance of the actual hearing.
 - It is very important that either committee members or committee staff must visit the site over the organization for physical inspection or to interview the

²¹ This is one of the many proposed committee control sheets that can be used by the members of each committee. The idea for this has been derived from the tracking sheets used by Free State Portfolio Committee on Safety and Security, Agriculture, South Africa.

stakeholders, in order to understand the issue and to develop a framework within which it will be investigated before the hearings get underway.

- The hearings must be scheduled well before the legislative session commences, so that the findings of the committee can be incorporated into the bill of law.

ii. Mining for Information:

- The issue should be well explained. Questions should be developed so that the most objective responses may be obtained.
- Accurate notes, minutes of the meeting and database must be developed to help legislation in the light of the information gathered.

iii. Holding the Gains:

- Committee members must meet with the members of the communities again to give them a feedback about how their input has been useful and also to gauge the impact of the hearings on the actual processes.

4. Post Hearing Inspections (PHI):

After the hearings have been done and recommendations made by the committee, it is suggested that a subcommittee be constituted to carry out inspections to ensure compliance with good policies, suggested by the committees. The PHI is proposed after accounting for the fact that it is not possible to translate every report of a committee into law. However, inspection committees will make sure that regulatory bodies and PSEs adopt best practices within the given legal framework. This will help check problems and malpractices before they actually happen. In Figure 2, we are showing a tracking sheet which might be helpful to carry out effective inspection. In this case we will be using Anti-Corruption Department of FIA as an example.

Figure 2 Proposed Inspection report for the Anti-Corruption Department of FIA

Organization inspected	Issues identified	Level of compliance with the rules	Reasons for compliance	Reasons for non-compliance	Action taken by the committee

22.9 Bringing it all Together

SOM is a function of good planning and good execution as well as the good intentions of the members on the committees.

All said and done increasing the effectiveness of parliamentary committees is directly proportional to the integrity of parliamentarians and their commitment to the public good.

The following formula shows how SOM can be implemented:

$$\text{SOM} = \text{YOP} + \text{SCM} + \text{PC} + \text{PHI}$$

End Notes

ⁱ Parliamentary Committee Systems in Pakistan: (Comparison with American, Australian, British and Indian Systems – Briefing Paper No.13 by PILDAT; May, 2004).

ⁱⁱ **Mediation Committee**

71. [Mediation committee] omitted by the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010 (10 of 2010), s.24 as amended by various enactments.

ⁱⁱⁱ **Finance Committees**

88. (1) The expenditure of the National Assembly and the Senate within authorized appropriations shall be controlled by the National Assembly or, as the case may be, the Senate acting on the advice of its Finance Committee.

(2) The Finance committee shall consist of the Speaker or, as the case may be, the Chairman, the Minister of Finance and such other members as may be elected thereto by the National Assembly or, as the case may be, the Senate.

(3) The Finance Committee may make rules for regulating its procedure.

^{iv} **200. Composition:** (1) Except as otherwise provided in these rules, each Committee shall consist of not more than twenty members to be elected by the Assembly within thirty days after the ascertainment of the Leader of the House:

(2) The Minister concerned shall be an ex-officio member of the Committee:

Provided that the Minister shall not be entitled to vote as an ex-officio member unless he is a member of the Assembly:

Provided further that, in the case of Ministry which is in the charge of the Prime Minister or for which no Minister has been appointed, the concerned Minister of State, if any, shall be its ex-officio member and, where there is no Minister of State also, the Minister or Minister of State to whom the subject or matter referred to Committee is assigned shall act as its ex-officio member and in the absence of such assignment of the Minister for Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs shall act as ex-officio member of the Committee.

(3) The member-in-charge other than a Minister, or a member on whose motion any subject or matter was referred to the Standing Committee may attend the meetings of the Committee but shall not vote unless he is a member of the Committee.

(4) The Secretary of the Ministry or Division concerned or an officer not less than the rank of a Joint Secretary, designated in this behalf and the Secretary, Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs Ministry, or his nominee not lower in rank of a Joint Secretary may attend the meeting of the Committee.

^{iv} 202. **Composition** - The Standing Committee on Public Accounts shall consist of not more than twenty three members to be elected by the Assembly and Minister of Finance shall be its ex-officio

203. **Functions** – (1) The Committee shall examine the accounts showing the appropriation of sums granted by the Assembly for the expenditure of the Government, the annual finance accounts of the Government, the report of Auditor General of Pakistan and such other matters as the Minister of Finance may refer to it.

(2) In scrutinizing the appropriation accounts of the Government and the reports of the Auditor General of Pakistan thereon it shall be the duty of the Committee to satisfy itself –

- (a) that the moneys shown in the accounts as having been disbursed were legally available for, and applicable to the service or purpose to which they have been applied or charged;
- (b) that the expenditure conforms to the authority which governs it; and
- (c) that every re-appropriation has been made in accordance with the provisions made in this behalf under rules framed by the Ministry of Finance.

(3) It shall also be the duty of the Committee –

- (a) to examine the statement of accounts showing the income and expenditure of the state corporations, trading and manufacturing schemes, concerns and projects together with the balance sheets and statements of profit and loss accounts which the President may have required to be prepared under the provisions of the statutory rules regulating the financing of a particular corporation trading or manufacturing scheme or concern or project and the report of the Auditor General of Pakistan thereon;
- (b) to examine the statement of accounts showing the income and expenditure of autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies, the audit of which may be conducted by the Auditor General of Pakistan either under the directions of the President or under an Act of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament); and
- (c) to consider the report of the Auditor General of Pakistan in cases where the President may have required him to conduct the audit of any receipt or to examine the accounts of stores and stocks

(4) If any money has been spent on any service during a financial year in excess of the amount granted by the Assembly for that purpose, the Committee shall examine with reference to the facts of each case the circumstances leading to such an excess and make such recommendations as it may deem fit.

(5) The report of the Committee shall be presented within a period of one year from the date on which reference was made to it by the Assembly unless the Assembly, on a motion being made, directs that the time for the presentation of the report be extended to a date specified in the motion:

Provided that extension in the time for the presentation of the report shall be asked for before the expiry of the time allowed under the rule.

