The Proposed Hasba Bill at a Glance

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The Mutahida Majlis-I-Amal government in NWFP has tabled Hasba bill in the assembly after its approval by its senior leadership and cabinet. They are determined to pass it from the assembly in order to be able to effectively implement Sharia Act 2003 approved by the same assembly.

The frequent announcements of the government to pass the bill, the conflicting statements of the MMA political leadership and the concerns expressed by the opposition parties and civil society organizations has sparked an unending discussion on the subject particularly after the provincial cabinet approved the bill.

Opinion of MMA: The proposed bill was drafted when the MMA leadership strongly advocated its utility for general public. They argued that it is a part of their mandate to provide speedy justice to the suffering communities at large and for this purpose it is necessary that relevant legislations as per the Islamic rules should be enacted. They also claimed that the implementation of the proposed bill would bring a pleasant change in the society and it will ensure that all miseries of masses will be solved in a short span of time. The law minister and some other senior politicians of the MMA have continuously been saying that the bill is in line with the constitution of the country and they will face no problem to approve it from the assembly in a smooth manner. While briefing journalists on bill the senior minister Siraj Ul Haq said that opposition should not worry as similar set up exists in other provinces as well and that most of the provision of the bill has been derived from the work of Islamic Ideological Council, which it carried out in 1996.

The bill was kept closely guarded in the past and access of general public was denied. Only a limited number of people were able to get its copies through personal connections. The government arranged two half-hearted seminars on the subject following a tough criticism of its content. Most of the speakers of these events were invited from other provinces. The development led to a few modifications in the bill.

Opinion of the Opposition: The opposition and the civil society organizations are strongly criticizing the bill on many accounts. They view it as unconstitutional, the Marshal Law of Maulvies, and a parallel legal system that will spread anarchy and chaos in the society and will deprive the general public of their rights and liberties. They also fear that the provincial government will heavily use to victimize its political opponents and to rig any future elections including the local bodies.

Governor and Hasba Bill: It was astonishing to note that regardless of its tall claims, the government avoided to present the bill in the assembly since 2003. It was first sent to the governor who forwarded it to the Council for Islamic Ideology for review. The council
was awaiting the appointment of its new members at that time. The council held a
detailed discussion on the bill in August 2004 and sent their comments along with
recommendations to Governor NWFP through a letter no PSG-1(2) 2004/324-25-WF.
The recommendation showed a clear rejection of the bill by the council of Islamic
Ideology. A copy of the letter was also sent to the secretary to Chief Minister NWFP as
well.

Appointment of Mohtasibeens: The NWFP government aims to establish the offices of
Mohtasibeens on provincial, district, tehsil and local levels under the bill. The governor as
per the advice of Chief Minister will make the appointment of provincial Mohtasib for a
term of four years for areas falling under his jurisdictions with the exclusion of the
cantonments areas. The Chief Minister will have the authority to dismiss him on a seven
days notice against which he can move to the high court with in 30 days. The provincial
Mohtasib will appoint an advisory council consisting upon two religious scholars, two
lawyers and two senior serving government officers in grade 20. Similar set ups will also
be established by provincial Mohtasib on district, tehsil and local levels with minor
changes in council members.

Powers of Mohtasibeens: A through analysis reveals that Mohtasibeens will enjoy
enormous powers under clause 10 and 22 of the bill to:

- Take notice of any corruption, misuse of power or inefficiency on part of the
government employees;
- ensure that the Islamic way of life is observed; control media under the provincial
government and utilize it for the promotion of Islamic values in the society;
- Persueade government employees to ensure good governance and frame rules for
the smooth functioning of various employees and department of the provincial
government.
- Assist the provincial government to run its affairs in a smooth manner.
- Take concrete measures to impart training for conduction of research to ensure
social justice and identify causes of bad governance.
- Frame detailed rules and methodology for the use of their powers
- Inspect records of any government office provided it is not pertaining to national
secrets.
- Summon any person, record evidences and issue orders the way a court does.
- Issue orders to any relevant agency or officer for the implementation of their
decisions in the specified time. The relevant agency or its staff will be required to
inform Mohtasibeens that their orders have been implemented in true spirit.
- Award a variety of punishments under the contempt of Hasba act including for
those who issue a statement against him or his nominee. It means they will enjoy
powers equivalent to that of competent court (high court at provincial level).
- Request police to provide them with relevant Hasba force to conduct various
operations.
- The decisions of the Mohtasib as public servant cannot be challenged in any court
of law.
• An appeal can be made to the Chief Minister against the decision or recommendation of Mohtasib, who is empowered to take the decision he deems necessary. However, it’s not clear that whether such decisions could be challenged or not?

Specific Functions of Mohtasibeen: In addition to tasks mentioned in article 10 of the bill, the Mohtasibeen will perform a number of functions. These have been described in article 26 of the bill in detail. These functions and their analysis is given below:

1. The Mohtasibeen will ensure that Islamic moral values are being observed at public places. The sentence is completely vague and do not define that what are the exact morale Islamic values which the Mohtasibeen will institutionalize in the society and what benefit it will bring to the suffering communities. Rather it can be expected that the little educated religious clerics will make a mockery of this power and will impose whatever they deem fit for the people under the grab of Islamic teachings. They will define the good and bad things and will thus punish people according to their own understanding of Islam. It can be observed that violation of collective norms is generally discouraged in this society and an unseen system exist in every community to check such violations. In this context a question does arise that what prompted the MMA government to intervene in this specific area when they are facing more grave issues of urgent attention.

2. They will discourage unnecessary expenses on marriage ceremonies and family functions. This is again unclear as how they will go about it. Whether the provincial assembly will make relevant legislation to standardize the level of expenses for each and every family in this regard or Mohtasibeen will exercise their legislative powers to frame laws for strict implementation under their supervision. It is also not clear that how Hasba force will be used to ensure the implementation of orders. Will it not be an undue interference in the lives of people at large and depriving them from making their own decisions? Will this bring a real change in peoples lives? Will it not be a burden on the government to implicate itself in issues that can be best solved by local councilors at their levels with little encouragement? The judicious use of public funds by the government can also help achieve this objective with in the framework of existing system.

3. The Mohtasibeen will ensure that dowry does not exceed the limit set by Islam. The question does arise that what are the limits set by Islam in this regard. Is any standardization has been made in this regard? It also seems to be impractical that matters between two families are investigated. The government can definitely play a role in this regard and can utilize the services of local nazimeen and mosques to raise awareness in this regard, set standards by themselves, which will then be followed as models by others on voluntary basis. A good start in this regard will be to reduce the expenditures of the government, avoiding attending big functions and parties and fulfilling its claim of election days to put an end to VIP culture. The MMA functionaries still follow the practice.

4. It is a best thing to discourage beggary. However, it is not known that how Mohtasibeen will undertake this gigantic task which in the government eyes can not be fulfilled by a number of existing departments and civil society organizations. How
they will manage it?. Would they use brutal force to ensure it? Would they be establishing more homes for beggars (the same one which the provincial government established with out Mohtasibeen in Peshawar)? Furthermore, is it not possible for the government to deal with the issue under a number of existing laws? Do they really need Mohtasibeen to undertake the task? Will it make a real difference if another institution is established for the purpose?

5. They will ensure the observance of Islamic injunctions at the time of Aftar and Taraweeh prayers. The same question asked in relation to the above mentioned task of Mohtasibeen could be repeated for this specific task as well. What is the necessity for going into an area, which is already taken care of by local communities? Is the MMA government has no faith in the peoples love for Islam which they have demonstrated to vote them into power in the previous elections? Do they want to disgrace the same voters?

