

PAKISTAN  
PEOPLES PARTY

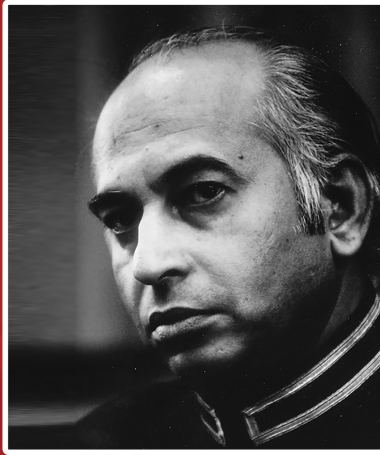
ELECTION

# MANIFESTO

2018



BB KA WAADA NIBHANA HAI  
PAKISTAN BACHANA HAI



**“IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATE TO ENSURE FREEDOM - FREEDOM FROM INEQUITY; FREEDOM FROM EXPLOITATION; FREEDOM FROM DEPRIVATION. IT IS ONLY WHEN FREEDOMS ARE SAFEGUARDED THAT NATIONS CAN PROSPER.”**

**BILAWAL BHUTTO ZARDARI**



# ELECTION MANIFESTO 2018

## ROTI, KAPRA AUR MAKAAN ILM, SEHAT, SAB KO KAAM

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# PREAMBLE

## Vision

A peaceful, prosperous and progressive Pakistan for all our people

## Current Situation

The current economic situation is unstable, intolerable and unsustainable. Above all it is exclusionary. The bottom half of our population have seen their condition become more precarious as profiteers and contractors have seen their fortunes soar. Short-sighted quick fixes directed at the welfare of a tiny elite have compromised the lives of the poorest and most vulnerable, denied them economic justice, and at the same time compromised Pakistan's economic sovereignty.

Many of our measures for ensuring the devolution of power have been subverted, and the momentum for further reforms has been stalled. Devolution was meant to deliver resources more equitably and more transparently. All institutions for accountability were subverted. The parliament was reduced to the position of a bystander as major crises threaten the state and the economy. State institutions appear to be at loggerheads. This raises alarm bells for Pakistan.

Despite all its sacrifices in the struggle against terrorism, the country remains isolated in the global community, unable to project a positive image. This drift must stop. We must get the government on a track that is modelled on serving the people.

Why do we claim that the incumbent government has not served the people? Because poverty, hunger and malnutrition stalk large segments of our society. Unemployment, low pay, and harsh working conditions are everyday realities in which the majority of our people try to provide for their families. A secure home remains a distant dream for millions who live in shanty towns without water or municipal services, urban informal settlements or under the shadow of rural powerbrokers in villages. Health services are severely stretched and a family that has the misfortune of facing ill health or an accident rapidly becomes vulnerable to extreme poverty. Education, which was once seen as a way out of poverty, is increasingly expensive, and of questionable quality. Being educated does not, in any case, guarantee a decent job.

We feel that it is the responsibility of the government to protect its citizens not only from foreign aggression and internal violence, but also from poverty, hunger, malnutrition, disease, unemployment, and hazardous work and environmental conditions. It is the government's duty to ensure stable, sustainable and inclusive growth in an equitable economy for all so that there are decent jobs and living wages for ordinary women and men struggling to look after their families. For the government to do its job, it must be empowered but also inclusive and legitimate.

Democratic reforms never cease; they are an ongoing process to make sure that the government does its duty. The people's government brought reforms that were discontinued, and today, Pakistan is institutionally paralysed. The common person views the government as distant, an entity fixated on personal gain and corruption instead of public interest. This patronage model must change to alter the public's mindset.

## Our Record

Our party has led from the frontlines on all issues that matter to the people of this great country. Be it the first democratic constitution in 1973, the empowerment of the masses through the democratic process, the fight for constitutional government, economic sovereignty, justice for hard-working women and men, women's empowerment, or social protection for the weak and the vulnerable, we have the honour of being pioneers. Our vision of peace, prosperity and

progress for all our people, particularly those who have suffered injustice and exploitation, has guided us through the decades. We have been called upon to make sacrifices for the country and have never flinched. In the wake of violence and provocation, we have pursued the path of reconciliation. We have been steadfast in our defence of the state and the integrity of its institutions, even when our leaders, workers and voters have suffered injustices at the hands of individuals leading these institutions. We can stay the course because our hearts beat with the weak and vulnerable, and we derive our will from the strength of the persevering women and men of this land.

We, the Pakistan Peoples Party, steered the first generation of constitutional, political, fiscal, institutional and social protection reforms in 2008-2013 aimed at consolidating democracy and strengthening the federation. The 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment, the 7<sup>th</sup> National Finance Commission Award, the Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment Order, and the establishment of the Benazir Income Support Programme are historic achievements. The momentum generated by these reforms was lost and needs to be recovered. Much more needs to be done. We shall now embark upon a second generation of reforms in line with our party's ideology of social democracy and people's democracy, both aimed at rebuilding our country, reaching out to all of our people, and reclaiming Pakistan's place in the world. The government shall be for all, not a privileged few.

## Manifesto Pledge

Today, once again we have been called upon to steer the ship of the state away from danger, to put it on the path of peace, progress and prosperity. Now we pledge:

- To free all our people from the fear of hunger, thirst and helplessness
- To open opportunities for all our children and youth so that they may excel, become active citizens of Pakistan and confident members of the global community
- To rebuild and build an economy that works for all our people, now and into the future
- To deepen democracy by fostering harmony among our people, between our people and our state, and among the institutions of our state, and to make the government accountable and answerable to the people by strengthening the parliament and other institutional frameworks.
- To secure rights and peace – for our state and for all our people
- To reclaim Pakistan's rightful place in the world

When we say 'ALL OUR PEOPLE' we mean everyone, and particularly those whose voices are heard less. We mean men, women, and transgender people. We mean people of all faiths, genders, ethnicities, provinces, and regions. We mean rural and urban workers, as well as the millions who are searching for livelihood, those who are unable to seek it, and the millions of women whose labour is not recognised. We mean the children and the young, but also the elderly, those in good health as well as those who are infirm, the able-bodied and the differently-abled. We aspire for relations between and among individuals, families, and communities, based on equality, rights, respect and compassion.

When we say 'FREEDOM FROM HELPLESSNESS' we mean freedom from deprivations such as hunger and thirst, ill-health, lack of secure shelter, provisions which form the very basis of human survival. We mean freedom from dependence on others and from the loss of dignity.

When we say 'OPEN OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH' we mean not only the acquisition of academic and vocational skills, but also the inculcation of self-confidence, socio-emotional wellbeing, rootedness as well as openness.

When we say 'REBUILD THE ECONOMY' we mean major structural reforms for inclusive and sustainable growth and development, while ensuring economic justice for all.

When we say 'DEEPEN DEMOCRACY' we mean not only voting for national and provincial legislatures but making all levels of government and all state institutions more responsive to the needs of citizens. Our emphasis will be on fostering a culture of accountability and transparency in public monies and enhancing access to an answerable, open government.

When we say 'SECURE PEACE' we mean not only the absence of violence but also the active pursuit of peaceful measures for resolving conflicts before they can become violent. We mean security not only from external threats, but also threats based on gender, class, ethnicity, caste, faith, and political views.

When we say 'RECLAIM OUR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE WORLD' we mean a progressive, vibrant and enterprising country at peace both at home and abroad.

# FREEING ALL OUR PEOPLE FROM HUNGER AND HELPLESSNESS

“Freedom is not an end, it is a beginning” – Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto

We are the people’s party. Our genesis is in ‘Roti, Kapra, Makan’ and today we reaffirm our commitment of ensuring that all our people, particularly the poor, marginalised and vulnerable will not only be protected from hunger and food insecurity, but will also be guaranteed access to good quality healthcare services, secure housing in sustainable and inclusive communities and social protection against all forms of external shocks.

## Freedom from Hunger

Despite a productive agricultural sector and public subsidies for food provision, hunger and food insecurity stalk our people. Around a third of all adults report that they or their children might go hungry at least once a month – while many live with the fear of more frequent hunger. Around half the population consumes too few calories, and these calories come mainly from cereals. More nutritious foods which include proteins and essential micronutrients are mostly absent from the diets of the poor. Poor diets are also responsible for the persistently high rates of stunted growth of children in Pakistan. Freedom from hunger and the guarantee of basic food security – or the ability of all people to consume an adequate and varied diet with dignity – is a basic requirement for a functioning society. We cannot go forward if our people are hungry. This is a problem that has been ignored for far too long.

Our party addressed hunger in the 1970s by raising workers’ wages and ensuring their livelihoods. More recently, we introduced the Benazir Income Support Programme to ensure that women in poor households were able to address some of the food needs of their families. Wages have not kept up with competing demands on meagre incomes and our people continue to struggle against the threat of hunger. Meanwhile, the food security system designed for making sure that wheat was available in the country is no longer able to ensure the food security of families and individuals. The huge public subsidy for running this system is mostly captured by large farmers and millers. This unacceptable situation cannot persist.

We will establish a Bhook Mitao (Hunger Eradication) Programme to directly address the needs of the food insecure. The main objectives of the programme are to:

- Eradicate hunger and food insecurity by making nutritious food available at affordable prices
- Boost domestic production – subsidise local producers
- Connect women with the market economy as entrepreneurs
- Implement long-overdue reforms of the food security system

The public distribution system will provide access to the poor to wheat, pulses and eggs at subsidised prices, ensuring their freedom from hunger as well as their consumption of a relatively varied diet. By establishing the link with national and local agricultural economies, the Bhook Mitao programme will stimulate the local production of pulses and eggs. The programme will be linked with reforms in the agricultural price support system proposed under the Zarai Inqilab Agricultural Renewal Strategy. The inclusion of pulses in the food procurement system



will extend the price support subsidy to farmers in some of the more marginal regions, and will also aim to save foreign exchange on import of pulses.

As is the case currently with wheat procurement, the government will bear all the cost related to storage, transportation and distribution. Presently, this element of the subsidy is mostly captured by flour mills. Under the Bhook Mitao programme beneficiaries will be provided grain which they can take to micro mills, thus boosting local economic activity. The Sindh government's positive experience with providing grain from government stores (rather than milled flour) is indicative of the feasibility of grain provision and its preference by the poor.

The food distribution system will be based on registration with the income support programme through local licensed dealers or government stores at the Union Council (UC) level. A computerised "Benazir Food Card" will be issued to the eligible households after verification of identity and family composition by NADRA to prevent multiple applications. The food distribution system can also be used for the provision of subsidised or mandated fortified foods as appropriate to targeted populations.

Women applicants, particularly BISP beneficiaries, will be encouraged to apply for dealer licenses and will be supported with enterprise development skills for managing their dealership.

The Pakistan Peoples Party has always acknowledged basic rights, dignity and wellbeing of the people of Pakistan. The Bhook Mitao programme will be established through a rights-based approach by promulgating the Right to Food Act in parliament. Under this Act, every eligible household will be entitled to purchase essential food items on subsidised rates. It will be mandatory for the federal and provincial governments to supply/procure the required amount of food grains.

## Health Care for All

Pakistan has made several commitments internationally and to its people for the provision of health care, particularly to the most vulnerable. The country has agreed to the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) related to health and family planning which include:-

- Reducing maternal mortality rate by 2030 to 70 per 100,000 live births, the infant mortality rate to 12 or less per 1,000 live births, and the under-5 mortality to 25 or less per 1,000 live births
- Achieving 100 per cent immunisation coverage for routine immunisation for under 2-year olds, in order to reduce morbidity and mortality associated with the incidence of communicable diseases
- Ensuring that universal access to sexual and reproductive health is part of national strategies and programmes
- Ensuring substantial increase in health financing in order to support health services and the recruitment, training and retention of health workforce
- Ensuring equitable distribution of health resources, particularly in support of areas that are underserved and underprivileged
- Supporting public-private partnership nodes for universal health service delivery to achieve the above set targets
- Monitoring and evaluation of all health personnel through a robust, e-monitoring system

Our party has been associated with a number of significant advances in health policy and programme in Pakistan. The introduction of the Lady Health Workers (LHWs) programme by Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto in the 1990s was a far-sighted innovation which has proved the test of time. Not only has this programme become the most obvious point-of-call for any

community-based health intervention, it has led to significant changes in gendered social norms around health care provision and access in rural areas. Our People's Primary Healthcare Initiative (PPHI) system in Sindh has yielded excellent results in re-hauling the provision of basic health care around Basic Health Units (BHUs) and Rural Health Centres (RHCs). Moreover, we have led the country in building, upgrading and operating, including under public-private partnership arrangements, secondary and tertiary health facilities of the highest calibre. Sindh has the highest per capita expenditure on health of all the provinces, and our health facilities have earned renown for providing excellent free of cost care to our people from across the country.

Every person has right to access basic medical facilities. The Pakistan Peoples Party will pass legislations at federal and provincial levels to ensure the provision of basic health facilities for all. It will be mandatory for the federal and provincial governments to provide basic health facilities of good quality to the people.

We, therefore, propose a radical raft of measures to expand health provisioning in order to fill missing gaps, join up the dots from primary health care to tertiary, provide effective health management systems, and ensure that some of the most vulnerable join in to utilise the services provided. Our proposals under the Health Care for All - Expanding, Linking-Up and Joining-In (ELAJ) programme involve:

- Expansion of services along the successful models of the LHW and primary, secondary and tertiary care initiatives in Sindh
- A Family Health Service linking all elements of health provisioning into a unified individual-centred system
- A Mother and Child Support Programme targeting maternal and child health and nutrition through cash incentives for the taking up of maternal and child health services and counselling, and ensuring that existing policy commitments are met to provide adequate antenatal, delivery and postnatal care to women of reproductive age, including voluntary contraceptive services. It would also focus on the provision of emergency obstetric and neonatal care to women. Wherever policies and programmes are not in place, we will ensure that they be drafted and implemented.

## Expansion

Public sector health provisioning consists of several levels of service provision which function at different levels of coverage and effectiveness. At the community level, LHWs manage caseloads of around 200 households each, maintain records, and provide primary advice, particularly with respect to maternal and child health, including reproductive health, child growth, immunisation, and nutrition. The programme is limited to rural areas, and does not cover the entire rural population either. The PPHI model has proven to be an effective way of improving BHU/RHC services. These, too, need to be expanded where there are missing facilities. Attention is also required in urban areas to ensure the coverage of public dispensaries. Hospital upgradation needs to continue at the district and sub-district levels, and there is need for further specialist hospitals and treatment facilities beyond the main cities. This expansion is already planned, at least in Sindh, through the province's annual development plan. Further institutional measures will include:

- The provincial health commission will be strengthened with a semi-autonomous status. It will work to regulate the health sector, especially the private health sector, to maintain protocols in hospitals and health centres, promote health and hygiene in the country, and regulate hospital waste management
- Health data management at union council and district levels, evidence-based health interventions will be ensured
- E-monitoring of health personnel including lady health workers, vaccinators, medical officers and district health officers' stringent supervision at union council level with strict accountability will be introduced

- District health officers will be trained in health services delivery and management. Tertiary care hospitals will be made autonomous with strong and efficient management systems, and ensuring paperless administration and tele-health systems.

## Linking-Up: Family Health Service

A major innovation is proposed to link up public sector health provisioning through the introduction of a data-driven and facility-supported Family Health Service. An important caveat in current health provisioning is that each level of health provision operates as a separate system which is linked only through an established mandate for referrals upwards. Although LHWs maintain a register of their clients, other elements of the system do not maintain system-wide records, or track the movement of patients across referrals. The Family Health System will establish an integrated health system through:

- Registration of individuals at Family Health Clinics of government-paid general practitioners at the community level
  - This will require the recruitment of an additional 25,000 doctors who will each manage (in addition to existing physicians at BHCs) an average caseload of around 1,000 households
  - These physicians can be employed on salary, or be remunerated in accordance to the number of patients registered, and/or consultations conducted
  - A link will be established between LHWs and Family Health Clinics, and then onwards with BHCs/RHCs and secondary and tertiary hospitals
- Patient information system through the issue of a Family Health Card will entitle individuals to free-of-cost or subsidised health care at public sector facilities
  - Patients will register at Family Health Clinics of their choice, preferably but not necessarily the one closest to their home
  - The registration will be verified by their local LHW as well as NADRA
  - The Family Health Card will help to maintain a full record of a patient's interaction with the system, and metadata will be utilised as a tool for health planning
  - The Family Health Card may be linked with an upgraded BISP database to target concessions to the poorest, and for implementing a scale of payments.

## Joining-In: Mother and Child Support Programme

A Mother and Child Support Programme will be launched to boost demand/ behaviour change with respect to health, family planning and early learning. The objectives of the programme are:

- Maternal health
- Child nutrition
- Uptake of supply side
- Attitudinal change
- Reproductive Health/Family planning counselling
- Early childhood development
- Database for monitoring, real-time intervention in maternal and child health

The programme will provide cash incentives to mothers (and families) to make pro-health, pro-nutrition, pro-learning, and pro-gender equality choices from the time of conception till a child reaches school-going age (5 years). It will consist of the following processes:

- Register the appearance of a pregnancy for an ante-natal consultation
- Once a case has been registered in the database, the mother will be provided with a swipe card to maintain a record of her/and the child's regular interactions with health, immunisation, nutrition and education services, and will receive cash/voucher incentives at each critical stage in the 5-year cycle. Cash/voucher incentives will be provided for:-
  - each of the three ante-natal visits
  - delivery at an authorised health facility
  - follow-up post-natal visits
  - receiving family planning advice, including voluntary contraceptive services

- entire cycle of immunisations for the child
- regular health checks, and early learning counselling for the child in subsequent years

## Reproductive health and family planning

Reproductive health and family planning are essential elements for empowering women and men to lead healthy lives and to bring up healthy and cared-for children. Various governments in Pakistan have paid lip service to the public in this area. Our government in Sindh has shown real initiative and achieved results, which we will implement all over the country if given the chance.

