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Editorial

Dear Readers,

The Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services (PIPS) continues to offer research, parliamentary development, legislative, capacity building and public outreach initiatives to serve the individual MPs, caucuses and committees both anticipatedly and on demand. We take this opportunity to offer heartiest congratulations and welcome on behalf of all members of team PIPS to the Honourable Speaker National Assembly of Pakistan Sardar Ayaz Sadiq on assuming the charge of office of the President PIPS Board of Governors.

The Institute also commenced the New Members Induction Program for newly elected legislators by holding one day orientation for MPAs in Provincial Assembly of Balochistan, Quetta on March 8, 2024 followed by an absorbing session for Members of the Provincial Assembly of Punjab on March 28, 2024 in Lahore. These programs have been organized by the Institute's Parliamentary Development and Coordination wing with the close support of EU-GIZ-PIPS Mustehkam Parlmaan Project.

This March 2024 Issue of the PIPS Parliamentary Research Digest includes absorbing write-ups on Measuring democracy and Parliament's role in leading pro-people reforms, statements of country's leaders in International Court of Justice as initiated by the UN General Assembly on Legal Consequences arising from the Policies and Practices of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory and last but not the least, excerpts on latest guidelines on use of Artificial Intelligence by Research fraternity issued in March 2024 by the European Commission. The Issues also includes the National Assembly Resolution on International Women Day, 2024. Please feel free to send your feedback and/or contact the team for any of our services at research@pips.gov.pk

Muhammad Rashid Mafzool Zaka
Director General (Research)



Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services organized orientation programme for newly elected Members of Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in Lahore on Friday, March 29, 2024

ANALYSIS

Defining and Measuring Democracy for Parliament's Pro-People Initiatives and Reforms

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Abstract: Democracy can be perceived as a set of principles and practices that institutionalize and ultimately protect freedom of the people. The word democracy derives from two Greek words, demos that means "the ordinary people," and the kratos refers "to rule." It is also conceived as a "form of regime that derives from popular sovereignty in which ordinary citizens are endowed with the right and ability to govern themselves. While there may not be consensus definition of democracy, we can identify democracy through key features that include i. government based on majority ii. as chosen by consent of the governed, iii. existence of free and fair elections; iv. the protection of minority rights and v. respect for basic human rights for all. Democracy presupposes equality before the law, due process and political pluralism. This paper discusses three internationally recognized standards of measuring democracy and ranking countries based on their performance viz a viz freedoms, civil liberties and human security. Members of Parliament, government and policy makers can utilize identified areas of improvement to undertake due reform.

Key Words: Democracy, Political Freedoms, Democracy Index, Freedom Index, Human Development Index, Parliament and Human Security

1. Democracy: Defining the Concept

1.1 Encyclopedia Britannica defines democracy as "a system of government in which laws, policies, leadership, and major undertakings of a state or other polity are directly or indirectly decided by the "people,"¹ which in contemporary sense manifests the will of the people as reflected in free and fair elections where all adults, men and women, are authorized to vote for electing their representatives, who are expected to perform key functions of law making, representation and oversight of the executive in the Parliament.

The People used to be a group historically constituted by only a minority of the population (e.g., all free adult males in ancient Athens or all sufficiently propertied adult males in 19th-century Britain) but generally understood since the mid-20th century to include all (or nearly all) adult citizens. States with democratic governments prevent rule by autocrats, guarantee fundamental individual rights, allow for a relatively high level of political equality, and rarely make war on each other. As compared with nondemocratic states, they also better foster human development as measured by indicators such as health and education, provide more prosperity for their citizens, and ensure a broader range of personal freedoms.

1.2 United Nations: Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, articulates the democratic values in following words:

¹ Britannica see at: <https://www.britannica.com/question/Where-was-democracy-first-practiced>

1. "Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."²

The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, on 16th December 1966 in its article 25 defines that:

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions: (a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; (b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; (c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.³

2. Shrinking Democracy: Challenges of Contemporary World

Democracy may not necessarily mean that the concerns of the marginalized strata in society will be considered in decision making yet there is always a clear intention for meaningful and informed participation of the people, which means that there should be freedom of expression and association as well as presence of an organized society based on rule of law. Democracy derives from universal acceptance that people must remain as the top priority and the soul of all progress and development as they act as the mediators and the ultimate beneficiaries of development. Therefore, democracy is all about meaningful public participation in day-to-day affairs of the country to ensure that their voice is heard loud and clear at all tiers of governance and politics in a society.

Globally in most recent times conflicts, natural and manmade disasters, pandemics and acutely scarce resources have undermined the status of democratic countries viz a viz people's authority and their freedoms and rights as less than 8% of total world population live in free democracies while 40% live under authoritarian regimes. Revival of geopolitics and civilizational fault lines across traditional adversaries, decade of populist leaderships in US, Turkey and Russia, and resurgence and success of right-wing fundamentalist parties and leaders in India and Israel in the shape of Narendra Modi and Netanyahu are posing an existential threat to pro-people focus of politics in wake of declining trust in government and wider sense of deprivation viz a viz socio-economic needs of the poor masses.

As a consequent, democratic states are pushed towards vicious cycle of power-politics of elites, arms races, conflicts and war. In this context, comparative politics becomes imperative to study the changing trends and challenges with regards to level and extent of democracy by seeing politics and government in different settings and countries. It is important to analyze the differences between democracy and authoritarian systems, differences across political systems i.e

² "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," Article 21.

³ UN see at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights> accessed 26th March, 2024.

parliamentary, presidential or semi-presidential etc, extent and finally set of differences in ways of people's participation i.e electoral systems.

3. Measuring Democracy

As already identified analysts and social scientists define democracy either as a thin concept with few key features, or a thick more comprehensive set of values, principles and practices to gauge the extent and type of democracy enjoyed by the people.

3.1 Dahl's thin concept of Polyarchy (1970): It is one of the most influential yet thin definition as polyarchy, which can also be termed as the "electoral democracy," that has eight components or institutional requirements prevalent in the society including:

- i. All adult citizens have the right to vote,
- ii. Almost all citizens are eligible to hold public office,
- iii. Political leaders have the right to compete for votes,
- iv. Elections are free and fair,
- v. All citizens are free to form and join political parties and organizations,
- vi. All citizens are free to express their opinion on all political matters,
- vii. Diverse sources of information about politics exist and are protected by law,
- viii. Government policies depend on votes and other expressions of preference by the general public.⁴

3.2 Freedom House definition of Political Freedom (1970): The Freedom House is a non-governmental organization based in the United States of America, which conducts research and advocacy on democracy, political freedom as well as human rights. It produces an annual report called "Freedom in the World" that assesses the level of political rights and civil liberties in countries around the world. It measures a narrow concept, that of "electoral democracy," that is based on following set of criteria:

- i. A competitive multiparty political system.
- ii. Universal adult suffrage.
- iii. Regularly contested elections on the basis of secret ballots.
- iv. Significant public access of major political parties to the electorate/constituents through media and by open political campaigning.

At the end of 2015, 125 out of 193 countries were classified accordingly as electoral democracies, of these, only 89 met the stringent criteria to be classified as "free democracies. Thus, Freedom House predominantly focuses on political pluralism and electoral process and to a lesser extent the performance of the government and only few aspects of participation. The most recent World Freedom Report shares a bleak picture where for 18th consecutive year in 2023, there has been an extensive deterioration in freedom of people as political rights and civil liberties diminished in 52 countries and only 21 countries made improvements. Flawed elections and armed conflict contributed to the decline, endangering freedom and causing severe human suffering.⁵

⁴ Economist Intelligence Unit, Op. cit. p. 64.

⁵ Ibid.