6. They will discourage business and games etc near the mosques where Eid Prayer is being offered. This is again unclear that what the writers of the bill had in mind to drag Mohtasibeen in this particular area. Is there any felt need for action in this regard? Do they consider their voters so Un-Islamic and un-religious to trample the sanctity of mosques being known as the home of Allah? Furthermore, it is also important to ask that what relief the public will get if the Hasba force stop youth from playing games in the street. Have they made any arrangements to provide alternative facilities to them before implicating themselves to ban recreational activities in the society?

7. They will ensure, there is no negligence in the arrangements of Eid and Juma (Friday) prayers. It is not clear that what government will be doing to improve arrangements for prayers in mosques? Have they planned to provide funds to the Ulama there or they would tax the local communities to raise more funds? Furthermore, the intention of the government raises a number of key questions. Was it government to perform such arrangements in the past? Do the local people are not doing enough to take care of mosques, Ulama and Madaris? Are they not contributing a huge amount in philanthropy on regular basis to finance religious sector? If the answer to the questions is in no then its better government should leave the arrangements to local communities who own mosques and better know to keep it up. The government should also explain that have they planned to forcefully bring people to mosques?

8. It is a good cause to discourage child labor for which Mohtasibeen are definitely not required. A number of specialized government departments are already working to eliminate the menace as a part of their mandate and to fulfill their obligation under various international commitments. The international agencies are also supporting a number of initiatives in this field. There is an urgent need that the strengths of mosques are utilized to raise awareness about the grave issue. Making relevant arrangements to enroll the out of school children in educational institutions can support the awareness drive. The Zakawt funds could also be utilized to further facilitate the initiative. This in turn will make a real difference for children. Furthermore, the top leadership of MMA needs to demonstrate the political will to discourage child labor while mobilizing its huge labor force to achieve the task.

9. The Mohtasibeen will ensure that no delays should occur in the discharge of duties in undisputed matters. The clause is very much vague and can be interpreted in many
ways. This could also be applied to the relation between husband and wife. This needs to be clarified as it has the immense potential to promote violence against women in the society.

10. A number of laws are available to prevent cruelty to the animals. These can be enforced with in the existing system instead of using it as justification for the appointment of a number of people for the purpose. The local councilors and citizen community boards can also be entrusted with the responsibility.

11. The task to ensure that mosques are being adequately looked after is a mere repetition of the point 7 discussed earlier.

12. They will ensure that Islamic injunctions are observed during the time of “Azan” and Prayers. It is again the continuation of the idea mentioned under sub article 5, 6 and 7. The same analysis and questions apply to it as well.

13. This is a wonderful idea to put an end to the misuse of loudspeakers and sectarian speeches in the mosques. The NWFP government and the MMA leadership are strategically placed to undertake the much need task on priority basis. They can do it with out appointing Mohtasibeen. All they have to do is to bring some changes in the curricula of Madaris, motivate and urge its strong constituency of Ulama to refrain from delivering political speeches and sermons. They can also be advised to promote peace in the society by bridging the sectarian differences in their ranks. Furthermore, they can also be advised to adopt a realistic approach towards western societies and refrain for blaming them for every inability of us as nation including its leadership.

14. The responsibility of Mohtasibeen to discourage usage of non-Islamic social values is not different than what has been said in the sub clause 1 disused earlier under the heading of Specific Functions of Mohtasibeen. The same questions raised there can also be applied to this sub article.

15. They will eliminate amulet selling, palmistry and sorcery from the society. This is an important issue and a wide spread phenomena in our semi literate society where Pir, Faqir and some Ulama exploit the credulous people particularly women on many accounts. This issue can be effectively addressed under the existing laws on priority basis. It cannot be used as justification for the appointment of Mohtasibeen. It will be realistic that the authority to address such issues should be delegated to local councilors and members of citizen community boards. Furthermore, the MMA government can utilize the services of its associated Ulama to raise awareness in the community on the issue.