Our achievements in Sindh include the child marriage restraint law, a provincial policy for reproductive health, informed parenthood and family planning and major increases in fiscal outlays for family planning services, resulting in a large increase in the take-up of contraception. Going forward, we will:

- Ensure service accessibility for family planning services to all child bearing women and their male partners
- Post pregnancy services and counselling to be given at all birthing stations and antenatal and postnatal wards and outpatient departments
- Training of all new and old lady health workers in advocacy, communication and counselling for effective service delivery related to family planning.
- Special awareness campaigns and mass media communication for advocacy and promotion of family planning and reproductive health
- Legislation for reproductive health rights
- Integration of population planning and health at implementation level through LHW, Maternal Newborn and Child Health (MNCH), PPHI and nutrition programmes

## Right to Housing in Inclusive and Sustainable Communities: Apni Galian Apnay Ghar

Access to secure and decent housing is a basic condition of life, particularly for families. There is great variation in our country across rural and urban areas in the level of tenure security, quality of housing and related public and community infrastructure. The most marginalised individuals and families live in constant fear of eviction at the hands of powerful individuals or government authorities. Access to basic infrastructure is often denied. While the government is a major stakeholder in matters related to land, housing and community services, its authority is rarely used to guarantee secure and decent housing for all.

Our party has an unparalleled record with respect to extending residential security to the most marginalised in urban and rural areas alike. Be it the regularisation of irregular urban and rural settlements of the poor (katchi abadis and villages of the landless poor), or the allotment of government or privately-owned land to them (5 marla schemes), we have remained true, over the decades, to our commitment towards ensuring housing to the poor. Past approaches of assuring the security of tenure have provided relief to the poorest. The current situation, however, is characterised by four trends:

- Densification of existing urban and rural communities
- Rising rental markets in housing
- Persistence of dual standards of tenure security and infrastructure
- Conversion of land by commercial development
- Unhealthy living conditions in urban and rural areas alike due to poor sanitation

There is rising pressure for the densification of existing communities, both urban and rural, due to the rising demand for housing. For many communities, regulations for densification are not straightforward. This leads to haphazard and uneven development, and exerts stress on existing infrastructure and services. Water, sanitation, and waste disposal services are stretched thin in rural and urban communities across the country.

There is a large and rising rental market for housing, particularly in our urban areas, including regularised settlements, katchi abadis and communities that have not been regularised.

There are dual standards between established, planned communities which house the relatively better off and poorer communities, including those which have been regularised. Regularisation has not led to mainstreaming into public and community infrastructure or to the formal recognition of property ownership and possession by all service providers.

Finally, there is rapid conversion of farms and villages into commercially-developed colonies. In some cases, this has been done at the expense of the poor who were evicted to make room for the better off. In other cases, new communities of the poor have emerged, adding to the backlog of pending infrastructure and community services.

The current situation requires new approaches that build upon but go beyond the regularisation of existing communities. It calls for secure tenure for all, as well as secure rights of both parties in rent agreements, but also major improvements in the quality of life in our cities, towns and villages, to cater the future needs of modern, inclusive and sustainable communities.

We propose a five-pronged strategy consisting of:

1. Regularisation and provision of lease title to remaining irregular settlements of the poor under a new scheme which will:
  - a. Use objective criteria including the poverty scorecard and the history of exclusion (for example rural landless workers, historically marginalised communities in a given community, bonded labourers) for identifying the poor
  - b. Requiring the inclusion of a woman family member on the title of any regularised property
2. Legislation for the mainstreaming of regularised settlements into inclusive and sustainable communities, including:
  - a. The establishment for formal title including requirements on financial institutions for accepting formal title
  - b. Proactive engagement with the private sector to offer financial and other services for inclusive and sustainable communities
  - c. Setting minimum standards with respect to infrastructure provision and housing quality
  - d. Requiring public utilities to register individual property owners/tenants as customers
  - e. Scheduling for registration in property tax regime with rating linked to property value
3. Legislation for land conversion to:
  - a. Ascertain the availability of public housing managed by local government within any new scheme
  - b. Ensure adequate provision of land in commercial developments for public amenities and infrastructure
4. Legislation enhancing the role of the lowest tier of local government in:
  - a. Regularisation and mainstreaming of irregular settlements
  - b. Registration and enforcement of fair and secure rental agreements
  - c. Conversion of land by commercial developers

- d. Establishment of public housing committees including assured representation of non-owners and the poor, and transparent systems for the effective management of public residential projects.
  - e. Use of new streams of property tax revenues for maintaining a stock of public housing, some of which will be rented out at commercial rates, while some will be rented out at subsidised rents to poor after ascertaining the means and needs of each family.
5. Infrastructure provision for healthy communities in rural and urban areas will:-
- a. Devolve power and authority to the district, town and municipal levels in order to tackle the shortfall in services
  - b. Strengthen the local government system by allowing them to collect local taxes, greater jurisdictions in regulations especially in building housing schemes
  - c. Plan and implement programmes for sprawling tree gardens and forests within cities
  - d. Establish a public-private transport company which will serve as the umbrella organisation for the management of all transport. Private Transport to be regulated through the Transport Act
  - e. Initiate water safety and conservation programmes for provision of demand-driven services to local communities with respect to testing, soliciting the appropriate technology, and spearheading projects aimed at attitudinal changes toward water consumption
  - f. Encourage and oversee major investments in scale-appropriate sanitation infrastructure in all urban and rural communities.

This strategy marks a significant shift in the approach to housing strategy in several ways:

- Linking individual security of tenure/possession with community-level improvements in infrastructure and services through mainstreaming
- Ensuring a unified approach and comparable standards across rural and urban communities
- By public sector-led estimation of land and land conversion value , rather than simply allotting land to developers and private individuals
- The expansion of government revenues for housing rather than burdening existing resources
- Emphasising on mainstreaming and thus the expansion of the formal economy
- Activating the role of the private sector in realising the value of housing, as well as in the process of mainstreaming
- Supporting simplified and standardised forms of tenure across the country
- Countering the trend of the further expansion and establishment of irregular settlements by introducing means-tested public housing, and enhancing the role of local government in setting and enforcing minimum standards with respect to infrastructure and housing quality

## Water and Sanitation

Access to a safe and reliable source of drinking water is an essential human need and right. Potable drinking water is not available to 83 per cent of the population despite more than seven decades of independence. In Pakistan, unsafe drinking water and poor sanitation have been the primary causes of many water-borne diseases such as diarrhoea and malaria. Lack of good quality water is also associated with poor nutrition outcomes for our children. We recognise safe drinking water and decent sanitation as basic human rights and will work towards formulating appropriate legislation and policies.

The provision of clean drinking water and sanitation facilities has been our top priority. We believe that it is a fundamental right for citizens to be able to access fresh drinking water and improved sanitation systems, irrespective of differences in the types of settlements they live in – whether formal or informal, rural or urban. Our government in Sindh has initiated several water and sanitation schemes which have increased by 44.8 per cent in 2013-2018. Some of our initiatives in different districts of the Sindh province have focused on the construction of sewage water treatment plants, filtration plants, and Reverse Osmosis (RO) plants to meet the water shortages:

- The government has proposed an investment of 29.122 billion rupees in order to address water and sanitation problems in the Sindh province. This includes allocations for projects like K-IV, S-III, Five Combined Effluent Treatment Plants for Karachi. There is an existing investment in sewage treatment capacity in Karachi with a provision from under 5 per cent to around 40 per cent of need – or 280 million gallons per day
- The Manora Karachi water supply project was initiated in 2008 and is currently benefitting 77,222 people
- Under Karachi's rural water supply schemes, 38 villages were provided with safe water
- Pipri Filter plant/pumping station was upgraded, and under the Lyari Development Plan, the sewerage system was improved, facilitating 700,000 people
- In Hyderabad, various schemes were launched, such as Sewerage Pumping Stations, a Tulsi Das APWA School, and Hali Road which is benefitting 400,000 people. A Master Plan for Qasimabad, Hyderabad has been developed which will benefit a projected population of 1,800,000 by the year 2035
- In Jamshoro, drainage projects of 305.6 million rupees were completed during 2016-17 and in Shaheed Benazirabad, the Urban Drainage Scheme Phase-IV was launched which envisages the disposal of 10.074 MGD silage effluent. This scheme will be completed in 2020 and will benefit an estimated population of 419,731
- In Sanghar, a 242 km pipeline project worth 2336.1 million rupees was completed in 2018 and is currently providing water to about 30,000 people in 106 villages
- A water project in Qambar Shahdadkot with a cost of 406.8 million rupees is also benefitting the citizens of the district
- In Badin, a project of 478.9 million rupees for water supply was completed and a filtration plant is being constructed at Mehar in Dadu district
- An ongoing project in Shikarpur for the rehabilitation and improvement of sewerage drainage system will dispose of 9.280 MGD of sludge water outside the city
- In Tharparkar, various Reverse Osmosis (RO) plants were completed during 2016-17
- RO (Desalination) Plants have been setup in 25 villages, at a cost of 942 million rupees
- The establishment of 1,900 RO plants has been initiated in 3 phases of the Drinking Water Hub Project in Sindh

We will prioritise investments in water projects across the country, particularly in regions where access to clean drinking water is limited. We will ensure coordination between major infrastructure projects in water – such as desalination plants in large coastal cities – and support infrastructure at the city, town, and community levels.

## From Social Protection to Poverty Reduction

We need to move towards a comprehensive social protection system in Pakistan that will address a wide range of risks and vulnerabilities of the poorest. Our party made a start in 2008 with the Benazir Income Support Programme which provided cash support to women in the poorest households. The momentum for social protection was, however, stalled in the intervening period and we propose to revive this momentum to ensure that all of our people are free from the threat of extreme poverty. In our next term we propose the revitalisation of the

BISP, as well as the country-wide extension of our successful programmes which go beyond income support to ensure the sustainable livelihood of the poorest stratum.

## Revitalising the Benazir Income Support Programme

The Benazir Income Support Programme which was introduced by our party as a flagship social protection programme has provided urgently needed support to millions of women in our poorest households and communities. The BISP represented a paradigm shift in social programming in Pakistan in terms of:

- Scale
- Beneficiaries
- Targeting method
- Partnerships

The programme is now widely acclaimed across the world as a major achievement of our country. Its impacts, which have been verified by independent evaluations, include:

- Successful targeting of the poorest
- Income support leading to improvements in family food consumption
- Women's empowerment

In the recent years, however, the success of the programme has not been fully capitalised. New initiatives have been few and far between. The social progress gained through the success of the programme and the lessons learnt need to be urgently revitalised in order to address the dire needs of our people. The credibility gained by Pakistan, in successful social programming such as BISP, also needs to be leveraged in order to tackle issues in the design of initiatives across the social and economic sectors.

We will not only upgrade and expand the BISP, but will also continue to seek innovative solutions along the lines of the BISP in all areas of social policy. More specifically, we propose to:

- Complete the updating of the BISP poverty scorecard database and improve its design and usability for other interventions
- Expand the coverage of income support and increase its amount to 2,000 rupees per beneficiary per month
- Use the BISP database to scale up lessons from successes in poverty reduction programmes such as Sindh's Union Council based Peoples Poverty Reduction Programme, and to expand features of that programme across the country

Most importantly, we propose to link an updated and improved BISP database, along with additional sector-specific criteria:

- with the targeting of food subsidies proposed under the Bhook Mitao programme
- the proposed Family Health System
- poverty targeting within the Apni Galian Apnay Ghar strategy
- extension of the Peoples Poverty Reduction Programme

## Peoples Poverty Reduction Programme

While the BISP cash transfer provides income support to women in the poorest households across the country, there is also a need for social protection interventions which will lift families out of poverty altogether. Our government in Sindh initiated a large-scale, well-targeted and comprehensive Peoples Poverty Reduction Programme. The programme aims to reduce poverty through asset creation and income generation, and involves:



- Interest-free loans given to the poorest, marginalised, and vulnerable individuals, particularly women in the Sindh province
- Trainings provided to beneficiaries at the household level, to set up their own ventures and become financially stable
- Trainings in social mobilisation and capacity building for community leaders at the community, village and union council level, to equip them with managerial skills, enabling them to train beneficiaries on the ground.

The programme was implemented in 4 districts in 2009 with 5.36 billion rupees and was gradually scaled up to four additional districts in 2015 with 11.16 billion rupees. Currently, it has already reached around 900,000 women across the Sindh province, and many beneficiaries have achieved financial independence by setting up ventures relating to livestock ownership. The programme has been internationally acclaimed and has empowered thousands of women in Sindh's poorest areas. We will now scale-up this programme to a national level to help individuals and families from across the country to attain freedom from extreme poverty.

## A More Inclusive Society: Integration of Differently-Abled People

The Pakistan Peoples Party believes that an inclusive society is one in which all individuals are integrated irrespective of variation in physical, intellectual, or sensory abilities, whether visible or invisible. An individual's different ability is no excuse to deny them their rights. We believe that all individuals, including differently-abled individuals, have equal rights to access all services such as education, healthcare, and employment opportunities. Our party has long strived to serve millions of differently-abled people to protect their rights and integrity. Indeed it was the people's government which first gave a special National Identity Card to differently-abled people in Pakistan.

We propose to develop new strategies, strengthen existing policies and undertake legislative measures to secure the rights of all differently-abled people.

### Implementation of United Nations Convention

- The PPP pledges to fully implement the provisions of United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN CRPD), ratified by Pakistan in 2011, in its full letter and spirit
- The PPP pledges to incorporate the UN CRPD into Pakistan laws to ensure the rights and dignity of differently-abled people.

### Ensuring representation in decision-making at the national level

Our party will take the necessary measures to empower differently-abled people and will enable them to participate in decision making at all levels: on national matters and also on subjects directly concerning them. In this regard, the following measures will be taken:

- A minister of state will be appointed to ensure that proper attention and resources are allocated for the welfare of differently-abled people
- Reserve seats will be created for differently-abled people in the Senate as well as in the National Assembly of Pakistan
- Differently-abled people will be appointed to important positions within the party organisational structure to provide them with an effective voice in the party decision making process
- Standing committees will be formed for the welfare of differently-abled people within the National Assembly as well as the Senate.

## Legislative measures

- A committee will be formed at the national level to carry out a comprehensive review of all existing legislation concerning differently-abled people and will also formulate a report in this regard.
- All legislation concerning differently-abled people will be compiled in one comprehensive act of the parliament to ensure effective implementation of relevant laws and regulations.

## Ensuring equal opportunities in the workplace

We will take all necessary measures to ensure equal opportunity for differently-abled people in work and employment. These will include:

- Introducing and implementing legislation to protect and enforce the rights of differently-abled people in work environments and employment pursuit
- Reviewing quota allocation for differently-abled people in public sector employment and updating it as per prevailing circumstances
- Offering tax as well as other reliefs to the private sector organisations employing differently-abled people.
- Launching an official "Positive about Being Differently-Abled" certification scheme whereby participating public as well as private organisations will be offered certification as well as other tax and non-tax reliefs for providing equal opportunity of work and employment to differently-abled individuals.

## Education and training

In order to ensure access to quality education for differently-abled people, PPP pledges to do the following:

- Review quota allocation for differently-abled people in public sector colleges and universities and update it as per prevailing circumstances
- Provide full fee exemptions to differently-abled people studying in public sector educational institutions
- Introduce legislation/laws to ensure significant fee discounts for differently-abled people studying in private sector educational institutions
- Significantly improve the literacy rate among differently-abled people in the country

## Accessible environments

The PPP believes that all individuals have the right to accessible spaces, and will achieve this by:

- Carrying out a review of and updating current legislation/laws and regulations concerning the accessibility of all differently-abled people in public as well as private buildings, facilities and wherever else necessary.
- Taking measures to ensure the serious implementation of accessibility laws and regulations, and diligently taking action against non-compliant organisations
- Amending public and private sector building regulations to ensure that adequate accessibility as well as other facilities are provided to differently-abled people in all new as well as existing buildings
- Reviewing accessibility issues related to public and private sector transport to make these adequately accessible for wheelchair users as well as other differently-abled people

## Health care for differently-abled people

Access to quality healthcare is a priority for all, including differently-abled people. In order to make healthcare more accessible, Pakistan Peoples Party will introduce the following:

- "Differently-abled Cards" for differently-abled people in line with the Benazir Income Support Programme to ensure free and speedy health care facilities to all differently-abled people
- "Differently-abled counters" in public sector hospitals to provide easy and quick access to such individuals

## Access to Justice

The PPP will ensure that differently-abled people have equal access to justice, by pledging to:

- Introduce effective measures to ensure that differently-abled people have easy and quick access to justice at police stations, sessions courts, and higher courts
- Establish "Differently-abled Tribunals" to prosecute people and organisations which violate the laws and regulations related to differently-abled people and to provide the latter speedy justice in cases of discrimination

## Participating fully in political, public and cultural life

The PPP pledges to enable differently-abled people with easy and free or discounted access to all public or private events and activities including recreation and entertainment activities.

# NAUJAWAN PAKISTAN: OPENING OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUR CHILDREN AND OUR YOUTH

The future belongs to the children and the youth. Education is not just about learning academic skills, even though for our schooling system this is an essential first step. We need a well-functioning system that will fulfill the constitutional pledge of equal opportunity of quality education for all our children, and will help create individuals who are creative, confident and compassionate, to build a future society that both we and the world will value.

## Quality and Free Education for All

The Constitution of Pakistan envisions the right to education as a fundamental right of the child. Yet, there is profound disparity in access to quality education between the rich and poor, with approximately 24 million children between the ages of 5 and 16 being out of school. Sixty per cent of enrolled students attend public schools that suffer from ongoing issues of corporal punishment, poor infrastructure, teacher quality and absenteeism, leading to high dropout rates. Low-cost private schools provide marginally better but still inadequate schooling.