3.3 Annual Democracy Index: The concept of Democracy Index given by the UK based Economist Intelligence Unit is a deeper concept that rests on five inter-related and categories of comparative analysis: i. electoral process and pluralism, ii. civil liberties, iii. functioning of the government; iv. political participation and v. political culture. The comprehensiveness of this approach gives imperativeness to how government has fared in provision of human rights such as freedom of expression, assembly, religion, press, speech and association; as well as the right to due judicial process for all as envisaged by most national Constitutions and international covenants adopted by the United Nations (Declaration of Human Rights 1948, ICCPR, UN Charter and Helsinki Final Act). As democracies attempt to go beyond the minimalist and thin electoral and civil liberties ambit to ensure provision of human rights to the people and try to securing a political culture, the advancement is termed as “liberal democracy,” or “free democracy.”

Accordingly, countries are ranked through public-survey based methodology using a dichotomous and a three point scoring system for 60 indicators in addition to, expert opinion, level of turn out in elections and strength of the legislative branches to hold executive accountable. The Democracy Index values are used to place countries within one of four types of regimes:

- i. **Full Democracies:** Countries in which not only the basic political freedoms and civil liberties are respected but gradually a political culture is secured where defeated parties accept verdict and mandate of the winners, which gives legitimacy to the system. Functioning of government follows rule of law and media is diverse and independent with balanced check and balance system. There are few problems as decisions by independent judiciary are enforced.
- ii. **Flawed Democracies:** In these countries elections are largely free and fair while civil liberties as given in Constitution are respected. Yet there are certain problems such as infringements on freedom of media, issues of governance, still underdeveloped political culture and relatively low levels of participation.
- iii. **Hybrid Regimes:** Elections have serious irregularities and similarly, there are serious weaknesses in governance as rule of law is weak and corruption is higher. Worst still judiciary is not independent, civil society is underdeveloped and media and opposition parties face threats and harassment. Political participation is inconsistently low and political culture yet to develop.
- iv. **Authoritarian Regimes:** In such states, political pluralism is absent as elections, if they occur, are not free and fair. Media is state-owned or controlled by groups connected to the ruling regime. Infringements and abuse viz a viz civil liberties and political freedoms are ignored. Formal institutions of democracy may exist, but these have little substance.⁶

4. Human Security: Defining the Concept of Human Development Index (HDI)

As a concept, human security takes a holistic and humane view of security. Reputed scholars of international relations argue that the traditional notions of security that prioritize state security only in military terms often neglect the well-being and safety of individuals and communities.⁷ The contemporary concept of human security encapsulates security at individual, community, country and earth levels. Economic, social and environmental fabrics are essential parts of it. The seven dimensions of human security were identified as:

⁶ Economist Intelligence Unit, *ibid.* p. 66.

⁷ Ken Booth, "Critical Security Studies and World Politics," Lynne Rienner Publishers: 2005.

- i. Economic security,
- ii. Food security,
- iii. Health security,
- iv. Environmental security,
- v. Personal security,
- vi. Community security and
- vii. Political security.⁸

4.1 New Concept of “human security,” in UNDP Human Development Report 1994 that equated security with people rather than territories, with development rather than arms. It unlike the anarchic nature of traditional concept of security limited to safety of geographical territories from external threats, examines both the national and the global concerns of human security. Pakistan’s renowned economists Dr Mehabub ul Haq was instrumental in devising this approach of Human Development Index as a new parameter to focus people-centric state policies for socio economic growth and pro poor development.

“Human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people.” It calls for “people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people.”⁹

The Human security aims to focus on the imperative central idea of prevention from conflicts by making all out endeavours to address root causes of threats and vulnerabilities by anticipating potential harm and preparing the local communities and the people well in advance to build resilient societies. Thus, human security help develop strong local communities and society by seeking public-private partnerships and a holistic synergy of government as well as non-governmental entities that join hand to formulate solution-oriented societies which are much socially united by ensuring provisions pertaining to basic human rights and well-being of the people especially the poor and the downtrodden.

4.2 Pakistan’s framework of Human Rights: Pakistan’s framework of Human Rights comprises of the vision of the founding fathers as reflected in the 1973 consensus Constitution that has a living five-prong nature: Islamic, Welfare, Federal and Parliamentary Democratic with an Independent Judiciary. The Country is also signatory to numerous International Human Rights covenants under the auspices of the United Nations, where Pakistan has ratified the International Covenant on Racial Discrimination in 1966, Convention on Rights of Children in 1990, Convention on Elimination of All kinds of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1996, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 2008. This implies that the country has assumed obligation and duties under international law to respect, to protect and to fulfil human rights so it gradually pledges to create all policy, legislative and funding resources to implement the said right to all individuals in the society without any discrimination.

4.3 UNDP’s Human Development Index: “The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development in lines with the broader context of a country’s human rights framework that necessarily revolve around three

⁸ Pervez Tahir, “Of Human Security,” The Express Tribune, 3rd November, 2017.

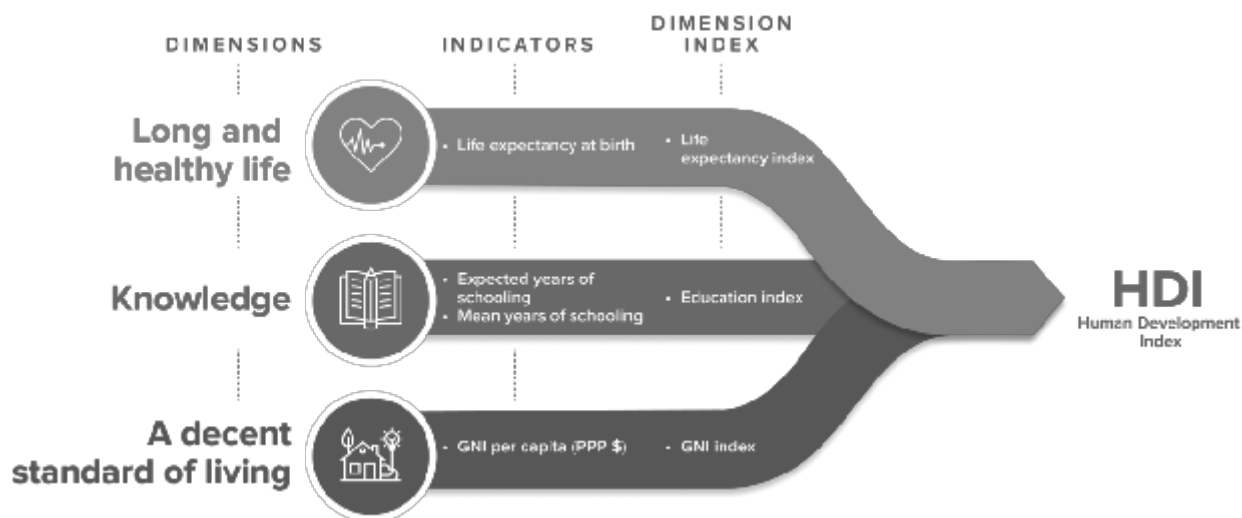
⁹ United Nations General Assembly Resolution 66/290.

core rights, that is: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and having a decent standard of living.¹⁰

HDI is the geometric mean of normalized indices for each of the three dimensions:

- i. Health dimension is assessed by life expectancy at birth,
- ii. Education dimension is measured by mean of years of schooling for adults aged 25 years and more and expected years of schooling for children of school entering age.
- iii. Standard of living dimension is measured by gross national income per capita.¹¹

The HDI uses the logarithm of income, to reflect the diminishing importance of income with increasing Gross National Income (GNI). The scores for the three HDI dimension indices are then aggregated into a composite index using geometric mean. The figure below shows the HDI dimensions and indicators:¹²



On Annual basis the UNDP issues the Global HDI Report that ranks 193 countries with regards to their performance on serving a pro people development paradigm that secures human security of masses especially the marginalized communities.