16. A number of laws already exist to protect the minorities and their places of worship particularly to uphold sanctity of the worship places. Those laws can be effectively implemented to further improve the situation instead of empowering Mohtasibeen to undertake the task. The MMA leadership could also play a vital role to advocate good working relations with non-Muslims. The mosques can be utilized to spread the messages of peace and brotherhood in the society. The Aimma mosques and other Ulama can also be provided with relevant information and training to play a significant role in this process. The best practices related to the contribution of western countries to our society can also be brought in the notice of people from the platform of mosques. A few examples could be the recent support of western countries and international financial institutions to the MMA government in
implementing its development agenda particularly in the education and health sectors. This is what the MMA provincial leadership is appreciating since a year.

17. The Mohtasibeen are also expected to abolish all un-Islamic rites which adversely affect the rights of the women; particularly addressing the issue of honor killing and Swara and ensure that women should get the inheritance and other rights enshrined in the Islamic teachings. This is definitely a vital cause and the MMA, which is the collation of six religio-political parties ruling the province can do a lot in this respect. They are well placed to educate general public on rights of women with in Islamic framework to support other ongoing initiatives in the field. They can take concrete measures to upgrade the status of women in the society, involve them in policy level decisions on their respective party levels, provide representation to their female members in cabinet and ensure that rights of women are not violated with justification from religious text. These all measures can be taken with the presence of Mohtasibeen. The practical level issues pertaining to women at the community level can also be solved while giving them due representation in the community level institutions and valuing the overall contribution of women to the society.

18. A complete department is working to oversee the market, check upon commercial weight and scale and arrest the widespread practice of adulteration. The task is gigantic and can only be performed with the effective involvement of a large number of people, who are already available in the form of local councilors. Furthermore, relevant laws also exist for the purpose. The important point is its implementation for which the government has to enhance its efficiency. Examples exist in other countries that relatively small but effective departments have effectively addressed such issues. The government needs to demonstrate a strong will in this regard.

19. The issue of hoarding is also of paramount importance for which relevant laws also exist. This can be taken up together with the earlier point no 18.

20. It is ironical that Mohtasibeen will be providing protection to Government properties at a time when comprehensive rules are available in this regard. The record of the assets is generally available and government spends a significant amount of money to keep its property. The MMA government has also spent good amount under this head since it has come to power after 2002 elections. Furthermore, regular checks are carried out in order to protect these assets and any damage to it is treated as a criminal act for which the culprits are liable to be treated in the courts of law. If the entire MMA government is unable to upkeep the building and protect it from damages will it be realistic to expect a small team of Mohtasibeen to effectively perform the task? Isn’t it like they are preparing a charge sheet against themselves?

21. The powers of Mohtasibeen to take measures to eliminate bribery in the government offices have been mentioned in the article 10 of the bill and have been discussed in detailed there. It is a mere repetition to mention it as separate sub article over here.

22. It is strange that in the presence of a number of laws, system of check and balances system, rules of business for the government servants and several agencies to monitor their performance, the Mohtasibeen will motivate government servants for selflessly serving the general public. How they will carry out the task, is yet a secret. No mechanism has been mentioned in the bill concerning it except that Mohtasibeen will choose their own actions and ways. The question is that will it not lead to a worse form of their victimization and further destruction of these institutions? It will not be
out of place to suggest that all such matters should be addressed through enhancing efficiency of the existing system.

23. It is a good step to advise children to accord respect to their parents. However, it seems to be strange Mohtasibeen will undertake the task. Will they go for preaching or will employ Hasba force to punish the undisciplined children. The bill has yet to answer the question. This task may be left to local communities, local councilors, respective families and reconciliatory committees at different levels as per the existing rules and mechanisms in this regard.

24. The Mohtasibeen will also go for reconciliation among the parties or tribes whose animosity for one another may cause the disturbance in the community level. It could be a good wish but seemingly unrealistic if left to the already overburdened Mohtasibeen.

25. The last point related to the powers and function of Mohtasibeen is that they after consultation with their advisors may expand the scope of their work. This is a unique feature of the bill and is against all the decent norms of framing rules, regulations and laws, which will empower them to the extent of a military dictator. This needs to be rephrased. The recommendation could be that if the provincial assembly wishes can entrust them with more responsibilities.