To keep up with the rest of the world, we must move from more traditional content and methods of rote learning and memorisation to teaching approaches that foster creative and critical problem-solving and decision-making; values of working with others, including communication and collaboration; the capacity to recognise and exploit the potential of new technologies; and develop the mindsets to navigate a multi-faceted and complex world as an active and engaged individual.

The PPP has been committed to fixing structural problems and modernising education. In 2009, we launched the National Education Policy (NEP) which recognised two key deficiencies at all levels of education: low access to educational opportunities, and low quality of education. It identified the commitment gap, as reflected by low budgetary allocation to the sector, and the implementation gap, or shortfalls in governance. In 2010, we created the Right to Education Article 25-A which stated that "The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law."

In the last five years, we have not shied away from undertaking educational reforms that were necessary even if they were regarded politically risky. To remedy for the unregulated mushrooming and haphazard growth of schools, we merged distinct government schools that were in close proximity to each other and catered to the same local child population in single schools. To address the pervasive issue of teacher absenteeism and ghost teachers, we used biometric verification of teachers to identify ghost teachers and used several methods including issuance of show-cause notices, warnings, denial of annual increments, delayed promotions and termination of service to remedy for teacher absenteeism. We strengthened merit- and needs-based teacher recruitment, arrangements and procedures, hiring more than 30,000 new teachers.

Our education policy will continue to show political will to fulfill the responsibility of the state as per the constitution of Pakistan: providing "equal opportunity of *quality* education to *all* children" so they can "realise their potential" and "contribute to the development of society and

economy, creating a sense of nationhood and inculcating values of tolerance, social justice and democracy”.

## Ongoing political commitment

The PPP commits to the following:

- Increasing the public expenditure on education to 5 per cent of the GDP by 2025. The education budget allocated in 2015/16 was 2.3 per cent of the GDP (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2016/17), which is short of the required commitment of 4 per cent of the GDP
- Ongoing focus on teacher absenteeism and hiring on merit; and around improving financial management systems to improve the efficiency, utilisation and targeting of resources to remote, marginalised and under-served areas. We will also ensure that the government’s current commitments of providing free school supplies to students are met in a timely fashion
- Ensuring that all provinces develop and implement strong plans for education as per the larger vision. The 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment gave provinces the responsibility of providing education, and there have been varying levels of progress across the country since. Only Sindh and ICT have developed rules for its implementation thus far
- Working with a number of stakeholders to achieve these goals, such as the Federal Ministry of Education and Professional Training which mobilises provinces through the Inter-Provincial Education Ministers’ Conference

## Improving access for all

All children deserve access to quality education, but in Pakistan, there are currently only few with such access. Issues of access and inclusion have to be worked at from the highest policy circles to the classroom unit. PPP plans to take concrete steps to ensure that no child is left behind:-

- Geographical inequalities: We will target education service delivery in districts with the lowest indicators of educational quality
- Girls’ education: In order to increase retention of students beyond primary level, particularly that of girls, primary schools will be upgraded to at least lower secondary level. In addition, more resources will be allocated for girls’ education, and stipends will be awarded to girls to complete secondary school and HSSC.
- Measurement and evaluation: We will develop clear indicators to calculate the quality and access of education at the school level, measured both on average, and also separately for marginalised groups. Both public and private schools will have to perform against set benchmarks to attain incentives like performance grants, to ensure they are providing quality education
- The role of teachers in fostering inclusion: At the classroom level, teachers will be trained in strategies and mindsets to focus not just on high performing students, but all students, especially those from marginalised groups. More teachers will be staffed on merit to reduce the teacher to student ratio in order to ensure greater focus on each child

## Fostering 21<sup>st</sup> century skills and values of critical thinking, compassion, and creativity

PPP will make sure the education system fosters harmony, and creates compassionate, confident, and creative individuals. PPP will take the following steps to achieve this vision:

- Curriculum reform: We will ensure that principles of excellence, equity, empowerment and accountability; and values of compassion, empathy, civic engagement and critical thinking are promoted through the curriculum. We will engage all the provinces to actively deracialise the curriculum in order to inculcate and promote religious harmony and tolerance. The history, culture and heritage of each province will be taught. Textbook

boards will be given autonomy to produce quality books, the development and review processes for which will be standardised and institutionalised.

- Incentivising innovation in education: We will incentivise the use of innovative methods in education especially in the areas of Early Childhood Education, encouraging the use of technology, and Socio-Emotional Learning. We will promote linkages and formal collaborations between Pakistani and foreign institutions to ensure greater development of the student body, and diffusion of the best pedagogical practices and research culture.
- Cost-effective alternatives for learning: We will provide opportunities for cost-effective education such as distance learning programmes and study centers to act as remedial centers before board examinations (a period which sees high drop-out) and for enrolment in higher education programmes. We will also foster centers that can provide career counselling, and develop workplace skills of communication, leadership, collaboration, and decision-making.
- Fostering resilience: For children impacted by natural or man-made disasters, war/conflict, family violence and other adverse childhood experiences and trauma which may hinder their performance at school, PPP will encourage special in-school and afterschool programmes.

## Improving quality

To ensure that all our youth has access to education of the highest standard, we will:

- Implement a comprehensive teacher training programme. This will include pre-service and in-services training which will draw from the best global practices in education and will be standardised. Teacher education, curricula, training arrangements, accreditation, and certification procedures will be institutionalised. There will be special trainings to build school leadership and innovation for school principals and head teachers. Additional resources will also be allocated for capacity building of all school teachers in the English language so that any challenges in understanding and implementing the English curriculum can be actively addressed.
- Create a separate Management and Teaching Cadre in Education Departments

## Maximising the Youth Dividend: Naujawan Pakistan

Pakistan is a country with a large, vibrant young population that is also its most powerful potential. It is estimated that about 70 per cent of the population is under 30. The youth of Pakistan have always supported us in our struggle for democracy and for the rights and wellbeing of all our people. And now, the PPP is itself the strongest youth brand as our Chairman is the youngest national leader on the horizon.

Creating opportunities for youth will require us to go beyond the schooling system. We will foster positive values, creativity and compassion in our youth with policies and programmes that are inter-sectoral and multidimensional. These will be reflected everywhere from policies on sports programmes, to economic outreach and jobs and to social service delivery through our Naujawaan Pakistan Programme. This programme will focus on higher education, jobs, skill development, and youth leadership in various sectors.

### Fostering universities as places of excellence

Only five per cent of our population currently has access to university-level education. PPP will ensure that no young person interested in continuing quality higher and professional education is deprived of the opportunity. We will focus on developing well-functioning and modern universities with high quality teachers in each district, and build formal collaborations between Pakistani and foreign universities to ensure greater educational progress of the student body, and the diffusion of quality instructional practices and research culture between the institutions. We will also have multiple sources of funding, scholarships, interest free student loans at the district, divisional, provincial and federal level.

### Internships Guarantee Programme

We believe it is the job of the state to ensure that every Pakistani has the opportunity to secure a job that they are capable of performing. The biggest hindrance for young people entering the workforce is their lack of prior experience. At present, internships in Pakistan are not regulated and there is no mechanism of oversight. Internship programmes are scattered with no framework for pay, leave, and there is no system of rights and obligations in a regulatory framework. The PPP will devise a policy on internships, providing for mandatory paid internships in all institutions so that young people are included in the workforce systematically.

- We will guarantee paid internships for a period of up to 12 months to all qualifying educated young people in the age bracket of 17 to 21 years – the age restriction can be relaxed for graduates
- Female applicants, applicants from deprived areas or poor families, and those with no family member in a government job will be guaranteed a placement on eligibility
- Minimum eligibility conditions will include an educational qualification equal to matriculation, and successful completion of a specially designed aptitude test
- An Employment Bureau will be created, which will build a mass database to identify unemployed youth in Pakistan and categorise them according to their educational qualifications
- The programme will be supported by a system of skills development and accreditation

## Youth Leadership

In addition to creating avenues for employment, the PPP is committed to creating opportunities for youth to hone their leadership skills, confidence, independence, and to strengthen their values.

The PPP will work towards these goals by first reviving student unions and district and provincial level youth councils in Pakistan, to provide space for youth to lead social and political movements for their empowerment. Regulatory mechanisms will be put in place to ensure that these unions are for, of and by students and work for only student welfare and activities.

Young people will also be involved in nation building activities through a revitalised National Volunteer Movement (NVM), which was first started by Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Through this movement, an infrastructure will be created for thousands of young men and women to be involved in rescue, emergency services, health camps, and education services across the country.

To enable our youth to be innovators, we will create a technology infrastructure where youth will be investors, creators and operators of a technology-based incubation system. The youth will set up technology-based startups which will compete for supply contracts for social sector IT innovations. Finances will be provided by setting up an enterprise development fund.

## Revitalising Sports

Sports is another essential area of youth development, fostering team building skills, resilience, confidence, and a sense of cohesion, in addition to allowing for healthy physical activity. To encourage more youth to partake in sports, the PPP will strengthen the Pakistan Sports Board and the Olympic Association of Pakistan, promote local football associations, organise annual football league matches, set up a sports fund for players and sporting events, and build state-of-the-art stadiums and sports facilities in large and small cities.



# ECONOMIC JUSTICE: REBUILDING AN ECONOMY THAT WORKS FOR ALL

Our economy has performed in fits and starts. Growth spurts tend to be unsustainable as multiple crises catch up. This has been a regular pattern. Favourable external conditions lead to short periods of growth. The traditional exports sector is unable to compete globally and faces a stagnant or declining market share, while imports surge forward. External and public finance imbalances then lead to economic crisis and a slowdown in growth. We remain in a stop-start-stop trap which is unsustainable. Not only is overall economic performance not sustained, there are major exclusions across all sectors in the growth that does take place. We see inclusive growth as the only way forward for Pakistan. It is only when the economic resources and activities of all our people are valued that our economy can truly achieve its potential and escape the stop-start-stop trap.

We are already seeing the unravelling of the current phase of the stop-start-stop trap. Despite all the fanfare and advantageous external conditions, the outgoing government is leaving our country saddled in copious debt, alarming external trade and balance positions, unsustainable public finances, and more exclusions. A fictitious growth story pegged entirely on external investment, coupled with white elephant projects, will ultimately have to be paid for by the poor of this land, just as the outgoing government's less favoured regions are already paying for false claims of ending power outages.

The next government will have no choice but to deal with the coming crisis. It will need to be cool-headed and credible, particularly as painful measures will need to be taken and vulnerable populations will need to be protected from fallout.

But we need ideas for economic restructuring and growth – for rebuilding an economy that works for all our people – over and beyond the crisis management that is to come. There needs to be a plan to escape the stop-start-stop trap, and that plan needs to be based, ultimately, on valuing the resources and activities of all our people.

We, therefore, pledge immediate measures for course correction, but also deeper reforms in agriculture, trade and industry, labour rights and welfare, natural resource management, energy, taxation and resource mobilisation, and infrastructure which will form the basis for rebuilding our economy. Taken together, these reforms will create a sustainable base for tackling our precarious and narrowly-shared growth, our external imbalances, and public finances.

## Immediate Measures for Course Correction

The first task facing the incoming government will be to deal with the external and fiscal imbalances and mounting public debts left behind by the last government. We are the only party in Pakistan which has a credible record in dealing with the coming problems. Rather than making promises which cannot be backed up, our party has always paid attention to protecting our national economy and the most vulnerable segments within it, particularly through times of crises. In 2008, we were elected to office in the midst of a domestic economic crisis left behind by the economic mismanagement of the Musharraf regime, which was compounded by a global economic meltdown. We steered the country to stability by constructive engagement at home and abroad. International donors accepted and supported our home-grown stabilisation programme which was based on the recommendations of Pakistani experts, and included

measures for the protection of the poor (such as the Benazir Income Support Programme) through the economic crisis.

Upon coming into office, immediate measures will include:

- An independent and rigorous assessment of the macroeconomic situation, including public debt, external imbalances and fiscal imbalances
- Setting up of working groups of Pakistani experts on all aspects of the economic crisis
- Initial contacts with key global economic players for agreement on a home-grown plan for stabilisation
- A mechanism for evolving a consensus on a Basic National Economic Reform Agenda for the medium term

## Consensus-building for a Basic National Economic Reform Agenda

A Joint Parliamentary Committee of both houses, with representation from all the major parties, will be constituted to prepare a Basic National Economic Agenda which will incorporate points of agreement and consensus on issues of national economic importance to ensure cross-party commitment to broad parameters of reforms on taxation, government spending and public debt.

Other immediate corrective measures will include steps for expanding the fiscal space and foreign exchange availability.

## Exports and foreign exchange earnings

- To enhance competitiveness of export sector, surcharges for the five export-oriented sectors will be rationalised
- All Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) will be reviewed
- Export Development Fund (EDF) will be given to the Ministry of Commerce and managed by an independent Board of private exporters, and an independent third-party evaluation of EDF will also be conducted
- Established foreign brands will be facilitated to develop their foreign buying offices near Karachi, Lahore, Sialkot, Multan, Peshawar and Islamabad Airports
- Exclusive Economic Zones will be established wherein foreign companies, on their own or with local joint ventures, would establish factories on the condition that at least fifty per cent of the goods manufactured would be exported
- Trading arrangements involving currency swaps will be pursued to reduce dependence on foreign currencies

## Public finance

- Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) will be restructured by turning it to three separate entities namely Direct Tax Authority, Sales Tax Authority and Customs Authority in order to avoid any administrative disharmony within the FBR and to enable evaluations of the performance of each authority against their specified targets
- Tax rebates for non-export oriented sectors will be withdrawn

## Zarai Inqilab

Agriculture remains the backbone of our economy. It employs over 40 per cent of our workforce, particularly the poorest. Over half the agricultural workforce consists of women, and out of every four women who work, three are employed in agricultural jobs. Our agricultural sector not only provides food to our population but also supplies raw materials which sustain

our manufacturing sector and exports. Yet, the true potential for agriculture has remained unfulfilled due to the lack of policy attention and erratic decision-making in recent years. Agriculture occupies a central position in our economic programme. Our land reforms and other supportive measures in the 1970s laid the basis for equitable development of the sector. In our last tenure, we established a link between agricultural policies, particularly wheat support prices, and domestic food security.

As part of our pledge to rebuild an economy that works for all, we will reinvigorate the sector through an ambitious Zarai Inqilab Renewal Strategy built around three objectives:

- Hunger eradication and food security
- Livelihoods and poverty reduction
- Economic growth and restructuring

The Zarai Inqilab Strategy will be based on providing support to the agricultural sector to achieve these objectives, and providing directed support to specific segments of the agricultural economy, such as small farmers, agricultural labour, women agricultural workers, and farmers in marginalised regions. The Zarai Inqilab Strategy is a new deal offered to the agricultural community.

Highlights:

- Registration of farmers and agricultural workers under the Benazir Kissan Card scheme
- Overhaul of the price support system
- Crop insurance scheme for small farmers
- One window operation for accessing government facilities, market linkages and subsidies
- Legal recognition and registration of women agricultural workers under the Benazir Women Agricultural Workers Programme
- Reform of the agriculture, livestock and fisheries extension services to address the needs of small farmers, agricultural labourers and women agricultural workers
- Expansion of drip irrigation and other forms of efficient water use

## Benazir Kissan Card

The agricultural community consists of those who grow crops and vegetables, tend to orchards, look after livestock, are involved in fisheries or take part in growing, harvesting or processing any other natural or forest produce. Currently, the government's interaction with the agricultural community is based on archaic arrangements carried forward since the colonial era. It focuses almost exclusively on large landowners and specific crops, and relies largely on revenue department officials. In order to modernise our agricultural sector, we need modern systems for engaging with all segments of the agricultural community including landowners, farmers, agricultural labourers, and particularly women agricultural workers.

We will initiate a register under the Benazir Kissan Card to streamline all services, subsidies and engagements of the government with the agricultural community. Any member of the agricultural community will be able to register with the Benazir Kissan Card which will use NADRA, existing revenue and agricultural extension systems, and independent audits to verify registration data. This data will include the categorisation of land ownership and type of agricultural activity.

The Benazir Kissan Card will then be used for the delivery of various services as well as other engagements including:

- Directed credit subsidy to small farmers from Zarai Taraqati Bank Limited (ZTBL)
- Subsidised fertiliser and electricity to small farmers
- Vouchers to sugar cane farmers guaranteeing payment at harvest
- Crop insurance scheme for small farmers

- Targeted provision of subsidised drip irrigation technology
- Ensuring equitable access to price support subsidy
- Access to a range of reformed and upgraded extension and veterinary services
- Administration of various subsidies as well as the simplified administration of agricultural user charges and taxes
- Policies for improving market access and value addition
- Subsidised access to farm tools, implements, and other relevant agricultural machinery

## Overhaul of Price Support System

The price support system is the most significant policy intervention in agriculture. It is aimed at providing assured income to wheat farmers and to ensure the availability of wheat in the country. Beneficiaries of the support price are disproportionately among the better off farmers: those with large land holdings, located in the more developed, irrigated farm areas. There is no effective way of linking government crop procurement with the food security of ordinary consumers.

We will overhaul, extend and modernise the price support system to include a range of crops besides wheat, including rice, pulses, cotton, millet and maize.

Support prices will be announced for each of the designated crops well ahead of the sowing season for that crop, keeping in view the expectations of world market prices. By extending the system beyond wheat, we plan to achieve greater diversification in Pakistan's crop portfolio and provide an opportunity to farmers in non-irrigated areas to benefit from the price support system for the first time. The government will invest in storage facilities and also negotiate joint financing arrangements with ZTBL and commercial banks. The support price system will be complemented with an innovative crop insurance scheme.

The procurement system will make use of the Benazir Kissan Card for the transparent, equitable, and timely allocation of bardana (grain sacks) for grain procurement or vouchers for other produce (such as sugar cane) to farmers, guaranteeing a produce price at the time of harvest. This is to ensure that the public subsidy intended for the agricultural community reaches its intended target and is not captured by traders and large farmers. For some crops such as wheat and pulses, the procurement system will be linked directly with the food distribution system proposed under Bhok Mitao Programme. For other produce, farmers will be allowed to store their products in government-regulated facilities against a charge for onward sale at a later date.