4.4 Pakistan's Human Security Challenge – Grave Numbers: The Parliament comprising of elected representatives of the people is expected to be custodian viz a viz meeting the basic amenities to the people including but not limited to food security, curbing inflation and unemployment, providing universal education, housing and primary health to all citizens. The Constitution of Pakistan emphasizes on fundamental rights of all without any discrimination, as it remains the linchpin for a peaceful and socio-politically stable society that then consolidates to empower its people by improved indicators of human security and gradual but focused capacity building of the population to become resilient population.

¹⁰ UNDP Human Development Index Reports, see at: <https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/human-development-index#/indicies/HDI>

¹¹ Ibid

¹² UNDP, <https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/human-development-index#/indicies/HDI> accessed 26th March, 2024.

The following statistics give a dismal situation with regards to human security and thus, desires responsive and affirmative action by individual Members of Parliament, standing committees catering for oversight of respective ministries and cross-party caucuses to advocate this challenge proactively not only with respective government agencies but private entities and the national as well as international partners of Pakistan to leave no one behind in this national cause:

Table 1: Human Security Situation in Pakistan

S No	Human Security Challenge	Statistics	Remarks (if any)
1.	Poverty Headcount	24% (a quarter) of total population of Pakistan under the poverty line	US Dollar 1.90 per day is the poverty line
2.	Multidimensional Poverty	39%	Low income, deprivation in health, education, living standards and social inclusion
3.	Population Growth Rate	2.4%	
4.	Stunting	44%	
5.	Food Insecurity	37%	10.5 million (29%) face acute food insecurity
6.	Unemployment Rate	6.3% in 2023	As per Economic Survey of Pakistan FY2023 ¹³
7.	CPI Headline Inflation	29.2% in 2023 as against 11% in 2022	-do-
8.	Urban Food Inflation	37.3%	-do-
9.	Rural Food Inflation	41% in FY2023	-do-
10.	Literacy Rate	62.8%	-do-
11.	Health Expenditures	1.4% of GDP in 2022 as against just 1% in 2021	-do-
12.	Out of School Children (OOSC)	26-30% (Girls OOS 37% and Boys OOS 27%)	-do-
13.	Immunization against diseases such as typhoid and TB control	92% and 94% vaccine coverage achieved	-do-
14.	Drinking Water in schools	67%	
15.	Labor Force	71.76 million total labor force with around 4.51 million unemployed	-do-

The contemporary world is marred by COVID-19 pandemic (2020-22), global climate change, Russia Ukraine War and the Israel-Palestine in addition to transnational threats such as terrorism, human trafficking and smuggling ranging from food, precious items, drugs and narcotics.

Natural and man-made disasters worsen the challenges. The 2022 floods in Pakistan caused due to global climate change killed 1,739 people and caused damage of Rs 3.2 trillion (\$14.8 billion) with Rs 3.3 trillion (\$15.2 billion) of economic losses in the provinces of Sindh and Balochistan

¹³ Government of Pakistan, Highlight of Economic Survey of Pakistan, 2022-23.

exacerbated the impact of already feeble human security indicators. Being a country with a high population growth rate of 2.4%, Pakistan faces multidimensional poverty amongst 37% who have meagre incomes and they are deprived of appropriate health cover, education, standards of living and social inclusion. Worst still, no less than 10.5 million people (29% of total) face acute food insecurity. Consequently, such dismal human security situation instigates fragility and instability amongst the masses as societal stress reaches a critical level where violent extremism and internal polarization starts to challenge and seriously undermine country's social cohesion and internal security. Where social contracts are weak and services uneven, prolonged turbulence may arise, resulting in further polarization and potential radicalization and violent conflict.¹⁴

5. Parliament's Role in Strategic Reforms for Human Security

The Parliament with its mandated functions of representation, legislation and oversight of the executive, is expected to focus on securing good governance at the federal, provincial and local tiers so that socio economic growth and equity is ensured while the government also caters for strategic direction of the country towards setting up resilient and self-sufficient societies especially in a country like Pakistan that has a 60% youth population seeking to contribute in uplift of the nation provided given opportunities to excel. Democratic governance by an active Parliament is the ideal means of encouraging peacebuilding and conflict resolution amongst the low- and middle-income countries facing fragile human security indicators. The focus thus is gradual building and consolidation of resilient societies that can outlive crises. Resilience is not limited to anticipating and mitigating climate and natural disaster risks alone, but also human-induced pressures. While variously defined, it is fast becoming a central concept in government policy led by the elected Parliaments world over.¹⁵

The Members of Parliament in Pakistan continue to perform multiple roles that include a peace-negotiator amongst constituents, a legislator who conducts informed law making and last but not the least, a people's elected-monitor who holds executive accountable with regards to their performance, resources and execution of commitments on the floor of House as well as announced public policies, especially on the human security front, made by the government from time to time. The Members of Parliament in individual capacity and as parliamentary leaders or members of committees and caucuses must persuade the executive to formulate a national strategy for cementing human security that remains bedrock of peace within a country. The foremost strategic reforms that MPs may take up with the government by parliamentary tools such as question hour, calling attention notices, adjournments motions, zero hour and committee business, include the following major aspects of human security:

- i. **Pro Poor and Inclusive Economic Growth:** Parliamentarians must focus in House business and committee effectiveness towards persuading government to ensure pro-poor and inclusive economic growth that is a must to fulfill the key elements of human security. People must be given desired opportunities to earn respectable livelihoods that can provide them adequate resources for food security, shelter, education and health for the whole household.
- ii. **Food Security:** Government's policy for food security must incorporate all its dimensions, i.e. food must be available for all; accessible to all with adequate

¹⁴ UNDP Study, Building Inclusive Societies and Sustaining Peace through Democratic Governance and Conflict Prevention, An integrated Approach, 2016. p. 9.

¹⁵ Chandler, Resilience: The Governance of Complexity. London: Routledge, 2013.

purchasing power, marketing and distribution; and there must be facilities for healthcare, water and sanitation for the deprived. Government policies have a critical role to play in ensuring food security, which include the maintenance of buffer stocks, support price, land reform, management of the food distribution system etc. Supportive government policies are particularly important especially for those that suffer from disadvantages due to income, geographical location and/or natural calamities

- iii. **Open and Transparent Merit:** Government policies must be based on the principle of equity and efficiency where transparency and meritocracy remain the top priority in all public functions. Members of Parliament as elected representatives, owe it to the people especially the youth, poor, women and people from minorities that an uncompromising system of transparent merit-based recruitment is followed without fail to give equitable opportunity to all and to develop a highly professional cadre of civil and military servants who are people of integrity, appointed on all tiers of government, to serve in public offices. It is imperative to curb the creeping despondency among the youth, which may push them in a vicious circle of intolerance, crimes and violent extremism rather than being catalyst of a vibrant tomorrow upon whom the resilient Pakistani society has to be built.
- iv. **Inclusive Education for Egalitarian Society:** The purpose of education institutions must revolve around developing students' objective thinking that appreciates diversity and dialogue; understand and analyze situations to finally contribute by being part in the solution to challenges posed. Schools, colleges and universities must focus not only on developing ability and skills-set in different disciplines of study but imperatively in building a complete personality with character traits aimed at serving humanity and being part of solution towards a peaceful, tolerant and egalitarian society. State and legislature must engage with academia at university level to ensure that academics focus on producing graduates who practise three core values besides their competency in respective discipline of study:
 - a. **Mutual respect and ability to listen and appreciate people with diverse point of views** based on democratic concept of we agree to disagree.
 - b. **Undertake evidence-based analysis** based on facts from authoritative sources rather than falling prey to conspiracy theories, stereo types, disinformation and misinformation, etc be it print, electronic or investigative data.
 - c. **Perpetual trait of pursuing the stance that is Constitutional and lawful** rather than based on bias in favour of person, party or school of thought.
- v. **Rule of Law and Social Security Net for Well-being of All:** State is responsible to generate opportunities of equal progress and well-being of all members of the society. This implies a secure rule of law where all are equal in front of law and all institutions including policing follows the rules, quick and cost beneficial system of justice, a viable health cover and housing system for all as well as a perpetual system creating opportunities of work for as many people as possible. Social safety nets in Bangladesh and Brazil worked great deal as socio-economic shock-observers.¹⁶ These social security nets have a far-reaching impact on economic security as they include: job opportunities, productive investment, shelter for aged, education support for poor, health facilities, fiscal space to the vulnerable, impact on poverty and food security and over all contribution to Human Resource Development.¹⁷

¹⁶ Ehsan Mehmood Khan, Human Security in Pakistan, Islamabad Narratives, 2013, p. 94.