Comments of Islamic Ideological Council: The summary of comments of Islamic Ideological Council on the proposed Hasba bill are given below:

1. The establishment of Hasba institution in its present form will greatly contribute to make Islamic laws disputed in the society instead of serving any positive purpose. It will give an edge to the government to utilize it for its vested interests in an unjust manner.

2. The objective to establish Hasba should be to address the existing weaknesses in the present laws including Sharia laws particularly the injustices committed by administration. The inclusion of controversial matters concerning interpretation of Islamic teaching will make Hasba unpopular amongst masses. Instead of serving any positive purpose it will lead to many sectarian disputes on following grounds instead of offering good governance to general public at large.
   - In the presence circumstances it should be the prime responsibility of Hasba to ensure the rule and protect general public from the unjust treatment of administration and powerful groups. This will be possible through strengthening the existing institution instead of establishing new institutions.
   - The 27 sub articles mentioned under clause 23 of the proposed bill are not clearly defined and have been left on the discretion of Mohtasib and Hasba force. The council rightly feel that the definition of vice and virtue in Islamic perspective is what acceptable to all the existing sects in the country.
   - The Jafaria sect doesn’t have any concept of Hasba.

3. The proposed Hasba bill contradict many articles of the constitution of Pakistan particularly articles 75 (3) related to the independence of judiciary and objective resolution (which is a part of the present constitution). In the proposed bill the
appointment of Mohtasib has been associated with the consent of Chief Minister, which makes it politically motivated. The right to appoint Mohtasib should rest with the governor. Similarly, the appointment of advisory and reconciliation committees to assist Mohtasib will constraint his indispensable and may influence his decisions under political pressure. The Mohtasib should be allowed to consult who’s he deems fit for the purpose instead of restricting him to consult specific institutions.

4. The responsibilities of Mohtasib are similar to that of judges; therefore, it is necessary that he should possess the required qualification as described for the position of judges of Sharia court. The term certified scholar is unnecessary (Mustanid Aalim-I-Deen).

5. The governor should be empowered to review the decisions of Mohtasibeen as no such provision is mentioned in the bill. Rather article 12 states that any of his decisions can be challenged in any court of law, which can lead to complete victimization.

6. The term Hasba force to be changed to Hasba volunteers and their responsibilities to be defined. According to the Islamic code their role is limited to preaching and persuasion.

7. The institution of Mohtasib already exists in Pakistan. Instead of establishing a parallel institution the NWFP government should appoint Mohtasib under the same laws in order to avoid confrontations.

8. There is a proposal for the appointment of Mohtasibeen on district and tehsil levels. The same provision is available in the existing local government system. This may lead to confrontation between the two systems, which are against the norms of justice. The council also noted that according to the local government ordinance the district Mohtasib is reporting to the concerned minister. They recommended him to be independent.

9. The council recommended that power to remove Mohtasib should rest with the supreme judicial council.

10. It also recommended that the tenure of Mohtasib should not be extendable so that such a wish should not affect his decisions.

**Key Questions Concerning Hasba:** A thorough review of the above mentioned points raise many crucial questions concerning the establishment of the Hasba institutions, capacity of the government to deliver and implement the existing laws; moral, legal and constitutional and other practical aspects of the bill. One wonders that in the presence of a number of instructions and laws to undertake the above functions is there any need to establish another institution? If the answer is in yes then the government has to explain its inability to implement those laws for providing relief to the general public. One may also ask that after the establishment of Hasba will there be a need of provincial assembly or
other departments in the province? Another question in this context could be that whether it is realistic to expect that a single institution will undertake a gigantic task presently performed by over dozens institutions, provincial assembly and district, tehsil and local governments.