## Benazir Women Agricultural Workers Programme

While women constitute over half the agricultural workforce of our country their economic contribution does not receive the recognition that it deserves by the government, communities or families despite existing laws related to labour, wages, and non-discrimination. A number of essential agricultural and livestock activities are almost entirely carried out by women. Agriculture and livestock policies do not take concerns of women workers into account, while the relevant government departments have little or no contact with women farmers and workers. Women's work in agricultural and livestock activities is driven by the need to support their families' livelihood and food security.

While existing laws implicitly provide for the rights of women agricultural workers, there needs to be explicit recognition and active measures for the promotion and protection of these rights. Our party has a proven record of extending the rights of workers, as seen under the newly passed law in Sindh which extends the scope of labour laws to informal and agricultural workers. Women agricultural workers will be entitled to the Benazir Kissan Card and related entitlements. These measures, however, are not sufficient. Without explicit action and directed support, women agricultural workers will remain unseen and unrecognised. Their work will remain unpaid or underpaid, and the true potential of our agricultural community will remain untapped. Women agricultural workers also require dedicated programmes and organisational support to secure

their entitlements from the government as well from other segments of the agricultural community.

We, therefore, propose legal recognition of women agricultural workers and their registration under the Benazir Women Agricultural Workers Programme. Legal recognition will explicitly include entitlements and supportive measures which cover:

- Individual right to pay, and the right to equal and minimum wages
- Working conditions
- Government-funded entitlements to maternity leave and benefits
- Mechanisms for wage setting arbitration in major seasonal crop activities such as harvesting
- Group formation and recognition of Benazir Women Agricultural Workers (BWA) groups as beneficiaries of various government programmes for agriculture
- Priority to women agricultural workers for allotment of state-owned land for agriculture
- Reinforcement of women's independent ownership of productive assets, including livestock, through proper documentation
- Directed investment in the livestock sector for women agricultural workers
- Engagement with reformed agricultural and livestock extension and veterinary services such as investing in female veterinarians and provision of door-to-door livestock extension services
- Market linkages of BWA groups with the local supply elements of the Hunger Eradication Programme - particularly with respect to the local production and sale of poultry eggs.

## Water

Water is an essential resource for our country's economic development. It is not only needed to support efficient irrigation systems in the agriculture sector, but is also an important resource for the functioning of our industries and urban centres. Climate change trends indicate that Pakistan may run dry by 2025, with a 50 per cent gap between demand and supply.

In order to buffer against the effects of climate change, and improve Pakistan's water situation, the Pakistan Peoples Party has already put the following initiatives in place:

- The construction of water reservoirs, initiated under a public-private partnership for farmers
- The Flood Emergency Reconstruction Project, which strengthened river embankments and improved drainage systems
- The Sindh Resilience Project, which aims to increase capacity to manage risks that arise from natural disasters and climate change
- The restoration of LBOD and Kotri Drainage Network System, including the activation of old water ways, initiated after 2011 rain floods
- The construction of Two Link Drains from Sanjar Chang to Sorahadi in Badin, which has helped to lower sub-soil water levels in an area of 35,000 acres
- The construction of stone pitching along Rohri Main Canal in the vulnerable reaches of Rohri, Dadu and Hala Divisions, which has helped decrease ground water losses of around 200 cusecs
- The construction of delay action dams and recharge dams in Lower and central Kohistan have augmented ground water reservoirs through retention of flash flows emerging out of the Kirthar Range spreading from the northern boundary of the province, including the outskirts of Karachi.

Water is a dwindling resource, and the threat of water scarcity still looms large across the country. The PPP recognises the gravity of the issue, and is cognisant that more needs to be done in terms of efficiency, conservation, introducing new technologies, water quality management, and combatting waterlogging and salinity. We will address this in a comprehensive manner across multiple dimensions:

- Efficiency and conservation
- Augmenting supply by investing in new technologies
- Improving water quality management
- Addressing waterlogging and salinity

## Efficiency and Conservation

We believe that we need to develop systems and introduce technologies across several sectors, particularly the agricultural sector to ensure that the water is conserved and used efficiently. This can be achieved with the use of effective and reliable irrigation systems, which will also address the problems of water wastage and contamination. This is why one of our key focus areas will be infrastructure development.

PPP will live up to its commitments by investing in:

- The lining of canals
- Effective storage and irrigation systems including promotion of drip irrigation
- Rainwater harvesting
- Public awareness campaigns for the efficient utilisation of water
- The treatment of sewage plants

Lining of canals:

In the past, the PPP government of Sindh has undertaken several projects that have focused on the lining of canals, resulting in the reduction of water losses, waterlogging and salinity. Sindh is the only province which has lined main canals. The Sindh Water Sector Improvement Project and the lining of Rohri and Jamrao canals and 100 distributaries are key examples in this area. The PPP will live up to its commitments and will invest in the lining of additional canals.

Increasing storage by building reservoirs:

We have modernised and rehabilitated the Guddu and Sukkur Barrages under the Sindh Barrages Improvement Project.

Following the consensus of all federating units, we aim to build more dams, keeping in view the rights of the lower riparian and delta ecosystem. Bhasha Dam is of immense economic value to Pakistan and therefore our focus will be to raise funds for and finance this important project.

Efficient irrigation systems:

The PPP will introduce efficient irrigation practices, including drip and sprinkler irrigation technologies. It will introduce systems for collecting, storing and using rainwater for irrigation.

Public awareness campaigns:

We will initiate public awareness campaigns to encourage the conservation of water by individuals, as well as on larger scales, such as more water-conserving irrigation methods for farmers.

Installation of treatment plants:

A sewage treatment plant is being setup in Karachi which will treat 40 per cent of the city's sewage. Currently, there are no effective sewage treatment plants in the city and only 5 per cent of the sewage is treated. We will invest significantly in Sewage Treatment Plants to reuse and recycle municipal and industrial water after appropriate treatment.

## Augment supply with new technologies

We need to invest in technologies that not only serve the agricultural sector but also domestic users.

In continuing to utilise new technologies, one of our key focus areas will be to invest in seawater desalination projects to reduce supply shortages.

## Water quality management

We will adopt the best international practices for effluent treatment in order to reduce the demand on potable water by industry and agriculture and develop standards and regulations for effluent disposal. We will also devise comprehensive and effective water quality monitoring systems.

## Ground waterlogging and Salinity

Our government has, in the past ten years, installed and rehabilitated 3027 tube wells including 201 solar based tube wells for reducing salinity and supplementing irrigation water covering an area of 450,000 acres of land. We have also constructed a weir across the Malir River to replenish the depleting water table in the periphery of Karachi.

We will continue to ensure that best practices in water management are adopted at the district level and to invest in better rainwater harvesting techniques that flush the soil profile of salts.

## Restructuring Trade and Industry

### Industrial Policy

Pakistan's declining manufacturing base is a cause of serious concern. Manufacturing as a share of GDP has declined from close to 20 per cent to 13.5 per cent. Likewise, the share of employment in manufacturing is a mere 15 per cent now. A country like Pakistan cannot sustainably develop and grow without a competitive, robust and dynamic industrial sector. This is important for employment creation, diffusion of technology and for maintaining a healthy external account balance.

We are also mindful of the fact that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the manufacturing sector has to be globally competitive in order to survive and sustain itself. This in turn requires a diverse manufacturing sector which can exhibit high levels of productivity.

Owing to a lack of adequate support and deficient policies of the PML-N government, a large number of industries, especially in the textile and garment sectors, have shut down. Our government will prioritise the revival of these industries through the following measures:

- Devise a rehabilitation scheme through the State Bank of Pakistan for the revival of economically viable but closed sick units
- Ensure proper supply and viable tariffs on electricity to remove the energy bottlenecks that the industries have suffered

Going forward, Pakistan's manufacturing sector will require diversification. For the last fifty years, more than two-thirds of Pakistan's manufacturing value added has been concentrated in consumer goods industries. This industrial structure needs to be diversified with a higher share of industrial value added of intermediate and capital goods industry. This diversification will be promoted through the following measures:

- The government will identify sectors where the possibility of creating a niche market for exports is possible or where the development of intermediate and capital inputs will benefit the consumer goods industry
- The identified sectors will be provided credit through a directed credit line created by the State Bank of Pakistan. In addition to credit, other infrastructural matters for these industries will also be provided on a priority basis by the government
- In order to avoid practices of the past, where subsidies were indefinitely provided to industries, incentives for diversification will be time-bound and performance-based.

## Trade Policy

Between 2008 and 2013, Pakistan's exports increased from US \$19 billion to US \$24 billion. Since then, the country's exports have been on a downward spiral touching US \$20.7 billion in 2016-17. This dismal performance on the exports front is central to Pakistan's vulnerability on the external balance of payments..

Not only do we need to arrest this sharp decline in exports but also restructure our exports in the medium and long term. Short terms measures to provide a boost to exports will require:-

- Immediate payment of all rebates due to the export sector, and to get rid of the refund system all export oriented sectors will be zero rated
- Prompt provision of electricity at subsidised rates to the export sector in order to enhance their competitiveness
- Maintain a market based exchange rate policy to create a balance between the interests of exporters and importers

Going forward, Pakistan needs to diversify both the products and destinations of its exports and to rationalise its trade regime. The following measures will be adopted for this purpose:

- More than two-thirds of Pakistan's exports are concentrated in textiles and textile-related sectors. These are some of the most competitive sectors globally, and once market share is lost, it is very difficult to regain it. It is thus imperative that we broaden our export base to increase the share of non-textile value added exports from the industrial and service sectors
- Similar to interventions in the manufacturing sector, our government will provide special incentives for the promotion of non-traditional and high value added exports. These incentives, however, will be time bound and performance based.
- Pakistan's trade relations with countries in the region present a dismal picture. Diversification of trade within the region will help diversify exports and reduce our import bill. Conscious efforts will be made to promote trade within the region by separating trade from other geo-political issues, while making full use of international laws to protect interests of local producers and manufacturers.
- All Free Trade Agreements will be reviewed to create a level playing field for Pakistan's agricultural and industrial sectors.

## Energy Sector Reforms

Access to electricity is a basic need of all rural and urban citizens irrespective of the type of settlement they live in . Many villages do not have access to electricity to begin with and those that are electrified have to face several hours of loadshedding every day. We still have a long way to go, but we need to start from somewhere. While the provision of electricity to all areas of our country is an on-going business, we need to rethink and reform our energy sector so that all parts of our country have access to electricity at all times. Energy shortages hold back the progress of the economy and high tariff structures place an unbearable burden on paying domestic consumers and enterprises alike.



Contrary to the claims made by the previous government to end loadshedding in less than a year, loadshedding exists up to 16 hours in rural areas of the country. Despite favourable world energy prices during their tenure, the previous government leaves us with an unprecedented circular debt reaching Rs 1 trillion. Adding some extra wattage on the margin, while not addressing fundamental issues in the power sector has saddled us with a timebomb.

There is need for a serious and forward-looking approach. We will adopt a four-pronged strategy for addressing the energy requirements of a growing population and economy on a sustainable basis, by providing adequate, affordable and progressively cleaner energy to all:

- Diversification of energy mix
- Prioritising efficiency and conservation
- Revamping transmission and distribution
- Rationalising oil and gas policies

## Diversification of the Energy Mix

Pakistan is bestowed with huge natural energy potential. It has abundant coal reserves in Thar Desert, adequate natural gas and oil reserves, availability of water for hydel-electricity, a rich wind corridor, at least 12 hours a day availability of solar energy and an abundant reservoir of bio-mass to produce energy. We will fully utilise these indigenous resources to provide efficient, affordable, reliable and clean energy to the people.

The PPP Government in Sindh has already initiated the Thar Coal project through a Public-Private Partnership. Once on-stream, 12 blocks alone will generate up to 48,000 megawatts of electricity and contribute towards the diversification of the energy mix away from imported furnace oil. Renewable energy, mainly through wind and solar, is another source of affordable, green energy. The potential for wind in Sindh alone is 30,000 megawatts. By 2023 wind and solar parks in Sindh will add at least 5,000 MWs to the national grid.

We are, however, not limiting ourselves to developing new sources of power. There is immense scope to enrich existing generation methods. We also pledge to complete all affordable and feasible projects related to hydro-electricity in the next five years. We will ensure that the Bhasha Dam project, which has remained stalled so far, is taken to quick completion. We will also resume work on the Pak-Iran pipeline.

We will specifically focus on harnessing the potential of all sources of renewable energy. To this end, we will initiate a new policy for renewables which will provide adequate incentives to the private sector to invest in renewable energy. By 2023, we pledge to increase the share of renewables in Pakistan's energy mix to 5 per cent.

## Prioritising Efficiency and Conservation

Wastage of energy is a perennial problem of the energy sector. It will be curtailed at all levels by increasing awareness and encouraging the private sector to manufacture energy efficient appliances. Industry stakeholders and consumer households alike will be encouraged to invest in energy efficient appliances and technologies. As a starting point, the PPP government will strengthen the role and outreach of the National Energy Conservation Centre to promote a culture of energy conservation in the country.

## Revamping Transmission and Distribution

One important reason for high energy costs and the recurring phenomenon of circular debt is the dilapidated transmission and distribution network in the country. In its alacrity to increase electricity generation, the previous government did not pay attention to the transmission and distribution link in the energy chain. In the meanwhile, our government in Sindh is the only provincial government that has installed its own grid capacity. We have a plan for Pakistan:

- An estimated US\$ 40-50 billion is required for repairing and modernising the network. We will initiate investments for this through a mix of public, public-private and foreign investment.
- We will restructure the electricity distribution companies by enhancing their corporate independence through a comprehensive governance framework.
- As a start, we will address the circular debt phenomenon by focusing on the drivers of circular debt, as defined in the National Power Tariff and Subsidy Guidelines 2014, to ensure that circular debt is eliminated once and for all.
- Provinces will be facilitated to have their own grid systems for transmission and distribution of power.

## Rationalising Oil and Gas Policies

Pakistan mainly relies upon oil and gas resources to meet its energy requirements. However, the domestic production of crude oil is not enough for our needs. Hence, we rely on imported oil, which is a substantial component of our import bill. Natural gas is a clean, secure, efficient and environment friendly fuel. It contributes to about 46% of the total primary energy supply mix in the country. Pakistan has extensive gas reserves including shale. However, the policy environment is tilted in the favour of imports rather than the domestic production and efficient use of our petroleum resources. The current regime has been willing to pay high prices to foreign producers rather than using some measure of economic value for the pricing of our domestic resources. This leads to massive distortions in resource exploitation and use, and is responsible for a range of issues in the economic governance of the energy sector.

We will initiate a major policy reform in the petroleum sector based on the following principles:

- Progressively moving towards an economic valuation of indigenous production
- Reform of price concessions and subsidies to favour only the poorest among domestic consumers, and eventual transition from price subsidy to income support
- Honouring constitutional provisions for the ownership of resources and the accrual of their true value to provinces, thus creating powerful stakeholders for the efficient use of resources

This four-pronged strategy will ensure adequate power supply to complete rural electrification, an end to load-shedding in the medium term, create credible mechanisms for subsidising poor domestic consumers, and also set our economy up for sustained and sustainable growth into the future.

## Natural Resource as Source of Development

Pakistan has rich endowments of natural resources, but their exploitation has often been carried out in ways which have resulted in economic distortions, unsustainable usage, and conflict, rather than economic development for all our people. The pricing policy for natural gas, for example, has encouraged overconsumption on the one hand, and underproduction on the other. Moreover, despite constitutional direction about the ownership of resources, there continue to be deep-seated suspicions about the exploitation of resources. Most mineral resources happen to be located in some of the least privileged regions of the country. If not handled transparently and with sensitivity, the exploitation of natural resources can become a source of suspicion and conflict rather than development and prosperity. While past governments had stalled any initiative in the region, our government in Sindh has set an example in Pakistan with Thar Coal in utilising the resource for the economic development of our country, and with specifically targeted engagement of local people through a partnership between government and the private sector. This public private partnership in Thar has also empowered many women who have been employed as truck drivers.

We propose innovative ways of taking this experience further and ensuring a sense of local ownership in the development of resources through a new strategy on natural resource development which includes:

- Formation of a company against every successful exploration of natural / mineral resource and the people of that area (after verification with NADRA) will be given shares in the company
- In addition, legislation will be made to bind the utilisation of royalty of these natural resources and provinces for the development of that specific area / district first and foremost and then for other purposes
- Article 173 of the Constitution will be implemented in letter and spirit, especially with respect to the operationalisation and mechanism adopted for joint ownership of federal and provincial governments on oil and natural gas.

## Infrastructure Policy Framework

In terms of public infrastructure - including roads, railways, ports, airports, irrigation works, power projects, power transmission and distribution systems, gas and oil pipelines, water and drainage systems, and telecommunications - Pakistan is not one country but many. Some communities and population segments enjoy conditions that are equivalent to those in wealthy countries, while others live in conditions of abject deprivation. Geographical inequalities are compounded by other forms of inequality. Even in the same city there can be a great deal of variation in the quality of infrastructure provision and maintenance. Over the years this problem of unequal and imbalanced development has given rise to massive economic losses on the one hand and political frictions on the other. Large-scale projects which have contributed little to economic growth or poverty reduction have been turned into vehicles of political patronage, while a large population of less-privileged people live without a modicum of functioning services. Skewed economic development drags the whole economy down and debilitates the political system.