¹⁷ Ibid.

OPINION

Public Hearing at the International Court of Justice

On the Legal Consequences arising from the Policies and Practices of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem

Compiled by
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The subject public hearing was held from February 19 to February 26, 2024 at the Peace Palace as a request for advisory opinion submitted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Key excerpts from countries' statements during said public hearing are given as following:

Excerpts from Countries' Statements

Sr. no.	COUNTRY (Speaker)	STATEMENT
1	Palestine (Mr. Riad Malki)	<i>"I stand before you as 2.3 million Palestinians in Gaza, half of them children, are besieged and bombed, killed and maimed, starved and displaced. As more than 3.5 million Palestinians in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, are subjected to the colonization of their territory and the racist violence enable it. As 1.7 million Palestinians in Israel are treated as second-class citizens, as unwelcomed intruders in their ancestral land. As 7 million Palestine refugees continue to be denied their right to return to their land and homes. I stand before you as the entire Palestinians people continue to be denied their fundamental rights, their very existence negated."</i>
2	South Africa (Mr. Vusimuzi Madonsela)	<i>The Palestinian cause is one which resonated strongly with the people of South Africa. That is because the Palestinian struggle evokes mournful memories of our own struggle against apartheid, segregation and oppression. ... We as South Africans sense, see, hear and feel to our core the inhumane discriminatory policies and practices of the Israeli regime as an even more extreme form of the apartheid that was institutionalized against black people in my country, coincidentally, from the year 1948 - and which lasted until 1994."</i>
3	Algeria (Professor Ahmed Laraba)	<i>"Algeria considers that the situation created in 1948, and continued since, crudely exposes the deviation, the diversion of the notion of occupation by Israel in the Occupied Palestinian territories. Israel's objective is to reach a point of no return in order to rule out any possibility of the creation of a Palestinian state."</i>
4	The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Mr. Ziad Al Atiyah)	<i>"Israel's actions in laying waste to the Gaza Strip, killing and maiming tens of thousands of innocent civilians, deprived them of food, water and the basic means of survival while displacing virtually the entire 2.3 million population are not justified under any circumstances.... They demonstrate all too vividly how the illegality of the Israeli occupation over more than five decades can degenerate into the ugliest consequences."</i>
5	The Kingdom of the Netherlands	<i>"...no sovereignty can be established over occupied territory and occupied territory may not be annexed. In this regard, an important provision under the law of</i>

	(Mr. Rene Lefebvre)	<i>occupation is that the occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies. Under international criminal law, such transfers, directly or indirectly, by the occupying Power, constitute a war crime, as reflected in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. It is also prohibited to deport protected persons from the occupied territory."</i>
6	Bangladesh (Mr. Riaz Hamidullah)	<i>"Bangladesh has long reiterated the call to end Israel's occupation of Palestine and to achieve a lasting and permanent solution, which entails the establishment of a sovereign and independent Palestinian State along the pre-1967 borders, with East Jerusalem as its capital. We firmly believe that the Court must heed the long overdue call to holistically examine Israel's occupation and render an opinion on the legal status of the occupation as a whole."</i>
7	Belgium (Mr. Piet Heirbaut)	<i>"...any territory beyond the 1967 borders effectively controlled by Israel is occupied territory and that any annexation of all or part of the territory in question, whether de jure or de facto, is prohibited in international law."</i>
8	Belize (Mr. Assad Shoman)	<i>"Israel cannot be permitted to continue flouting one of the most fundamental principles of international law with impunity. Impunity breeds inhumanity... States also have duties not to assist Israel to maintain a situation that is breach of peremptory norms and to regulate private actors to ensure that their conduct does not support Israel's illegal practices. Fulfillment of those duties include weapons and their components not be provided to Israel in the knowledge that they will likely be used to perpetuate its control over Palestinian territory."</i>
9	Bolivia (Mr. Roberto Calzadilla Sarmiento)	<i>"Bolivia considers Israel's ongoing illegal occupation to be in violation of international law. In particular, Bolivia considers that Israel's illegal occupation infringes on the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination; that, through its prolonged occupation, settlements and annexation of the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, it violates the fundamental principle of international law proscribing the acquisition of territory by force; and that it violates the international prohibition of racial discrimination and the establishing of a system of apartheid."</i>
10	Brazil (Ms. Maria Clara Paula de Tusco)	<i>"On legal status of the occupation, Brazil expects that the Court reaffirms that the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories is illegal and violates international obligations through a series of actions and omissions by Israel. The confiscation of Palestinian lands, the destruction of Palestinian properties, the construction of Israeli settlements and of the wall, and the adoption of measures aimed at changing the demographic composition of areas within Palestinian territories must all be taken into account by the Court. Those persistent practices are tantamount to annexation."</i>
11	Chile (Ms. Ximena Fuentes Torrijo)	<i>"Chile would like to see the implementation of two-State solution, within internationally recognized and secure boundaries, and it is convinced that these advisory proceedings will assist in that process. Why? Because under the current status quo there is no solution in sight. An advisory opinion may contribute to the process of changing the status quo, putting an end to the 56-year occupation of Palestinian territory, and to the realization of the Palestinian people's self-determination."</i>
12	The Republic of Colombia (Ms. Andrea Jiménez)	<i>"Colombia respectfully submits that the Court should not underestimate the fact that the situation in Gaza has become more deadly over the past months and, therefore, the legal consequence of such actions must be even more serious today than in the world we were living before this bloodshed started.... Given that the Israeli occupation has since its onset been acquisitive in nature and, consequently, its policies and practices in furtherance of that occupation have resulted</i>

		<i>in imposed persecution, racial discrimination and apartheid over the Palestinian people, it can only be found to be in breach of various international legal obligations incumbent upon Israel.”</i>
13	Cuba (Ms. Anayansi Rodríguez Camejo)	<i>“The Palestinian people, its girls, boys, women and civilian population as whole, continue to be massacred due to the illegal use of force by Israel, the occupying Power. All this takes place with the complicity of countries such as the United States of America, responsible under international law for genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and the apartheid regime that determines where people can live, work and move around depending on their ethnic and religious backgrounds.”</i>
14	Egypt (Ms. Jasmine Moussa)	<i>“Israel’s persistent policy of implanting settlements in the West Bank and occupied Jerusalem for the purpose of creating facts on the ground and breaking up the territorial contiguity of the occupied territories, is a blatant disregard for international law. Twenty years ago, the representative of the State of Palestine laid before this Court the facts of Israel’s intensive settlement and colonization policy, which had, at the time, transferred 400,000 illegal settlers to the occupied Palestinian territories. Today, that number stands at 750,000, deliberately and permanently altering the status of the occupied territories.”</i>
15	United Arab Emirates (Ms. Lana Nusseibeh)	<i>“We convene today while Israel’s grave violations against Palestinians persist with impunity, four months into its military operation in Gaza and following four failures by the Security Council to call for a ceasefire. Meanwhile, an increasingly brutal Israeli regime of systematic subjugation in the West Bank compounds Palestinian suffering. The horrors that have unfolded over the last few months, the 7 October attack on Israel, the destruction of the Gaza Strip, and the oppression in the West Bank underscore the desperate need for realizing the two-State solution.</i>
16	The United States (Mr. Richard Visek)	<i>“...any movement towards Israel’s withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza requires consideration of Israel’s very real security needs. We were all reminded of those security needs on 7 October, and they persist. Regrettably, those needs have been ignored by many of the participants in asserting how the Court should consider the question before it.”</i>
17	The Russian Federation (Mr. Vladimir Tarabrin)	<i>“...we are convinced that the tragic event of 7 October cannot justify the collective punishment of more than 2 million Gazans. We cannot accept the logic of those officials in Israel and some Western countries who try to defend the indiscriminate violence against civilians by referring to Israel’s duty to protect its nationals. Violence can only lead to more violence. Hatred brings hatred. This vicious circle must be broken.</i> <i>... The continued Israeli occupation of Palestine impedes the realization of the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination. Israeli settlements are contrary to the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force. They also run counter to the prohibition of transfer and deportation of population of an occupied territory. The settlement activities are aggravated by numerous other violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law. All States are under an obligation not to recognize the illegal situation resulting from Israel’s violations.”</i>
18	France (Mr. Diégo Calos)	<i>“France considers that any action going against the need to ‘preserve the unity, continuity and integrity of the entire Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem’ constitutes a violation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.</i> <i>From this point of view, the continuation of the occupation – but also the development of settlements and the resulting fragmentation – hinders the building of</i>

		<i>a viable State of Palestine. The prospect of such a state recedes as attacks on the integrity of the occupied Palestinian territories continue and increase.... France reiterates its firm condemnation of the illegal colonization policy implemented by Israel, particularly in the current context. This policy, which also includes the evictions of Palestinian families and the destruction of Palestinian structures, must stop."</i>
19	The Gambia (Mr. Dawda Jallow)	<i>"The Gambia will highlight three reasons why Israel's prolonged occupation of the Palestinian territories is illegal. All three of these reasons - the right to self-determination, the prohibition on apartheid, and the jus ad bellum - reflect obligations rooted in jus cogens norms. This conclusion of illegality is shared by a substantial majority of the Participants in these proceedings, many for the same reasons as The Gambia."</i>
20	Guyana (Mr. Edward Craven)	<i>"Although situated far from the Middle East, Guyana has a close interest in the legality of Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory. Israel's activities in the occupied territory - which have been brought into sharp focus by the tragic and ongoing humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza - are a matter of truly global concern, with significant implications not only for the State of Palestine and the Palestinian people, but for all States opposed to the acquisition of territory by force. Israel's continued occupation of Palestinian territory is an offence against this bedrock principle of international law, and it is a serious and continuing threat to a peaceful, secure and stable world."</i>
21	Hungary (Mr. Attila Hidegh)	<i>"...the proceedings brought before this esteemed Court may directly contribute to the escalation of the conflict. We are of the view that both the present proceedings, as well as the proceedings against the State of Israel in Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip, may be considered as provocations in the ongoing conflict, not contributing to the de-escalation and an eventual settlement of the conflict. A potential utilization of the Court in the communication war could create newer dividing lines and could continue to fuel tensions in one of the most severe conflict of recent history...."</i>
22	China (Mr. Ma Xinmin)	<i>"The Palestinian-Israeli conflict stems from Israel's prolonged occupation of Palestinian territory and Israel's long-standing oppression of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people fight against Israeli oppression and their struggle for completing the establishment of an independent State on the occupied territories are, essentially, just actions for restoring their legitimate rights. The right to self-determination serves as the precise legal foundation for their struggle.... In pursuit of the right to self-determination, the Palestinian people's use of force to resist foreign oppression and to complete the establishment of an independent State is an inalienable right well founded in international law. Various peoples freed themselves from colonial rule and foreign oppression to realize independent statehood after World War II. Their practices serve as convincing evidence for their right. Numerous UNGA resolutions recognize the legitimacy of struggling by all available means, including armed struggle, by peoples under colonial domination or foreign occupation to realize the right to self-determination."</i>
23	Islamic Republic of Iran (Mr. Reza Najafi)	<i>"The calamity of Gaza is the calamity of humanity and the international community as a whole. Therefore, each and every State and relevant international organization has its own legal and moral responsibility to act urgently and decisively to prevent the ongoing crimes of the Israeli regime in the Gaza Strip."</i>

24	Iraq (Mr. Hyder Shiya Albarrak)	<i>"...we are convinced that the Court's orders ... are of binding effect ... and we call for the respect of and compliance with these decisions under any circumstances or in any place in order to stop the systematic killing machine against the Palestinian people. We hope that the Court's commitment to justice will lead to additional decisions, affirming its dedication to ending the campaign of mass murder and preventing acts of genocide, as well as policies of harassment, blockade and starvation against the Palestinian people."</i>
25	Ireland (Mr. Rossa Fanning)	<i>"...international law limits the use of force in self-defence to no more than what is necessary and proportionate. Ireland's view is that these limits have been exceeded by Israel in its military response to the Hamas attack.... In Ireland's view, Israel is already engaged in the process of annexing Palestinian territory. It is doing so de facto, through its policy of encouraging demographic change in that territory by population transfer and by continuous development and maintenance of permanent settlements and infrastructure. Ireland is concerned that it may also be doing so de jure, by increasingly extending the application of domestic Israeli law and civilian administration to the settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, thereby integrating them into its own territory and erasing the differences in law between Israel and the settlements. But whether de facto, de jure or both, this process of annexation is in clear breach of the prohibition in international law against the acquisition of territory by threat or use of force, a fundamental principle of international law."</i>
26	Japan (Mr. Tomohiro Mikanagi)	<i>"...annexation of territory can never meet the narrowly drawn requirements of the right of self-defence. As the Court has repeatedly pointed out, any purported exercise of the right to self-defence must be necessary and proportionate. Self-defence, by definition, can only justify the taking of temporary measures in order to achieve its aims. The aim of self-defence is limited to defending the attacked State and its people. Thus, even when a State has suffered an armed attack, it can never be proportionate to permanently deprive a people of its territory."</i>
27	Jordan (Ayman Safadi)	<i>"...as I stand before you today, as the evilness of the Israeli occupation of Palestine is being displayed in the bloodiest and most inhumane way. The Israeli aggression on Gaza, which your esteemed Court has indicated warrants examination of plausible genocide, rages on.... Rule that this brutality can be no more. Help deliver justice. Rule that the Israeli occupation, the source of all evil, must end."</i>
28	Kuwait (Mr. Ali Ahmad Ebraheem Al-Dafiri)	<i>"The conflict between Palestine and Israel, hereafter referred to as the 'occupying Power', is an illegal occupation conflict, involving on one side an occupying Power equipped with all military means, and on the other side an occupied nation without defensive capabilities, facing daily expulsion, human rights violations and all sufferings associated with any occupation situation."</i>
29	Lebanon (Mr. Abdel Satar Issa)	<i>"Some might cast doubt on the application of the norm prohibiting the use of force on the basis that it is an interstate norm, insinuating that the occupied Palestinian territories are not part of a state. To this we can answer, ...that Lebanon, as well as more than 140 Member States of the United Nations, recognize the State of Palestine and East Jerusalem as its capital. The State of Palestine is a member of several international organizations such as UNESCO, OPCW, OIC, League of Arab State and PCA, and Palestine is an observer member of the United Nations."</i>
30	Libya (Professor	<i>"The Israeli six-decade occupation of Palestinian territory is a continuing, gross and</i>

	Ahme Eel Gehani)	<i>systematic breach of its legal obligations under the UN Charter and the general international law, also international humanitarian law, international human rights law and customary international law, including the violation of at least peremptory norms of general international law of a jus cogens and erga omnes character.</i>
31	Luxemburg (Mr. Alain Germeaux)	<i>“While Israel is faced with an armed attack allowing it to exercise its right to self-defense, its colonization activities cannot however be justified under this right that they would not, in any state of affairs, constitute cause, a necessary or proportionate measure, as required by international law for any measure taken in the exercise of the right to self-defense.”</i>
32	Malaysia (Dató Seri Utama Haji Mohamad Haji Hasan)	<i>“As I stand here today, Gaza is facing devastation, including in Rafah at the southern end of the Strip; the West Bank is also at risk. Safeguarding Palestine from destruction is crucial, especially in light of Israel’s non-compliance with the recent Order of the provisional measures of this Court of 26 January 2024 in the case brought by South Africa... The Palestinian people have long suffered dehumanization, demonization and brutal collective punishment. They have endured and are still enduring the denial of their right to self-determination due to the ‘policies and practices’ of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. It is incumbent upon each of us to do our part in ending their decades-long suffering and to work towards peace in their land.”</i>
33	Mauritius (Mr. Koonjul)	<i>“Mauritius considers that through its illegal occupation, Israel has denied, and continued to deny, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. At least two legal consequences inexorably flow from this. First, Israel must cease its occupation of Palestinian territory as rapidly as possible. Second, all States and the UN have a duty to ensure that Israel complies with its obligation to respect the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people and to end its unlawful occupation, so that the Palestinian people may exercise their right to an independent and viable State of their own.”</i>
34	Namibia (Ms. Yvonne Dausab)	<i>“Palestinians have had to endure the seizure of their land and property, illegal settlements, unlawful killings, forced displacement, drastic movement restrictions, the denial of refugees’ right to return and of equal nationality and citizenship. The lived reality of the people of the Palestine evokes painful memories for many Namibians of my generation. Namibians still experience the entrenched and structural impact of inequality, as a direct consequence of colonialism and the prolonged unlawful occupation.”</i>
35	Norway (Mr. Kristian Jervell)	<i>“Israel’s occupation of Palestinian Territory has continued since 1967. Recent developments give rise to the utmost concern. They include ongoing indiscriminate and disproportionate use of force and other measures in the Gaza Strip, as well as illegal settlements in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. House evictions, demolitions, forced displacement and settler violence against the Palestinian population are aspects of the Israeli occupation. Such acts run counter to fundamental human rights, international humanitarian law and the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. They threaten the foundations under international law for the vision of a region where two States, Israel and Palestine, live side by side within secure and recognized borders. Against this background, an advisory opinion will provide essential and timely guidance to the international community.”</i>

36	Oman (Mr. Abdullah bin Salim bin Hamad Al Harthi)	<i>"...the primary legal consequences arising from Israel's behavior is that there is now a de facto annexation by Israel of the Palestinian territories. There is no legal justification for continuing the Israeli occupation and denying the Palestinian people the right to self-determination."</i>
37	Pakistan (Mr. Ahmed Irfan Aslam)	<i>"Pakistan has always been a defender of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination. It was Pakistan that proposed the General Assembly's first resolution, on the first day of the Six-Day War, relating to Israel's invasion of Jerusalem and the measures taken by Israel to change the status of the city. Since then, Pakistan has continued to engage on these important questions of international justice and it remains committed to contribute and play its part."</i>
38	Indonesia (Ms. Retno Marsudi)	<i>"...I left my G20 meeting in Rio de Janeiro to stand before you today, ... to express the solidarity of the Indonesian people on a matter of supreme and grave importance. A matter that strikes at our fragile humanity. I stand before you today to defend justice against the blatant violations of international law that has been committed by Israel. We have all witnessed the ongoing humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza and the following escalation throughout the region, which have emboldened a global call to address the root cause, the illegal Israeli occupation of Palestine. Israel's unlawful occupation and its atrocities must stop, and neither should it be normalized, nor recognized. ... it is clear that Israel has zero intention to respect let alone abide by its international legal obligations."</i>
39	Qatar (Mr. Mutlaq Al-Qahtani)	<i>"Indeed, there is a growing perception in some quarters that international law applies to some, but not to others. That some peoples are seen as deserving of security, freedom and self-determination, but others are not. Some children are deemed worthy of the law's protection, but others are killed in their thousands. Qatar rejects such double standards. International law must be upheld in all circumstances. It must be applied equally to all and there must be accountability for all violations. Yet, for more than 75 years, the plight of the Palestinian people has been treated as an exception to the international rule of law. ... the credibility of the international legal order depends on your opinion, and the stakes cannot be higher."</i>
40	The United Kingdom (Professor Sarooshi)	<i>"... the United Kingdom submits that there is a serious risk that the Court may undermine its judicial function by giving an advisory opinion..."</i>
41	Slovenia (Mr. Helmut Hartman)	<i>"We are convinced that the advisory opinion of the principal judicial organ will assist the General Assembly and all organs of the United Nations in their efforts and activities concerning the situation in Palestine.... In its Declaration on the current situation in Palestine and Israel adopted on 23 November last year, the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia expressed its hope that the international community, including the United Nations, adopts 'a more ambitious, responsible and coordinate approach that will ... constructively support the Middle East peace process leading to a lasting peaceful coexistence between the two peoples and to a two-state solution.'"</i>
42	Sudan (Mr. Marwan)	<i>"...Sudan concludes that the Court not only has jurisdiction to give the advisory opinion requested by the General Assembly, but also that there is no compelling</i>

	Khier)	<i>reason for this Court to use its discretionary power not to give the opinion.</i>
43	Switzerland (Mr. Franz Perrez)	<i>"Israel has legitimate security concerns, but also an obligation to respect international law. Likewise, the Palestinian people have the right to self-determination with the aim of living in peace, and Palestine has the obligation to respect international law. A fair and lasting solution can only be achieved on the basis of the rules of international law."</i>
44	The Syrian Arab Republic (Mr. Ammar Al Arsan)	<i>"...the theory of occupation, in principle, contradicts all the values, ethics, laws and charters that humanity has established throughout its long history, in order to preserve human dignity and sanctity, to maintain international peace and security, and to save the world from the scourges and sufferings of wars. In fact the crime of occupation has been and continues to be the most serious and heinous crime in the history of mankind ... Today, the practices of Israel, the occupying power, are definitely the clearest reflection - unfortunately - of the failure of the international community to prevent the heinous crime of occupation ... we are here today to make sure that they - the occupiers - do not get away with impunity."</i>
45	Tunisia (Professor Slim Laghmani)	<i>"It is clear ... that Israel considers all the territory of Mandatory Palestine and more to be its own and that there is no Palestinian people.... The existence of a systematic policy, that is to say a clear intent and desire to destroy the Palestinians as a group national having the right to self-determination and independence and to reduce the survivors to a group of stateless refugees."</i>
46	Turkiye (Mr. Ahmet Yildiz)	<i>"The rules-based international system has come to a point of collapse because of injustices that are being inflicted on the Palestinian people for decades....basically, Israel is the occupying Power in the occupied Palestinian territories and under the obligation to abide by international law. Therefore, any Israeli acts and/or measures executed in the occupied Palestinian territories in breach of international law should be considered null and void. The practices as well as acts and measures violating human rights must be held to account. The same especially goes for the policies and practices of Israel in Jerusalem and the holy places. Any Israeli act and measures aimed at the altering the character and status of the City of Jerusalem, and of the holy places, including Haram Al-Sharif, should be considered null and void and must be ended and rescinded immediately."</i>
47	Zambia (Mr. Marshal Mubambe Muchende)	<i>"The Republic of Zambia surmises that the Court should not exercise its jurisdiction under the Article 65 of the Statute, but rather give deference and sanctity to the bilateral agreements existing between the two States and indeed give deference to the doctrine of party autonomy and pacta sunt servanda. We conclude in the alternative, that should the Court decide to exercise its jurisdiction to render the sought advisory opinion - which, as we said, it has the jurisdiction - then the opinion should encourage and assist the parties to respect the legal commitments, including conducting credible negotiations and not make it more difficult for them to do so."</i>
48	The League of Arab States (Mr. Ahmed Aboul Gheit)	<i>"The persistence of this occupation, acts of genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, crimes against humanity, displacement of populations, imprisonment of Palestinians behind illegal segregation walls, expansion of illegal settlements, creating new political realities on the ground aiming at complicating the dismantling of the occupation - all - will never discourage Palestinians from claiming their legitimate inalienable rights. The insistence on placing Israel above the law, through the politicization of accountability and adopting double standards in the application of justice is a direct</i>

		<i>threat to international peace and stability.”</i>
49	The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (His Excellency Mr. Hissein Brahim Taha)	<i>“... we warned of the consequences of the war waged by the Israeli occupier in the Gaza Strip....we condemn this aggression which has ... the risk of a genocide....we condemn with equal force the crimes committed by Israel, the occupying power, and the settlers in the West Bank and in the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif....we have demanded that all countries stop exporting weapons and ammunition to the occupation authorities, knowing that the army and settlers are using them against the Palestinians....we also expect from your Court to condemn the accelerated colonization of East Jerusalem as well as the Israeli attacks carried out against the Islamic and Christian holy places in Al-Quds.”</i>
50	The African Union (Professor Hajer Gueldich)	<i>“The history of Palestine is a story of dispossession, displacement, dehumanization. This is the story of injustice. It is the tragedy of a people who, for more than seven decades, have been systematically subjugated and oppressed by the Israeli colonial project, whose objective is to establish complete and exclusive control over the entire land of Palestine, to deny the Palestinian people their inalienable right to self-determination, and to deprive them of their right to live freely in their native land.”</i>
51	Spain (Mr. Emilio Pin) and (Professor Santiago Ripol)	<i>“...Israeli forces often detain individuals without charge or trial, in what has been denominated ‘administrative detention.’ Administrative detention is permissible only under very strict circumstances and must always be carried out in line with the protection afforded under international law....Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian territories are subject to a system of jurisdictional fragmentation in the context of a structure of institutionalized discrimination. Israeli military courts enforce military law upon Palestinians, while Israeli court apply Israeli civil apply Israeli civil law to Israelis, including settlers....of particular concern are the detention, interrogation, prosecution and imprisonment of numerous Palestinian children by Israeli occupation forces...”</i> <i>“...the Court may take into consideration the numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, especially those resolutions stating that State are obliged not to take measures that would imply changes in the status of the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip. The corollary is clear: ‘establishing diplomatic missions in the Holy City’ is a serious threat to the stability of peace in the region and the world.”</i>
52	Fiji (Mr Filipo Tarakinikini)	<i>“Using the advisory opinion procedure to prosecute the alleged violations of international law of one of the parties to the dispute while ignoring possible violations by the other will not promote dialogue, not foster mutual respect. Rather, it is likely to undermine efforts towards peace that can be best settled through the recommitment of the parties to the processes established under the Oslo Accords.”</i>
53	The Maldives (Ms. Aishath Shaan Shakir)	<i>“There are no compelling reasons not to exercise jurisdiction. To the contrary, the dire humanitarian crisis unfolding in Gaza reminds us all that this a historic opportunity for the Court to pronounce its verdict on the grave injustice that have been long perpetrated against the Palestinians people.... I would like to once again reiterate our firm belief that the only sustainable solution to the conflict is the establishment of a sovereign and independent State of Palestine, based on the pre-1967 borders, with East Jerusalem as its capital.”</i>

CONCEPT

European Union Guidelines for Responsible Use of AI

In March 2024, the European Commission (EC) has issued the first version of the Living Guidelines on the Responsible Use of Generative Artificial Intelligence (AI). Excerpts from the document are shared as under:

The generative AI has permeated our lives, transforming how we live and work. Over the past few years, a rapid and disruptive acceleration of progress in AI has occurred, driven by significant advances in widespread data availability, computing power and machine learning. Remarkable strides were made in particular in the development of foundation models - AI models trained on extensive volumes of unlabelled data.¹

Generative AI may create possibilities and risks that can be hardly anticipated and fully comprehended today. These guidelines are based on the current state of the technology and the surrounding policy landscape. Given the dynamic nature of both, these guidelines will have to adapt and evolve continuously. They will be updated on a regular basis to ensure that they remain a useful resource for researchers and organisations. These guidelines were developed and will continue to be developed collaboratively as part of the ERA Forum activities.²

1. KEY PRINCIPLES

The set of principles framing these guidelines are based on pre-existing relevant frameworks:

- i. European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity³;
- ii. Work and guidelines on trustworthy AI, developed by the High-Level Expert Group on AI;⁴

Building on the commonalities of the currently emerging guidelines from various stakeholders, the key principles behind these guidelines for the responsible use of generative AI in research are:

- i. **Reliability** in ensuring the quality of research, reflected in the design, methodology, analysis and use of resources. This includes aspects related to verifying and reproducing the information produced by the AI for research. It also involves being aware of possible equality and non-discrimination issues in relation to bias and inaccuracies.
- ii. **Honesty** in developing, carrying out, reviewing, reporting and communicating on research transparently, fairly, thoroughly and impartially. This principle includes disclosing that generative AI has been used.
- iii. **Respect** for colleagues, research participants, research subjects, society, ecosystems, cultural heritage and the environment. Responsible use of generative AI should take into account the limitations of the technology, its environmental impact and its societal effects (bias, diversity, non-discrimination, fairness and prevention of harm). This includes the proper management of information, respect for privacy, confidentiality and intellectual property rights, and proper citation.
- iv. **Accountability** for the research from idea to publication, for its management and organisation, for training, supervision and mentoring, and for its wider societal impacts. This includes responsibility for all output a researcher produces, underpinned by the notion of human agency and oversight

¹ Content should not be fabricated, falsified or plagiarised. More details in Section 3.1 of The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity, <http://www.doi.org/10.26356/ECOC>, ALLEA 2023.

² Ibid. p.3.

³ <https://allea.org/portfolio-item/european-code-of-conduct-2023/>

⁴ <https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/library/ethics-guidelines-trustworthy-ai>

2. GUIDELINES ON THE RESPONSIBLE USE OF GENERATIVE AI IN RESEARCH FOR RESEARCHERS

For generative AI to be used in a responsible manner, researchers should:

- i. **Remain ultimately responsible for scientific output.**
 - Researchers are accountable for the integrity of the content⁵ generated by or with the support of AI tools.
 - Researchers maintain a critical approach to using the output produced by generative AI and are aware of the tools' limitations, such as bias, hallucinations⁶ and inaccuracies.
 - AI systems are neither authors nor co-authors. Authorship implies agency and responsibility, so it lies with human researchers.
 - Researchers do not use fabricated material created by generative AI in the scientific process, for example falsifying, altering or manipulating original research data.
- ii. **Use generative AI transparently.**
 - Researchers, to be transparent, detail which generative AI tools have been used substantially⁷ in their research processes. Reference to the tool could include the name, version, date, etc. and how it was used and affected the research process. If relevant, researchers make the input (prompts) and output available, in line with open science principles.
 - Researchers take into account the stochastic (random) nature of generative AI tools, which is the tendency to produce different output from the same input. Researchers aim for reproducibility and robustness in their results and conclusions. They disclose or discuss the limitations of generative AI tools used, including possible biases in the generated content, as well as possible mitigation measures.
- iii. **Pay particular attention to issues related to privacy, confidentiality and intellectual property rights when sharing sensitive or protected information with AI tools.**
 - Researchers remain mindful that generated or uploaded input (text, data, prompts, images, etc.) could be used for other purposes, such as the training of AI models. Therefore, they protect unpublished or sensitive work (such as their own or others' unpublished work) by taking care not to upload it into an online AI system unless there are assurances that the data will not be re-used, e.g., to train future language models or to the untraceable and unverifiable reuse of data.⁸
 - Researchers take care not to provide third parties' personal data to online generative AI systems unless the data subject (individual) has given them their consent and researchers have a clear goal for which the personal data are to be used so compliance with EU data protection rules⁹ is ensured.¹⁰

⁵ Ibid

⁶ "hallucination" refers to the generation of false, nonsensical, or inaccurate information by large language models (LLMs) or other generative AI systems.

⁷ For example, using generative AI as a basic author support tool is not a substantial use. However, interpreting data analysis, carrying out a literature review, identifying research gaps, formulating research aims, developing hypotheses, etc. could have a substantial impact.

⁸ More details in Section 3.1 of The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity, <http://www.doi.org/10.26356/ECOC>, ALLEA 2023.

⁹ https://commission.europa.eu/law/law-topic/data-protection/eu-data-protection-rules_en

¹⁰ Apart from personal consent there could be other lawful basis that could justify the processing of personal data.

- Researchers understand the technical and ethical implications regarding privacy, confidentiality and intellectual property rights. They check, for example, the privacy options of the tools, who is managing the tool (public or private institutions, companies, etc.), where the tool is running and implications for any information uploaded. This could range from closed environments, hosting on a third-party infrastructure with guaranteed privacy, to open internet-accessible platforms.
- iv. **When using generative AI, respect applicable national, EU and international legislation, as in their regular research activities.**
- In particular, the output produced by generative AI can be especially sensitive in relation to the protection of intellectual property rights and personal data.
- Researchers pay attention to the potential for plagiarism (text, code, images, etc.) when using outputs from generative AI. Researchers respect others' authorship and cite their work where appropriate. The output of a generative AI (such a large language model) may be based on someone else's results and require proper recognition and citation.¹¹
 - The output produced by generative AI can contain personal data. If this becomes apparent, researchers are responsible for handling any personal data output responsibly and appropriately, and EU data protection rules are to be followed.
- v. **Continuously learn how to use generative AI tools properly to maximise their benefits, including by undertaking training.**
- Generative AI tools are evolving quickly, and new ways to use them are regularly discovered. Researchers stay up to date on the best practices and share them with colleagues and other stakeholders.
- vi. **Refrain from using generative AI tools substantially¹² in sensitive activities that could impact other researchers or organisations (for example peer review, evaluation of research proposals, etc).**
- Avoiding the use of generative AI tools eliminates the potential risks of unfair treatment or assessment that may arise from these tools' limitations (such as hallucinations and bias).
 - Moreover, this will safeguard the original unpublished work of fellow researchers from potential exposure or inclusion in an AI model (under the conditions detailed above in the recommendation for researchers #3).

¹¹ The technology is evolving, and generative AI tools will be more capable of providing correct citations. Tools providing citations could be more practical and could be favoured, but the final responsibility on the citation and its correctness remains with the researcher.

¹² For example, using generative AI to search background info for a review is not a substantial use, while delegating the evaluation or the assessment of a paper is a substantial use.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH ORGANISATIONS

For generative AI to be used in a responsible manner, research organisations should:

- i. Promote, guide and support the responsible use of generative AI in research activities.
 - Research organisations provide and/or facilitate training on using generative AI, especially (but not exclusively) on verifying output, maintaining privacy, addressing biases and protecting intellectual property rights.
 - Research organisations provide support and guidelines to ensure compliance with ethical and legal requirements (EU data protection rules, protection of intellectual property rights, etc.)
- ii. Actively monitor the development and use of generative AI systems within their organisations.
 - Research organisations remain mindful of the research activities and processes for which they use generative AI to better support its future use.

This knowledge can:

- be used to provide further guidance on using generative AI, help identify training needs and understand what kind of support could be most beneficial;
 - help anticipate and guard against possible misuse and abuse of AI tools;
 - be published and shared with the scientific community.
- Research organisations analyse the limitations of the technology and tools and provide feedback and recommendations to their researchers.
- iii. Reference or integrate these generative AI guidelines into their general research guidelines for good research practices and ethics.
 - Using these guidelines as a basis for discussion, research organisations openly consult their research staff and stakeholders on the use of generative AI and related policies.
 - Research organisations apply these guidelines whenever possible. If needed, they could be complemented with specific additional recommendations and/or exceptions that should be published for transparency.
 - iv. Whenever possible and necessary, implement locally hosted or cloud-based generative AI tools that they govern themselves. This enables their employees to feed their scientific data into a tool that ensures data protection and confidentiality.
 - Organisations ensure the appropriate level of cybersecurity of these systems, especially those connected to the internet.¹³ Or governed by trustworthy third parties e.g. partner research organizations, the EU or trusted countries.

¹³ Or governed by trustworthy third parties e.g. partner research organizations, the EU or trusted countries.

RESOLUTION

National Assembly of Pakistan' Resolution on Celebrating International Women's Day 2024

Resolution
08-03-2024

Joining global community in celebrating International Women's Day 2024,

Recognizing the significant Potential and contributions of women in all spheres of life,

Honouring the memory of shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, the first elected female Prime Minister in the Islamic world, and twice elected Prime Minister of Pakistan, as an icon of women's struggle, courage, and resilience in the face of challenges,

Acknowledging the accomplishments and contributions of Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto as Leader of the house and Leader of the Opposition, and her unwavering dedication to democracy, women empowerment, human rights, social justice and an equitable society,

Realizing the need for increased efforts, resources, and focus on women and girls in fulfilling their potential,

Taking note of this year's United Nation theme "Invest in women: Accelerate progress",

The National Assembly of Pakistan,

Expresses deep appreciation and pays tribute to Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto as a role model for women and mothers in general, and women politicians and parliamentarians in particular,

Emphasizes the importance of continued and sustained efforts to remove barriers and obstacles that hinder the realization of women's full potential,

Calls upon government, the private sector, and families to invest more in women and girls, enabling them to make even greater contributions to progress and development,

Therefore, be it resolved that the National Assembly of Pakistan:

Recognizes the importance of International Women's Day in fostering gender equality, commemorating women's accomplishments, and advocating for women's rights,

Expresses appreciation and Pays tribute to Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto for her extraordinary leadership, bravery, and commitment to advancing women's empowerment,

Pledges to uphold her legacy by championing policies that empower women, ensure equitable opportunities, and eradicate gender-based discrimination,

Encourages all citizens to actively engaging in building a more inclusive and just society,

Strongly condemns the growing incidents of violence and harassment against women in general and women politicians in particular,

Directs all concerned departments to show zero tolerance towards the perpetrators and inciters of crimes against women,

Resolved, on this 8th day of March, in tribute to Shaheed Mohatarma Benazir Bhutto, we reaffirm our dedication to advocating for women's rights and nurturing a society where every women's voice is valued and honored,

Further resolves to promote gender equality through legislative measures, education, and awareness campaign to eliminate gender-based violence, discrimination, and stereotypes,

Calls upon all stakeholders, including government bodies, civil society organizations, and the private sector, to work collaboratively in promoting women's empowerment and creating environment that enables women to thrive in all spheres of life,

Urges the inclusion of women in decision-making processes at all levels, ensuring their meaningful participation in shaping policies and programs that impact their lives,

Commits to providing equal access to education, healthcare, economic opportunities, and social protection for women, particularly those in marginalized communities,

Resolved, on this International Women's Day, let us honor the legacy of Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto who scarified her life for restoration of democracy, courageously challenged terrorism and promoted politics of reconciliation, and strive towards a future where women are truly empowered, valued, and respected, contributing to the progress and prosperity of our nation.

Sd/-

MS. SEHAR KAMRAN,
Member National Assembly



Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services organized orientation programme for newly elected Members of Provincial Assembly of Balochistan in Quetta on Friday, March 08, 2024



PAKISTAN INSTITUTE FOR PARLIAMENTARY SERVICES

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