**Implications of the Bill:** The passage of the bill from the assembly will have for reaching effects on the society at large and the government institutions and its employees in particular. The implications may include:

- The ultimate concentration of legislative, judicial and administrative powers in one hand or several hands will lead establishment of clergy rule in the province.
- The bill itself seems to be a no confidence in the entire system in the province headed by MMA itself.
- It will put all the instructions on the mercy of a single party or a group of people.
- It will destroy all public institutions in an organized manner as a result of which the entire state system may collapse in a short span of time. It may follow by a complete anarchy.
- It will deprive the general public of all those remaining civil liberties that consecutive military rule has yet to take away from them.
- It will be another major blow for democracy after frequent military rule in the country.
- The huge salaries and perks of Mohtasibeens will become a burden on a small number of crippled taxpayers and cash starved province.
- It may further constraint the relationship of the federal and provincial government as well as with donor community.
- The selective use of religious teachings has the potential to further polarize the society and will open many more avenues for the exploitation of religion for political purposes and gains.
- It will enhance the burden on chief executive of the province, who will have to decide a large number of cases as a result of mismanagement on the part of Hasba.
- The existing check and balance system at various levels will be eroded as a result of which the process of accountability and transparency will receive more setbacks.
- The law has the immense potential to be used for the victimization of political opponents, civil society organizations and government employees.
- The Mohtasibeens will frame rules, regulation and will choose methodology for its implementation. This will result in many complications particularly when their actions are driven by a specific political agenda. This will also bring them into direct confrontation with the provincial assembly.
- The bill may lead to defame Islam as the definitions given in it are vague and can be interpreted in many ways. The interpretation of these terms will be based on the mental level and understanding of religion of various Mohtasibeens in various districts. This may also lead to the severe violation of human rights in the province.
• The bill is in contradiction with the local government system and the same powers, which the local government functionaries presently exercise is given to Mohtasibeen. This will lead to a continuous tension and conflicts between the two institutions through out the province.

• The term Aalim has been specifically used for religious scholars in the definitions. This may lead to underestimate the expertise of professional from other walks of life. The literary meaning of Aalim is a knowledgeable person.

• The provincial assembly secretariat has also been put under the jurisdiction of Mohtasib. This may undermine the independent status of the assembly and can lead to a tension between the two institutions.

• It is compulsory that Mohtasibeen should have relevant degrees from Madaris. This will lead to the appointment of a good number of clerics on key positions. They lack of expertise on their part to run such offices a proper manner will result in chaos. Rather they will simply interpret everything from a religious point of view and that too with a sectarian focus. This is directly in confrontation with the relevant clause of the constitution of the country, which forbids the implementation of sectarian interpretation of Islam. This argument can be used to term that the bill is un-Islamic.

• The Mohtasibeen will be virtually ruling the entire province. However, arrangements for their proper training are not in sight in order to equip them with relevant skills. This will result into the frequent violation of rules and regulations of various departments.

• The women and minorities will greatly suffer after the establishment of the institutions as it is unlikely that they will get due representation in it. Rather the strict interpretation of Islamic rules will make their lives more miserable.

• There is little information available that how much the establishment of the set up will cost and from where the government will manage the much needed finances. It is feared that funds from other vital sectors will be diverted to it, which in turn will badly affect the access of general public to social services. It may lead to the borrowing of more loans or imposition of taxes on already crippled people facing highest increase in process of daily use

• The implementation of the bill will erode the people trust in the democratic process, institutions and will inculcate authoritarian trends at various levels.

• The power of Mohtasibeen can be used to obtain the desired results in the upcoming local bodies elections.