In order to ensure that the people of Pakistan get the basic infrastructure they need to fulfil their needs and participate productively in economic activities, we must revise the framework for infrastructure policymaking. We will initiate the process of review and revision within three months of coming into office, in consultation with stakeholders at the national, provincial and local levels, sector specialists, and ordinary citizens. The process will be led by a Taskforce on Infrastructure Policy and will address the following subjects:

- Principles for resource allocation - sustainability, growth, basic needs, equity, regional development, federal balance and connectivity
- Bottlenecks in financing projects and innovative solutions
- Issues in project execution and quality control
- Issues in coordination across sectors
- Ongoing monitoring and public accountability

The Taskforce on Infrastructure Policy will be provided detailed terms of reference based on the above four themes, and will be required to come up with a draft policy for enactment within one year. Once enacted, all future public investments in infrastructure will be required to be in accordance with the new infrastructure policy. The law will include provision for binding processes of public consultation and accountability, not only at the planning stage, but also during implementation, execution and operation.

## Information Technology

We believe that Pakistan should be at the forefront not only in terms of the consumption of information technology for fulfilling the basic needs of our people, but also in advancing information technology in particular areas. We propose a three-pronged approach to information technology consisting of:

- Incentives to private sector suppliers and users of services
- Enabling environment for digital economy
- Creating demand for digital services in social sector innovations

## Incentives to users and consumers

- Our party understands that data transfer is essential for digitalisation of a country. All taxes associated with data transfer will be eliminated
- Our party understands that smartphones are devices that enhance development and business and will therefore eliminate any tax on smartphones below Rs 15,000
- Our party understands that Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and start-ups cannot afford data centres of their own. The party also realises that current local private sector cloud computing services are a multiple of international prices. It will create a subsidy policy as well as state sponsored local cloud computing
- The party realises how critical the use of WIFI is. It would create a policy whereby certain public places would provide free WIFI

## Enabling environment for digital economic transactions

Digital transactions are proving to be a significant contributor to economies around the globe. Unfortunately in Pakistan, this area has received little or no attention so far. The concept of an online service provider was uncommon in Pakistan until 2014 when State Bank of Pakistan vide its PSD Circular No.03 released the “Rules for Payment System Operators and Payment System Providers.”

We envisage strong potential in this nascent industry and believe that this sector could be a significant contributor to the GDP and an engine for employment creation in the economy. Unfortunately, the regulatory framework appears hostile for start-ups, making it difficult for the industry to develop and flourish. To fill the gap, we will take the following steps:

- Devise a comprehensive regulatory framework for digital economic transactions in consultation with stakeholders where the objective would be to facilitate the industry and enable sustained growth
- Lower barriers to entry for new market entrants
- Establish a mechanism which will provide a one-window solution to investors in terms of regulatory approvals
- Announce a waiver of duties on machinery and equipment for the industry’s core operations for a period of 10 years
- Provide tax incentives for the industry to facilitate its growth
- Facilitate availability of credit to the sector in consultation with State Bank of Pakistan
- Increase awareness among the public through campaigns to facilitate the use of financial technology

## Creating demand for digital services in social sector innovations

Our people have many needs from the social sector. Building on past successes at the national and provincial levels, our party has an ambitious plan for innovations in social protection, hunger eradication, health systems, agricultural support, and education, to name just a few areas. Information technology will play a critical role in ensuring outreach and efficiency in these aspects. Our record with the BISP and the digital technology-driven improvement in the

schooling system in Sindh speaks for itself. To create and meet the demand for IT services in social sector innovations, we will:

- Support local suppliers, particularly start-ups, to meet the demand which will be generated for all aspects of IT services – design, hardware, software and system management
- Promote the emergence of Pakistan as an innovation hub for social sector services across developing countries and even developed country markets.

## State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) Reform

A number of economic enterprises are mandated to operate under state ownership in the public interest. Rather than fulfilling public interest – such as ensuring the provision of essential goods and services and preventing private monopoly formation and collusive practices – many of these enterprises have become centres of inefficiency. We believe that state ownership of economic enterprises places a special burden of responsibility on the government for their efficient functioning, and for ensuring that public interest is, indeed, being served. We believe that a majority of the workers in state-owned enterprises (SOEs) are hardworking people of great integrity, and that their unions and associations can play a critical role in protecting the rights and wellbeing of workers and ensuring that enterprises actually serve the public interest for which they exist. Our pragmatic and realistic approach to SOEs is evidenced by the fact that our past governments have expanded the sphere of SOEs when necessary, privatised them when required, and made consistent attempts to reform and modernise them in partnership with private sector stakeholders - all in the public interest.

We will launch a People's Reform Programme in the loss-making and investment-starved SOEs, in partnership with their workers and relevant provincial governments as appropriate in order to:-

- Ensure efficiency improvements aimed at eliminating wasteful public losses
- Guarantee the independence of boards
- Effect changes in management culture
- Engage private sector partnerships to attract investment, technological upgrading and modernisation

A duly empowered task force consisting of independent and reputable experts as well as workers' representatives will be set up with the first three months of government to prepare, execute and oversee the People's Reform Programme, which will be comprehensive, consultative and timebound.

## Labour Policy

Our party has been at the forefront of recognising and expanding the scope of rights for Pakistan's hardworking labour. The 1972 Labour Policy announced by Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government is still regarded as the benchmark for labour rights in Pakistan.

We have continued with our tradition of updating labour policy in light of changes that have occurred within the labour force and the economy. In this regard, our government in Sindh is the only provincial government in the 2013-18 tenure to have come up with a labour policy.

We will replicate the salient features of this policy across Pakistan:

- Mine workers, whether contract or permanent, will be brought under the ambit of labour legislation and provided with the same protection as other workers
- Women worker's job security during and after pregnancy will be guaranteed and maternity benefits and leave will be granted
- Women, particularly pregnant women, will be protected from engaging in hazardous operations that may expose them to serious risk of bodily injury, poisoning or disease, and provided alternative means of remuneration.
- All restrictive provisions on trade union formation will be removed, with relevant laws brought into conformity with ILO Conventions 87 and 98 and the Trade Union Act 1926
- The jurisdiction of Labour Courts will be extended to the informal, contractual, home-based, domestic, seasonal spheres. It will be made applicable to workers in crop agriculture, horticulture, livestock, forestry, fisheries, ship-building, mining, construction, finance, transport, trade, and services sectors
- The scope of Employees' Social Security and Workers' Welfare Fund in the provinces will be extended to workers in all formal and informal sectors of the economy, including those involved in contractual, home-based, domestic and seasonal work.

### Linking the Minimum Wage to a Living Wage

Although there is a mandated minimum wage to be paid to workers in our country, there are a large number of workers who toil hard at less than the minimum wage. We will ensure that the mechanism for enforcing the minimum wage through existing minimum wage boards will be strengthened, and a system for redressing grievances will be established for workers to report if they are not receiving the minimum wage.

The other weakness in the existing system is the arbitrary determination of the minimum wage. We pledge to benchmark the minimum wage on a living wage. The living wage is defined as remuneration received for a standard work week by a worker in a particular place sufficient to afford a decent standard of living for the worker and his or her family. Elements of a decent standard of living include food, water, housing, education, health care, transport, clothing, and other essential needs, including provision for unexpected events. The determination of the living wage will be based on a robust, internationally recognised methodology, with rural-urban price differentials being taken into due consideration.

If the existing minimum wage is less than the determined living wage, the government will take steps to alleviate the burden on employers by devising a policy where the gap between the minimum and living wages is reduced over a 5 year period, with the goal to align the minimum wage with the living wage.

### Universalising Employees Old Age Benefit Institution (EOBI)

The Employees Old Age Benefit Institution (EOBI) is so far restricted to providing pensions to registered formal sector employees. . Since formal sector employees make up a small proportion of the working population, we will universalise EOBI to all who wish to participate in the pension fund. Participants will make a regular contribution, and a matching contribution will be made by the government for participants who do not have formal sector jobs. This will ensure that a decent old age pension is provided to all in Pakistan, irrespective of employment or gender.

## Women Economic Empowerment

Pakistan has among the lowest rates of female labour force participation in the world. Around three-quarters of the women who work are in the agricultural sector where their work remains unrecognised and poorly paid. Women in Pakistan have few opportunities of gaining empowerment through economic participation. The lack of opportunities has led to the non-participation of women in paid economic activity, which has hampered Pakistan's economic growth.

The government has a key role to play in breaking this cycle. Our party has a record of initiatives to expand women's sphere of productive and remunerative economic activity. The Benazir Income Support Programme was the first of its type to pay benefits exclusively and directly to women beneficiaries. In the 1990s we initiated the Lady Health Workers' programme which became an important source of non-agricultural employment to rural women. Our government in Sindh initiated the first-ever intervention in Pakistan which was aimed at providing state-owned land to landless women. We also have the honour of creating the First Women's Bank.

We now propose a two-pronged strategy for promoting and protecting women's economic participation, consisting of: (1) affirmative action in government employment and special programmes for women, and (2) expanding the scope for women's entrepreneurship.

### Mainstreaming Women in Public Life

- We will take affirmative action for women to serve on all levels of government, judiciary, and other decision-making bodies in public sector institutions with particular relevance to criminal justice system
- We will induct women in the service of the nation. We have, in the past, raised a primary health force. We will increase our recruitment of female police personnel. We will also increase women in local governments and in various services tiers
- We will devise a regulatory mechanism to ensure that the announced job quotas are adhered to

### Women in Businesses

- Provide equity to First Women's Bank and make it a prime vehicle to ensure women have adequate access to credit
- Although there is a provision to include women on the boards of the corporate sector, we will create institutional mechanisms within the SECP to promote women's presence in the corporate sector
- Women's business councils will be established with the support of federal and provincial business and traders chambers at all levels

## Taxation Measures and Resource Mobilisation

### Tax Measures

Pakistan's social and economic development requires resources. These resources must be tapped from within our economy. The tax-GDP ratio stands at around 12.4 per cent. The main sustainable source of growth in tax revenues in the recent years has been the buoyancy in the revenues of provincial governments, particularly in their administration of the GST on services. The rise in provincial tax revenues is due to the reforms brought under the 7<sup>th</sup> NFC led by our government. Under our government in Sindh, the Sindh Revenue Board (SRB) achieved a three-fold increase in tax revenues in 6 years, through a six-fold increase in the number of registered taxpayers, and a simultaneous reduction in tax rates. This represents a remarkable breakthrough

in Pakistan where the usual trend is for tax authorities to put increasing burdens on existing taxpayers rather than expanding the tax net. Sindh is also leading the effort in consolidating provincial tax revenue collection into a single authority – the SRB.

Progressively increasing the tax-GDP ratio to 15 per cent in the next five years will require a range of measures. Ideally, the economy needs to shift towards direct taxation. This will happen if there is greater formalisation of the economy with more individuals and economic entities being brought into the tax net. In the meanwhile, tax revenues will need to rise through increasing compliance with the sales tax regime. It is possible to achieve a 15 per cent target of the tax-GDP ratio through the following sets of measures:

- Making use of the proven effectiveness of provincial tax authorities by delegating the administration of federal taxes to them, through a partnership between the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) and provincial tax authorities
- Administering a change of work culture in tax authorities and a change in the mindset of their personnel – as achieved in SRB
- Free installation of Point of Sale (POS) system will be offered by the government for retail sector to improve documentation of economy
- Soliciting track and trace softwares to prevent tax evasion
- Alternate Dispute Resolution Committees (ADRC) to avoid undue litigation

Other measures we propose to increase the provincial tax revenues in the medium to long term are:

- Regularising and mainstreaming irregular housing and gradually admitting mainstreamed settlements into a property tax regime
- Simplification of tax arrangements for the agricultural community and recruiting them into the tax system through the Benazir Kissan Support Programme

## Resource mobilisation and allocation through central bank operations

A significant untapped source of development financing remains in the functions of the central bank, which is mandated (SBP Act 1956) to “regulate the monetary and credit system of Pakistan and foster its growth with a view to securing monetary stability and fuller utilisation of the country’s productive resources.”

Since 1991, the SBP has practically abandoned its developmental role. There is virtually no directed credit and no long-term credit instruments.

- There should be directed credit to specific industrial and export sectors
- In order to break from the past where credit provision mimicked long term rents, such intervention should be performance based and time-bound
- The State Bank should be directed to create instruments for long term financing, for long gestation infrastructure projects and large industrial projects – this will be linked to the new infrastructure policy framework proposed in this manifesto.
- Rationalising of agricultural loans by reducing the mark up on agricultural loans to the levels offered to industry

## Sustainability and Resilience

Climate change, water scarcity and recurring floods have a critical bearing upon development and population wellbeing. Global warming, melting glaciers, torrential monsoon rains and recurring high floods on the one hand and water scarcity on the other have made Pakistan highly vulnerable. In the wake of growing, multiple and interconnected climate change-related threats facing Pakistan’s economy and society, it is critical that comprehensive, multipronged and



urgent steps be taken to safeguard livelihoods, infrastructure, economic systems and social stability. This will require state policies, institutions, and investments (both private and public sector) to be aligned towards the objective of building resilience and adaptation capacity across different sectors, especially, water, agriculture, health, and urban areas; as well as promoting the use and speedy deployment of clean energy and efficiency improvement technologies aimed at energy and water conservation. Enhancing resilience and adaptation capacity of communities, society, and economic systems, will require that special focus be directed towards vulnerable segments of the population, such as women, children and other economically and socially marginalised people.

The institutional architecture for addressing climate change challenges exists in the form of the National Climate Change Council (NCCC), National Climate Change Authority (NCCA) and the Climate Change Fund (CCF) mandated under the Climate Change Act, 2017; along with the proposed Disaster Risk Management Fund. The previous government was hindered by its impoverished vision on the sustainable future for our children. Our party, on the other hand, is acutely sensitive to issues related to climate change and environmental sustainability as these affect the futures of urban and rural communities of our country. The infrastructure investment priorities of our government in Sindh have clearly shown the importance we attach to water conservation, forestation, and diversified sources of energy. Our federal and provincial governments have had an exemplary record of responding to climate-related contingencies such as floods and droughts.

Our approach to sustainability and resilience is based on the following parameters:

- Climate-related risks and vulnerabilities already inform the context of all our global futures. Climate action, therefore, cannot be seen as a special sector. It is part and parcel of decision-making across policy areas
- Our new infrastructure policy framework will incorporate sustainability and resilience to climate action as an investment priority
- Pakistan's main climate stressors will act alongside existing sources of risk and vulnerability - namely droughts, floods, and seawater intrusion
- We need to clearly distinguish between adaptation and mitigation responses - adaptation is a more immediate challenge for Pakistan, mitigation a longer term challenge
- We need to build regional cooperation for effective adaptation, mitigation and climate action. Managing the needs of river basins, in particular, should be elevated as an agenda in bilateral, multilateral and diplomatic platforms.

Priority actions for our government will be:

## Adaptation

- Promoting the rationalisation of water use through legislation supporting proper pricing, bulk metering, conservation, and efficiency improvement measures across agricultural, industrial, commercial, and urban sectors
- Deploying drip/sprinkler irrigation systems on >4 million hectares of agriculture farmlands by 2023;
- Promoting high yielding, drought tolerant wheat, rice, oil seed and other climate resilient crop varieties planted on >1 million ha. across the country by 2023
- Strengthening water governance in the country by balancing supply side measures with demand side management
- Managing a countrywide programme for wetlands and major watershed regeneration and protection
- Promoting climate SMART agriculture approach in agricultural policy, planning and research
- Upgrading and modernising weather monitoring and forecasting systems

- Introducing policy that will require all large (infrastructure) investments to be ‘climate proofed’, i.e., designs of such projects should incorporate features that ensure continued functioning in the wake of floods, droughts and extreme weather
- Building the capacity of key stakeholders, including farmers, through provision of training on water- efficient irrigation

## Mitigation

- Promotion of clean energy (micro-hydels, solar and wind energy) at different scales through provision of financing and ‘one window’ approvals
- Afforestation -- including social forestry - on > 500,000 ha. to act as carbon sinks
- Legislation to introduce uniform energy rating labelling and standards for consumer products
- Enhancing urban mobility through promotion of bus rapid transit systems and non-motorised transport alongside introduction of disincentives for individual motor vehicle use (e.g., charged parking, congestion pricing, etc.)
- Introducing standards, and incentives for energy efficiency improvements in buildings, industries, and the transport sector through legislation
- Phasing out, and ultimately banning, all single-use plastics

# STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY: HARMONISING RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS

Pakistan is a large and complex country that faces multiple challenges. Although there have been many interruptions in the democratic process, our democratic traditions remain strong. Our country was founded after a tumultuous democratic and constitutional struggle. Repeated attempts at derailing democracy led to crises that were ultimately defeated by the collective will and wisdom of our people. Democracy, in fact, is Pakistan's life blood. It is through democratic institutions that the interests of diverse people get resolved, and peaceful ways are found for creating mutually beneficial and harmonious relations between various groups.

Democracy, however, is not simply the continuity of democratic institutions (parliament, federal system, provincial assemblies, elections, political parties). It is the participation of ordinary people in solving their collective problems at all levels and in all situations. Democracy necessitates that organisations play by democratic rules, and requires a culture of tolerance and respect for diverse viewpoints. For democracy to function, all people need to be engaged with the political process regardless of gender, class, region, faith and ethnicity.

We in the Pakistan Peoples Party understand the value of democracy and have made sacrifices to ensure its perseverance. As of now, we can express satisfaction with many aspects of the ongoing democratic transition which was initiated by Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, but we also raise the alarm at a number of disturbing trends. We believe that democratic consolidation requires greater attention to creating harmony among the people, between the people and state institutions and among state institutions. Despite the sacrifices and successes against violent extremism, we now see attempts at dividing our people, pitting them against one another, and antagonising them against our institutions. We also see dangers in creating hostilities between state institutions.

Our current strategy for deepening democracy and ensuring harmony among people, between people and institutions and among institutions has three major components.

First, we will reinvigorate the process of democratic constitutional reforms which led to landmark achievements such as the 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment. These reforms are aimed at ensuring that democratic institutions retain the vitality that stems from the Charter of Democracy, and are concerned with accountability, and devolution as an ongoing process.