*Note: The Finance Accounts have now been replaced by the Financial Statements of the Federal Government

DIAGRAM 1

PARLIAMENTS THAT WORK: THE PERFORMANCE FRAMEWORK

The Determinants of Parliamentary Performance

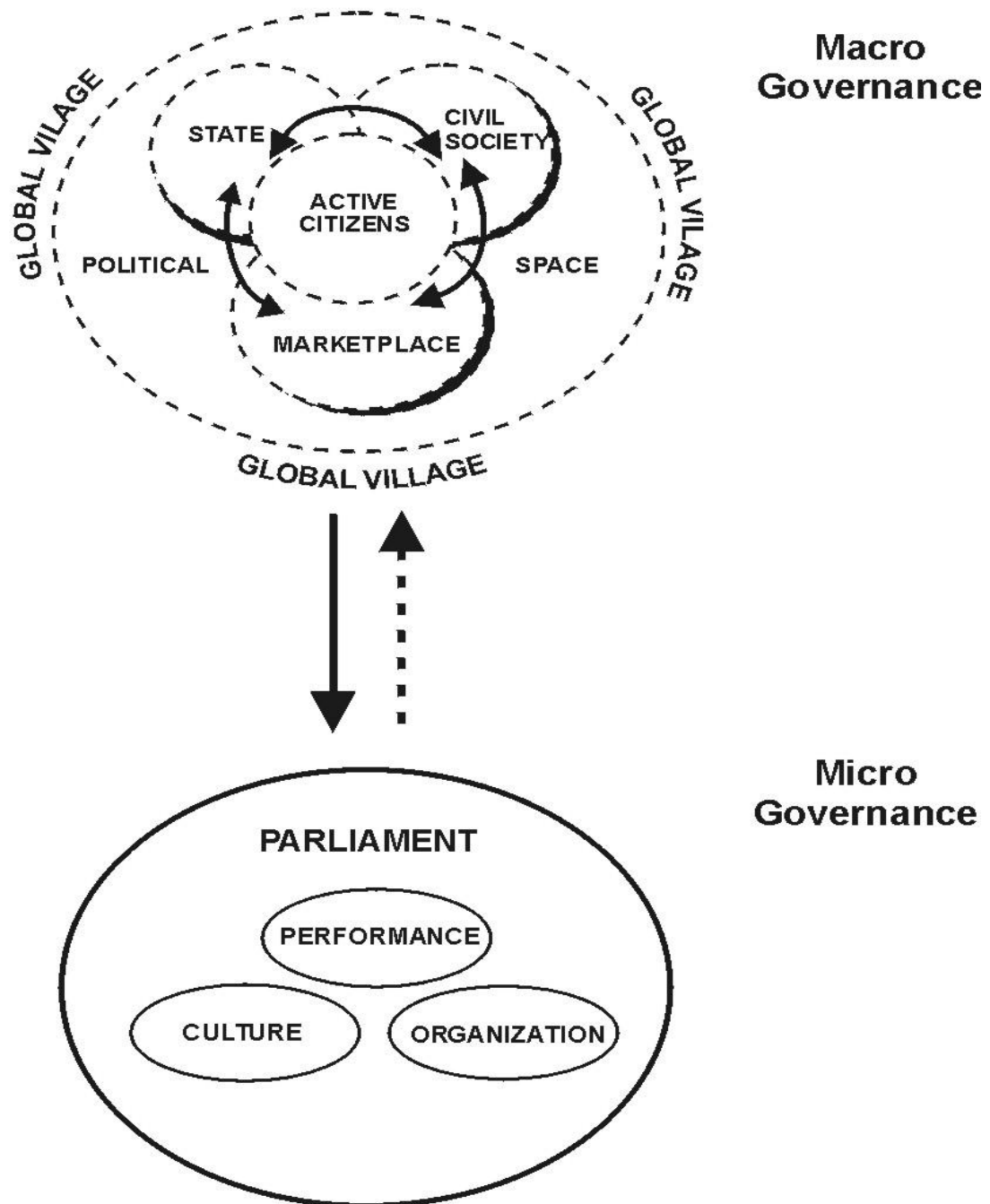
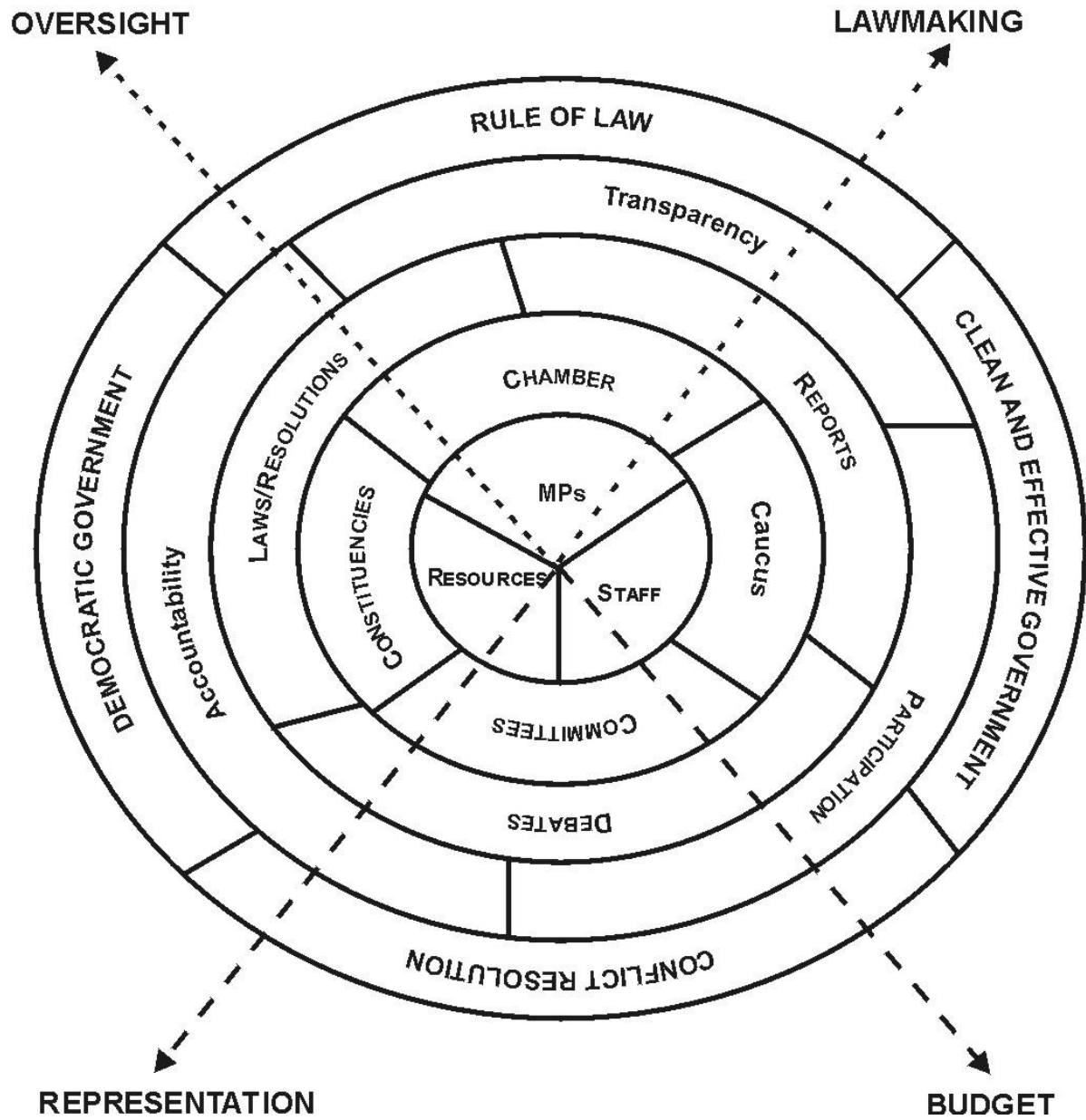