**Conclusion:** In short, the proposed bill seems to have little relevance with the ground realities, ill conceived, vague, contradictory in nature, in conflict with the constitutions and needs of the people. The lofty claims of MMA leadership to advocate the utility of the bill have also no match with its contents. The arguments, which they are generally making for its support, have also nothing to do with its contents. No link is seen between its objectives, the proposed structure and the job description of the Mohtasibeen. The recommendations of Islamic Ideological Council have also not been incorporated. Furthermore, the government should also give serious thought to the fact that besides others, a component party of MMA is opposing it publicly. The definitions given in it are insufficient and have strong potential to lead to many complications that will be having a
negative bearing on the lives of people. It seems to be politically motivated and aimed at to establish a totalitarian rule in the province on the name of religion. As a result of its implementation it may isolate the province from the rest of the world in several ways. There is a possibility that it will increase the polarization in the society, constraint the relationship with the federal government and donor community, which in turn will badly affect the flow of development funds to the province. This is high time for the government to properly investigate that why the authors of the bill could not in place a realistic plan in two in a half-year time regardless of the fact that a significant amount of money was spent on the preparation of the bill. It will not be out of context to mention that the MMA government faced a big embarrassment when its Sharia bill, passed by the present assembly, turned out to be a replica of the same bill passed by the then national assembly in Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif era. The same group who prepared the Hasba bill was responsible for the preparation of Sharia bill as well; they took a long time and received enormous facilitation from the MMA government to prepare that document. They were not questioned for their dishonesty and keeping government under a false impression that they are working day and night to accomplish the task. The matter gets more important when the senior minister informed journalists in Peshawar that it is not a new special law rather a good part of it has been taken from the recommendation of the Islamic Ideological council. In this context, the government needs to ask the group that what were their real contribution and how much public funds have been wasted in a futile exercise.

The MMA government will be responsible for passing a draconian law however it’s high time for federal government, political parties, past governments, international community and civil society organizations to understand that they too have a stake in bringing the religious alliance into power. The alliance swept elections at a time when the military ruler, supported by international community and civil society organizations, didn’t allow popular leadership to take part in the election process in an important time of the country history. Regardless of the immense weaknesses of the bill, it is their democratic right of MMA government to make whatever legislation they wish to intact. The people have given them the mandate, which needs to be honored. The masses should be given a chance to decide their fate in the up-coming elections. Any unconstitutional act on the part of federal government will lead to further strengthening of the religious alliance.

**Alternative Recommendations:**

**Provincial Government:**

- The MMA government should seriously reconsider of passing the bill and should think whether they are not preparing a trap for themselves, which will make them extremely unpopular in the province.
- The bill should not be presented in the provincial assembly for approval.
- The allocated budget of 30 million should be spent on strengthening the existing institutions to effectively carry out the task mentioned in the bill
• The provincial Mohtasib should be appointed as per the existing rules and the way they are working in other provinces. The same could be extended to district and tehsil level at a later stage.
• More judges should be appointed in the courts to provide a speedy justice to the general public.
• The reconciliatory committees formed by the Peshawar High court for district Peshawar should be extended to all union councils of the province. There members should be from local communities and concerned government offices.
• The citizen’s community boards should be formed on local levels on priority basis and a number of tasks related to accountability and transparency should be handed over to them.

Federal Government:

• The federal government should refrain itself from taking any un-constitutional action against the provincial government for passing the controversial act. They should wait that the democratic process should take its course. The same should be seen in the context that such legislations are not ironic in a country where the national assembly and two provincial assemblies has also passed bills to accept a military general as president of the country.
• The military ruler and federal government should seek apology from the masses for creating the conditions in which the MMA came into power. They should also pledge that will not repeat the same blunders in the time to come.

Political Parties:

• The political parties who ruled the province in the past will equally be responsible for the passage of the bill. They didn’t do any thing for the masses as a result of which MMA were voted into power. They remained busy in leg pulling of each other and are still not ready to learn from their past mistakes. Instead of making emptier promises to the general public they should do relevant preparation and agree on a code of conduct to inculcate real democratic norms in the society. They should act as a role model for people.
• They should make joint commitment to immediately scrap the bill if get a chance in future.
• They should make joint efforts for the restoration of democratic process in the country and uphold the rule of law in the society.

International Community:

• The international community should withdraw its support from the military ruler whose policies are causing immense resentment in the general public. This a major cause of rising trend of extremism and polarization in the country.
• They should support the democratic process in the country and urge the federal government to allow the exiled leadership of the two major political to return to the home country.

• They should understand that any actions the MMA government on the part of federal government will further strengthen their position in the society.