Second, we propose structural reforms to bring the state closer to the people in a number of our regions where problems of representation have been stalled and the process needs to be restarted. The merger of FATA is already underway, and we in the PPP believe that we are best placed for ensuring the successful implementation of these reforms. Another long-standing demand is that of a new province in South Punjab to ensure representation and equitable development for a region that has long faced neglect and deprivation. Finally, the people of Gilgit-Baltistan need to be reassured that their integration into the mainstream will continue apace.

## Mainstreaming Women in Politics

Women's participation in the political process remains low – both in terms of voter turnout as well as in decision-making positions. An essential feature in strengthening democracy will be to expand women's political participation.

- The PPP will continue to discuss the modality of electing women to reserved seats in the provincial and national assembly. Our aim is to progressively increase reserved seats in the assemblies and Senate from 17% to 33%
- The PPP will be committed to strengthening the role of women in elected bodies by supporting capacity-building, assembly caucuses, and other measures to ensure that women's voices are heard at all levels of democratic governance bodies
- Political parties are to ensure the allocation of funds, tickets on general seats and drafting of support mechanisms to enable women to fully participate in the political life of the country
- Women politicians should be included in all standing committees in Parliament, not just those deemed 'relevant' to their gender. The PPP should not tolerate the exclusion of women from meetings of bodies to which they have been elected, as has been observed in local government

Building on Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto's commitment to women's empowerment and support for Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and her personal example of exemplary leadership, the party pledges:

- To give full support and backing to its women candidates on general seats in order to ensure their best possible chances of success
- To include women at every level of decision-making within party structures as an essential means to achieve their full political empowerment and mainstreaming in the political process
- To make public its merit-based transparent guidelines for the selection of women candidates on both general and reserved seats

## Accountability at all levels

The Party believes in across the board accountability of all those who are beneficiaries of the state exchequer. A credible mechanism will be put in place for this purpose in consultation with all stake holders.

The political rhetoric on corruption has become meaningless noise, as it just addresses the disease without treating the cause. Accountability must be holistic, otherwise, it provides fodder to the victim narrative used by politicians such as those currently in power.

It is a fact that politicians are most vulnerable to accountability mechanisms. Unfortunately, these mechanisms are currently ridden with legal, administrative and implementation flaws.

Our government, in its fourth tenure, has been the most accountable government in the history of Pakistan. It has submitted, without hesitation, evidence of its accountability to all judicial and other bodies, including the fiercely independent media. Even when the risk of losing elected office loomed large, the party preferred to sacrifice its unanimously elected Prime Minister rather than derail democratic institution building.

In our current term, we have carried Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto's vision forward, ensuring that no political prisoners were taken during our tenure. No one has faced political persecution like the PPP leadership itself, which has spent years in jail and in exile, with party

workers enduring hardship and torture. No revenge has been extracted for years of political persecution, or for the loss of life, office, monies, dignity and peace of mind.

In its next term, the Party will introduce further governance and transparency reforms in the areas of taxation and public management including civil services, government procurements and decentralisation. It will introduce a culture of accountability in the delivery of public services by setting metrics for performance, and it will strengthen the Ombudsman's office.

## Civil Service Reform

Lack of good governance stalks virtually all avenues of state functioning and service delivery in Pakistan. This is generally ascribed to a lack of political will and corruption amongst politicians. While politicians take responsibility and are held accountable for lack of effective leadership, we believe that a necessary condition to improve administration and policy implementation is the conduct of the bureaucracy. Pakistan's bureaucratic structure needs to be restructured and re-oriented with the aim of improving governance and serving citizens substantively.

In our previous tenure, we inducted a jurist known for his integrity and honesty to head the Federal Public Service Commission. This appointment ensured merit-based induction in the bureaucracy at the entry level. We also increased salaries across all tiers of the civil service over and above the prevailing inflation rate to ensure that the gap between private and public sector salaries is reduced. This reduced the disincentive to join the Civil Services, an aspect which had marred civil service employment over the past three decades, and had also encouraged corruption in the bureaucracy.

Going forward, we will initiate a process of far reaching civil service reforms. A Task Force will be established with equal representation from all political parties represented in Parliament as well as other stake holders and experts, which will include retired civil servants, academics and members of civil society.

This task force will be mandated to recommend reforms on:

- Creating a balance between security of tenure and accountability of civil servants. Lack of security of tenure and frequent transfers and postings are a disincentive to honestly and efficiently carry out tasks. The existing accountability mechanism based on the Annual Confidential Report (ACR) does not measure performance in a transparent manner. Creation of credible performance mechanisms will also be part of the mandate of the Task Force.
- The Task Force will also be mandated to put in place reliable sanctioning mechanisms for bureaucratic misconduct. As of now, the sanctioning of civil servants takes place on subjective criteria and whims of politicians. Efforts will be taken to discontinue this arbitrary practice. Also, the culture of OSDs (Officers on Special Duty) will be discontinued.
- The Task Force will also be mandated to recommend reforms on the mid-career training of civil servants so that they can enhance their capacity and skills while keeping abreast with fast changing developments in the economy and with the best global practices in the world of information technology, management and diplomacy.

Based on the recommendations of the Task Force, we will initiate necessary legislation and Constitutional Amendments (if need be) to formally reform the civil services.

## Devolution as Ongoing Process: The 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment

A central political issue facing the country has been the devolution of power from the federation to the federating units and from the federating units to the local governments in the provinces.

- The Party will take urgent steps to establish a permanent secretariat for the CCI, with due representation of all the federating units and the federation
- The CCI will be expanded to include representatives of Islamabad and Gilgit-Baltistan
- Courses on CCI and NEC mechanisms will be taught in the professional training institutes of the bureaucracy
- The PPP government will focus on devising appropriate legislation to address issues in the devolution of higher education to remove confusion and distrust
- As per the spirit of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment, Minerals, Oil and Natural Gas will be placed in part II of the Federal Legislative List thus mandating CCI with all policies relating to this sector. Legislation in respect of Oil and Gas, in accordance with 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment, and an administrative framework for joint control over petroleum resources will be introduced
- Oil and gas exploration in the country will be revived. A gap of five years in exploiting new blocks has stagnated investments. Holding back on domestic exploration has also given rise to suspicions that the LNG lobby is involved in creating artificial justifications to import LNG
- The provinces will be given some responsibilities in areas like testing and surveys for hydrocarbon prospects and empowering their energy departments on the pattern of the Directorate General of Petroleum Concessions
- The provinces will have the right to offer bidding and licensing for prospects identified by them. Issues in non-implementation of Articles 154 and 158 of the Constitution will be taken up through appropriate constitutional mechanisms

Provincial concerns about the erosion of autonomy and the confusion brought about by re-creation of ministries of devolved subjects like environment and education with slight change of name and overlapping functions and responsibilities will be addressed in the following ways:

- The tendency on part of the federal government, ministries and divisions to take unilateral decisions will be stopped
- Substantial changes in the existing legal, regulatory and policy frameworks will be ensured for the implementation of the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment on devolved and shared subjects
- Relevant laws will be amended to reflect the true intent of the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment.

## Devolved Finance

- A permanent National Finance Commission with experts from all sides will be set up to avoid deadlocks and delays
- FATA, GB and AJK will be included in the Award.

## Ensuring Successful Implementation of the 25<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment

With the passage of the 25<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment (FATA Amendment Bill) and associated legislation by the K-P provincial assembly, the merger and mainstreaming of FATA and PATA are welcome and overdue reforms. The PPP has had a long-standing commitment to mainstreaming FATA. In 2004, the former Prime Minister Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto formed a special committee of the Party called the FATA Reforms Committee. Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani, in his first address, announced that the FCR will be changed and brought into conformity with human rights standards and the aspirations of the people.

The Pakistan Peoples Party has always believed that as a matter of principle the driver for change in tribal areas must come from the people of tribal areas and not from outside. It recognizes that the people of tribal areas yearn for peace, development, self-empowerment and for change. This has been demonstrated in numerous tribal jirgas, public opinion polls and surveys and in conclaves of political parties attended also by tribal representatives. Recognising these realities, the President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari announced on the eve of Independence Day 2009 a Package of Reforms for FATA, envisaging significant political, judicial and administrative reforms for the tribal areas. Two years later, on the eve of Independence Day 2011, President Zardari disregarded all opposition and formally signed two orders that were to unlock the doors of reforms that were shut for over a century. These reforms, particularly the Amendments in the FCR (2011) and the Extension of the Political Parties Order 2002 to the tribal areas, proved to be precursors to the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment.

Previously, a person could be sent to jail for three years without trial and the jail term could be extended indefinitely. This was changed. Previously, under the territorial responsibility clause, women and children were jailed. This, too, was changed and women and children below 16 years of age could no longer be arrested under the FCR. Checks were placed on the administration's arbitrary powers of arrest by insisting that the accused be brought before the concerned authority within 24 hours. For the first time, the accused were also given the right to bail. Moreover, it was mandated that cases will be disposed off in a fixed time frame. Appeals against order of Political Agent will lie before Appellate Authority comprising of Commissioner and a dedicated Additional Commissioner (Judicial) to be notified by the Governor.

While the 25<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment and supporting legislation in KP have paved the way to the mainstreaming of FATA and PATA, it is critical that care and diligence be practiced in the implementation of these laws. The Regulation issued on the eve of announcing merger is widely seen as a reincarnation of the notorious FCR in FATA. It will be replaced with appropriate legislation respecting fundamental human rights. Keeping in view the aspirations of the people, the Pakistan Peoples Party will work towards the following reform objectives in the future while fully involving the people of tribal areas in deciding issues relating to them.

- We will ensure that FATA and PATA merger reforms include the provision for duly empowered and elected through adult franchise local self-governments in tribal areas to give ownership and make the people stake holders in the governance structures.
- Peace across the border with Afghanistan is an important factor in the success of the reforms. The PPP will endeavour to work towards this end. In this connection, the guidelines formulated by the Senate proposing an agreed mechanism for verification of cross border allegations will be followed in letter and spirit.
- There needs to be large scale programme for the post conflict rehabilitation, reconstruction and revival of former FATA areas. The return of IDPs needs to be supported with programmes and resources.
- Addressing serious concerns of the tribesmen about the check posts straddling throughout tribal areas as well as land mines endangering the lives of the people.
- Restoration of the traditional regional trade on which the tribesmen have been traditionally dependent.

## A New Province: Fulfilling A Long-Held Aspiration for Development and Equality

A new province of South Punjab will be carved out in accordance with the Constitutional Amendment Bill already passed in the Senate in 2012/13. The people of South Punjab have long been demanding recognition of their identity and the redressal of neglect and underdevelopment in the region.

Our Party is committed to creating a new province in South Punjab, in accordance with the wishes of its people. For the first time, the Party established a separate South Punjab chapter with its own president, general secretary and all other provincial office-bearers.

Following the unanimous resolutions passed by the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly of Punjab in May 2012 which called for the creation of a separate province in South Punjab, the commission unanimously proposed carving out a separate province. It also proposed a Constitutional Amendment Bill to give effect to its proposal.

Our government piloted the 24<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Bill in the Senate, which was passed with a two-thirds majority. With this landmark achievement, the process of honouring the wishes of the people of South Punjab for a separate province of their own has acquired irreversible momentum.

In our next tenure, we pledge to pursue the mission and take all other constitutional measures necessary to make the province of Junoobi Punjab a reality.

## Gilgit-Baltistan

The Pakistan Peoples Party has a long commitment to the greater integration of Gilgit-Baltistan into the mainstream, and to the rights and welfare of the people of the region. Reforms initiated by Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto paved the way for the economic development of the region. In our last tenure, we initiated changes in the form of representation, established elected self-government through a legislative assembly, and changed the name of the region to recognise, honour and safeguard its identity. Unfortunately, the momentum of reforms was broken and no new initiatives for the representation of the people, their economic development, their rights and their identity were forthcoming. We pledge to review the undemocratic steps taken by the PML-N government and continue with the reforms agenda which was started in our previous government, including taking the following steps:

- We will facilitate political devolution, giving the people greater stakes and ownership in local governance.
- The Gilgit-Baltistan Council will be abolished and the Legislative Assembly empowered to legislate on all matters in line with the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment.
- Elections in Gilgit-Baltistan will be held at the same time as general elections in Pakistan.
- Fiscal Autonomy will be ensured by giving the people of Gilgit-Baltistan greater control over revenues generated within the area.
- The share of Gilgit-Baltistan from the federal revenue of Pakistan will be increased.



## Azad Jammu and Kashmir

The Pakistan Peoples Party firmly believes in the political and economic empowerment of the people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

We will work to enhance entitlements for the people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, and improve and streamline governance. We will constitute a Stakeholder Consultation on governance and judicial reforms which would report back within six months.

The Pakistan Peoples Party will increase and enhance the development budget of Azad Jammu and Kashmir to put Azad Jammu and Kashmir on the track of prosperity and development. Development projects including electricity, natural gas, motorways, health, education, water projects, national investment, and viable public transport network across Azad Jammu and Kashmir would be ensured. Azad Jammu and Kashmir's share of net hydel profits will be reviewed in response to local needs.

Elections in Azad Jammu and Kashmir will be held at the same time as general elections in Pakistan.

# ENSURING RIGHTS, SECURING PEACE: FOR OUR STATE AND OUR PEOPLE

The rights of individuals and collectives are enshrined in our constitution. We believe that there is an unbroken continuum from the fundamental rights of the individual – even that of an innocent child – and our collective rights as a sovereign state. Rights are not divisible, and rights and peace go hand in hand. The only effective way for ensuring peace for our state and all our people is to base all our actions within the realm of rights. It is the job of the state to guarantee and protect the rights of all our people, and it is the duty of every individual to respect the rights of others. We believe in the rule of law, and in making and changing laws to ensure that rights are protected and advanced.

Our people have suffered violence that also threatens out state. The struggle against violent extremism has claimed more than 70,000 lives and has cost over \$200 billion in losses to our economy. Entire regions have been devastated and populations displaced. Our law enforcers and security forces have made huge sacrifices. The martyrdoms of Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, Punjab Governor Shaheed Salman Taseer and Minister for Minority Rights Shaheed Shahbaz Bhatti, remind us every day of the price our best and bravest have paid to confront violent extremism. We carry immense personal and political stakes in this fight.

There are other sources of violence and insecurity too for our state and our people. Some are connected with violent extremism, others with organised crime, social and economic inequality. And if we are not careful, our actions to curb the threat of insecurity from one source can lead to injustices and the violence on others. Our party believes that the struggle against violent extremism as well as other forms of violence which threaten our people and our state must be based on the rule of law. We believe that the real test of the success of operations such as Zarb-e-Azb and Radd-ul-Fasad or the security operation in Karachi is the transition from a military or paramilitary paradigm to a paradigm of law enforcement.

Our party, therefore, believes that:

- The writ of the state must be constantly reaffirmed through the rule of law
- Effective implementation of a comprehensive National Action Plan against Violent Extremism
- The law must encode, protect and advance the rights of all our people
- Law enforcement must be effective and judicious

## Reaffirming the Writ of the State

Our party promises to focus on protecting our citizens and remaining vigilant in enforcing the writ of the state.

- We renew our vow to promote equal rights for all, including the universal right to life.
- We will channel resources, build political consensus, bolster law enforcement capacity for implementation, and ensure that the use of force remains under the sole monopoly of the state.
- We will bring to bear all resources in finding solutions that address the multiple and interlinked issues of governance, reform, economic challenges and security.

- We pledge to work to promote and reaffirm Pakistan's pluralist foundations. The PPP is fundamentally and unequivocally dedicated to ensuring that all citizens, especially vulnerable minorities, can enjoy their fundamental rights.
- We will continue to invest in providing security to areas where religious or ethnic minorities reside in large numbers, so that they can live without fear of discrimination or persecution.
- We will also continue to ensure that the large swathes of territory that have been wrested from terrorist control in the tribal areas will not backslide into ungoverned spaces, and to this end will work tirelessly to successfully relocate millions of people from troubled areas, while helping others to return to peace and rebuild their lives.
- We recognise that political ownership and internal coherence are critical for the successful and logical outcome of any military operation and counter-terrorism campaign. Therefore, we will strengthen relations between the civilian and military leadership.

### Zero-tolerance policy towards violent extremism

Under our government, there will be no accommodation for terrorist groups, their backers and financiers, or sympathisers. We will implement a comprehensive security strategy to prevent attacks on major urban centres in tandem with targeted military operations against all militant and terrorist outfits that challenge the writ of the state. As we seek a fresh mandate, this strategy will include:

- A smart, integrated and streamlined National Security Plan with the overarching goal of providing safety and security to all Pakistani citizens
- The uniform application of this plan against militant groups across the four provinces, and re-extending counterterrorism reach and capacity to all four provincial capitals.
- The redesigning and revitalisation of the National Counter-Terrorism Authority (NACTA), starting through its placement under the PM Secretariat to ensure it can serve as a control room for all federal agencies
- Supporting provinces to set up their own counterterrorism authorities, in coordination with the centre and the security agencies. We will also work to establish coordination and information-sharing mechanisms involving law enforcement agencies, local, provincial and federal government to confront the terrorist threat
- Moving forward and enforcing a multi-phased action plan to secure our borders, cities and villages from both external and home-grown terrorism
- Seeking policy solutions that combine conventional tactics and counter-terrorist measures to implement the rule of law and bring security to the brave people of this country.
- In line with our party's commitment to due process, attempting to give all captured militants a sustained measure of access for legal representation and prosecution through a fair trial
- Simultaneously strengthening infrastructure related to prosecuting and adjudicating terrorist and extremist acts
- Developing a comprehensive witness protection programme for those who have provided critical information leading to the arrest and incarceration of militants
- Accompanying these measures by an effective programme to provide security and protection to judges and legal personnel involved in the prosecution of members of militant organisations
- Setting up of a "Victim Support Project" for the rehabilitation of victims of terrorism and their families including the rehabilitation of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

## Law Enforcement

The Pakistan Peoples Party believes that robust internal defence starts with sound law enforcement, and securing Pakistan internally and externally will entail a coordinated strategy with all agencies at the local, provincial and state levels. Pakistan's police force has been at the forefront of fighting terrorism for over a decade. We salute the valour of our officers and will not allow their sacrifices to be in vain. To do this, we will:

- Ensure that the brave widows and families of martyred police and paramilitary officers are compensated and their children are provided employment opportunities
- Enhance the autonomy, intelligence and operational capacities of the police and law-enforcement agencies as an urgent task
- Computerise police records and support close interaction of the police with institutions such as NADRA to aid crime prevention and detection
- National register of crimes against women
- Invest in merit, rationalise jurisdictions, and enhance resources for effective counterterrorism campaigns
- Pledge to make the police more effective, responsive and alert to all threats and train them for community protection
- Create incentives within the existing system for former UN peacekeepers to serve in the police force, adding personnel as well as valuable expertise from conflict zones
- Ensure that women are inducted in larger numbers to offset gender imbalances in the police force, and make the police more sensitive to community needs, especially in cases related to women and children.