DIAGRAM 2
CRITERIA OF PARLIAMENTARY PERFORMANCE

		Efficiency	Effectiveness	Relevance	Sustainability		Finance	Compliance
INPUTS ↓	Secretariat Political Leadership Resources							
ACTIVITIES ↓	Chamber Committees Constituencies Caucus							
OUTPUTS ↓	Reports Debates Legislation Etc.							
OUTCOMES ↓	Accountability Transparency Participation							
IMPACTS ↓	Democracy Rule of Law Effective Government Conflict Resolution							

DIAGRAM 3

THE PERFORMANCE MODEL



iv Parliamentary Committees in National Assembly of Pakistan 2008-2013

1. National Assembly Standing Committee on Cabinet Secretariat
2. National Assembly Standing Committee on Commerce
3. National Assembly Standing Committee on Communication
4. National Assembly Standing Committee on Defense
5. National Assembly Standing Committee on Defense Production
6. National Assembly Standing Committee on Economic Affairs and Statistics
7. National Assembly Standing Committee on Finance, Revenue & Planning and Development
8. National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs
9. National Assembly Standing Committee on Government Assurances
10. National Assembly Standing Committee on Housing and Works
11. National Assembly Standing Committee on Human Rights
12. National Assembly Standing Committee on Industries and Production
13. National Assembly Standing Committee on Information and Broadcasting
14. National Assembly Standing Committee on Information Technology and Telecommunications
15. National Assembly Standing Committee on Inter Provisional Co-ordination
16. National Assembly Standing Committee on Interior
17. National Assembly Standing Committee on Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit-Baltistan
18. National Assembly Standing Committee on Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs
19. National Assembly Standing Committee on Narcotics Control
20. National Assembly Standing Committee on Overseas Pakistanis
21. National Assembly Standing Committee on Petroleum and Natural Resources
22. National Assembly Standing Committee on Ports and Shipping
23. National Assembly Standing Committee on Postal Services
24. National Assembly Standing Committee on Privatization and Investment
25. Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly
26. National Assembly Standing Committee on Railway
27. National Assembly Standing Committee on Religious Affairs
28. National Assembly Standing Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges
29. National Assembly Standing Committee on Science and Technology
30. National Assembly Standing Committee on State and Frontier Regions
31. National Assembly Standing Committee on Textile Industry
32. National Assembly Standing Committee on Water and Power

1. National Assembly Standing Committee on Cabinet Secretariat

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Dewan Ashiq Bokhari (Chairperson)	PML
2. Muhammad Tariq Khatak	PPP
3. Mr. Parvaiz Khan	ANP
4. Sardar Shahjahan Yousaf	PML
5. Syed Alla-ud-Din	PPP
6. Dr. Tariq Fazal Chaudhary	PML-N
7. Malik Shakir Bashir Awan	PML-N
8. Mr. Tariq Mehmood Bajwa	PPP
9. Malik Nawab Sher Waseer	PPP
10. Ms. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana	PML
11. Mr. Tariq Shabbir	PPP
12. Sardar Muhammad Irfan Dogra	PML-N
13. Ms. Parveen Masood Bhatti	PML-N
14. Nawab Abdul Ghani Talpur	PPP
15. Shiekh Slahuddin	MQM
16. Dr. Mehreen Razaque Bhutto	PPP
17. Dr. Tahir Aurangzeb	PML-N
18. Ms. Asma Arbab Alamgir	PPP

2. National Assembly Standing Committee on Commerce

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Khurram Dastagir Khan (Chairperson)	PML-N
2. Haji Muhammad Akram Ansari	PML-N
3. Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan	PPP
4. Rana M. Farooq Saeed Khan	PPP
5. Mr. Hamid Yar Hiraj	PML
6. Ch Iftikhar Nazir	PPP
7. Mr. Asghar Ali Jutt	PPP
8. Mr. Nauman Islam Shiekh	PPP
9. Mr. Ghulam Murtaza Khan Jatoi	NPP
10. Mr. Arbab Zakirullah	PML
11. Nawab Abdul Ghani Talpur	PPP
12. Mr. Iqbal Muhammad Ali	MQM

13. Ms. Yasmeen Rehman	PPP
14. Ms. Tahira Aurangzeb	PML-N
15. Ms. Shireen Irshad Khan	PML-N
16. Ms. Kashmala Tariq	PML
17. Ms. Jamila Gilani	ANP
18. Ms. Shehnaz Saleem	PML-N

3. National Assembly Standing Committee on Communication

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Saeed Ahmad Zafar (Chairperson)	IND
2. Mr. Murtaza Javed Abbasi	PML-N
3. Mr. Mehboob Ullah Jan	PPP
4. Mr. Mehmood Kamran Khan	IND
5. Capt. (Retd.) Muhammad Safar	PML-N
6. Ch. Ghias Ahmad Mela	PML
7. Mr. Abdul Majeed Khan	PML-N
8. Capt. (Retd.) Rai Ghulam Mujtaba	PPP
9. Mr. Sajjad-ul-Hassan	PPP
10. Mir Dost Muhammad Mazari	PPP
11. Mr. Ghous Bux Khan	PML
12. Pir Saddar-ud-Din	PML-F
13. Shiekh Salahudin	MQM
14. Jam Mir Muhamma Yousaf	PML
15. Ms. Farzana Raja	PPP
16. Dr. Araish Kumar	PML-N
17. Dr. Darshan	PML-N
18. Mr. Abul Qayyum Khan Jatoi	PPP
19. Mr. M. Afzal Sindhu	PPP
20. Mr. Ramesh Lal	PPP

4. National Assembly Standing Committee on Defense

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Ms. Azra Fazal Pucheho (Chairperson)	PPP
2. Syed Haider Ali Shah	ANP
3. Sardar Mehtab Ahmad Khan	PML-N
4. Mr. Jawad Hussain	IND
5. Mr. Ayaz Mir	PML-N
6. Makhdoom Sye Faisal Saleh Hayat	PML

7. Sardar Nabil Ahmad Gabol	PPP
8. Shiekh Rohale Asghar	PML-N
9. Mr. Bilal Ahma Virak	PML-N
10. Sardar Talib Husain Nakai	PML
11. Capt. (Ret.) Rai Ghulam Mujtaba Kharal	PPP
12. Mir Amir Ali Khan Magsi	PPP
13. Dr. Talat Mahesar	PPP
14. Nawab Absul Ghani Talpur	PPP
15. Dr. Abdl Wahid Soomro	PPP
16. Begum Ishrat Ashraf	PML-N
17. Ms. Shagufta Sadiq	MQM
18. Malik Nauman Ahmad Langrial	PML

5. National Assembly Standing Committee on Defense Production

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Sheikh Aftab Ahmad (Chairperson)	PML-N
2. Mr. Muzaffar-ul-Mulk	ANP
3. Syed Akhonzada Chitan	IND
4. Mr. Tariq Mahmood Bajwa	PPP
5. Sahibzada Muhammad Fazal-e-Karim	PML-N
6. Mr. Omar Sohail Zia Butt	PML-N
7. Mr. Naseer Bhutta	PML-N
8. Malik Nauman Ahmad Langrial	PML
9. Mr. Azeem Daultana	PPP
10. Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood	PML
11. Mr. Muhammad Moazam Ali Khan Jatoui	PPP
12. Mian Abdus Sattar	PPP
13. Mr. Sher Muhammad Baloch	PPP
14. Mr. Yaqoob Bazinjo	BNP-A
15. Ms. Belum Husain	PPP
16. Ms. Fiza Junejo	PML
17. Ms. Fouzia Ejaz Khan	MQM
18. Sardar Mumtaz Khan	PML-N

6. National Assembly Standing Committee on Economic Affairs and Statistics

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Malik Azmat Khan (Chairperson)	PPP
2. Mr. Muzaffar-ul-Mulk	ANP

3. Mr. Rashid Akbar Khan	PML-N
4. Rana Asif Tauseef	PML
5. Rana Nazir Ahma Khan	PML-N
6. Ch. Liaqat Abbas Bhatti	PML
7. Pirzaa Syed Imran Ahma Shah	PML-N
8. Mr. Muhammad Moazam Ali Khan Jatoti	PPP
9. Mr. Arif Aziz Shiekh	PPP
10. Mr. Jahangir Khan Tareen	PML-F
11. Sardar Muhammad Arsha Khan Laghari	PML-N
12. Mr. Sufyan Yosuf	MQM
13. Ms. Shehnaz Wazir Ali	PPP
14. Ms. Palwasha Khan	PPP
15. Ms. Farah Naz Ispahani	PPP
16. Ms. Nafisa Shah	PPP
17. Dr. Donya Aziz	PML
18. Ms Imrana Saeed Jamil	MQM

7. National Committee Standing Committee on Finance, Revenue & Planning and Development

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Ms. Fauzia Wahab (Chairperson)	PPP
2. Maulana Muhamma Qasim	MMAP
3. Mr. Munir Khan Orakzai	IND
4. Mr. Shadid Khaqan Abbasi	PML-N
5. Makhdoom Faisal Saleh Hayat	PML
6. Mr. Riaz Fatyana	PML
7. Mr. Muhammad Jamil Malik	PML-N
8. Khawaja Muhammad Asif	PML-N
9. Mr. Arif Aziz Sheikh	PPP
10. Mr. Aftab Shaban Mirani	PPP
11. Mr. Abdul Rashid Godil	MQM
12. Ms. Shahnaz Wazir Ali	PPP
13. Ms. Nafisa Shah	PPP
14. Ms. Nighat Parveen	PML-N
15. Ms. Khalida Mansoor	PML-N
16. Ms. Kashmala Tariq	PML
17. Ms. Bushra Gohar	ANP
18. Rana M. Farooq Saeed Khan	PPP
19. Ch. Qamar Zaman Kaira	PPP
20. Mian Abdus Sattar	PPP

8. National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Asfandiyar Wali Khan (Chairperson)	ANP
2. Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman	MMA
3. Mr. M. Akhtar Kanju	IND
4. Mr. Ayaz Amir	PML-N
5. Raja Muhammad Asad Khan	PML-N
6. Ch. Ghias Ahmed Mela	PML
7. Mr. Humair Hayat Khan Rokhri	PML-N
8. Rana Asif Tauseef	PML
9. Makhdoom Faisal Saleh Hayat	PML
10. Mr. Hamza Shahbaz Sharif	PML-N
11. Mr. Nauman Islam Sheikh	PPP
12. Mir Amir Ali Khan Magsi	PPP
13. Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah	PPP
14. Dr. Muhammad Farooq Sattar	MQM
15. Ms. Palwasha Khan	PPP
16. Ms. Farah Naz Isapahani	PPP
17. Ms. FAuzia Habib	PPP
18. Syed Haider Abbas Rizvi	MQM

9. National Assembly Standing Committee on Government Assurances

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr Mahemood Hayat Khan Tochi Khan (Chairperson)	PPP
2. Mr. Zafar Beg Bhattani	IND
3. Malik Shakir Bahar Awan	PML-N
4. Sahibzada Muhammad Fazal-e-Karim	PML-N
5. Dr. Sumaira Yasir	PML-N
6. Rana Mahmoo-ul-Hassan	PML-N
7. Ch. Zahid Iqbal	PPP
8. Mr. Abdul Gafoor Chaudhry	PPP
9. Syed Zafar Ali Shah	PPP
10. Mr. Salahuddin	MQM
11. Mr. Ghulam Ali Nizami	PPP
12. Mr. Laiq Muhammad Khan	MMA
13. Dr. Zil-e-Huma	PPP
14. Begum Shahnaz Shiekh	PML
15. Mr. Ramesh Lal	PPP

10. National Assembly Standing Committee on Housing and Works

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Pervaiz Khan (Chairperson)	ANP
2. Syed Alla-ud-Din	PPP
3. Sheikh Aftab Ahmed	PML-N
4. Mr. Tariq Mahmood Bajwa	PPP
5. Mr. Saima Akhtar Bharwana	IND
6. Mian Marghoob Ahmed	PML-N
7. Mian Tariq Shabbir	PPP
8. Mr. Mahmood Hayat Khan Tochi Khan	PPP
9. Mr. Jamshaid Ahmed Dasti	PPP
10. Mr. Mohammad Mohsin Ali Qureshi	PPP
11. Mr. Nazir Ahmed Bughio	PPP
12. Mr. Arbab Zakaullah	PML
13. Dr. Ghulam Haider Samejo	PML
14. Mr. Iqbal Muhammad Ali Khan	MQM
15. Ms. Khalida Mansoor	PML-N
16. Ms. Tahira Aurangzeb	PML-N
17. Ms. Nosheen Saeed	PML
18. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Abdul Qadir Baloch	PML-N

11. National Assembly Standing Committee on Human Rights

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Riaz Fatyana (Chairperson)	PML
2. Sardar Mehtab Ahmed Khan	PML-N
3. Mr. Jawad Husain	IND
4. Capt. (Retd.) Muhammad Safdar	PML-N
5. Ms. Sumaira Yasir Rashid	PML-N
6. Makhdoom Muhammad Javed Hashmi	PML-N
7. Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood	PML
8. Ms. Raheela Baloch	PPP
9. Ms. Farah Naz Isapahani	PPP
10. Ms. Samina Mushtaq Pugganwala	PPP
11. Ms. Shakeela Khanam Rashi	PPP
12. Ms. Yasmeen Rehman	PPP
13. Ms. Fouzia Habib	PPP
14. Dr. Mahreen Razaque Bhutto	PPP
15. Dr. Attiya Inayatullah	PML

16. Ms. Kishwar Zehra	MQM
17. Dr. Araish Kumar	PML-N
18. Ms. Khush Bakht Shujaat	MQM

12. National Assembly Standing Committee on Industries and Production

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Ghous Bax Khan Mehar (Chairperson)	PML
2. Mr. Noor Alam Khan	PPP
3. Haji Muhammad Akram Ansari	PML-N
4. Sahbizada Syed Murtaza Amin	PML-N
5. Mr. Muhammad Riaz Malik	PML-N
6. Mr. Hamid Yar Hiraj	PML
7. Mr. Arif Aziz Sheikh	PPP
8. Mr. Javed Iqbal Warriach	PPP
9. Mr. Ghulam Murtaza Khan Jatoi	PPP
10. Mir Munawar Ali Talpur	PPP
11. Dr. Abdul Wahid Soomro	PPP
12. Mr. Abdul Waseem	MQM
13. Molvi Agha Muhammad	MMAP
14. Mr. Sabeen Rizvi	PML-N
15. Dr. Maheesh Kumar Malani	PML
16. Mr. Kishan Chand Parwani	PML
17. Mr. Jahangir Khan Tareen	PML-F

13. National Assembly Standing Committee on Information and Broadcasting

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Ms. Beelum Hasnain (Chairperson)	PPP
2. Mr. Istaqbal Khan	ANP
3. Shahzada Mohiuddin	PML
4. Ch. Saeed Iqbal	PPP
5. Sahibzada Muhammad Mahboob Sultan	PML
6. Rana Nazir Ahmad Khan	PML-N
7. Mr. Waseem Akhtar Sheikh	PML-N
8. Mr. Mehboobullah Jan	PPP
9. Pir Syed Fazal Ali Shah Jeelani	PPP
10. Syed Amir Ali Shah	PPP
11. Mr. Farhart Mohammad Khan	MQM
12. Ms. Farah Naz Ispahani	PPP

13. Ms. Samina Mushtaq Pugganwala	PPP
14. Ms. Farzana Raja	PPP
15. Begum Nuzhat Sadiq	PML-N
16. Ms. Shireen Irshad Khan	PML-N
17. Ms. Bushra Rehman	PML
18. Dr. Darshan	PML-N
19. Ms. KHush Bakht Shujat	MQM

14. National Standing Committee on Information Technology and Telecommunication

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Ch. Muhammad Barjees Tahir (Chairperson)	PML-N
2. Malak Azmat Khan	PPP
3. Sardar M. Shafqat Hayat Khan	PML-N
4. Sardar Talib Husain Nakai	PML
5. Ch. Iftikhar Nazir	PPP
6. Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood	PML
7. Mr. Muhammad Mohsin Ali Qureshi	PPP
8. Syed Muhammad Saqlain Bukhari	PML-N
9. Mr. Ghulam Murtaza Khan Jatoi	NPP
10. Pir Syed Fazal Ali Shah Jeelani	PPP
11. Mir Muawar Ali Talpur	PPP
12. Dr. Talat Mahesar	PPP
13. Dr. Roshan-u- Din Junejo	PPP
14. Mr. Sajid Ahmed	MQM
15. Ms. Farhat Khan	PPP
16. Ms. Anushan Rehman Khan Advocate	PML-N
17. Ms. Tanzila Amir Cheema	PML
18. Mr. M. Akhtar Kanju	IND

15. National Assembly Standing Committee on Inter Provincial Coordination

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mir Ahmadan Khan Bugti (Chairperson)	PML
2. Khawaja Muhammad Asif	PML-N
3. Mr. Muhammad Hamza Shahbaz Sharif	PML-N
4. Makhdoom Muhammad Javed Hashmi	PML-N
5. Ch. Zahid Iqbal	PPP
6. Mr. Gul Ahmad Khan Jakhrani	PPP

7. Nawab Muhammad Yousaf Talpur	PPP
8. Mr. Abdul Qadir Patel	PPP
9. Dr. Nadeem Ehsan	MQM
10. Syed Nasir Ali Shah	PPP
11. Sardar Al-Haj Muhammad Umar Gorgage	PPP
12. Haji Roz-ud-Din	MMAP
13. Dr. Imtiaz Sultan Bukhari	PML-N
14. Ms. Surriya Asghar	PML-N
15. Dr. Doniya Aziz	PML
16. Dr. Muhammad Ayub Sheikh	MQM
17. Syed Mumtaz Alam Gillani	PPP

16. National Assembly Standing Committee on Interior

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Abdul Qadir Patel (Chairperson)	PPP
2. Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao	PPP-S
3. Mr. Khan Zada Khan	PPP
4. Mr. Muhammad Ijaz Virak	PPP
5. Sheikh Waqas Akram	PML
6. Ch. Mahmood Bashir Virak	PML-N
7. Sahibzada Syed Murtaza Amin	PML-N
8. Mr. Bilal Yasin	PML-N
9. Khawaja Saad Rafique	PML-N
10. Mr. Muhammad Afzal Khokhar	PML-N
11. Sardar Buhadar Ahmad Siyar	PML
12. Mr. Nazir Ahmad Bughio	PPP
13. Mr. Roshan-u-Din Junejo	PPP
14. Mr. Wasim Akhtar	MQM
15. Ms. Tanzil Amir Cheema	PML
16. Ms. Rukhsana Bangash	PPP
17. Ms. Bushra Gohar	ANP
18. Mir Aijaz Husain Jakhrani	PPP
19. Mr. M. Saddique Khan Baloch	PML

17. National Assembly Standing Committee on Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit-Baltistan

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Shahzada Mohiuddin (Chairperson)	PML
2. Pir Dilawar Shah	ANP

3. Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Allai	PML
4. Malik Ibrar Ahmad	PML-N
5. Mr. Muhammad Junaid Anwar	PML-N
6. Ch. Mahmood Bashir Virak	PML-N
7. Mr. Muhammad Jamil Malik	PML-N
8. Mr. Muhammad Tariq Tarar	PPP
9. Mr. Bilal Yasin	PML-N
10. Mr. Khuramm Jehangir Watoo	PPPP
11. Mr. Muhammad Hayat Khan Tochi Khan	PPP
12. Mian Abdus Sattar	PPP
13. Mr. Ghulam Ali Nizami	PPP
14. Mr. Roshan-ud-Din Junejo	PPP
15. Dr. Muhammad Ayub Sheikh	MQM
16. Mr. Atta-ur-Rehman	JUI-F
17. Ms. Farzana Raja	PPP
18. Mr. Sufyan Yousaf	MQM
19. Ms. Reena Kumari	PML-F
20. Mr. Asghar Ali Jutt	PPP

18. National Assembly Standing Committee on Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Begum Nasim Akhtar (Chairperson)	PPP
2. Engineer Amir Muqam	PML
3. Mr. Muhammad Ijaz Virak Advocate	PPP
4. Mr. Riaz Fayana	PML
5. Justice (Retd.) Iftikhar Ahmed Cheema	PML-N
6. Ms. Saira Afzal Tarar	PML-N
7. Mr. Zahid Hamid	PML-N
8. Mr. Tariq Bashir	PML-N
9. Mr. Saeed Ahmed Zafar	IND
10. Mr. Abdul Ghafoor	PPP
11. Mr. Muhammad Raza Hayat Khiraj	PML
12. Syed Zafar Ali Shah	PPP
13. Syed Naveed Qamar	PPP
14. MR. s.a Oqbal Qadri	MQM
15. Justice (Retd.) Mrs. Fakhar un Nisa Khokher	PPP
16. Ms. Shakeela Khanam Rashid	PPP
17. Ms. Anusha Rehmab Khan	PML-N

19. National Assembly Standing Committee on Narcotics Control

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Murtaza Javed Abbasi (Chairperson)	PML
2. Mr. Arbab Muhammad Zahir	ANP
3. Mr. Sajid Husain Turi	IND
4. Mr. Humair Hayat Khan Rokhri	PML
5. Malil Nawab Sher Waseer	PPP
6. Sahibzada Mohammad Mahboob Sultan	PML
7. Justice (Retd.) Iftikhar Ahmed Cheema	PML-N
8. Mr. Muhammad Tariq Tarar	PPP
9. Rana Abdul Sattar	PML-N
10. Mr. Sajjad-ul-Hassan	PPP
11. Mr. Muhammad Moazzam Ali Khan Jatoi	PPP
12. Mr. Ghous Bax Khan Mehar	PML
13. Mr. Nawab Ali Wassan	PPP
14. Syed Amir Ali Shah	PPP
15. Mr. Arbab Zakaullah	PML
16. Dr. Nahid Shahid Ali	MQM
17. Dr. Laiq Muhammad Khan	MMAF

20. National Assembly Standing Committee on Overseas Pakistanis

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Muhammad Jadam Mangiro (Chairperson)	PML-F
2. Engineer Usman Khan Tarakai	IND
3. Syed Haider Ali Shah	ANP
4. Rana Tanveer Husain	PML-N
5. Mr. Muhammad Saddique Khan Baloch	PML
6. Mr. Abdul Khan Jatoi	PPP
7. Ms. Tahmina Daultana	PML-N
8. Mian Khadim Husain Watoo	PML
9. Mr. Nazir Ahmed Bhugio	PPP
10. Mr. Farhat Mohammad Khan	MQM
11. Molvi Agha Muhammad	MMAF
12. Sadar Muhammad Yaqoob Khan Nasar	PML-N
13. Ms. Fauzia Wahab	PPP
14. Ms. Rubina Saadar QAimkhani	PPP
15. Ms. Nighat Parveen	PML-N
16. Ms. Khalida Mansoor	PML-N

17. Dr. Mahesh Kumar Malani	PPP
18. Bwgum Shahnaz Sheikh	PML
19. Syed Tayyab Hasnain	MQM

21. National Assembly Standing Committee on Petroleum and Natural Resources

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Sardar Talib Hassan Nakai (Chairperson)	PML
2. Syed Haider Ali Shah	ANP
3. Mr. Nazar Muhammad Gondal	PPP
4. Mr. Muhammad Hanif Abbasi	PML-N
5. Sheikh Aftab Ahmad	PML-N
6. Ch. Anwar Ali Cheema	PML
7. Mr. Muhammad Asim Nazir	PML
8. Syed Anyat Ali Shah	PPP
9. Ch. Muhhamd Barjees Tahir	PML-N
10. Rana Muhammad Ishaq Khan	PML-N
11. Mr. Khurram Jahangir Watoo	PPP
12. Mr. Jamshed Ahmed Dasti	PPP
13. Mian Abdul Haq Alias Mian Mitho	PPP
14. Nawab Ali Wassan	PPP
15. Nawab Muhammad Yusuf Talpur	PPP
16. Mr. Abdul Waseem	MQM
17. Mr. Muhammad Usman Advocate	IND
18. Dr. Doniya Aziz	PML
19. Mir Ahmadan Khan Bhugti	PML
20. Rana Afzal Husain	PML-N

22. National Assembly Standing Committee on Ports and Shipping

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Rana Mahmmod-ul-Hassan (Chairperson)	PML-N
2. Mr. Shaukatullah	IND
3. Ms. Sumaira Malik	PML
4. Ch. Bilal Ahmad Virak	PML-N
5. Sardar Mansab Ali	PML-N
6. Khawaj Sheeraz Mehmood	PML
7. Sardar mohammad Saif-ud-Din Khosa	PML-N
8. Mir Dost Muhammad Mazari	PPP
9. Mr Nauman Islam Sheikh	PPP

10. Mr. Nazir Ahmad Bhugio	PPP
11. Khawaja Sohail Mansoor	MQM
12. Mr. Sher Muhammad Baloch	PPP
13. Syed Nasir Ali Shah	PPP
14. Sardar Al-Haaj Muhammad Umar Gorgage	PPP
15. Mr. Yaqoob Bazinjo	BNP-A
16. Ms. Fauzia Wahab	PPP
17. Ms. Nosheen Saeed	PML
18. Ms. Tasneem Siddiqui	PML-N
19. Syed Asif Hasnain	MQM

23. National Assembly Standing Committee on Postal Services

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Pir Muhammad Aslam Bodla (Chairperson)	PML
2. Mr. Muzaddae-ul-Mulk	ANP
3. Syed Alla-uDin	PPP
4. Mr. Abdul malik Wazir	IND
5. Raja Muhammad Asad Khan	PML-N
6. Rana Muhammad Ishaq Khan	PML-N
7. Sardar Muhammad Saif-ud-Din Khosa	PML-N
8. Mr. Amer Ali Magsi	PPP
9. Mr. Gul Muhammad Khan Jakhrani	PPP
10. Dr. Abdul Qadir Khanzada	MQM
11. Mr. Sher Muhammad Baloch	PPP
12. Molvi Agha Muhammad	MMA
13. Ms. Palwasha Khan	PPP
14. Ms. Shakeela Khanam Rashid	PPP
15. Begum Nuzhat Sadiq	PML-N
16. Dr. Lal Chand	PPP
17. De. Nelson Azeem	PML-N
18. Ms. Fauzia Ejaz Khan	MQM
19. Ms. Bushra Rehman	PML

24. National Assembly Standing Committee on Privatization and Investment

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Malik Bilal Rehman (Chairperson)	IND
2. Syed Haider Ali Shah	ANP
3. Mr. Muhammad Parvaiz Malik	PML-N

4. Khawaja Muhammad Asif	PML-N
5. Mr. Omer Sohail Zia Butt	PML-N
6. Sardar Aseff Ahmed Ali	PPP
7. Capt. (Retd.) Rai Ghulam Mujtaba Khural	PPP
8. Mr. Jahangir Khan Tareen	PML-F
9. Mr. Nawab Ali Wassan	PPP
10. Khawaj Sohail Mansoor	MQM
11. Jam Mir Muhammad Yousaf	PML
12. Ms. Fauzia Habin	PPP
13. Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhani	PPP
14. Ms. Nisar Tanveer	PML-N
15. Ms. Mamoon Hashmi	PML-N
16. Dr. Donya Aziz	PML
17. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Abdul Qadir Baloch	PML-N
18. Mr. Manwer Lal	MQM

25. Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly

Members of Public Accounts Committee	Political Party
1. Ch. Nisar Ali Khan (Chairperson)	PML-N
2. Mr. Asfandiyar Wali Khan	ANP
3. Mr. Nadeem Afzal Gondal	PPP
4. Mr. Riaz Fatyana	PML
5. Khawaja Mohammad Asif	PML-N
6. Mr. Zahid Hamid	PML-N
7. Sardar Ayaz Sadiq	PML-N
8. Mr. Saeed Ahmed Zafar	IND
9. Rana M. Farooq Saeed Khan	PPP
10. Mr. Hamid Yar Hiraj	PML
11. Mr. Muhammad Perzaiz Malik	PML-N
12. Mian Riaz Husain Pirzada	PML
13. Mr. Noor Alam Khan	PPP
14. Mr. Noor-ul-Haq Qadri	PPP
15. Ch. Qamar Zaman Kaira	PPP
16. Syed Haider Abbas Rizvi	MQM
17. Ms. Rukhsana Bangash	PPP
18. Ms. Yasmeen Rehman	PPP
19. Ms. Asiya Nasir	MMAF
20. Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah	PPP
21. Ms. Shehnaz Sheikh	PPP

26. National Assembly Standing Committee on Railways

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Sardar Ayaz Sadiq (Chairperson)	PML-N
2. Mr. Tariq Mahmood Bajwa	PPP
3. Ms. Rahela Baloch	PPP
4. Rana Abdul Sattar	PML-N
5. Mr. Malik Abrar Ahmed	PML-N
6. Rana Tanveer Husain	PML-N
7. Dewan Ashiq Husain Bokhari	PML
8. Pir Muhammad Aslam Bodla	PML
9. Sardar Muhammad Saif-uf-Din Khosa	PML-N
10. Mir Dost Muhammad Mazari	PPP
11. Mr. Nauman Islam Sheikh	PPP
12. Dr. Talat Mahaser	PPP
13. Dr. Muhammad Ayub Sheikh	MQM
14. Haji Rozuddin	MMAF
15. Begum Nasim Akhar Chaudhry	PPP
16. Ms. Farzana Mushtaq Ghani	PML
17. Mr. Ramesh Lal	PPP
18. M. Afzal Sindhu	PPP

27. National Assembly Standing Committee on Religious Affairs

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Moulana Mohammad Qasim (Chairperson)	MMAF
2. Engineer Muhammad Tariq Khattak	PPP
3. Sardar Shahjehan Yousaf	PML
4. Ch. Wajahat Hussain	PML
5. Malak Azmat Khan	PPP
6. Malik Bilal Rehman	IND
7. Ms. Raheela Baloch	PPP
8. Mr. Atta-ur-Rehman	JUI-F
9. Mr. Mazhar Hayar Khan	PML-N
10. Pirzada Syed Imran Ahmad Shah	PML-N
11. Rana Zahid Hussain Khan	PML-N
12. Mian Khadim Hussain Wattoo	PML
13. Mr. Javed Iqbal Warriach	PPP

14. Mr. Abdul Haq Alias Mian Mitho	PPP
15. Mr. Sajid Ahmed	MQM
16. Ms. Farhat Khan	PPP
17. Ms. Nighat Parveen	PML-N
18. Rana M. Farooq Saeed Khan	PPP
19. Ms. Kishwer Zehra	MQM

28. National Assembly Standing Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Naeem Afzal Gondal (Chairperson)	PPP
2. Syed Allaudin	PPP
3. Malik Shakeel Awan	PML-N
4. Ch. Muhammad Barjees Tahir	PML-N
5. Mr. Rashid Akbar Khan	PML-N
6. Sheikh Waqas Akram	PML
7. Ch. Mahmood Bashir Virak	PML-N
8. Rana Nazir Ahmed Khan	PML-N
9. Justice (Retd.) Iftikhar Ahmed Cheema	PML-N
10. Mr. Sajjad-ul-Hassan	PPP
11. Mr. Muhammad Raza Hayat Hiraj	PML
12. Malik Nauman Ahmed Langrial	PML
13. Mr. Mahmood Hayat Khan Tochi Khan	PPP
14. Ch. Abdul Ghafoor	PPP
15. Syed Naveed Qamar	PPP
16. Mr. Ghulam Ali Nizami	PPP
17. Nawab Muhammad Yusuf Talpur	PPP
18. Mr. S. A. Iqbal Qadri	MQM
19. Syed Haider Abbas Rizvi	MQM
20. Molvi Agha Muhammad	MMAF
21. Mr. Mohammad Usman Advocate	IND
22. Dr. Donya Aziz	PML

29. National Assembly Standing Committee on Science and Technology

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Dr. Abdul Kadir Khanzada (Chairperson)	MQM
2. Mr. Arbab Mohammad Zahir	ANP
3. Mr. Zafar Beg Bhattani	IND
4. Mr. Ayaz Amir	PML-N

5. Chaudhry Mahmood Bashir Virak	PML-N
6. Rana Abdul Sattar	PML-N
7. Malik Shakeel Awan	PML-N
8. Mr. Jamshed Ahmed Dasti	PPP
9. Mian Riaz Hussain Pirzada	PML
10. Pir Syed Fazal Ali Shah Jeelani	PPP
11. Ms. Shamshad Sattar Bachani	PPP
12. Mr. Roshan-ud-Din Junejo	PPP
13. Mr. Abdul Qadir Patel	PPP
14. Mr. Akram Masih Gill	PML
15. Ms. Anusha Rehman Khan Advocate	PML-N
16. Begum Shahnaz Sheikh	PML
17. Dr. Nahid Shahid Ali	MQM
18. Jusrice (Retd.) Mrs. Fakhar un Nisa Khokher	PPP

30. National Assembly Standing Committee on States and Frontier Region

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Mr. Sajid Hussain Turi (Chairperson)	IND
2. Mr. Noor Alam Khan	PPP
3. Engineer Mohammad Tariq Khattak	PPP
4. Mr. Pervaiz Khan	ANP
5. Mr. Murtaza Javed Abbasi	PML-N
6. Mr. Jawad Hussain	IND
7. Enginner Amir Muqam	PML
8. Mr. Shaukatullah	IND
9. Dr. Tariq Fazal Chaudhry	PML-N
10. Mr. Muhammad Tariq Tarar	PPP
11. Syed Asif Hasnain	MQM
12. Mir Ahmadan Khan Bugti	PML
13. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Abdul Qadir Baloch	PML-N
14. Malik Mehrunnisa Afridi Advocate	PPP
15. Ms. Arbab Alamgir	PPP

31. National Assembly Standing Committee on Textile Industry

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Haji Muhammad Akram Ansari (Chairperson)	PML-N
2. Mr. Khan Zada Khan	PPP
3. Syed Akhonzada Chitan	IND
4. Mr. Muhammad Asim Nazir	PML

5. Rana Asif Tauseef	PML
6. Ch. Saeed Iqbal	PPP
7. Mr. Tariq Shabbir	PPP
8. Mian Javed Latif	PML-N
9. Mr. Waseem Akhtar Sheikh	PML-N
10. Sardar Talib Hassan Nakai	PML
11. Ch. Iftikhar Nazir	PPP
12. Ch. Zahid Iqbal	PPP
13. Mr. Muhammad Salman Mohsin Gillani	PML-N
14. Mr. Muhammad Hayat Khan Tochi Khan	PPP
15. Syed Amir Ali Shah	PPP
16. Mr. Manwer Lal	MQM
17. Mr. Abdul Rashid Godil	MQM

32. National Assembly Standing Committee on Water and Power

Members of Standing Committee	Political Party
1. Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah (Chairperson)	PPP
2. Mr. Aftab Khan Sherpao	PPP-S
3. Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Allai	PML
4. Mr. Anjum Aqeel Khan	PML-N
5. Mr. Muhammad Ijaz Virak Advocate	PPP
6. Ch. Abid Sher Ali	PML-N
7. Mr. Bilal Yasin	PML-N
8. Mr. Mohammad Afzal Khokhar	PML-N
9. Rana Afzal Hussain	PML-N
10. Mr. Sajjad-ul-Hassan	PPP
11. Pir Muhammad Aslam Bodla	PML
12. Mr. Abdul Haq Alias Mian Mitho	PPP
13. Syed Zafar Ali Shah	PPP
14. Mr. Salahuddin	MQM
15. Nawab Muhammad Yousaf Talpur	PPP
16. Mr. Aijaz Jakhrani	PPP
17. Syed Tayyab Hasnain	MQM