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## Editorial

Dear Readers,

The PIPS Board of Governors, in its 35<sup>th</sup> meeting in February, 2020, approved the PIPS work and business plan for 2020-21 along with revised budget estimates 2019-20 and budgetary estimates for FY 2020-21. It is a matter of satisfaction that Parliament also passed the amendment bill in the PIPS Act 2008 whereby the Institute mandate is enhanced from legislative, research, training and outreach to capacity building of government machinery by holding two weeks workshops on Parliamentary working and processes for civil servants as well as federal and provincial government functionaries. It is a milestone in the leadership of Hon President PIPS BoG/Chairman Senate Senator Muhammad Sadiq Sanjrani, who envisions PIPS as an international seat of parliamentary learning.

This issue of the PIPS Parliamentary Research Digest includes absorbing articles on role and effectiveness of Public Accounts Committees, rise of rights wing politics in countries like India and US and its implications on world at large and a piece of economy of agriculture sector. The Parliamentary Papers section shares details of Pakistan's energy mix.

Meanwhile Team PIPS welcomes international delegates to its inaugural regional parliamentary workshop on PARLIAMENTARY PROCESSES AND CONSTITUENCY RELATION scheduled for Feb., 27-28, 2020 that will be attended by 25 MPs and parliamentary officials from Cambodia, Turkey and Pakistan.

Happy reading and profound regards,

**Muhammad Rashid Mafzool Zaka**

Senior Director General (Research and Legislation)



*Honorable Chairman Senate/ President PIPS BoG Senator Muhammad Sadiq Sanjrani presiding over 35<sup>th</sup> meeting of PIPS Board of Governors Wednesday, February 12, 2020*

# INFORMATION CENTRE PIPS

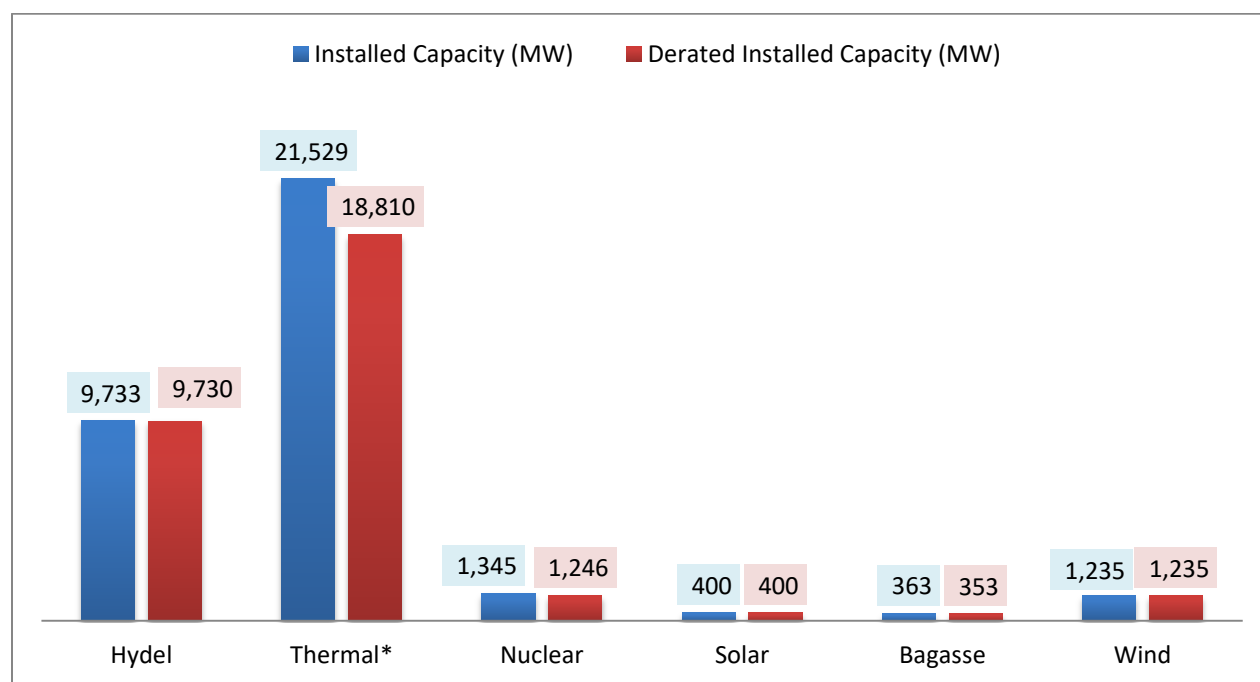
## Energy Mix of Pakistan

**Qaiser Iqbal**, Librarian &  
**Areeb Shirazi**, Young Parliamentary Officer

On May 3, 2019, Minister In-charge for Energy and Power Division presented the statistics of Current Energy Mix of Pakistan in the upper house of Parliament. The statistics detailed current sources of energy generation in Pakistan and their installed capacity – also highlighting the de-rated capacity.

The de-rated capacity margin is defined as the expected excess of available generation capacity over demand. Available generation capacity is the part of the installed capacity that is expected to be accessible in reasonable operational timelines, i.e. it is not decommissioned or offline due to maintenance or forced outage.<sup>1</sup>

*The statistics presented are as of April 2019;*



**Figure 1: Current Energy Mix of Pakistan<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> Socrates Mokkas, "Electricity Capacity Assessment: Measuring And Modeling The Risk Of Supply Shortfalls", *Ofgem.Gov.Uk*, 2011, <https://www.ofgem.gov.uk/ofgem-publications/40421/capacityassessmentconsultationdocument.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> Thermal Energy (FO+GAS+RLNG+COAL)

## ANALYSIS

**Public Accounts Committee: International Practices**

**Muhammad Rashid Mafzool Zaka**, Senior Director General (Research & Legislation)  
and **Muhammad Rizwan Manzoor**, Research Officer, PIPS

**1. Introduction**

Public Accounts Committees (PACs) are traditionally key instruments of Parliament, which play imperative role in stimulating public-sector accountability and effective governance. In UK, a resolution of the House of Commons in 1861 instituted this committee that is now fairly common in Commonwealth countries. The PACs are parliamentary standing committees largely existing in the directly elected House of Representatives. But there are some exceptions to this general trend. In Australia and India, the PAC is a bicameral commission. Likewise in Pakistan, PAC has been made bicameral committee after inclusion of members from the Senate of Pakistan.

The PACs have been institutionalized in different ways world over. PAC was setup through country's constitution in many countries such as Bangladesh, Cook Islands, Kiribati, Zambia, Saint Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago whereas in some countries, PAC evolved by the standing order of the assembly. This type of PAC was instituted by parliaments of UK (1861 initially), Guyana, Tanzania, Uganda, Canada, Malta, Jamaica and India. Lastly, there is most contemporary new trend, put forth by Australia and the United Kingdom, in which the PAC is instituted by an Act of the Parliament.

**2. Role and Functions of the PAC**

PACs are Standing Committees which help the Parliament oversee the activities performed by the government. A PAC has, like any other standing committees, the power to investigate and examine all the issues that are referred to it by the parliament. Additionally, PAC can investigate some specific issues such as the government's accountability to the Parliament with regard to the expenses incurred by the government, assuring the value of public money and performance audit i.e. the effectiveness and the efficiency of the policies enacted by the government<sup>1</sup>. To do this, PACs are vested with additional and more specific powers, such as power to examine the public accounts where usually Auditor General supports PAC through its detailed audit reports.

**3. Structure of PAC**

PAC is relatively smaller in size with ideal membership of 10 to 16 MPs. The size of the membership of the PAC varies from country to country. There are seven members in Malta, seventeen in Canada and twenty-two in India. Interestingly, the distribution of seats within the PAC corresponds proportionately to the seats held by the parties in the House. This means that the government party (or the government coalition) controls a majority of the seats in the PAC. To counterbalance the power of the majority in the PAC, the opposition party is generally offered the Chairmanship of PAC. *From the global practices of PAC of around two-thirds of the cases, PACs are chaired by some member from opposition benches<sup>2</sup>. This practice in some countries such as the United Kingdom or India is followed as tradition and has become "a very strong convention" over the years.* In other countries this practice is codified by the same norms and rules that establish the PAC itself.

<sup>1</sup> A. Brazier and V. Ram, *The Fiscal Maze* Hansard Society London: 2006 p.36 Also see; Alex Brazier, "The Fiscal Maze: Parliament, Government and Public Money" 2007 Vol.60 no 2. *Public Administration* 346-55.

<sup>2</sup> McGee, David G. (2002). *The Overseers*. Public Accounts Committees and Public Spending, London, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, with Pluto Press.

#### 4. Public Accounts Committee in Pakistan

Public Accounts Committee in Pakistan, like other countries of Westminster parliamentary model, is one of the most powerful committees of the Parliament. It is joint parliamentary committee having twenty nine (29) members in total where twenty three (23) members are from National Assembly and six (6) from Senate<sup>3</sup>. PAC Pakistan has evolved as an effective parliamentary oversight mechanism yet it faces numerous challenges that include, incomplete audit back log of years, lack of response from bureaucracy and officers in presentation of evidence as witnesses and whistle blowers, inconsistent reciprocity by auditor general with PAC Secretariat and government ministries in timely implementation of the recommendations by PAC.

##### a) Legislative Authority

The National Assembly refers the Audit Report to PAC for examination under Rule 177 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly, 2007. Article 170 of the Constitution empowers the Auditor General of Pakistan to conduct Audit of the Accounts of the Federal and of the Provincial Governments. Article 171 of Constitution confers the presentation of Report to the President and further it's laying in the Parliament.

##### b) Powers and Functions of PAC in Pakistan

- i. 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 the Auditor-General of Pakistan and such other matters as the Minister for Finance may refer to it [Rule 203(1)\*].
- ii. The **Assembly or the Speaker may remit to the Standing Committee any subject or matter** with which it is concerned [Rule 199\*].
- iii. The quorum to constitute a sitting of a Committee shall be **one fourth of the total membership of the Committee** including the Chairman [Rule 217\*].
- iv. Public Accounts Committee may proceed from the stage where the previous Committee left the proceedings before the dissolution of the Assembly [Rule 205\*]
- v. The Committee takes **notice/public petitions** other than Audit Reports [Rule 201(4)\*]

#### 5. PAC-A Comparative Analysis

##### 5.1. Public Accounts Committee in United Kingdom

PAC in UK was established in 1861 as a "circle of control" during William Gladstone's period as Chancellor of the Exchequer on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1861 through a Standing Order. The PAC operates as a key part of Parliament's control over public spending that combines political oversight with technical expertise. The Standing Order of UK House of Commons states:

##### *148. Committee of Public Accounts*

*(1) There shall be a select committee to be called the Committee of Public Accounts for the **examination of the accounts showing the appropriation of the sums granted by Parliament to meet the public expenditure, and of such other accounts laid before Parliament as the committee may think fit, to consist of not more than sixteen members.** The committee shall have power to send for persons, papers and records, to sit notwithstanding any adjournment of the House, to report from time to time, to appoint specialist advisers either to supply information*

<sup>3</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan, Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, 2007

*which is not readily available or to elucidate matters of complexity within the committee's order of reference, and to adjourn from place to place.*

#### a) Responsibilities of PAC

PAC's authority and responsibility differ from those of other select committees in following ways:

- i. Firstly, it adopts **non-party political approach** to its task and the fact already noted that it is **chaired by a senior opposition Member of Parliament**.
- ii. Secondly, its **inquiries are almost all audit-based** and it receives expert assistance from the Comptroller and Auditor General (C & AG) through the work of the National Audit Office. C&AG is an officer of the UK House of Commons.
- iii. **Value For Money (VFM) examinations its reports to Parliament carry** considerable weight. E.g See: Public Accounts Committee Reports HC 283, 200-01 on the poor quality of higher education and on the C&AG's Report on the *Millennium Dome* HC 936, 1999-2000, HC 989-I, 2000-1.

#### b) Role of PAC

PAC is illustrative of the organic and institutional features of the unwritten and un-codified United Kingdom Constitution. The Committee's responsibilities are:

- i. It scrutinizes the value for money—the economy, efficiency and effectiveness—of public spending and generally holds the government and its civil servants to account for the delivery of public services.
- ii. As delivery models for public services have changed, so the scope of the Committee, in following the taxpayer's pound, has spread beyond government departments to also examine public bodies and private companies providing public services.

#### c) Traditions & Best Practices - PAC UK

- i. The main achievement in its role is to work in a non-party political or partisan way. This is taken seriously by the PAC and also distinguishes its work from that of the other select committees.
- ii. Current constitutional practice is for the PAC to meet regularly on Mondays and Wednesdays around 4 pm.
- iii. Usually at its regular meetings the Comptroller and Auditor General or his deputy is in attendance.
- iv. Technically while considering the estimates of account, the PAC is required to report on the basis that there is no formal objection to the accounts and this includes any Excess Vote.
- v. The PAC holds 46 meetings and publishes over 40 reports annually.
- vi. Government responds to about 1,000 recommendations from the PAC in an average Parliament, and accepts about 95% of them.
- vii. Main achievement of PAC in UK is that its blend specialist expertise with political scrutiny that reinforces each. National Audit Office (NAO)'s work makes the PAC a stronger select committee than any other. The nature of its status and high public profile makes it a visible form of financial accountability.



- viii. PAC encourages NAO in its role and gives it a direct influence over the direction and remit of financial scrutiny. Since reforms in 1983, NAO has led the way in its value for money examinations and its scrutiny functions.
- ix. **Staffers:** 3-5 non-partisan Clerks/Secretariat officials including a researcher

## 5.2. Public Accounts Committee in India<sup>4</sup>

PAC in India was introduced in 1921 through its first mention in Government of India Act, 1919 also called Montford Reforms. It is one of the parliamentary committees that examines the annual audit reports of Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) which President lays before the Parliament of India. The three reports submitted by CAG are:

- i. Audit report on appropriation accounts
- ii. Audit report on finance accounts
- iii. Audit report on public undertakings

PAC in India examines public expenditure. This examination is not limited to legal and formal and technical irregularities but also from the point of view of the economy, prudence, insight and propriety. The only purpose of doing this is to identify practices of wastage, corruption, extravagance, inefficiency and petty expenses.

PAC in India has twenty-two (22) members where fifteen (15) are elected from Lok Sabha (House of Representatives/National Assembly) and seven (7) members are elected from Rajya Sabha (Upper House / Senate). The members of the committee are elected annually by the Parliament from amongst its members in proportionate system to the party positions in the Houses. This election method gives equal representation to all the parties of the Parliament. The Speaker of the Lok Sabha appoints the **Chairman of PAC**. Until 1966-67, the Chairman of PAC was appointed from the ruling party however; a convention later decided that the chairman of the committee will be appointed invariably from the opposition party.

### a) Limitations of PAC in India

Though the committee is empowered to act upon the audit reports of the CAG, and also to keep a check on the union government's expenses, there are still a few limitations on it working. The limitations of the Public Accounts Committee are given below:

- 1. Broadly, it cannot intervene in the questions of policy
- 2. It can keep a tab on the expenses only after they are incurred. It has no power to limit expenses.
- 3. It cannot intervene in matters of day-to-day administration.
- 4. Any recommendation that the committee makes is only advisory in nature. They can be ignored by the ministries.
- 5. It is not vested with the power of disallowance of expenditures by the departments.
- 6. Being only an executive body; it cannot issue an order. Only the Parliament can take a final decision on its findings.

## 5.3. Public Accounts Committee in Australia

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<sup>4</sup> Public Accounts Committee - Indian Polity Notes  
(<https://byjus.com/free-ias-prep/public-accounts-committee/>)

All provincial and State legislatures have 10 PACs - Some Houses may have 2, e.g. South Australia has two committees, the Economic and Finance Committee (EFC) and the Statutory Authorities Review Committee (SARC), jointly referred as PAC. Australia inherited PAC practices from United Kingdom, where it was initially established by a Standing Order in 1861. Today, Australian PACs are divided according to whether they are established by Standing Order (four jurisdictions), or by an Act of Parliament (six jurisdictions). At National level, they have Joint Committee of Public Accounts.

**a) Powers and responsibilities**

PACs Australia - Powers to Investigate/ex post and ex ante Financial Scrutiny:

- i. Ex post scrutiny of the budget is a key role played by PACs. The ex post scrutiny role is typical of Westminster-style parliaments, that have the mandate to review public accounts and Auditor-General reports and the power to investigate any items or matters in connection with those accounts or reports.
- ii. In addition, all the PACs except that of the Northern Territory have the capacity to initiate their own inquiries, and to a large extent, determine their own work priorities. The Committee initiates its own inquiries into public administration matters and can conduct inquiries into matters referred to it by either House of Parliament.
- iii. The legislative duties and powers of the JCPAA are contained within the following acts of parliament.
  - a. Public Accounts and Audit Committee Act 1951
  - b. Auditor-General Act 1997
  - c. Parliamentary Service Act 1999
  - d. Public Governance, Performance and Accountability Act 2013 (the PGPA Act)

**b) Relationship with Auditor General Australia & Best Practice<sup>5</sup>**

- i. Committee has formal responsibility of examination of Auditor-General reports
- ii. PAC Australia has the power to veto the appointment of the Auditor-General
- iii. PAC Australia is formally involved in the strategic review of Audit Office performance
- iv. Govt. responses within 3 months on PAC recommendations (Govt. Policy)

#### 5.4. Public Accounts Committee in Canada

- a) Establishment & Legislative Authority:** The Standing Committee on Public Accounts is established under Standing Order 108(3)(g) of the House of Commons, in Canada. It has not more than 10 Members from House of Commons including Chair and two Vice Chairs. Ministers can't be the PAC members while two parliamentary secretaries can be non-voting members. Traditionally Chair is from opposition benches. PAC Canada is assisted by independent and professional staffers with a mix of 2-3 clerks and 1-2 researchers<sup>6</sup>.

**b) Responsibilities Canada PAC:**

According to the laid down rules of procedures the committee is mandated "to review and report on the Public Accounts of Canada and all reports of the Auditor General of Canada, which shall be severally deemed permanently referred to the Committee immediately after they are laid upon the table."

<sup>5</sup> Joachim Wehner, Best Practices of Public Accounts Committees, (<https://www.internationalbudget.org/wp-content/uploads/Best-Practices-of-Public-Accounts-Committees.pdf>).

<sup>6</sup> Parliamentary Oversight – Committees and Their Relationships, Report of the Canadian Council of Public Accounts Committees

Generally, in overseeing expenditures, the PAC:

- a. Examines the government's financial statements or public accounts.
- b. Examines whether the government has spent funds for the purposes intended by the legislature.
- c. Examines whether the government has spent funds with due regard to economy and efficiency (and, in some cases, whether the government has the means to measure its own effectiveness).

**c) Working of PAC in Canada:** PAC's working in Canada involves the following procedure:

- i. Calling witnesses to account for what has occurred and to describe what action they are taking to fix the problem
- ii. Endorsing the legislative auditor's findings and recommending that departments and agencies bring about corrective action
- iii. Compelling departments and agencies to respond to the legislative auditor's and the PAC's recommendations
- iv. Following up with departments and agencies to ensure recommendations have been implemented.

**d) Relationship with Auditor General and best practices<sup>7</sup>**

In Canada, mutually respected relationships exist between PAC and Auditor General. Legislative Auditor or Auditor General Office act as Adviser (s) to the PAC while they act as a Witness when the Legislative Auditors' estimates and business/finances plan is being considered by the PAC. The matrix below presents the comparative values of PACs in UK, India, Australia and Canada.

**Table 1: Comparative Matrix of International Practices of PAC**

S. No.	UK	India	Australia	Canada
<b>1. Established since</b>	PAC was established in 1861	In existence since 1921 and is referred to as "the eyes and ears of the legislature"	The Australian state of Victoria has had a Public Accounts and Estimates Committee since 1895	Established when the Consolidated Revenue and Audit Bill was introduced in the House of Commons in 1931
<b>2. Basis of establishment</b>	Initially, through the Standing Order of UK House of Commons then enacted through an Act of Parliament	Constitutional existence	Initially, through Standing Order then through an Act of Parliament	Standing Order 104(1) of Canada House of Commons
<b>3. Number of Members</b>	16	22	11	17
<b>4. Appointment of Chairperson</b>	Appointed from opposition benches	Appointed from opposition benches	Appointed from opposition benches	Appointed from opposition benches

<sup>7</sup> Ibid



5. PAC Meetings and Reports per year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• around 46 meetings in a year</li> <li>• over 40 reports annually</li> </ul>	It generally produces more than 10 reports a year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• over 50 meetings a year</li> <li>• One detailed annual report: In its annual report, the Committee publishes performance targets and plans for the year, as well as statistics on past performance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 30-50 meetings a year</li> <li>• It produces 10-20 reports a year based mainly on the reports of the Auditor General of Canada</li> </ul>
6. PAC's reporting mechanism	Report is laid in Parliament	Report is laid in Parliament for discussion	The annual report is laid in the parliament	Reports are laid in Parliament for discussion
7. Supporting staff	3-5 non-partisan Clerks/Secretariat officials including a researcher	10-15 staffers	5-7 including administrative and subject experts	Mix of 2-3 Clerks and 1-2 researchers

## 6. Conclusion and Way forward

As discussed above, PAC is one of the most important committees in the Parliament; its strong and efficient working performance can strengthen the oversight role of the Parliament. This role empowers Parliament to keep check on the government and may help bringing transparency and good governance in the system. On the basis of global best practices following way forward may be suggested to strengthen the working of PAC in Pakistan:

- i. **Act of Parliament on PAC:** Like other international parliament, PAC reforms can get a catalyst effect by an Act of Parliament to devise committee's roles and mandate in clear terms. It may lay down complete term for PAC, precise number of members (PACs are relatively smaller in size 10 to 16 mostly), minimum number of meetings annually (15 to 20 world over), chairperson from amongst opposition, power and process of public hearings, resources of PAC (experts in secretariat and budget) and annual reporting mechanism of PAC to the Parliament.
- ii. **Subject Experts in PAC Secretariat:** PAC Secretariat should engage 8 to 10 experts, having optimum university qualification in finance, economics and accountancy in addition to experience of working in public financial management institutions.
- iii. **PAC focus on current years' Audits:** PAC efforts to overcome the backlog of past years through sub committees are commendable. It is proposed that while sub

- committees continue to complete the backlog, the whole committee may focus its meeting present on last two years, e.g 2017-18 and 2018-19. It will help working of PAC in a timely and efficient manner.
- iv. **PAC Secretariat to steer Priority Audits:** It is imperative that PAC ascertains and practices authority and power to choose topics to be investigated independent of the government. PAC Secretariat should have control of taking up subject/ministry-wise Audit paragraphs in terms of priority drawn by the PAC leadership at commencement of each parliamentary year.
  - v. **Reporting Mechanism:** All auditor general reports must stand perpetually referred to PAC and AG office should sit with the PAC to go over the reports highlights. All ministries should comply with deadline of 2-3 months to respond on action taken on PAC's recommendations. Similarly, PAC must annually lay down report(s) in the Parliament.
  - vi. **Transparency, Media and Public Hearings:** Like most PACs world over, committee reports should be available to public and media on regular basis. Public hearings are open to public and media in 55% of legislature's world over. Apart from hearing evidence on sensitive matters where commercial and security confidentiality is maintained, public knowledge of PAC proceedings is still much preferable in most other cases under scrutiny. Dedication and commitment of PAC members is key to its success and media coverage, increasing desire for PACs to sit in public to hear evidence from the ministries and departments under scrutiny, raises image and profile of oversight being conducted by the PAC.
  - vii. **Capacity Building of PAC:** The Members of PAC and functionaries of the PAC Secretariat should be offered orientation programs locally and internationally to equip themselves with insights into best practices of public accounts committees ensuring optimum standards of oversight of public finance and principles of good governance not limited to transparency, inclusivity, efficiency and effectiveness. There should be international exchanges of PAC members so they may visit PAC of other countries having similar nature of parliamentary and PAC structure such as Australia, Canada, UK etc.

## OPINION

**Rise of Right-Wing Populism and Governance in the last decade  
A case study of major powers around the globe**

**Areeb Shirazi,**  
Young Parliamentary Officer

**Abstract**

*Right-wing populism has been exponentially rising around the world for the past decade. If we engage in an in-depth analysis, it will illustrate that the rise of right-wing populism is clearly visible in each and every region of the world. Various factors have been contributing to the rising trend in last decade; be that, economic and structural measures, cultural and societal preferences, policies regarding defense and various other eminent factors which would be discussed in the paper. Examples from regions such as United States, European Union, Middle East and Asia serve as a case study of the above observation and would be discussed in an elaborate manner.*

**1. Introduction**

Since the last decade, traditional left-wing parties seem to be overshadowed by the rising tide of right-wing populism across various regions of the world. While there may be various reasons for the changing trend, but it is believed that left's shift to center on economic issues during the late twentieth century stands the major contributing factor.<sup>1</sup> With the exponential rise of right, it minimized the space for left and its distinctive profile. Moreover, it promoted the rise of nativist, populist right and contributed to the broader problems facing democracy today in various parts of world.<sup>2</sup>

Right-wing politics hold that certain hierarchies and social orders are inevitable, natural and desirable, supporting the position on basis of natural law, economics and tradition.<sup>3</sup> In their context, inequality and hierarchy may be viewed as results of traditional social differences or competition in market economies.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the right-wing political parties carry an ideology of nativism, authoritarianism, and populism.<sup>5</sup> The major factor of right-wing political parties today is their dedicated focus on nativism. It is the combination of nationalism and xenophobia and can be seen by the level of importance right-wing parties put towards having a culturally homogenous nation with a shared language and religion. While forming policies or carrying an elections manifesto, nativism stays the underlying policy for them which can be depicted by the rigid immigration laws in right-wing governed regions. These laws are designed to curtail immigrations so that state can mainly comprise of members of native group and not of non-native cultures which they believe threatens the mono-cultural nation-state.<sup>6</sup> The non-native elements are defined in terms of ethnicities, culture, and religion which are different to the native element of state.<sup>7</sup> As nativism incorporates nationalism, right-wing parties promote nationalist and patriotic attitudes – which lead to populism, another distinguishing characteristic of right.

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<sup>1</sup> Sheri Berman and Maria Snegovaya, "Populism and The Decline Of Social Democracy", *Journal Of Democracy* 30, no. 3 (2019): 5-19.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Johnson, "A Political Glossary", *Auburn*, 2005, <http://webhome.auburn.edu/~johnspm/gloss/right-wing.phtml>.

<sup>4</sup> Roger Scruton, *A Dictionary Of Political Thought* (Macmillian Publishers, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Roger Eatwell and Cas Mudde, *Western Democracies And The New Extreme Right Challenge* (Taylor & Francis, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Matt Golder, "Far Right Parties In Europe", *Pennsylvania State University*, 2016.

Populism believes that politics should reflect the will of people, which is often indicative of will of majority.<sup>8</sup> It distinguishes between the will of general public and that of elite, and easily grasps the opportunity of tapping into voter's frustration with economy or sometimes seen as political corruption in their country. Once these animosities rise, right-wing parties utilize the situation in their electoral advantage promising voters the change they desire.

The final distinguishing characteristic is right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). It describes a relatively stable dimension of individual differences in attitudes and beliefs.<sup>9</sup> People and governments at high levels of RWA are characterized by attitudes and beliefs that support traditional socially conservative values, life styles, morality, religious beliefs, respect and obedience to established laws, norms, and social authorities, and strict social control.<sup>10</sup> Political parties carrying an authoritarian outlook take a hard stance regarding every aspect of policy making and decision taking. They are far stricter in their views and policies regarding various areas of governance such as; border control and crime. They climb towards firm state control over matters of governance and maintaining social order.

It won't be wrong to state that since 2010, democracies around the globe seem to have shifted toward the right, electing representatives who are far more conservative in their ideologies regarding human rights, social welfare, defense and other eminent areas of governance. Right-wing populism carries different features in different countries depending upon the needs to be addresses. But, one common feature it globally contains is that the movements and parties share xenophobic, nationalistic traits with a tendency towards authoritarianism, and aggressive leadership. Almost in entire Europe, xenophobia has been seen rising during the past few years particularly towards asylum seekers and immigrants. Similar situation can be attributed to United States, countries in Asia, Middle East and other regions of the world.

## 2. Europe – the last decade

In 2018, it was revealed in *The Guardian* that one in four Europeans vote for the right wing populists.<sup>11</sup> After the Financial Crisis of 2008 and Migrant Crisis of 2015, most European countries have right-wing populist parties wither gaining votes, ruling coalitions or opposition in Parliament.<sup>12</sup> Notable examples of right-wing populist parties in Parliament around Europe include; the league and five star movement in Italy, the alternative for Germany (AfD) in German parliament, the Freedom Party in Austria, Sweden Democrats in Sweden, Front National in France, Vox in Spain, Fidesz in Hungary, the Slovenian Democratic Party in Slovenia, The Law and Justice Party in Poland, the Danish People's Party in Denmark and Conservative People's Party in Estonia.<sup>13</sup> In Eastern Europe, Poland and Hungary have long been the center points of post-Communist Eastern European democratization. However, in the past years, both countries provided space to right-wing populist parties gaining immense popularity to an extent that they both are being governed with increasingly authoritarians' tendencies. Law and Justice Party in Poland entered the government in 2015. It has since altered the constitution various times. On multiple occasions, their minister has been reported saying

<sup>8</sup> Roger Eatwell and Cas Mudde, *Western Democracies And The New Extreme Right Challenge* (Taylor & Francis, 2004).

<sup>9</sup> "SAGE Reference - Right Wing Authoritarianism", *Sk.Sagepub.Com*, 2020, <https://sk.sagepub.com/reference/processes/n215.xml>.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Lewis et al., "Revealed: One In Four Europeans Vote Populist", *The Guardian*, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2018/nov/20/revealed-one-in-four-europeans-vote-populist>.

<sup>12</sup> Alice Kattago, "The Rise Of Right-Wing Populism In Contemporary Europe", *Universidade Fernando Pessoa*, 2019, doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.33963.39208.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

that “People’s interest supersede the interest of Law”.<sup>14</sup> Fidesz Party in Hungary entered government in 2010 with authoritarian tendencies. In 2018 elections, they were able to secure 69% votes with increasing popularity. FP promotes anti-EU and anti-Immigrants viewpoint heavily.<sup>15</sup> In Western Europe, UKIP has been consistent in its anti-EU and anti-Immigration message and has gained public opinion. Its greatest impact has been on conservative government which, in face of UKIP’s popularity has resisted allowing refugees to UK. Brexit referendum has been their eventual victory. UKIP has a larger number of seats in European Parliament as compared to other British political parties.<sup>16</sup> The rise of Conservative Party in last decade and formation of their government was not possible without the support of UKIP and Brexit Party. In 2019 elections, both the right-wing populist parties decided not to field candidates against conservative candidates which contributed greatly to its victory. It is believed that the working and lower-middle class in UK supported the idea that immigrants have made their lives difficult and snatching away their livelihoods. It is the same segment which has been seen shifting its ideological base from centre-left to nationalist right of the political spectrum – giving rise to popularity of conservatives.

### 3. United States – the last decade

In the United States, as evident by the election of Donald Trump in 2016, right-wing populism is a key factor in national politics. Right-wing populism is a complex phenomenon which varies from country to country. It is deep rooted in material circumstances such as rising economic inequality, stagnation of lower and middle income class, increasing low wage and precarious employment, and rising economic insecurity.<sup>17</sup> Tapping the opportunity of changing populist ideology, President Donald Trump promised to create more jobs by fighting trade wars with China, and making “America First” as its economic agenda. As explained earlier that nativism stands the core of right wing populism around the world, President Trump has been promoting his nativist ideology without any hesitation. His anti-Immigrant narrative has been widely welcomed by the right-wing populists and resultantly earned him more support from these segments. The public expression of nativism in United States is increasingly becoming acceptable since President Trumps’ outright support to it. Anti-immigrant culture previously spiked in 1850s and 1920s but proved to be transient. One of the factors of the rise of racial nationalism in US has been fueled by sentiments of alienation among the lower middle segment of society.<sup>18</sup> This alienation among lower-middle class whites is not directed towards their superiors but the labor unions and policies which strive for equal economic opportunities. As a result, this means that the 40% of population comprising of white lower-middle class remain immovable of their support to President Trump and their antagonism to the social democratic agenda.<sup>19</sup>

### 4. Middle East – the last decade

Analyzing the recent years of Iraq and Lebanon, right-wing populist figures of both countries gained popularity and achieved successes in their elections. In Iraq, the Saeroon coalition led by Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, the former leader of the Mahdi Army militia won the plurality of seats. In Lebanon, the Samir Geagea-led Lebanese Forces, a former militia traditionally seen as a right-wing Christian party, doubled its number of seats in parliament. At first glance, Sadr and Geagea, may appear to be diametrical opposites, but their surprising victories reveal an emerging

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Greven, *The Rise Of Right-Wing Populism In Europe And The United States* (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2016), [https://www.fesdc.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/publications/RightwingPopulism.pdf](https://www.fesdc.org/fileadmin/user_upload/publications/RightwingPopulism.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Lory Eller, "Explaining The Rise Of Far-Right Political Parties In Europe" (University of Tennessee, 2017).

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Jackson, "Shifting To The Centre Is No Way To Fight Right-Wing Populism", *Broadbent Institute*, 2019, [https://www.broadbentinstitute.ca/shifting\\_to\\_the\\_centre\\_is\\_no\\_way\\_to\\_fight\\_right\\_wing\\_populism](https://www.broadbentinstitute.ca/shifting_to_the_centre_is_no_way_to_fight_right_wing_populism).

<sup>18</sup> Winston P. Nagan and Samantha R. Manausa, "The Rise Of Rightwing Populism In Europe And The United States", *Redfame*, 2018, doi:10.11114/ijsss.v6i10.3650.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.



form of populism sweeping the Middle East.<sup>20</sup> The current regime of Turkey under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has its ideological roots in the right-wing coalition of 1970s. The democratic evolution in Turkey has been hampered by the absence of a democratic leftist alternative.<sup>21</sup> Erdogan's AK party has won in all five legislative elections since its founding. The party has been holding majority of seats in parliament and ruling with a single party government for 17 years.

### 5. India – the last decade

Over the last decade, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has gained immense support from far-right segments in India with a clear conception of its people as Hindu, patriotic and united. The party espouses unambiguously right-wing populist views of the people, and elites.<sup>22</sup> BJP has been accusing congress of siding with minorities such as Muslims and Dalits against the Indian people. It is not just Congress that the BJP bitterly opposes, it castigates journalists, NGOs, academics and judges as getting in the way of the expression of the people's will. The anti-Muslim narrative of Prime Minister Modi and his BJP is not hidden from anyone; it comes as no surprise that in the 2014-19 Parliament, the BJP was the first ruling party not to have a single Muslim MP.<sup>23</sup> Recent legislation titled "The Citizenship Amendment Act" further clears the intent of rising right-wing populism in India. The legislation makes an exception to provide amnesty to members of six religious minority communities - Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi and Christian - if they can prove that they are from Pakistan, Afghanistan or Bangladesh. Following the ideological base of BJP, the act aims to marginalize Muslim community.

*Various examples throughout different regions of the world can be presented depicting the rise of right-wing populism as the new form of governance and policy setting. For the purpose of this research, only few of the notable examples were taken.*

### 6. Conclusion

Right-wing populism has spread rapidly throughout the globe, especially in the countries with democratic systems. It won't be wrong to state that the number of right-wing populist leaders governing various regions of the world today is highly unexpected. Among the democracies, a growing number has embraced right-wing populism, and either has governments led by populist parties, or supported directly or indirectly by them. Numerous reasons can be attached to its rise; decades of globalization might not have benefitted everyone equally; the affectees of change must've inculcated a sense of nationalism. Events such as Financial Crisis of 2008 and rising economic and social inequalities certainly fueled the pace of ideology in reaching masses. In the backdrop of prevailing forces pushing people towards right-wing populism, anti-Immigration sentiment intensifies. The question here is *what does the future hold for left-wing parties?* If the left is able to once again offer distinctive and decent economic policies that promote greater opportunities for all, it might help reclaiming the shrinking space in the current political spectrum. For political revitalization of left, it is imperative to offer people a clearer picture of what they stand for and how they plan to deliver on it.

<sup>20</sup> Lina Khatib, "An Emerging Populism Is Sweeping The Middle East", *Washington Post*, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/07/11/what-populist-success-in-iraq-and-lebanon-says-about-todays-middle-east/>.

<sup>21</sup> Halil Karaveli, "The Rise And Rise of The Turkish Right", *Nytimes.Com*, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/08/opinion/turkey-nationalism-right-wing.html>.

<sup>22</sup> Duncan McDonnell, "The Global Blight Of Populism Threatens The World's Biggest Democracy", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2019, <https://www.smh.com.au/world/asia/power-right-wing-populism-and-dangerous-others-india-s-story-too-20190424-p51gxl.html>.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

**CONCEPT****Parliamentary Oversight:  
Speeches at the Opening of the Parliamentary Session****Fakiha Mahmood**

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**Abstract**

*Oversight is one of the key functions a legislature is expected to perform. The aim of the oversight function is to keep the powers of executive in check. This research paper builds upon a study conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union which offers examples of oversight tools used by 88 parliaments across the world, including parliamentary committees, plenary sittings, hearings during the parliamentary stages of bills and the budgetary cycle. It looks into the prevailing parliamentary oversight practices, embedded in the constitutional/legal framework, with regard to the address of the head of state/government at the beginning of the parliamentary session in United States of America, United Kingdom, and Pakistan. It analyses the ways in which the President's address is delivered at the beginning of the parliamentary session in each one of these countries, and the function it plays as an oversight tool within the parliamentary setting.*

**1. Introduction**

Oversight is one of the key functions a legislature is expected to perform. The aim of the oversight function is to keep the powers of executive in check so that the powers vested with the executive may not be abused. In its capacity as the representative of the general masses, Parliament is ought to make it sure that the administration of public policy adequately reflects the aspirations of citizenry.

This research paper builds upon a study conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union which offers examples of oversight tools used by 88 parliaments across the world, including parliamentary committees, plenary sittings, hearings during the parliamentary stages of bills and the budgetary cycle.<sup>1</sup> The study defines parliamentary oversight as follows: “the review, monitoring and supervision of government and public agencies, including the implementation of policy and legislation.”

The study enumerates various functions of parliamentary oversight including: the detection and prevention of illegal and unconstitutional conduct within the government and public agencies; keeping check over the use of taxpayers' money, it identifies wastage of resources with the government machinery; ensuring implementation of policies announced by the government and authorized by parliament, such as monitoring the achievement of goals set by legislation and the government's own programmes; and enhancing public trust in the government through transparency of government operations.

**Key questions**

1. How does the President's address and related parliamentary proceedings perform the oversight function in a parliament?
2. What are the prevailing practices and constitutional/legal framework for President's address and subsequent proceedings in US, UK and Pakistan?
3. How these practices have emerged and evolved over the course of time in each of these three countries?

**2. Parliamentary Oversight: Speeches at the opening of the Parliamentary Session**

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<sup>1</sup> Hironori Yamamoto, “Tools for Parliamentary Oversight: a comparative study of 88 national parliaments,” (Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2007), <http://archive.ipu.org/PDF/publications/oversight08-e.pdf>.

Parliamentary oversight is based upon the information provided by the government. Governments in various countries across the world present their policies to parliament for the current year or in some cases for the whole term of the government. These presentations are followed by hectic debates in the parliamentary chambers. These debates and related questions aim to seek clarification from government sources about the political course of action unveiled at the opening session. During the course of time, parliamentarians assess the initial targets set by the government with the relevant reports about the implementation of the set agenda published by various agencies and stakeholders.

Besides highlighting the policy or legislative priorities of the incumbent government, speeches at the opening sessions express the relationship between the executive and the parliament in that country. For example, in presidential form of government, due to the fact that the president is popularly elected the President's address to the Parliament has nothing to do with parliament's confidence in the president. On the other hand, in parliamentary democracies, the President's address as well as the subsequent debate expresses parliament's confidence, or a lack of it, in the government.

In some countries the speech at the beginning of the government or parliamentary year is delivered by the head of state. In some other countries, the head of executive addresses the inaugural session. For example, in Japan's Parliament, termed as Diet, on the opening day of the ordinary session the Prime Minister and three other ministers usually make a speech in each of the two chambers. The subject covered in their speeches is as follows: the Prime Minister on general policy, the minister of finance on fiscal policy, the minister of foreign affairs on foreign relations and the minister of state for economic and fiscal policy on economy.

The speech is given usually not only at the start of the term of the incumbent government, but at the beginning of every parliamentary year. In most of the cases the event is attended by the members of the cabinet as well as members of parliament from both houses in case of bicameral parliaments. Even if one of the House in a bicameral parliament does not have significant policy making role, the speech at the beginning of parliamentary year is attended by all members of parliament.

### 3. United States of America

The United States of America has a presidential form of political system and a bicameral legislature commonly termed as Congress. In the Parliamentary traditions of United States of America, the opening session of the parliamentary year is termed as the State of the Union Address. It is delivered between January and February each year in the chamber of the House of Representative, before a joint session of both houses of Congress. Prior to the Twentieth Amendment (ratified in 1933), the annual message was delivered in December or shortly before it. Since 1934, the address has been delivered between January and February each year. The State of Union Address is a kind of communication from the President of the United States to Congress and the nation whose objective is to present a report about the current state of affairs in the United States. In his address, the President recommends a legislative program for the coming year and presents a vision for future course of action. The Constitutional framework for the State of the Union Address rests in Article II, Section 3, Clause 1.

#### Constitutional framework for the State of the Union Address in United States of America

##### Article II, Section 3, Clause 1

*“He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he*

*shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.”<sup>2</sup>*

The first State of the Union address was delivered before a joint session of Congress in New York on January 8, 1790 by President George Washington. He established the tradition of giving “Annual Message” (as it was called at that time). Each House of Congress made official replies to the President’s message which were delivered personally to the President and received formal presidential acknowledgement.

It was during the State of the Union delivered on 08 January 1918 that President Woodrow Wilson announced his “Fourteen Points” which formed the basis of a formula to end First World War and establish the League of Nations. Though he subsequently failed to join the organization he envisioned for the world peace due to power struggle between the executive and legislative in the US.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who led US during the Second World War made the famous “Four Freedoms”<sup>4</sup> speech in Congress on 06 January 1941. He concluded with these words “this nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God.”<sup>5</sup> More recently, President Donald Trump address to the Congress held on 05 February, 2020 reflected the ongoing tense situation in the backdrop of President’s impeachment trial in the Congress.<sup>6</sup>

The custom finds roots in the United Kingdom where the Queen gave a “speech from the throne” to open every new session of Parliament. The institution of State of the Union Address has evolved considerably over the course of time. It was termed as the President’s Annual Message to Congress up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From 1942 to 1946, it was informally termed as the State of the Union message or address. Since 1947 it is officially called the State of the Union address.

Tradition has also changed with regard to the address delivered either through written message or by personal appearance of the President. Presidents George Washington and John Adams preferred to deliver their messages to Congress in person, however, the practice was abandoned by President Thomas Jefferson. He perceived it to be a monarchical and time consuming practice, hence preferred to send written messages. President Woodrow Wilson broke the precedent set up by Thomas Jefferson and revived the old custom by personally appearing before the Congress in 1913. The advancement in technology in the form of the introduction of radio, television and live webcast, the Address has gathered greater significance for providing a nationwide platform to the President.

The procedure within the Congress begins with a concurrent resolution, agreed to by both houses, which identifies a specific date and time for a joint session of the House of Representatives and the Senate with the objective “of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.” On the day of the Address, the Senators cross the Capitol to the House chamber, where seats are reserved for them at the front of the chamber. The Session is presided over by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The President is escorted to the chamber by a specially appointed committee of Members from

<sup>2</sup> Constitution of the United States of America, <https://constitutionus.com/>.

<sup>3</sup> United States House of Representatives, History, Art and Archives, [https://history.house.gov/HistoricalHighlight/Detail/36168?current\\_search\\_qs=%3Fsubject%3DAddress%26PreviousSearch%3D%26CurrentPage%3D1%26SortOrder%3DDate](https://history.house.gov/HistoricalHighlight/Detail/36168?current_search_qs=%3Fsubject%3DAddress%26PreviousSearch%3D%26CurrentPage%3D1%26SortOrder%3DDate).

<sup>4</sup> He enumerated four essential human freedoms as follows: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

<sup>5</sup> Gagan Jain, *The big book of Great Speeches* (New Delhi: Maanu Graphics) 171-2.

<sup>6</sup> BBC News, “State of the Union: Pelosi rips up copy of Trump’s Speech,” <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-us-canada-51381948/state-of-the-union-pelosi-rips-up-copy-of-trump-s-speech>.

both houses, and upon entering the chamber, the President is announced by the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives. The President delivers the address after introduction from the Speaker.

Those invited to attend the address include Members of the House of Representatives and Senate, President's Cabinet (with the exception of one planned absentee Cabinet member), Vice President, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Justices of the US Supreme Court, former Member of Congress, and members of the diplomatic corps. The chief executive often invites citizens who have distinguished themselves in some field of service. They attend the ceremony in the gallery as personal guests. Advances in technology have significantly changed the format, audience, and impact of the address. An event which began as an annual message to the Congress has evolved to become a direct address to the American people. It has become a platform from which the President furthers his or her legislative agenda for the coming year.

A distinguished feature of the State of the Union Address in the United States is the deliberate absence of one member of President's Cabinet, also known as the Designated Survivor. This is a precautionary measure taken to provide continuity in the presidency in the event a catastrophe causes death or impairment of the President, the Vice President, and other officials in the line of presidential succession gathered to attend the Address. At times, selected Members of Congress are also absent during the address.<sup>7</sup>

#### 4. United Kingdom

The Parliamentary year in the United Kingdom begins with the "State Opening of Parliament," it happens on the first day of a new parliamentary session or shortly after a general election. The event includes Queen's Speech which sets out the government's agenda for the coming session and outlines proposed policies and legislation. The significance of this occasion arises from the fact that at no other occasion the three constituent parts of UK Parliament (the Sovereign, the House of Lords and the House of Commons) get together at one place. The speech is written by the government and read out from the Throne in the House of Lords.

#### The Standing Orders of the House of Lords pertaining to State Opening of Parliament

##### *75. Proceedings upon opening the Parliament [27 March 1621]*

*(1) At the beginning of Parliament, after prayers shall have been said, the Lord Speaker shall take the oath appointed to be taken, according to the Act of Parliament made for that purpose, and then all the Peers and Lords of Parliament present shall in like manner take and subscribe the said oath.*

*(2) After Her Majesty's Speech from the Throne, some Bill (pro forma) is to be read; which being done, the Lord Speaker is to report Her Majesty's Speech, and then the House shall proceed to nominate the Chairman of Committees.*

*(3) At the beginning of every other Session during the same Parliament, after prayers said, some Bill (pro forma) is to be read, Her Majesty's Speech reported and the Chairman of Committees nominated.*

##### *76. Proroguing the Parliament at close of session [27 March 1621]*

*If Her Majesty is not personally present to prorogue Parliament at the close of a session, such prorogation is not to be by Writ, but by Commission directed unto some of the Lords of the Upper House; and they, being in their robes and seated on a form placed between the Throne and Woolsack, are to command the Usher of the Black Rod to let*

<sup>7</sup> Congressional Research Service, "History, evolution, and practices of the President's State of the Union Address: Frequently Asked Questions," <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R44770.pdf>.



*the Commons know the Lords Commissioners desire their immediate attendance in the House of Peers, to hear the Commission read; and the Commons being come up to the Bar of this House and standing uncovered, the Commission is to be read by the clerk, after which Parliament is to be prorogued in such manner, and to such time, as is commanded by the said Commission.”<sup>8</sup>*

The history of *State Opening Address* in the United Kingdom dates back to 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, the current ceremony finds its roots in the rebuilt of Palace of Westminster which took place in 1852 after the fire of 1834. As the main ceremonial event of the parliamentary calendar, the event gathers huge crowds along with significant television and online audience. At the outset, the Queen’s procession is escorted by the Household Cavalry from Buckingham Palace to Westminster.

Adorned with the Imperial State Crown and the Robe of State, the Queen proceeds to the Robing Room after arrival at the Sovereign’s Entrance. The Royal Standard is flown from the Victoria Tower and gun salutes are fired by the King’s Troop in Hyde Park and the Tower of London. The Royal Procession passes through the Royal Gallery, packed with 600 guests, to the chamber of the House of Lords. The Royal Procession is led by senior parliamentary and government officers, including the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Speaker. The Great Sword of State and the Cap of Maintenance, symbols of sovereign power and authority, are carried in front of the Queen.

The entry of members of the House of Commons in the House of Lords is also not without centuries old ceremonial legacies. An official from the House of Lords, termed as Black Rod, has been vested with the responsibility to summon the Commons. The doors to the chamber of House of Commons are shut in his or her face. This practice dates back to the Civil War and symbolizes the independence of Commons from the Monarchy. The door of Commons chamber is opened when Black Rod strikes it three times. Once the door is opened Black Rod enters the chamber and announces the Queen’s summons.

The Sergeant at Arms, carrying the Mace, then leads the procession to the Lords. Members of the House of Commons including the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition, and senior Commons officials, then proceed to the House of Lords in the footsteps of Black Rod and the Speaker of the House of Commons. They stand at the opposite end to the Throne, known as the Bar of the House, to listen to the speech. The new parliamentary session begins with the departure of the Queen from the House of Lords. MPs from both Houses debate the content of the speech and agree upon an “Address in Reply to Her Majesty’s Gracious Speech.” The speech is deliberated upon in detail in both Houses, spanning over several days. The practice of vote upon the Queen’s Speech is frequent in the House of Commons and rare in the House of Lords.

## 5. Pakistan

The President of Pakistan addresses the joint session of the Parliament at the commencement of the first session after general election to the National Assembly and at the commencement of the first session of each parliamentary year. The President, in his address, elaborates the state of affairs in the country and summarizes the government’s legislative agenda for the coming year.

A Minister lays down the text of President’s Address in the House in the next session of parliament. Members of Parliament can debate the issues outlined by the President in his speech, by means of a motion of thanks moved by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and seconded

<sup>8</sup> The Standing Orders of the House of Lords Relating to Public Business, <https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/house-of-lords-publications/rules-and-guides-for-business/the-standing-orders-of-the-house-of-lords-relating-to-public-business/#jump-link-15>.

<sup>9</sup> The Parliament of United Kingdom, State Opening of Parliament, <https://www.parliament.uk/stateopening>.

by a minister or any member of parliament. The tradition of the ‘Address of the President’ is embedded in the Constitution of 1973 as well as in the National Assembly/Senate Rules of Procedure. Article 56 of the Constitution provides for the President’s address to both Houses assembled together. The Rules of Procedures of both National Assembly (Chapter VIII, Rules 59-68) and Senate (Chapter VI, Rules 32-40) contain adequate provisions for procedural clarity.

### Constitutional framework for the opening address of the President

#### Article 56

*“(1) The President may address either House or both Houses assembled together and may for that purpose require the attendance of the members.*

*(2) The President may send messages to either House, whether with respect to a Bill then pending in the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) or otherwise, and a House to which any message is so sent shall with all convenient dispatch consider any matter required by the message to be taken into consideration.*

*(3) At the commencement of the first session after each general election to the National Assembly and at the commencement of the first session of each year the President shall address both Houses assembled together and inform the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) of the causes of its summons.*

*(4) Provision shall be made in the rules for regulating the procedure of a House and the conduct of its business for the allotment of time for discussion.”*

The tradition of President’s address in the parliamentary history of Pakistan dates back to the early days of independence in 1947. While Pakistan got independence on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947, the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held on 10<sup>th</sup> August 1947 in Sindh Assembly Building, Karachi. A member of minority community, Hon. Jogendra Nath Mandal was elected as the temporary chairman of the newly constituent assembly. Under his leadership the constituent assembly elected the father of nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as the President of the Constituent Assembly on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947. Soon after getting elected, the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah addressed the Assembly. The words he uttered on that fateful day are a source of guidance for policy makers even today as well as for the generations to come.

“...Remember that you are now a sovereign legislative body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this. You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State. ... My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world.”

The transfer of power to independent State of Pakistan took place on 14<sup>th</sup> August. The same day, Lord Mountbatten, Governor General of India, addressed the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. In his reply to the address in the House, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah laid the principles of the State of Pakistan. He was sworn in as the first Governor General of Pakistan on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947.<sup>10</sup> The tradition of *President’s address* set in the early days at the time of independence has continued thereafter. It was provided for in the constitutions of Pakistan adopted from time to time including that of 1956 and 1962. Pakistan adopted bicameral form of legislature under

<sup>10</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan, <http://www.na.gov.pk/en/content.php?id=75>.

the constitution of 1973. Subsequently, the Presidents have addressed the joint sessions as provided for in Article 56.

## 6. Conclusion

The address of the President is an important component of the parliamentary traditions. In one form or the other it exists in almost every country across the world. The address of the President serves the primary function of outlining the incumbent government's legislative agenda for the coming year. In his address the President deliberates upon the current state of affairs in the country and highlights the priorities of government for the coming year. Besides, great visionary leaders have uttered golden words in some of the rare moments in national history which continue to guide coming generations in leadership and state-building. On the other hand, lack of vision on the part of the leader and the resultant polarization and frustration in the society often gets translated into the proceedings of the President's address to the parliament at its opening session.

A mechanism for responding to the President's address in the form of debates or questions is found in almost every parliament. Members of parliament are given ample opportunity to express their views in relation to the President's speech. This is one of the key parliamentary oversight tool available to the members of parliament which they can exploit to change the strategic priorities of the government in a direction which best serve the national interest. It therefore, becomes incumbent upon the MPs to prepare themselves and play a constructive role in relation to the opening address.

The Queen's speech to the joint session of British parliament is laden with heavy traditions continuing since past several centuries. On the empirical side it is noteworthy that the Queen only reads out the speech forwarded to her by the incumbent government. On her own side she is nothing more than a ceremonial persona. While the custom of Queen's speech has influenced the parliamentary traditions in countries like US and Pakistan, the President's opening address in these countries is much more than mere ceremonies. Visionary leaders have used this platform to guide their nation towards a peaceful and harmonious future. Those interested in prolonging their term of office have used the platform to gather wider political support. On the side of the members of parliament, the address provides adequate forum for parliamentary oversight of the government.

## ANALYSIS

### Sharing Economy in Agriculture Sector

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#### Introduction

Agriculture plays vital role in the economic growth and development of Pakistan. According to economic survey of Pakistan 2018-19, this sector contributes 18.5 percent in total GDP of Pakistan and provides employment to 38.5 percent people of country<sup>1</sup>. According to agriculture census 2010, average farm land holding and average cultivated land holding in Pakistan are 6.4 and 5.2 acres, respectively while about 94% farmers have land holding less than 12.05 acres<sup>2</sup>. Majority of population lives in rural areas are directly or indirectly linked with this sector. Therefore, development of agriculture is synonymous to the development of the country. But agriculture sector of Pakistan is facing various challenges such as inadequate supply of inputs, uneconomic land holdings, lack of credit facilities and defective land tenure system. To solve these problems, sharing economy model can help in different ways.

#### Contribution of Agriculture Sector in Economic Development

Agriculture sector has vibrant role in economic development and prosperity. Following are some important contributions of this sector

- i. Contribution in National Income
- ii. Source of Food Supply
- iii. Pre-Requisite for Raw Material
- iv. Shift of Manpower.
- v. Creation of Infrastructure.
- vi. Relief from Shortage of Capital
- vii. Helpful to Reduce Inequality
- viii. Create Effective Demand
- ix. Source of Foreign Exchange for the Country
- x. Contribution to Capital Formation
- xi. Opportunities of Employment for Rural People
- xii. Extension of Market for Industrial Output

#### Challenges of Agricultural Sector in Pakistan

Agriculture sector of Pakistan has been facing many problems. Some of them are given here:

- i. **Inadequate Supply of Agricultural Inputs:** The supply of modern inputs like high yielding variety (HYV) seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, mechanized machinery etc. is not only costly but also inadequate and irregular in Pakistan. According to economic survey 2018-19, reduction in fertilizers off take was mainly due to its high prices. Total off take of fertilizer nutrients decreased by 7.3 percent.<sup>3</sup>
- ii. **Uneconomic Land Holdings:** Due to increasing population and division of land under the law of inheritance, landholdings are subdivided over and over again. Consequently very large number of farmers has less than 2 hectares of area.
- iii. **Old Methods of Production:** No doubt, mechanization of agriculture is increasing in Pakistan, but in most of the areas, the old implements are still being used for agricultural

<sup>1</sup> Government of Pakistan, "Pakistan Economic Survey 2018-19" Finance Division, February 4, 2020. [http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters\\_19/Economic\\_Survey\\_2018\\_19.pdf](http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_19/Economic_Survey_2018_19.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

- production. Old techniques of production seldom increase the production according to international levels.
- iv. **Lack of Irrigation Facilities:** Shortage of irrigation facilities causes a serious limitation in the expansion of crop area in Pakistan. The lower water supplies, losses from water course in the fields are the serious problems of farm sector.
  - v. **Inadequate Agricultural Research:** The average crop yield in Pakistan is very low as compared to the production levels of the advanced countries of the world. In order to raise the potential of agricultural production, there should be continuous research for agricultural growth. Total agricultural universities and colleges are only 18 in Pakistan.<sup>4</sup>
  - vi. **Lack of Credit:** Generally farmers in Pakistan are poor and have low income level. Agricultural credit facilities are not common in Pakistan. Credit that can facilitate agriculture is not available easily. Moreover non-institutional sources are available but these are not reliable due to high rate of interest.
  - vii. **Scarcity of HYV Seeds:** Quiet often farmers use lower quality seeds due to non-availability of High Yielding Variety (HYV) seeds. Conversely, if seed is available, it cannot be purchased due to low affordability. Hence, agricultural production is badly affected due to crop production from low quality of seeds.
  - viii. **Inadequate Infrastructure:** Rural infrastructures like, roads, storage facilities, transport, electricity, education, sanitation and health facilities etc. are inadequate to meet the requirement of growth of agriculture. Total length of farm-to-market road is not only longer but their condition is also poor. Many villages in Pakistan have no metal-led road at all. Electricity is available to only 3 out of four 4 rural populations.<sup>5</sup>

### Sharing Economy

A sharing economy is an economic model in which individuals are able to borrow or rent assets owned by someone else. This generally refers to the models of co-access and co-ownership of resources, goods and services for joint production or consumption among multiple actors which involves reduction of individual ownership. This model is most likely to be used when the price of a particular asset is high and the asset is not fully utilized all the times. With advent of technology and sharing apps, it has now become convenient to share, track and utilize resource more efficiently. Shared economy can play an important role in mechanization of agriculture.<sup>6</sup>

### Key Features of Sharing Economy

This system has six key features.

1. Collaborative consumption refers to the participation of individuals in activities like sharing, trading or renting to make use of common goods and resources to save time, money or contribute to better environmental practices.
2. Pool of resources and services is shared to create value for them.
3. The power is distributed among different actors and stakeholders.
4. The uniqueness of this system is basis of trust among the different individuals involved as they not necessarily know each other.
5. These models are built towards innovative and more efficient utilization of assets e.g. the unused resources.

<sup>4</sup> Pak Agri-Farming, "List of Agriculture Education Institutes in Pakistan" Pak Agri-Farming, August 05, 2013. <http://pakagrifarming.blogspot.com/2013/08/list-of-agriculture-education-institutes-in-pakistan.html>

<sup>5</sup>Jafar Iqbal, "Agriculture contribution and problems in Pakistan" *Technology Times*, January 4, 2019. <https://www.technologytimes.pk/2019/01/04/agriculture-contribution-problems/>

<sup>6</sup> Miralles I. *et al.*, "Understanding the organization of sharing economy in agri-food systems: evidence from alternative food networks in Valencia" *Agriculture Human Values*, 43: 833



6. The sharing economy can take place between small economic actors, as it provides an opportunity for individuals to gain profit from their properties or skills.<sup>7</sup>

### Need of Sharing Economy in Agriculture Sector

There are some key factors that necessitate the concept of sharing economy in agriculture sector. As discussed earlier, most of the farmers in Pakistan have less land holdings due to which they can't afford their own farm machinery and other farm equipment.

Mechanized equipment is the second biggest expense for farmers. Accelerated farm mechanization is an important element to accelerate growth in agriculture sector. It may be affordable for large farmers to own such equipment, but it is not beneficial for small and marginalized farmers to own agri-mechanization tools like Tractor, Rotavator etc. Moreover, If they own such equipment, they can't afford its maintenance cost which leads to high cost of production. It is frequently observed that farmers are using traditional ways of cultivation and harvesting only because they can't afford farm machinery which ultimately lead to decrease in production and also to less availability of food for the nation.<sup>8</sup>

### Benefits of Sharing Economy

Implementation of this socio-economic model in agriculture sector can bring number of benefits. These include:

- Sharing economy can provide new economic opportunities to the facility owners by providing access to much-needed infrastructure to smallholder farmers.
- The consuming farmers can pay for the duration they have used the machinery, thus the cost of ownership is significantly reduced.
- The farmers who lend the machine can earn extra income by keeping the machinery or equipment idle.
- It can enhance communication among the farmers which ultimately lead to many other mutual benefits like sharing of agronomical practices and also awareness in the society.
- Improving agronomical practices at small farm level can eventually lead to increase in production and thus availability of excess food to meet the needs of fast growing population.
- Advancements in technology and increasing rural penetration of smartphones can further accentuate the progress.
- Mobile-based GPS technologies can help to build platforms that can make location-based access to service providers and farmers.<sup>9</sup>

### National Perspectives:

1. **Sharing Economy in Pakistan:** Agriculture is one of the most important sectors of Pakistan economy. Over the last decade, the performance of agriculture sector has fallen short of desirable level, mainly because of low productivity of all important crops. Main constraint in increasing agricultural productivity also includes non-availability of quality tractors and agricultural machinery at right time and at affordable prices to the farmers' community. According to economic survey of Pakistan 2018-19, numbers of operational tractors in the country are around 634,000 resulting in per acre horsepower (HP) availability of 0.09 against the required power of 1.4 HP per acre. During 2018-19 total

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Jawed Saleem Qureshi, "Role of Private Sector in Promoting Agriculture Innovation in Pakistan" *FBGP*, February 4, 2020. <https://www.idspak.com/pedef/20.pdf>

<sup>9</sup> The Jakarta Post/ANN, "Unleashing Shared Economy for Rural Development" *Dawn*, May 06, 2019. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1480452>

tractors production was 37,399 as compared to the 52,551 produced last year. The major reasons of decline in the production of tractors are low sales because of higher price and also changing market dynamics.<sup>10</sup>

As sharing economy model includes the community ownership, sharing and cooperation so government of Pakistan has taken various initiatives to boost up agriculture growth. In 2016 a project named **“Hi-Tech Mechanization Service Centers”** was started to give agriculture equipment to farmers on rent. The other equipments given on rent include **harvester, hay baler, silage baler, vegetable seeder and vegetable nursery**. The Provincial Government had given 40 percent subsidy on these equipments. This initiative was taken, because there was 15 to 20 percent of crop loss due to non-availability of latest combined harvesters.

### Government's Initiatives

The present government's has taken number of initiatives to enhance agriculture productivity. In this connection Prime Minister's Agriculture Emergency Program has been initiated which primarily focuses on i) Productivity Enhancement of Wheat, Rice & Sugarcane; ii) Oilseeds Enhancement Program; iii) Conserving Water Through Lining of Watercourses; iv) Enhancing Command Area of Small and Mini Dams in Barani Areas; v) Water Conservation in Barani areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; vi) Shrimp Farming; vii) Cage Fish Culture; viii) Trout Farming in Northern Areas of Pakistan; ix) Save & Fattening of Calf Program and x) Backyard Poultry Program.<sup>11</sup>

### Regional Perspectives:

#### 1. Sharing Economy in India:

India 67% of the agricultural land is owned by marginal farmers with land holding less than 1 hectare. Approximately 85% of the farmers belong to small and marginal category. Only 1% of farmers have land holding more than 10 hectares, called as large farmers.<sup>12</sup> Sharing economy concept is becoming popular in Indian economy.

- i. Through pioneering startup EM3 Agri-Services, farms can rent equipment and machinery via a pay as you go system.
- ii. In India FaaS (Farming as a Service) company, using sharing economy values to maximize resources. Nonetheless, competition is arising from other agricultural firms like Gold Farm and Trringo, which have set up apps for agriculture equipment lending.

**Achievements:** Since 2013 EM3 Agri-Services has helped over 8,000 farms and since 2015, has received over \$13 million in investment. Their success can be attributed to their response to a serious business requirement. Many small farms in India are only a few acres in size, meaning that capital is incredibly low. Without companies like EM3 to facilitate a sharing economy, access to the resources would be impossible.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Government of Pakistan, “Pakistan Economic Survey 2018-19” Finance Division, February 4, 2020. [http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters\\_19/Economic\\_Survey\\_2018\\_19.pdf](http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_19/Economic_Survey_2018_19.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Arvind Kumar, “Bringing Sharing Economy to Agriculture Using Digitization” *BW Disrupt*, May 16, 2017. <http://bwdisrupt.businessworld.in/article/Bringing-Sharing-Economy-to-Agriculture-Using-Digitization/16-05-2017-118221/>

<sup>13</sup> Laura Cox, “AgTech Businesses & the Sharing Economy” *Distribution Hub*, August 24, 2017. <https://disruptionhub.com/agtech-businesses-sharing-economy/>

## 2. Sharing Economy in Indonesia:

Indonesia is an agrarian nation and majority of its population works in agriculture sector. Total population working in this sector reached 39.68 million people in 2018 which is larger than other sectors in Indonesia.<sup>14</sup> However, this sector is still facing numerous challenges such as disparity of commodity prices at the farmer's level and the end consumers and lack of information. In this scenario, sharing economy model is gaining momentum in Indonesia and number of startup companies and entrepreneurs have tried to enable farmers or suppliers through this model through launching user friendly Apps. These applications include an implementation of shared economic models. RegoPantes, Limakilo, Sayurbox, and Etanee, are among digital platforms that have been created to help farmers who produce vegetables, fruit and meat and consumers. The other applications are Kecipir, TaniHub, Happy Fresh, Tumbas, Petani, Pantau Harga, Sipindo and Crowde. However, the digitalization of agriculture sector in Indonesia is still in its initial phase.<sup>15</sup>

### Way Forward

- i. **Enactment of Appropriate Legislation:** Sharing economy model must be supported at local and national level through a proper legislation so that unused and degraded land can be used for the purpose of food production.
- ii. **Provision of Credit Facilities to Farmers:** To enable the sharing economy in agriculture sector, governments and NGOs need to initially facilitate finance, access to resources and technology to farmers.
- iii. **Public Private Partnership:** Sharing economy is growing rapidly all over the world. Therefore, there is need to formalize the shared economy system by involving third party. This party may be government or any other non-profit organization
- iv. **Formal Platforms For Collaboration:** Government must provide a platform to the farmers and facility providers to collaborate and share their assets.
- v. **Channelization of Sharing Economy:** There is also dire need to channelize this setup. The idea behind this is to facilitate farmers so they can make better use of their resources. It will surely reduce their cost of production.
- vi. **Awareness Raising:** There is great need to inform citizens about the benefits of sharing economy model that contributes in supporting local economies, sustainable food practices and community building. Given the time and resource scarcity faced by many farmers, universities and other knowledge brokers may play critical roles as intermediaries among farmers and governments at multiple levels. Additionally, citizen's involvement in sharing economy can be particularly fueled by social media. Hence media can play a vibrant role in promoting this system in agriculture sector.

<sup>14</sup> The Insider Stories, "How Agricultural Sector Benefits from Sharing Economy" The Insider Stories, March 2, 2018. <https://theinsiderstories.com/how-agricultural-sector-benefits-from-sharing-economic-model/>

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

## Energy Mix of Pakistan-*continued*

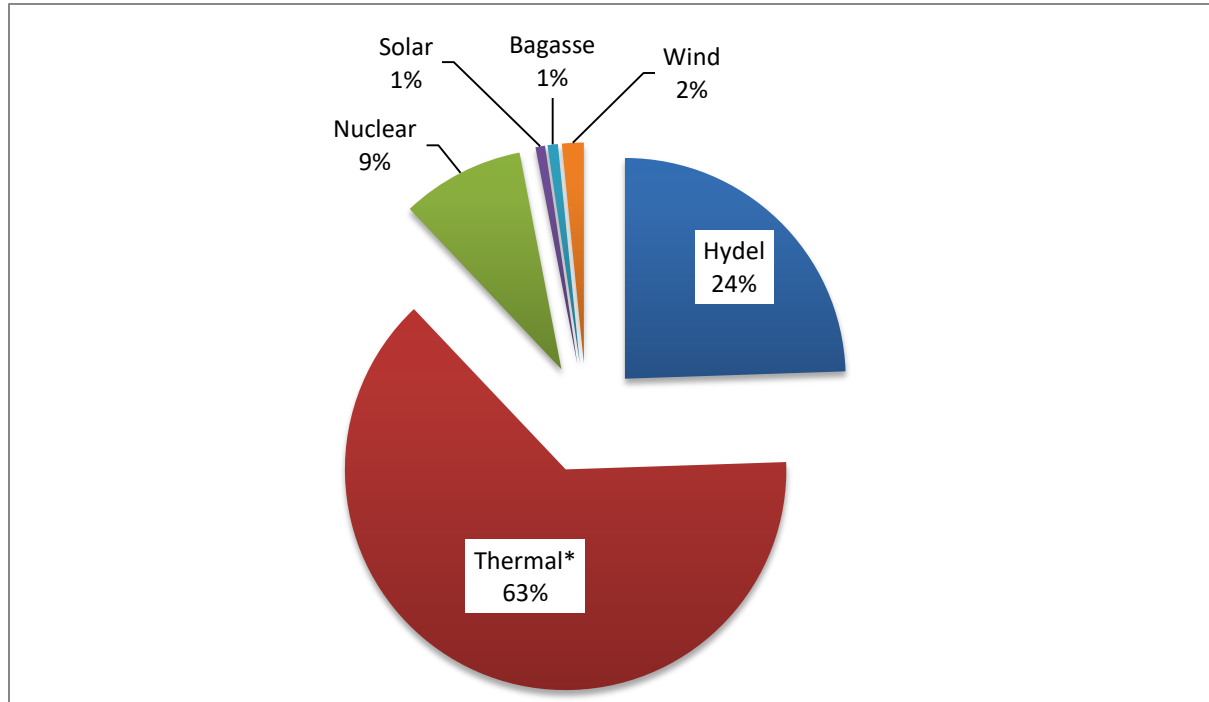


Figure 2: % Share of Generation

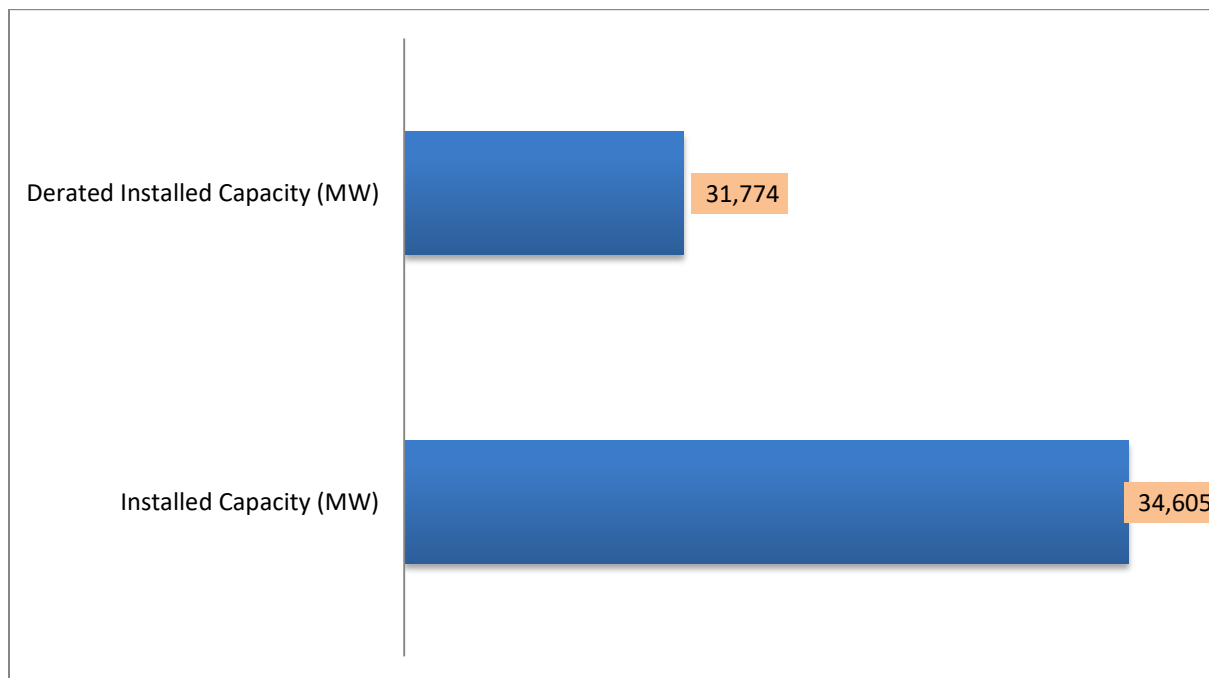


Figure 3: Installed Capacity (MW)- Total/ De rated





**Workshop on Rules of Procedures for the Chairpersons of Standing Committees of  
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