## Encoding, Protecting and Advancing Rights

We in the Pakistan Peoples Party firmly believe that human rights are not charity. Throughout history, humankind has waged struggles and made enormous sacrifices for the recognition of their fundamental rights, which are now encoded in our constitution, laws and conventions. The frontiers of human rights are ever expanding. The taboos of the past have turned into privileges, and the privileges of yesterday have transformed into rights over time. Human rights, politics and democracy are intricately linked and have a direct bearing on peace, security and stability.

Our party has always believed in constitutionalism. The 1973 Constitution which enshrines the rights of all citizens is a legacy of the political wisdom of Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. We have fought hard for the preservation and renewal of the constitution. The advancement of rights is an ongoing process which needs constant vigilance and action. Hence, we pledge that:

- The National Commission on Human Rights (NCHR) that was established by the PPP government through an Act of the Parliament in 2012, will be strengthened and allowed to effectively play its role
- The Paris Principles (re independence of such Commissions from the executive) will be followed in letter and spirit

A number of areas of concern have emerged in the recent times and these require urgent attention with respect to the protection and advancement of basic fundamental rights:

- Developing a Minimum Charter of Human Rights and road map to achieve it
- Preventing the misuse of Blasphemy law
- Reviewing and reforming the definition of terrorism under the Anti-Terrorism Act, 1997 to limit the number of offences that fall within its ambit
- Protection of journalists and human rights defenders

- Protection of children
- Protection of transgender and gender identity
- Protection against religious discrimination in education system
- Criminalising enforced disappearances

We aim to build consensus or wide-ranging agreement in parliament for stronger protections and legislation on these and other issues relating to fundamental rights, particularly those rights which have increasingly come under challenge in the recent period. In addition, and particularly in the light of recent instances of the miscarriage of justice, we will move towards reinstating the moratorium on death penalties.

## Legislative agenda in human rights

Our ambitious legislative agenda on human rights includes:

### The Right to Life:

Extra judicial killings, enforced disappearances are most serious issues in the right to life. The right to life is undermined when people continue to disappear without a trace with alarming impunity, without a single perpetrator being held to account. This situation must not be allowed to continue.

### Right to Freedom of Expression:

Right to freedom of expression is, after the right to life, the most basic freedom. All other rights (whether women rights, rights of minorities, children rights etc.) flow from the right to freedom of expression. Therefore, the PPP government will catalogue cases of violence against journalists and follow up on investigations proactively to ensure the freedom of expression. We will introduce legislation specifically for the protection and security of journalists.

### Impunity of Crimes in the Name of Religion:

It has become easier to kill, defraud, cheat and stifle expression in the name of religion. The misuse of religion based laws continues and efforts to curb this practice have not borne fruit. The PPP government will take measures to stop this phenomenon.

### Freedom of Association:

The PPP government will ensure freedom of assembly and association which has been under stress, as those working on issues in human rights, women rights, minorities rights and on alternate narratives on policy issues are denied this fundamental human right.

### Article 184 (3):

This Article of the Constitution has been used in ways that does not inspire great confidence in its use by courts to issues in human rights. This Article will be revisited in the light of Article 10-A of the Constitution introduced through 18th Amendments guaranteeing right to fair trial, observations/ recommendations of International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), and various bar bodies in the country.

### Death Penalty:

Till the state and society is sensitised enough to seriously consider abolishing the death penalty, the number of offences that carry the mandatory death penalty will be reviewed and brought down from the current high of 27.

### Military Courts:

Disposing off cases speedily is important but it is also important to ensure that there is no miscarriage of justice. Therefore, the working of military courts will be examined in line with the purported vision that these courts were set up solely to try those termed as 'jet black' terrorists. In addition, elements of transparency and the tenure of these courts will also be revisited. We

will initiate judicial reforms necessary for the transition to civilian authority of matters arising from the lapse in tenure of military courts.

#### International Covenants on Human Rights:

Pakistan is a signatory to several international conventions and treaties including the International Convention for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), the United Nations Convention Against Torture (UNCAT), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). The country has pledged on many occasions that local laws will be amended according to its UN obligations. Hence, credible domestic mechanisms will be put in place to ensure implementation of pledges made in international human rights covenants.

#### Torture:

Torture in custody continues with impunity. Police custody, and the custody of the state, which should be the safest places for individuals, are not safe. We will pursue the anti-torture Bill, already passed unanimously by the Senate, in the joined session of the parliament so that it may be passed by the National Assembly.

#### Unionisation:

The right of the workers and labour to form unions is a basic right which will be restored by PPP government.

#### Slavery:

With the internationally accepted definition of slavery progressively improving, we will take a fresh look at reports of slavery in the country. We will review our laws on bonded labour and trafficking to address the current situation in the country in the light of international standards and conventions.

#### Women's Rights:

The status of women in Pakistan by and large is subordinate to men because of the cultural practices of a patriarchal society. Nevertheless, the PPP has been the only party which has stood to women's empowerment goals throughout the governments of Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari. It was the PPP government under Prime Minister Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto which ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). With a view to ending impunity of violence against women, the Party will endeavour to improve the state of gender equality and facilitate women's access to justice.

- The PPP shall continue its record of spear-heading progressive legislation for women's rights by tabling further legislation through party-backed bills rather than reliance on individual party members
- Ensure women's numbers increase in law enforcement agencies, particularly the police
- A national catalogue of crimes against women and the status of court cases will be created and a Special Public Prosecutor appointed to pursue cases of violence against women.
- The National Commission on the Status of Women will be strengthened by increased financial and administrative autonomy as envisaged in the law. The national and provincial budget-planning processes will be made gender-sensitive and policy makers will implement gender-sensitive budgeting, as well as undertake impact analysis of budget-related decisions through a gender-focused lens to ensure that both men and women benefit from public sector expenditure equally
- Ensuring immediate implementation of pro-women laws related to honour killing, gang rape, acid burn victim, inheritance, divorce, dowry, child maintenance, sexual harassment, early childhood marriage, etc.

- Establishing functional Crisis Centres for Women at various level for immediate legal and psychological support.

#### Child Rights:

Incidents of violence against children are increasing at an alarming rate, while perpetrators enjoy apparent immunity from the law. We will enact tough laws ensuring effective deterrence and strengthen existing laws and mechanisms that protect the rights and well-being of all children by undertaking the following:

- Prioritising the enactment of child rights related laws on issues concerning child protection and welfare, internal trafficking, prohibition of child labour, child marriages and acid and burn crimes.
- Ensuring proper implementation of the available laws on child rights, including the establishment of a National Commission on Child Rights, the Juvenile Justice Ordinance 2000 and Child Labour and protection laws.

#### Protection of Minorities:

The Party has always stood for an inclusive society where the rights of minorities are protected. The

Party has itself made tremendous sacrifices to combat extremism that often targets minorities. Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto is in the vanguard of such proud martyrs to the cause. We also recall here the martyrdom of Shaheed Salman Taseer and Shaheed Shahbaz Bhatti who put their lives on the line for a more tolerant Pakistan, honouring the white stripe in our national flag.

The Party's vision is to build a Pakistan where the distinction between minorities and majorities will be erased, and where equality, interfaith tolerance and plural values will be promoted. We are committed to

preventing the misuse of laws that target minorities. We are working hard to foster religious harmony and tolerance and to prevent incitement to violence on the basis of religion. Recognising that Pakistan owes a great debt of healing and protection to its minorities, the Party pledges to:

- Ensure legislative measures to create equal opportunities for minorities
- Revive the National Commission on Minorities with a proper secretariat to highlight the issues of minorities and vulnerable communities of the country
- Ensure the protection of minorities at all levels of educational institutions
- Ensure the true enforcement of job quotas for the minorities
- Engage enlightened and progressive religious scholars from all faiths and sects for interfaith harmony and dialogue
- Prevent forced conversion through legislative measures
- Run national level campaigns through print and electronic media to encourage religious tolerance within the society
- Urge media houses to ensure special air time/programmes for interfaith harmony and to discourage intolerance and religious discrimination

## Balochistan: Urgent Need for Fresh Initiative

The situation in Balochistan remains fragile. There is little security for ordinary citizens and the perception of impunity on the part of law enforcement and security personnel makes it difficult to address the core political, economic and developmental issues of the province and its communities. In this manifesto, we propose innovative ideas for guaranteeing the full and equal involvement of local communities in the utilisation of natural resources. In the face of perceptions of impunity, however, such institutional reforms fall on deaf ears.

We propose a Cross-Party Parliamentary Commission on Balochistan, comprising of senior and distinguished parliamentarians from all sides, which will act as a convening forum for political and security dialogue aimed at ensuring the safety of ordinary citizens. The commission's terms of reference will be drawn up by high-level stakeholders including the National Commission for Human Rights, the National Security Council and elected parliamentarians.

We propose to revive and upscale the Aghaz-e-Huqooq e Balochistan initiative to allow for a greater focus on institutional reforms and transparency in the allocation of grants and employment opportunities in tandem with the functioning of the Cross-Party Parliamentary Commission on Balochistan.

## Truth and Reconciliation Commission

We reaffirm the belief that advancing and protecting rights goes hand in hand with establishing the writ of the state and effective law enforcement to ensure security and rights for our people and our state. We, therefore, propose legislation to enable the setting up of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in a number of post-conflict areas in Pakistan, including:

- The struggle against violent extremism across the country
- Post-Taliban regions in KP and elsewhere
- Karachi's political violence



# RECLAIMING OUR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE WORLD

We are an ancient civilisation and a young state with a youthful population. Our heritage is rich even if many of our people live in extreme poverty. As a state, we have faced many challenges and will continue to face more. We want our children to grow up into times when our place in the world, their place in the world, will be determined by intellect, effort, creativity and compassion, and not armaments, greed and deceit.

We in the PPP believe that our people are destined to occupy their rightful place in the global community, not only as the crossroads of Asia and the Islamic world, but as a people who are enriched by their tradition, steered by their imagination, and driven by effort.

It the responsibility of the state to ensure the security of its people and to enable that they thrive in the global community. It is a matter of grave concern that Pakistan stands isolated in the community of nations, and our people face prejudice and hostility from many quarters. Despite our losses and sacrifices in the war against terror, we are often seen as a problem.

We in the PPP have a record of ensuring the prestige and security for our state and our people through resolute defence, dedicated attention to foreign policy and diplomacy, and the promotion of our rich local culture to inculcate national pride, and to foster a soft image of Pakistan abroad. The decline in Pakistan's global standing has a direct bearing on the wellbeing of our people. Our approach to reclaiming our rightful place in the world is built on three pillars:

- Securing our state and defending its sovereignty
- Pursuing the values and interests of our people through diplomacy
- Promoting culture to inculcate confidence and to nurture values

## Securing our state and defending its sovereignty

As we seek a fresh mandate, we promise the people of Pakistan that we will:

- Articulate a strong and well-defined national security strategy that will protect Pakistani citizens from both internal and external security challenges.
- Ensure that our armed forces maintain the highest professional standards so that they have the love and respect of the nation.
- Encourage closer working relationships between defence and parliamentary institutions for cooperation as well as coordination..
- Make military budgets accountable to parliament, and institutionalise better oversight of defence expenditure

Since the inception of the nuclear programme by Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the PPP has continued to contribute to the safety and development of our arsenal on the basis of the sovereign rights of our state. The PPP recognises the importance of Pakistan's nuclear deterrence programme. We will bring fresh focus, vigour and substance to Pakistan's nuclear security paradigm and reaffirm our international stature as a responsible nuclear state.

Pakistan's hard won nuclear deterrence is a cornerstone of its national and regional security and stability equilibrium. We will take all necessary measures to ensure the safety and security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Therefore we will:

- Promote civil-nuclear cooperation and Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) membership for non-Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) states, provided this is based on principles of non-discrimination and objective non-proliferation criteria

- Continue to maintain Pakistan's constructive engagement with NSG and other export control regimes to build its case for membership, while remaining opposed to country-specific exemptions from NSG rules
- Take advantage of high-tech surveillance and efficient information sharing among all agencies. Only an integrated effort that ensures all such agencies are on the same page will be strong enough to counter the threat to our national security
- Enhance Pakistan's capability to deter cyber-attacks and identify cyber attackers. Our government will work with foreign governments and international institutions to strengthen our cyber defences

## Foreign Policy

The PPP government will base its foreign policy agenda on the wisdom and vision of Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto:

“The objective of our foreign policy is to help create an international climate in which Pakistan can maintain its integrity and prosper in peace. For this purpose, we need friends who are interested in our security, integrity and prosperity.”

– Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Karachi, 1963

“I dream of a Pakistan, of an Asia, of a world, where we can commit our social resources to the development of human life, and not to its destruction.”

– Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, Cairo, 1994

As a core foreign policy goal, we envision Pakistan as a progressive, vibrant and enterprising country which is at peace both at home and abroad. The PPP believes that the pursuit of peace and prosperity, through sovereignty, stability, security and economic growth is the most important policy priority for Pakistan today. Geo-economics, peaceful co-existence and robust security must drive Pakistan's vision for a strong and proactive foreign policy agenda. Therefore:

- Our international policies must be dynamic, inclusive and aligned with evolving national interests. It will be built on our country's geographical advantages, demographic assets and socio-cultural strengths to project Pakistan as a stakeholder of global growth, regional cooperation and national enterprise
- Committed to the dynamic globalist legacy of its leaders, the PPP, under the leadership of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, promises a forward-looking foreign policy for Pakistan that will restore and revitalize its strengths, mitigate its threats and risks, and propel the nation on a clear and strong trajectory of sovereign choices
- The PPP will continually believe that parliamentary oversight and consensus-building are critical to the long-term success of our foreign policy agenda.
- We will ensure that our choices are in the national interest, that they are transparent, and stand the test of public scrutiny and parliamentary discourse. To this end, we will seek to enhance the power and capacity of all relevant parliamentary committees.
- We will reinstate the project of capacity-building, oversight and stakeholder discourse, as initiated in our last term.

## Negotiating a Changing Global Order

The current global order is witnessing profound transformation and geo-strategic flux. While we preserve and build our traditional alliances, our Party will also look to forge new geo-political inroads and partnerships that speak to the next decade of international relations.

Pakistan must step forward and rationally create the framework for a proactive foreign policy that is designed to maximise our benefits while maintaining the best possible relations with all other countries.

We believe firmly in a Pakistan that is at peace with itself and with its neighbours, and a foreign policy that pivots to the future. In the wake of emerging regional challenges, building and sustaining engagement with our immediate neighbours is critical if long-term peace and security is to be had.

China:

Pakistan's deepening economic and political engagement with China must continue to be safeguarded and strengthened. President Asif Ali Zardari's government cemented its abiding friendship with China through the grant of Gwadar port. This is pivoted on our core belief that Pakistan's geo-strategic location and demographic capital can serve as a critical bridge between Central and South Asia on the one hand, and the Middle East and Eurasian landmass on the other.

The PPP has always considered China to be one of our strongest allies, and successive Party leaders have led the way in forging Pakistan's indispensable connection with Beijing. Our relationship has weathered the test of time, and our ties have strengthened and deepened in different spheres of economic, defence and regional cooperation. We commit to enhancing our strategic partnership and cooperation by shoring up engagement in the fields of defence, diplomacy, trade and technology, while protecting our national interest and sovereignty. The Peoples Republic of China will continue to be encouraged to support its pivotal investment role via CPEC, with higher transparency and consensus among provinces from Pakistan.

The United States:

Pakistan's partnership with the United States remains a crucial node of our foreign policy, premised on a protracted history of engagement, our immense contributions and national sacrifices in a global war on terror, and the costs incurred from single-handedly fighting the world's largest inland counter-terrorism operation.

The PPP has always put a premium on democratic engagement and public diplomacy as the primary tools of bilateral relations. It is imperative that both sides remain engaged with each other and committed to exploring new avenues for strategic, economic and cultural cooperation. To this end, we will reframe our relationship with Washington into a more enduring, balanced and clearly defined partnership, rooted in a shared understanding of national sovereignty, mutuality of interests and respect.

In parallel with conducting a baseline review of state-to-state bilateralism and reviving a stalled Pakistan-U.S. Strategic Dialogue, we will reinforce our original policy stance for Washington: invest in trade, not aid. We will jump-start our original multipronged initiative of proactive engagement with democratic actors in the Congress, American media, academia, civil society, business and entrepreneurial segments.

We seek to manage Pakistan's physical boundaries and soil through enhanced governance, but will disallow the use of Pakistan's soil for another country's military bases. We have already shut down Shamsi Air Base in the last PPP government, and will not sign on to agreements that erode Pakistan's authority over its soil, airspace and littoral limits.

#### Afghanistan:

Our Party has consistently affirmed its commitment to non-interference in Afghanistan by supporting only Afghan-led paths to stabilisation, reconciliation and peace, without favouring any group, faction or tribe. During the PPP's last tenure, our historic multi-ethnic outreach to Afghanistan's Kabul governments as well as its rival opposition parties was just one symbol of our unequivocal and unwavering support for a comprehensive Afghan-owned and led reconciliation process.

We share a critical 2,400 km porous border with Afghanistan that we believe needs to be legitimized, and therein better policed and patrolled. At the same time, we recognise that terrorist sanctuaries in eastern Afghanistan present a potent threat to Pakistan's safety and security. Therefore, greater political, military and intelligence cooperation with Kabul is essential to stem the flow of old and new transnational challenges including militant spillover, the regional emergence of Daesh, and drug and arms trafficking.

We remain committed to shoring up people-to-people relations with Afghanistan, and plan to work together with Kabul for the dignified repatriation of Afghan refugees. We also believe in a comprehensive, holistic role for Pakistan in building a strong and sustainable partnership for socio-economic re-building and development of Afghanistan. To this end, we renew our commitment to the original idea of Pak-Afghan Reconstruction Opportunity Zones (ROZs) and Special Economic Zones (SEZs) to be established in violence affected regions, and we call for its revival as a viable vehicle for regional peace and stability.

#### India:

We believe that while normalising relations with India is essential for regional peace and stability, talks will only be meaningful in an atmosphere of mutual respect with all dialogue being conducted through diplomatic channels. Sustained and uninterrupted dialogue on all outstanding disputes and issues without pre-conditions is the way forward.

During our last government, we demonstrated our desire for warmer trade relations and the easing of travel restrictions. We believe that energy and trade connectivity between Pakistan and India can provide solutions for our region's shared challenge of poverty alleviation and provide a platform for economic cooperation rather than competition.

We also believe that climate change is presenting South Asia with previously uncharted challenges in the form of water stress, flash floods and smog. We believe Pakistan and India must cooperate to ensure that our region is better equipped to manage and arrest environmental degradation. At the same time, Pakistan must be guaranteed its right to water as a lower riparian, and any Indian construction that affects water flows must be subject to mutually acceptable safeguards under relevant agreements.

The PPP has always supported people-to-people contacts as a means of promoting better understanding between the peoples of both countries. We support easing of visa restrictions especially for tourism, medical treatment, student exchanges, artists and businessmen. We believe that such exchanges should be exclusive of any political turbulence in the bilateral relationship.

#### The Middle East:

We remain consistent in our belief that diplomatic, economic and security engagement is crucial for building confidence and stability in the region. The PPP commits to working with our Middle Eastern allies to ensure clear, concise and effective counter-terror action, vociferously countering the agendas of Pan-Islamic terrorists including Daesh, Al-Qaeda and their global affiliates. This, in turn, will create vital space for coalition building and foster a convergence of interests of major Gulf countries to tackle our shared security and humanitarian challenges.

We will strike a rational balance in our relations with Riyadh and Tehran to shore up our influence and enhance prospects for engagement with each. The PPP reaffirms that Pakistan's alliance with Saudi Arabia remains strong and we will continue to strengthen our bilateral relationship through diplomatic, economic and security cooperation. We will also be steadfast in our diplomatic and strategic pursuit to capture new entry-points as a result of Tehran's re-emergence as a key regional player, and one with growing stakes in multilateral initiatives.

Eurasia:

Our Party also believes in meaningful political and economic engagement with the other great transformative powers of this century. We seek to build a new architecture of institutionalised engagement with China, Russia, Turkey and Britain in a manner that ensures that relations with one are not at the expense of the other.

Simultaneously, we believe it is imperative to take increased advantage of a renewed Russian outreach to Pakistan. The North-South gas pipeline is the first major instance of Russian investment in Pakistan after decades of estrangement. We will encourage discussions with Moscow and Beijing to locate and identify new nodes of convergence that can possibly help bring CPEC activities in line with Russia's own vision for a Eurasian Economic Union. We will aggressively look to match the exchange of Russian military hardware and defence and technology cooperation with greater soft-power mobilisation and the all-important issue of skills transfer, as we search for new policy-sphere partnerships with Moscow.

We will also ensure that Pakistan retrofits its own outreach to the Central Asian Republics (CARs) to harness the potential for closer Pak-Russo cooperation. Pakistan's accession as a full member state of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is an example of a platform we can leverage, as we pivot ourselves to enhanced commercial and state outreach in an increasingly competitive Pan-Asian arms and energy market.

Our government will bring fresh resolve, vigour and conviction to a renewed campaign to lead the way in disallowing the use of Pakistan's territory for attacks on any country's soil, and will commit its resources to advancing peace in the Asian continent.

## International institutions

Globally, our Party seeks to ensure that Pakistan plays its role in promoting and protecting the principles and ideals enshrined in the United Nations Charter. In the words of our Party's founder, we will adhere closely to the United Nations mission statement for the purpose of securing, maintaining and providing international peace with justice. We have, over the course of successive governments, demonstrated our vigilance in ensuring that Pakistan maintains its prominence and stature as a credible and responsible player in the multilateral arena.

We have actively led in steering key UN-led norm-setting processes dealing with new and emerging challenges including terrorism, sustainable development and climate change. We also ensured that Pakistan retained its position in all such global forums as a top troop-contributing country for UN peacekeeping operations. It is testament to this vigilance that we were able to win elections to the UN Security Council and the Human Rights Council, the two most widely sought memberships in the UN system.

Pakistan, along with a majority of UN member states, favours a comprehensive reform of the Security Council to make the principal organ of the United Nations as more representative, democratic, effective, transparent and accountable.

We strongly believe that countries that are in violation of United Nations Security Council resolutions on matters of international peace and security, such as the Jammu & Kashmir dispute, by no means qualify for a special status in the Security Council.

## Revitalising Diplomacy and Global Outreach

No political party understands the importance of managing effective diplomatic messaging and a proactive outreach to world capitals as much as the PPP. Now more than ever, there is an urgent need to inject dynamism into Pakistan's foreign policy by crafting a new strategic framework, leveraging additional resources and deploying new tools to shore up our constructive engagement in an increasingly hyper-connected world.

We will retool the country's public diplomacy and diplomatic outreach in a way that takes advantage of the latest trends in digital communications, instant news, social media and citizen diplomacy, while aligning it to a credible national context and character.

The PPP's action plan to revive and revitalise Pakistan's foreign services will broadly encompass a two-pronged strategy of integrated reforms both at home at the Foreign Office level, and abroad at the missions level. Our aim will be to put forward Pakistan's best foot as a dynamic soft power country that operates and trades in the currency of profitable ideas, peaceful leadership and global partnership.

At home, we will introduce much-needed generational reforms, institutional overhaul and restructuring and new international best practices for doing business at the Foreign Office and all of its international missions. We will also look at opportunities and possibilities of cross-governmental integration and collaboration between strategic ministries and departments.

In our missions abroad, we will intensify our efforts to create a thriving and tireless eco-system of public diplomacy based on digital, service-friendly, and outcome-oriented engagement. Our foreign policy apparatus will particularly seek to inspire, induct and harness young and multi-disciplinary talent – with a special focus on women -- into Pakistan's foreign services to bring diversity, creativity, energy and new age capability in the service of a round-the-clock international policy, media monitoring and response machine for Pakistan.

## Engaging Trade, Energy, Connectivity, Multilateralism and Climate Change

We envision a Pakistan that is regionally, geographically and globally connected. It was under this Party's leadership that Pakistan's foreign policy underwent a major shift from prioritising geo-politics to proactive outreach based on geo-economics, trade, commerce and business opportunities in the region.

It was our Party that spearheaded a quantum leap forward by placing Pakistan as a key player in China's Belt and Road Initiative and paving the way for China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). We recognise the need to protect the corridor from external threats, including terrorism and hostile, subversive elements. We also recognise that Pakistan's public capacity to undertake CPEC is linked to pushing through crucial reforms in the energy sector, improving public sector capacity, streamlining tariff structures, and clearing regulatory tangles. We continue to believe that if realised, the CPEC-Plus vision will be a game-changer that can help transform Pakistan's economic landscape in the way of development, growth, jobs, infrastructure and trade, while enhancing Pakistan's strategic clout. We pledge to deliver on these fronts to make CPEC an effective driver of both development and stability in the region.

We pledge to redouble our efforts to establish and enable favourable regimes for free-trade arrangements (FTAs), comprehensive economic partnerships, financial and banking systems, trans-regional and intra-regional energy supply and energy security arrangements, digital connections and secure transport and freight corridors.

We will push to revamp and overhaul Pakistan's investment climate to optimise benefits. For this, we are committed to improving Pakistan's Ease of Doing Business indicators, backed by serious regulatory reform and readjustment of tax structures.

With our other neighbours, we continue to seek the normalising of trade ties with India, and enhancing existing trade agreements with Afghanistan and Iran. It was under our government that Pakistan signed a historic transit trade agreement with Afghanistan.

Without prejudice to UN Security Council Resolutions, we support open and safe borders at the Line of Control to unite the Kashmiri people socially and economically, and endorse cross-LoC trade. We firmly believe that the political rights of the Kashmiri people are indispensable for their economic rights, and that a just solution for Kashmir should include its full integration into the emerging regional economic cooperation-connectivity paradigm.

Our Party has also consistently championed trans-arterial energy and infrastructure projects including the Tajikistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline, the CASA-1000 power transmission project, and increased rail and road connectivity initiatives. In short, we will pursue institutional frameworks for regional cooperation on multiple levels.

The strategically important Wakhan pass, connecting China to KPK via Gorno-Badakhshan region of Tajikistan is an important conduit that can be exploited for the movement of trade and water and hydrocarbon pipelines by connecting land and water lines from Tajikistan and China via the Wakhan Corridor.

We will reinitiate the conversation on the Iran-Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline. Progress in operationalising the Iran-Pakistan Preferential Trade Agreement has been slow under the incumbent government; we will proactively look to resume negotiations and consultations with Tehran. Both Pakistan and Iran stand to gain huge duty fees from the development of Gwadar and Chabahar; the connectivity of the two via a metaled road can greatly help bolster the Belt and Road Initiative.

Our belief in a robust economic partnership with the European Union remains unwavering, and we look to building on our last government's successes, including the securing of a historic WTO-endorsed deal for preferential market access for Pakistani exports to the EU. We look forward to advancing the gains in Pak-EU cooperation by continuing to push for mutually beneficial collaborative links in the realms of economic, technological, and cultural affairs.

Finally, we will enhance Pakistan's outreach to African and Latin American states by developing new relationships on the basis of mutually beneficial trade, business, technology and cultural interests. Our Party maintains that Pakistan can use its SCO membership to bolster its political and economic engagement with Russia, China and other Eurasian rising powers.

We will continue to work for SAARC unity and regional interconnectivity. In the SAARC Summit of December 1988, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's proposal to transform SAARC from a cultural organisation into an economic entity was accepted by SAARC member countries. This goal remains a guiding principle in our Party's plan to re-define a regional economic framework that can benefit the entirety of South Asia.

Pakistan's contribution to global warming is minimal; our country emits less than 1 per cent of total annual global greenhouse gas emissions. Yet we are ranked amongst the top ten countries most vulnerable to climate change.

Beyond Pakistan's 2016 ratification of the Paris Agreement, the PPP will develop, mainstream and implement a national action plan that could fulfil international commitments and meet local needs. We will do so by pushing a Pakistan Climate Change Act along with a ten-year National

Strategic Action Plan for parliamentary debate and approval within the first hundred days of government. We will ensure its full federal and provincial implementation by prioritising resource mobilisation and allocation. Climate change and environmental projects will be high on the agenda of the government.

We promise to align and fully integrate our climate change agenda with Pakistan's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for optimal impact as well as accountability. We pledge for Pakistan to play a more active role in building stronger South-South coalition-building and collaboration that can push for tougher international policy stance and negotiations for a more equitable global climate change regime.

## Leading the Muslim World

Deepening and strengthening Pakistan's bonds of friendships in the Muslim World will be the fifth building block of our Party's foreign policy. Drawing on SZAB's distinctive vision of dedicated outreach to the Muslim World, symbolised best by a historic 1974 invitation to leaders of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), we pledge to redouble our efforts towards the indivisible goals of Islamic solidarity, stability, peace and the common economic development and prosperity of the Muslim Ummah.

In terms of population, Pakistan is the OIC's second largest and only nuclear-armed member. We will use this strategic status to address some of the most pressing issues facing our region and near abroad. These include the political and humanitarian crises in Kashmir and Palestine. The cumulative heritage of the OIC's political and economic support for the self-determination of the Kashmiri people, together with Pakistan's support for the issue of Palestine, are symbols of the bonds of solidarity that bind us.

We recognise and welcome with optimism the many positive and distinctive trends of regional integration and cooperation that Muslim countries are experiencing in the regions of Middle East and North Africa. While we will not discriminate in furthering bilateral ties with our friends and allies within this global Islamic community, we will still seek to carve out new openings for Pakistan's partnership and enterprise that each of these Muslim-dominated regions offers.

The PPP will give a new direction to Pakistan's Muslim World foreign policy by creating targeted approaches and outreach for each of the Islamic regional blocs by plugging our valuable national ideas and assets in these new and emerging Muslim markets, while maintaining strategic balance as a cross-cutting concern. We will do this by committing to enhancing economic, trade, financial and entrepreneurial cooperation as well as knowledge sharing with individual members while exploring avenues for joint regional Islamic ventures that are innovative.

Finally, we will work jointly with OIC members and other Islamic platforms to combat terrorism, radicalisation, including Islamophobia, and rising incidents of hatred and hostility against Muslims around the world. We will initiate special projects on cross-cultural intellectual and dialogue leadership initiatives as well as cross-cultural collaborations in partnership with regional and international organisations.



## Our Heritage, Our Future

Violent extremism assaults not only our bodies. It also attacks our hearts and minds, and the values of harmony, tolerance, and compassion which are part of our heritage. Art, culture and literature are critical to the strategy of rebuilding our society and also for reclaiming our rightful place in the global community.

Pakistan's rich cultural and religious diversity is a source of national pride and must be promoted. Recognising the heterogeneous, multicultural, multilingual and pluralistic nature of Pakistan culture, our party promises to encourage diversity and promote the arts. Our government in Sindh has taken the lead in actively promoting cultural activities not only to provide avenues of creativity to our artistes and writers and entertainment for the people, but also purposively to foster tolerance and harmony in our society. We have attracted global interest in our events and artistes as a way of promoting the true image of a peace-loving people.

We will encourage art and cultural activities not as marginal ventures, but as central elements of our state and society. Among immediate measures we will initiate the following:

- A Peoples Film Council will be established and granted a seed money and will be annually allocated for new and meaningful films, art and cultural development as well as for the betterment of artists
- An Arts Councils will be established at the district level which will be a citizen led and state supported movements to promote local, indigenous, mainstream art, music and theatre
- These Arts councils will be mandated to establish training schools to promote interest in cultural activities among the youth
- All Arts Councils will be provided with funds to establish auditoriums and open-air theatres in all big cities and downs
- College and University students will be encouraged to pursue cultural fields
- Cultural programmes promoting Pakistan at the international level will also be encouraged through cultural attaches to our embassies and consuls
- The Academy of Letters and The Book Foundation will be provided resources and encouraged to make their mark in all parts of the country. People will be provided opportunities to write articles, short stories, stories, dramas, poetry and all kinds of modern literature in local, national and international languages.
- Literary festivals will be sponsored by the state in different languages and in small and large towns and cities
- We will promote and protect public spaces including museums, parks, public squares, art galleries, cultural complexes, cinema halls and theatres across cities and in the rural areas
- We will promote Pakistan's national, provincial and regional languages by encouraging provinces to include regional and indigenous languages in their curricula
- We will set up language boards to promote research and translation. A centre for national and local languages will be established to promote research and preserve linguistic diversity
- We will establish language learning institutions for indigenous languages
- We will protect indigenous languages and cultures, especially those that are threatened with extinction, including Baltit, Brahvi, Kalash, Shina and other languages of northern Pakistan
- We will protect of our cultural heritage and religious monuments and create a fund for the preservation of our cultural heritage

## OUR CALL

We have come up with an ambitious plan of reforms and initiatives to serve the people of our country. This manifesto reiterates the core values of our party - democracy, reconciliation and inclusiveness - for which our leaders and workers have made great sacrifices. It highlights problems often neglected, and presents fresh ideas for solving old problems. We are prepared to take on the challenges with big hearts and cool heads.

We promise to do our utmost to remain true to our word, but we need you, the voter, the citizen, the youth, the senior, the woman, the man, from all regions, and all faiths, the worker, the farmer, the teacher, the health professional, the law enforcer, the pilot, the waiter, the soldier, the homemaker, the able-bodied, the differently-abled, the writer, the steel worker, the poet, the scholar, the clerk, the fisherfolk, the vendor, the courier, the pastoralist, the polio worker, and everyone else and all not mentioned here, to come out.

Come out and vote for us if you agree with us.

Come out and vote against us if you disagree.

Come out and argue with us if you are not sure about voting, or are not registered yet to vote.

Come out and tell us when we do something wrong and also when we do something right.

Come out and be counted because you matter.



# بی بی کا وعدہ نبھانا ہے پاکستان بچانا ہے

## بند کرو یہ استحصال

معیشیت کا ہے بُرا حال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال  
مزدور ہمارا ہے بے حال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال  
مظلوموں کی ہم ہیں ڈھال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال  
انصاف کرنا ہے بحال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال  
عوام کے حقوق ہوئے پامال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال  
معیاری صحت کا ہے زوال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال  
بے روزگاری کا ہے وبال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال  
زرعی معشیت ہوئی بد حال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال  
تعلیم ناپید ہے تاحال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال  
ملک کو کر ڈالا کنگال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال  
بجلی پانی کا ہے کال۔۔۔ بند کرو یہ استحصال

## پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی