

# ELECTION 2002

A Comparative  
Study of Election  
Manifestoes of Major  
Political Parties



What do the Political Parties  
**PROMISE?**

Where do they stand on  
**ISSUES?**

October 2002

**PILdAT**  
Pakistan Institute of  
Legislative Development  
And Transparency

Study supported by

**FRIEDRICH  
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## DISCLAIMER

The PILDAT and its team of researchers have made every effort to ensure accuracy of the contents and publication of this study. The PILDAT and its team of researchers do not accept responsibility of any omission, as it is not deliberate. However PILDAT will welcome cooperation of political parties and other actors in improving this study at a later stage.



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## Executive Summary

When the people of Pakistan go to vote on October 10, 2002, they would be more interested to vote for the parties or the candidates that have pledged to work for the resolution of their problems. It is because that the period of electioneering and the publicity of the party messages tend to serve as a useful exercise for them to decide about their preference to vote.

But do the voters really take the political pledges seriously and decide to vote on the strengths of the programmes of particular party? Or allow themselves to be guided by some other factors? A study on the trends of past Pakistani election campaigns reveals that a voter's choice is mainly influenced by messages coming from two levels, i.e., from national and constituency levels. While the national level campaigns set the overall agenda about various programmes of a particular party, the constituency level messages simply concentrate on the fulfilment of the civic needs of the people. Unfortunately, in many cases, the voters ignore the issues of national agenda and exercise their choices on parochial considerations. It is believed that one factor leading to the exercise of this type of choice by the voters is their inability to understand the dynamics of the national issues due to non-availability of a mechanism to compare the national agendas of various political parties.

It is in this backdrop that the present study was conceived with the aim of simplifying the choices available to the voters in terms of the programmes of major political parties. The study was structured in a way so as to encompass the coverage of only those issues that are important for the general public. The study has focused on the evaluation of manifestos of six (6) major political parties namely Awami National Party, Muttahida Quami Movement, Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam), Pakistan Peoples Party (Parliamentarians) and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and two (2) political alliances namely Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal and National Alliance - each comprising six (6) political parties. In terms of the issues, the study confined itself to the four (4) main issues namely economic, social, political and defence & foreign relations. These issues were further examined on the basis of fourteen (14) sub subjects such as unemployment, high cost of living / utilities, poverty alleviation, national debt retirement and agriculture development & management of water resources under economic issues. The social issues dealt with the subjects of education, women development and labour reforms. Under political issues, the subjects such as constitutional reforms, law and order, corruption & accountability and independence of state-controlled electronic media were covered. The fourth category of defence and foreign relations dealt with the issues of Kashmir dispute and relations with India and USA. The study outlined the proposed programmes of each of the parties on various issues so as to facilitate an easy comparison of the stance of each political party on the above-mentioned issues.

According to the profile of each political party on these issues, the study has found out that the manifesto of **Awami National Party** has a narrow focus with an out-dated vision. It is because of this reason that its manifesto has not thrown any light on the question of handling the issues of high cost of living/utilities, corruption & accountability, independence of state-controlled electronics media and Pakistan's stance on Kashmir problems including relations with India and USA. Except this, the party has adequately attended to all other issues including the issue of the role of military in government affairs. In fact on this issue, ANP has vowed to struggle against all military interventions and has declared to hold accountability for past military take-overs in the country. The party has also made noteworthy declarations on the issues of agricultural reforms, education and women development.

The manifesto of **Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal** is devoid of all necessary details as to how the alliance intends to go about the implementation of its programmes on various issues. While the manifesto





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touches upon most of the issues in general terms, it is completely silent on many important issues like national debt retirement, the role of military in government affairs, law and order situation and on Pakistan's relations with the USA. In terms of its position on the issue of poverty alleviation, education, status of women, labour welfare, etc., the alliance has made solid commitments.

The manifesto of **Muttahidda Qaumi Movement** mainly focuses upon the issue of rewriting of the constitution on the lines of Lahore Resolution of 1940. It vociferously calls for the grant of provincial autonomy and also attends to the question of improvement in the standards of education, women development and corruption & accountability. MQM's manifesto also squarely discusses the issue of water resources and refuses to sanction projects like Kalabagh dam and Greater Thar Canal Project without the approval of all provincial assemblies. Strangely, the party has also made many omissions like the role of the military, labour welfare, law and order, unemployment besides not discussing its policy on Kashmir dispute and on Pakistan's relations with India and USA.

**National Alliance** has brought out a balanced manifesto with detailed programmes on many important issues. Nevertheless, the alliance has overlooked to attend to some other important issues like constitutional reforms such as its position on the role of military and on the question of provincial autonomy. Moreover, the alliance also omitted discussions on the question of corruption & accountability as well as Pakistan's relations with India and USA. However, in terms of specific programmes, the alliance has made commendable pronouncements on the issues of agricultural reforms, education and women development.

The manifestos of **Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)** and **Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam)** are mostly on the same wavelength in terms of their solutions to many issues. The omissions in the manifestos of both parties underscore that both parties intend to stay clean on many controversial issues related to the image of these parties. It is because of this that the PML (N) has probably not addressed the issue of national debt retirement scheme and the question of constitutional amendments as the party itself had attracted a very bad publicity on its controversial policies on these issues. On the other hand, PML (QA) has also overlooked to discuss the question of the role of military in the government affairs. But overall, PML (N) has made a good use of its past experience in power by discussing a wide range of subjects including a very critical subject of civil-military relations that most of political parties in Pakistan tend to confine to discussions only.

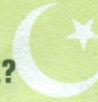
Unfortunately, PILDAT could not obtain a copy of the manifesto of **Pakistan Peoples Party (Parliamentarians)** as the party leadership refused to provide an early copy before the announcement of the party's manifesto. However, for this study PILDAT relied on few news items published in the national dailies that printed some of the contents of the upcoming manifesto of the party. The highlight of this manifesto is the proposal for the creation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to address the question of political victimisation. The party also seems to have taken a tough stance on the question of military interventions in the country. True to its tradition, the party intends to make the provision of *Roti* (Food), *Kapra* (Clothing) and *Makan* (Housing) as the corner stone of its election campaign.

Despite a relative inexperience in Pakistani politics, **Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf**, has come out with the most balanced manifesto addressing a bulk of the issues of the current election campaign. The party has made many extensive pledges on a variety of issues that seem to be rather fresh and unique. However, like many other parties PTI has also not addressed an important issue of the role of military in government affairs.

In the end, PILDAT hopes that the exercise of exploration of party manifestos proves to be beneficial to the people by helping to shape clarity of choice amongst the voters. PILDAT also expects that the usefulness of this exercise would prompt many political parties to not only consider an early announcement of their manifestos but would also make them more responsive in addressing the issues of public interest in future. In the long run, PILDAT hopes to use this exercise as the start of an era of issue-based politics in Pakistan.



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## Party Position Chart

ISSUES	ANP	MMA	MQM	NA	PML (N)	PML (QA)	PPP (P)	PTI
Unemployment	★	★	★	★★★	★★★	★★★	★	★
High Cost of Living/Utilities	×	★	×	★★★	★	★	★	★
Poverty Alleviation	★	★	★	★	★★★	×	★★	★
National Debt Retirement	×	★	★	★	×	★★	×	★★★
Agricultural Development Management of Water Resources	★★★	★	★★	★★★	★★★	★★★	×	★★★
Education	★★★	★★★	★★★	★★★	★★★	★★★	★★★	★★★
Women Development	★	★	★★★	★★★	★★★	★★★	★	★★★
Labour Welfare	★★★	★★★	★	★★★	★★★	★★★	★	★★★
Provincial Autonomy	★★★	★★★	★★★	×	★	★	×	★★★
Role of Military in Government	★★★	×	×	×	★★	×	★	×
Law and Order	★	×	×	★★★	★★★	★	★★	★★★
Corruption and Accountability	×	★	★★	★	★★★	★★★	★★★	★★★
Independence of State Controlled Electronic Media	×	★★★	×	×	×	×	×	★★★
Kashmir Dispute and Relations with India	×	★	×	×	★★★	★★★	★★★	★★★
Relations with United States of America	×	×	×	×	★	★	×	★★★

✕ NO STANCE   ★ GENERAL   ★★ DETAILED   ★★★ EXTENSIVE



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## INTRODUCTION

Political parties seek mandate from the people on the basis of pre-defined agenda or programmes presented in the shape of their election manifestos. While each political party has a different set of ideologies and each of them represents a certain policy objective, the election manifestos of political parties usually focus on addressing the popular issues at the time of every election. In this way, party manifestos enshrine broad objectives, ideals, policy frameworks and public declarations that a party promises to follow in the event of its success during the election process.

Most of the political parties make it a point to issue policy directives on important issues that emerge from time to time. However, detailed principles, objectives and implementable strategic options are always made public during the campaigns before the general elections. Thus, the timing of the release of party manifestos is carefully selected to send a strong message to the masses on the basis of which the subsequent vote-seeking campaign is organised. That is why, the party manifestos have served as an important election tool to attract and influence the undecided voters. In the developed democracies, party manifestos greatly help in setting the tone of electioneering before every poll. It is because of this reason that the political parties invest a great deal of resources in formulation and publicity of their party manifestos.

A majority of political parties in Pakistan have also followed the tradition of announcing a party manifesto before every general election. But the exercise has largely remained symbolic and the manifestos of Pakistani political parties have mostly focused on rhetoric rather than on substance. This has not only led to the widespread apathy in general masses but has also added to the frustration of educated middle class of the society with the political process in Pakistan. The lack of any serious effort in informing the general public about the agenda of respective political parties also explains Pakistan's poor record in parliamentary democracy. An equally poor performance by the governing political parties that characterised unprincipled management of state affairs, and appalling departures from stated objectives and ideals, also highlights as to why our country has to rediscover a path to "sustained democracy," every now and then.

With the onset of first ever general elections in the new millennium, Pakistan stands on a crossroad to yet again rediscover a participatory form of government. At this important juncture, PILDAT has decided to author a comparative study of the manifestos of the Pakistani political parties with the aim of informing general public about the standing of these parties on various important issues confronting Pakistan. It is hoped that this research report will help fill the information gap and enable the masses to make right political decisions during the October 2002 elections.



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## PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The run up to October 2002 elections in Pakistan is devoid of typical fanfare and enthusiasm in the general masses. There are varied reasons for this inaction on the part of the people of Pakistan—one of them being the failure of the political parties to educate the people on what they stand for. Although almost all the major parties have made endeavours to publish their election manifestos, it is felt that the masses still lack the means or the access to compare these manifestos. This situation prevents a large cross section of society from intelligently using their right to franchise.

This study of comparison of election manifestos of major political parties simply aims to provide a tool whereby the general public becomes more aware of the alternative choices available to them in the form of different political parties. It is because of this reason that the study does not attempt to carry out a detailed analysis of the manifestos of each and every political party. Recognising that a study of manifestos of all 71 political parties and four (4) electoral alliances allowed to contest the forthcoming elections would have rather complicated this study hurting the very aim of simplifying the choices for our readers, PILDAT's team of analysts selected a total of six (6) political parties and two (2) political alliances comprising six (6) individual parties each, on the basis of a mixed criteria of past performance of parties in terms of winning seats in last elections as well as recent Gallup polls which rated political parties according to their support in the general public.



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## POLITICAL PARTIES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

(In Alphabetical Order)

▶ Awami National Party	(ANP)
▶ Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal	(MMA)
..... Jamaat-i-Islami	
..... Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadees	
..... Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam (F)	
..... Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam (S)	
..... Jamiat Ulma-e-Pakistan	
..... Tahreek-e-Jafria Pakistan	
▶ Muttahida Quami Movement	(MQM)
▶ National Alliance	(NA)
..... Balochistan National Party	
..... Millat Party	
..... National Awami Party	
..... National Peoples Party	
..... Sindh Democratic Alliance	
..... Sindh National Front	
▶ Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)	PML (N)
▶ Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam)	PML (QA)
▶ Pakistan Peoples Party (Parliamentarians)	PPP (P)
▶ Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	PTI



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## THE ISSUES IN POLITICAL DEBATE OF 2002 ELECTION

Using a set of recent Gallup survey results, consultations with analysts and the judgement of the PILDAT team of researchers, a list of issues was identified that the general masses expect to be addressed by the political parties in their election manifestos. A total of fourteen (14) issues were identified under four (4) broad parameters. It may be mentioned that unlike some surveys that tend to identify the most important problems in a ranking manner, this process solely identified the issues that most Pakistanis regard to be worthy of inclusion in the manifestos of Pakistani political parties. The issues identified as important from this perspective are enumerated below:-

### ► Economic Issues

- ..... Unemployment
- ..... High Cost of Living/Utilities
- ..... Poverty Alleviation
- ..... National Debt Retirement
- ..... Agricultural Development & Management of Water Resources

### ► Social Issues

- ..... Education
- ..... Women Development
- ..... Labour Welfare

### ► Political Issues

- ..... Constitutional Reforms
  - Provincial Autonomy
  - Role of Military in Government
- ..... Law and Order
- ..... Corruption and Accountability
- ..... Independence of State-Controlled Electronic Media

### ► Defence and Foreign Relations

- ..... Kashmir Dispute and Relations with India
- ..... Relations with United States of America

## PARTY POSITIONS ON IMPORTANT ISSUES

### ► Economic Issues

Because of their impact on the general masses, economic issues have become the main plank of political parties in their manifestos. Our survey also found out that a vast majority of people expect their future government to deliver a great deal on this issue by adopting responsive policies.





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### Unemployment:

Pakistan sadly suffers from the lowest rate of growth of employment in the region. Notwithstanding the official statistics which state the problem to be at 7-10 %, it is a known fact that this problem is far more serious than what the successive governments have maintained over the past many years. For the elections 2002, the issue of rising unemployment has surfaced to be the most important issue for the general masses. Almost all major political parties have also recognised this issue as the most troubling and have made proposals to address it seriously after the formation of their government. Party-wise position on the issue of handling the problem of unemployment is given below:

<b>UNEMPLOYMENT</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>ANP</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Government to be responsible for providing employment to all, otherwise unemployment allowance to be given</li> </ul>
<b>MMA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Respectable employment for the youth</li> </ul>
<b>MQM</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To find employment for retrenched employees in other industrial units</li> </ul>
<b>NA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ New development schemes to promote employment</li> <li>■ Grant of loans</li> <li>■ Creation of one million jobs in education sector</li> <li>■ 25% quota for women in public sector jobs</li> <li>■ Preference for women in educational sector jobs</li> </ul>
<b>PML (N)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ National credit policy for small-scale industry, IT sector and self-employment schemes</li> <li>■ Training and career counselling facilities to promote entrepreneurship, small business development</li> <li>■ Setting up of computerised Employment Exchange</li> </ul>
<b>PML (QA)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Skill development programmes</li> <li>■ Grant of loan and credit</li> <li>■ Enforcement of merit</li> <li>■ Help in overseas employment</li> <li>■ Equal opportunities for men and women</li> </ul>
<b>PPP (P)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Jobs for all able-bodied people according to their capability</li> <li>■ Industrialisation and foreign investment to be promoted for creating employment opportunities</li> </ul>
<b>PTI</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Investment in sectors with greater potentials for employment generation</li> </ul>




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**High Cost of Living / Utilities:**

People in Pakistan seem to suffer a continuous erosion in their purchasing power due to high cost of living and ever increasing utility rates. Despite an adverse impact on the standard of living, not many political parties seem to have addressed this issue in their manifestos. Party-wise position on this issue is appended below:-

<b>HIGH COST OF LIVING/ UTILITIES</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>ANP</b>	—
<b>MMA</b>	Provision of cheap electricity, water and diesel to landless farmers
<b>MQM</b>	—
<b>NA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Reduced prices of oil &amp; gas</li> <li>■ To lower prices of kitchen essentials</li> <li>■ To lower fares of road transport, railways and other means</li> <li>■ No GST on edibles</li> <li>■ To lower present electricity charges by 50%</li> </ul>
<b>PML (N)</b>	—
<b>PML (QA)</b>	—
<b>PPP (P)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To start a generic scheme for the availability of cheap medicines to the poor</li> <li>■ To ensure cheap medical facilities for the less advantaged</li> </ul>
<b>PTI</b>	■ Subsidies to be rationalised to protect weaker sections of society




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**Rise in Poverty:**

It is a widespread knowledge that rise in poverty in Pakistan has assumed an alarming proportion and according to the ADB survey, 40% of the population lives below poverty line. In one of the surveys conducted by the Herald magazine during February 2002, people ranked poverty higher than the problems of lawlessness, Kashmir, terrorism and education that face the Pakistani nation. It is because of this that Pakistani political parties seem to be rightly cognizant of this unending menace. However, in terms of specific solution to this problem, their manifestos still lack concrete measures. How the main political parties intend to treat this problem is shown hereunder:-

<b>RISE IN POVERTY</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>ANP</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The state to provide food, housing, education, health services and employment opportunities to all</li> </ul>
<b>MMA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To ensure judicious distributions of wealth</li> <li>■ To guarantee the provision of food, clothing, housing, medical treatment and education for all</li> </ul>
<b>MQM</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Poverty alleviation programmes through direct and indirect measures</li> </ul>
<b>NA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Return of looted money from the foreign banks and its expenditure on the poor</li> <li>■ Distribution of state land to the poor</li> <li>■ Opening of welfare centres, hostels and hospitals for the needy</li> </ul>
<b>PML (N)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Maintenance of lists of poor people to provide a system of support</li> <li>■ Banking system to promote self-employment and small business needs</li> <li>■ Setting up of national food security system through food stamps</li> <li>■ Primary health care plan for the poor</li> <li>■ Special non-formal education, mass training programmes in basic skills and disaster prevention and rehabilitation programmes for the poor</li> <li>■ Employment through labour intensive and community development projects</li> <li>■ Improvement in Zakat and Bait-ul-Mal delivery system and promotion of alms in Islamic tradition</li> <li>■ Poverty reduction programmes to focus on women</li> </ul>
<b>PML (QA)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Selling of state lands to those actually tilling them</li> </ul>
<b>PPP (P)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To ensure <i>Roti</i>, (Food) <i>Kapra</i> (Clothing) and <i>Makan</i> (Housing) for everyone</li> <li>■ To eradicate poverty by ensuring that the social sector budget is increased as in the Annual Development Plan</li> <li>■ Establishment of a Credit Bank</li> <li>■ Initiation of "pay as you earn" scheme</li> </ul>
<b>PTI</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To provide shelter to all in urban slums</li> <li>■ No Pakistani to sleep on an empty stomach</li> </ul>





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### National Debt Retirement:

The economic problems of Pakistan have magnified due to the growing national debt that limits the fiscal spending on development schemes as 40 % of the budget is spent on debt servicing. Almost all political parties have addressed this issue in their respective manifestos. Respective party-positions on this issue are appended below:-

<b>NATIONAL DEBT RETIREMENT</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
ANP	—
MMA	■ To promote self-reliance
MQM	■ Minimum reliance on foreign loans / assistance
NA	■ Reduce foreign loans in 5 years
PML (N)	—
PML (QA)	■ Balance the budget to gradually reduce dependence on foreign loans To seek rescheduling and restructuring of foreign debt
PPP (P)	—
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To negotiate a long debt management strategy with IMF</li> <li>■ Stop seeking loans at commercial rates</li> <li>■ Limit annual debt payment to 10% of foreign exchange earnings</li> <li>■ To negotiate debt swaps for investment in social sectors</li> </ul>




**What do Political Parties PROMISE?**
**Where do they stand on ISSUES?****Agricultural Development and Management of Water Resources:**

Being an agrarian economy, the focus of development in Pakistan stays on agricultural development and on judicious management of water resources. While the Pakistani economy has shown some good results in terms of agricultural production during the last few years, this sector still remains in an antiquated state. On the other hand, the drought like conditions during the last couple of years and rising prices of fuel-generated electricity, have also added to the challenges of equitable distribution of water resources and the need for the construction of new dams. Both of these issues are the main cause of inter-provincial rivalry and disharmony. All major political parties have extensively attended to this issue in their manifestos. The respective positions of major political parties are summarised as under:-

<b>Agricultural Development and Management of Water Resources</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>ANP</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Possession of agricultural property to be fixed at 50 acres per family</li> <li>■ End to allotment of state lands to bureaucracy, confiscation of already allotted lands to civil and military bureaucracy and its redistribution to the poor</li> <li>■ Establishment of large cooperative farms on state lands</li> <li>■ A commission to study and recommend redistribution of lands and setting up of agricultural industries</li> <li>■ Tillers and cultivators to be provided legal protection against eviction</li> <li>■ Protection against dual taxation to landowners</li> <li>■ Provision of houses and electricity to farmers in the villages along with others facilities like roads, schools, hospitals, social centres and sports facilities</li> </ul>
<b>MMA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Effective planning for agricultural progress</li> <li>■ Abolition of unnecessary taxes on agriculture</li> </ul>
<b>MQM</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Computerise land ownership / tenancy / crop records</li> <li>■ Water distribution accords with unanimous consent of provinces only</li> <li>■ No new irrigation projects including Kalabagh Dam, Greater Thal Canal Project etc, without the approval of all provincial assemblies and Council of Common Interests</li> <li>■ Ten million acre feet of water down Kotri Barrage for protection of environment</li> <li>■ To abolish compulsory procurement policy of agriculture commodities</li> <li>■ Disbandment of Trading and Rice Export Corporations</li> <li>■ Rationalisation of irrigation rates</li> <li>■ Measures for stoppage of water theft</li> </ul>
<b>NA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Effective agricultural reforms</li> <li>■ Agriculture to be made an industry</li> <li>■ Provision of interest-free loans to farmers</li> <li>■ Duty-free import of agricultural machinery</li> <li>■ Growth of agricultures on co-operative basis</li> <li>■ Ensure increased use of technology for agricultural purposes</li> <li>■ Judicious distribution of water and other resources amongst all provinces</li> <li>■ Control and storage of rain water in all provinces especially in Balochistan where 8.5 million acres will be brought under cultivation</li> <li>■ Construction of small dams throughout the country</li> <li>■ Prevent the wastage of water by brick-lining 145000 water channels.</li> </ul>





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## Agricultural Development and Management of Water Resources

Party	Proposed Programme
PML (N)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Five year agriculture master plan</li> <li>■ Enhancement of agriculture productivity</li> <li>■ Self sufficiency in production of tea, edible oils and olives</li> <li>■ Farm service centres at Union Council levels</li> <li>■ Development of horticulture and floriculture industry and their access to international markets</li> <li>■ Promotion of export of fruits and vegetables</li> <li>■ Improvement in agriculture marketing infrastructure</li> <li>■ Doubling of loans for small farmers</li> <li>■ Issuance of a passbook like NIC to every farmer and introduction of agriculture Credit Card</li> <li>■ Construction of more than 5,000 kilometres farm to market roads</li> <li>■ Electrification of more than 2500 villages</li> <li>■ Brick lining of water courses</li> <li>■ Construction of small dams and water reservoirs</li> <li>■ Training of 10,000 farmers in modern and progressive farming</li> <li>■ Promotion of research in livestock and fisheries sectors for enhanced export</li> <li>■ Water logging and salinity control programmes shall be intensified</li> <li>■ Preservation and expanding of forests</li> <li>■ Development of <i>barani</i> areas</li> <li>■ Allotment of land to the landless and loans to buy tractors and install tube wells</li> <li>■ Unification of agriculture taxes</li> <li>■ Rationalisation of prices of agricultural machinery, pesticides, fertilizers, and seeds</li> <li>■ Discount on electricity to bulk consumers for tube wells</li> <li>■ Distribution of water by irrigation departments to be made transparent and fair</li> <li>■ <i>Abiana</i> (water rate) system to be reformed</li> <li>■ Priority to research in biotechnology, genetic engineering, tissue culture, and embryo transfer technology</li> <li>■ Use of fertile agricultural lands in vicinity of urban and rural areas for housing societies, roads, and industrial estates to be discouraged</li> </ul>
PML (QA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Ten year development plan for every agricultural district</li> <li>■ Construction of dams for water storage</li> <li>■ Rationalisation of prices of agricultural inputs</li> <li>■ To bring agricultural produces prices at par with international level</li> <li>■ Availability of credit to agricultural sector</li> <li>■ To promote the production and marketing of high value crops</li> <li>■ Up-gradation of agro-based industries and agricultural machinery industry</li> <li>■ Promotion of livestock and fisheries sector and creation of a separate ministry for these sectors</li> <li>■ Introduction of Insurance schemes for crops and livestock</li> <li>■ Rationalisation of agricultural taxation system</li> </ul>
PPP (P)	



What do Political Parties PROMISE?



Where do they stand on ISSUES?

### Agricultural Development and Management of Water Resources

Party	Proposed Programme
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Automatic mechanism to set produce prices</li> <li>■ Timely provision of good seeds and unadulterated pesticides</li> <li>■ Water conservation and equitable distribution plan to maximise agricultural production</li> <li>■ Introduction of crop and livestock insurance schemes</li> <li>■ Allocation of 65% of ADP funds for agricultural and rural development</li> <li>■ To promote free movement of food grains throughout the country</li> <li>■ Introduction of corporate agriculture concept</li> <li>■ Reforms in land acquisition laws</li> <li>■ Computerisation of land records</li> <li>■ Creation of national agricultural corp of 30,000 landless peasants to cultivate 1.00 to 2.00 million acres of land</li> </ul>

#### Socials Sector Agenda:

The social profile of the country, encompassing education, health, women development and labour sectors, presents a dismal state of affairs. Reduced spending in these areas during the past many years has resulted in a degrading quality of life for a vast majority of population in Pakistan. The three potential areas that were identified for this study required immediate attention of the political parties. The manifestos of all major political parties have addressed these issues in one way or the other, as presented in the following paragraphs:-

#### Education:

Failure of public sector education system coupled with sliding level of spending on education, has forced a great majority of population to perpetual ignorance. It is because of this reason that common Pakistanis want to see the future governments to increase spending on education. All major political parties included in this study have devoted extensive space in their manifestos to this issue of vital importance. A comparison of key points of respective parties' policies is presented as under:

### EDUCATION

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Equal educational opportunities for all and end to system of education based on social standing</li> <li>■ Protection of independence of educational institutions</li> <li>■ Elimination of illiteracy</li> <li>■ To promote free and useful educational opportunities</li> <li>■ Promotion of democratic values in educational institutions</li> <li>■ Students to be given rights to organise and unionise themselves</li> <li>■ Changes in the system of teaching to promote research</li> <li>■ Enhancement of pay of teachers</li> <li>■ Medium of education to be the mother tongue along with other languages</li> <li>■ Guaranteed employment after education or unemployment allowance</li> <li>■ Promotion of adult education</li> </ul>
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To bring educational system in conformity with the ideology of Pakistan</li> <li>■ Free and compulsory education up to middle grade</li> <li>■ To promote democratic values in students</li> <li>■ Increase in literacy rate</li> </ul>





## What do Political Parties PROMISE?

## Where do they stand on ISSUES?

<b>EDUCATION</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>MQM</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Allocation of 5% of GNP annually for education</li> <li>■ Free Primary education for all, subsidised education for girls in rural areas and compulsory education up to matric level</li> <li>■ Provincialise/ localise university grants commission, raise standard of university education and grant scholarships for research within the country</li> <li>■ Bring 100% literacy rate in urban and rural areas within the next ten years</li> <li>■ Admissions to be strictly on merit</li> <li>■ To increase the number of vocational training institutes and introduce IT as compulsory subject from class 8th</li> <li>■ Revision of syllabus</li> <li>■ To promote local government oversight on educational institutions within their respective areas</li> <li>■ To regulate private schools and nomination of elected representatives on the Board of all Private Colleges/Universities and other institutes</li> <li>■ Increased salaries and training for teachers to promote their quality</li> <li>■ To encourage voluntary schemes for the spread of education in rural areas</li> </ul>
<b>NA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To bring an educational revolution in the country</li> <li>■ Immediate increase of 200% in the budget for education and increase from current 2% of budget to 18.7% within the next few years</li> <li>■ Promotion of education to be given an equal priority like defence</li> <li>■ Free and compulsory primary education for all</li> <li>■ Introduction of identical syllabus in all schools of the country</li> <li>■ Promotion of adult education</li> <li>■ Targets to be given to every educational institution for the spread of education</li> <li>■ Poor parents to be provided grain and cash for sending their kids to schools</li> </ul>
<b>PML (N)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Free education up to primary level</li> <li>■ 4% of GNP for education by 2007</li> <li>■ National language to be the prime medium of instructions along with English and other languages</li> <li>■ Universal primary enrolment by 2005 and at least 75% literacy level by 2010</li> <li>■ Standardisation of national curricula, with a focus on ethics, values, and character building</li> <li>■ Every government high school to have 10 computers by 2005 and 2000 government high schools to be made smart schools by 2010. All universities to be networked by 2004</li> <li>■ Reform in public sector institutions to provide high quality education</li> <li>■ To make up deficiency of 250,000 school teachers to bring back student-teacher ratio to 1990-1991 level</li> <li>■ Introduction of demand based technical and vocational education</li> <li>■ Special emphasis on education for girls</li> <li>■ Revival of <i>Qarz-e-Hasana</i> schemes for students</li> <li>■ Deeni Madaris to be brought in the ambit of mainstream educational system</li> <li>■ Incentives to private sector for investment on education</li> <li>■ Higher salaries to teachers to make the profession more attractive</li> <li>■ Setting up of National Testing Service and introduction of regular inspection system</li> <li>■ Autonomous status for public universities</li> </ul>





<b>EDUCATION</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>PML (QA)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ National learning targets for 5-10 years</li> <li>■ Allocation of 3% of GDP on education that will be increased to 4% over 10 years</li> <li>■ 100% literacy rate and 100% attendance at primary level by 2012. 50% attendance at secondary level for ages 12-16 and 5% attendance at university level for ages 18-21 by 2012</li> <li>■ Literacy and numeracy classes for illiterates and dropouts</li> <li>■ Introduction of pre-school nursery classes for children aged 4 by 2012</li> <li>■ Setting up of 100 Education Action Zones for raising school standards within first two years</li> <li>■ Setting up of Schools of excellence in all districts and major tehsils</li> <li>■ Encourage private schools to accept needy students on competitive basis against tax relief incentives</li> <li>■ Regulatory bodies to monitor the standard of private schools</li> </ul>
<b>PPP (P)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Enhancement of allocation for education up to 6% of GDP</li> <li>■ To provide free education to poor children</li> <li>■ Fee structure to be reviewed so as to enable children from families of insufficient means to get education at prestigious institutions</li> <li>■ English to be an optional language for students</li> <li>■ Promotion of libraries and establishment of vocational centres</li> <li>■ Internet access to government schools</li> <li>■ No child to stay uneducated for lack of resources</li> <li>■ Free textbooks to government primary schools</li> </ul>
<b>PTI</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Progressive increase in state spending to 5% of GNP in five years</li> <li>■ National literacy campaign to achieve 80% functional literacy in five years</li> <li>■ Reduce dropouts rate from 50% to 25% in five years</li> <li>■ Introduction of a common core syllabus for all schools including Deeni Madaris</li> <li>■ Community service and agriculture to be included as a core syllabus in schools</li> <li>■ Improve standard of teachers training institutes and offer market salaries to government teachers</li> <li>■ Universities to be made fully autonomous</li> <li>■ To establish a public university in each administrative division</li> <li>■ Tax incentive to private sector for investment in education research</li> <li>■ Scholarships to top 500 students from each board</li> <li>■ Introduce tele-education in schools</li> <li>■ Interest free bank loans and <i>Qarz-e-Hasana</i> to students</li> <li>■ Encourage greater public-private partnership in education</li> <li>■ An autonomous monitoring body to check the quality of education at all levels</li> <li>■ Expand collections from Zakat and spend it on education and health sectors</li> </ul>



## What do Political Parties PROMISE?

## Where do they stand on ISSUES?

**Women Development:**

Women constitute about 48% of the population of Pakistan, but on a gender basis their development status offers a dismal state of affairs. Minimal employment opportunities, discrimination, maltreatment, domestic abuse, torture, rape and honour killings are the familiar stories of the women landscape in Pakistan. Despite the fact that economic and social development goals cannot be achieved without participation of almost 50% population of Pakistan, the political will needed for affirmative action in the area of women development has been lacking. Thanks largely due to the importance given to this issue by international donor agencies, our political parties have also raised their level of interest in the development and progress of women in the society. The stance of each political party under our study, on the issue of Women Development is given hereunder

<b>WOMEN DEVELOPMENT</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>ANP</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Guarantee of equal rights for women in social, political and economic spheres</li> <li>■ Abolition of all discriminatory laws against women</li> </ul>
<b>MMA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Grant of rights to women in accordance with Quran and Sunnah</li> <li>■ To enable women to play a positive role in society</li> </ul>
<b>MQM</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To abolish all such laws that cause injustice and harassment to the female population</li> <li>■ To provide more opportunities to women to join teaching profession</li> <li>■ Training schools for female nurses, midwives and lady health visitors</li> <li>■ Population Welfare Centres to have 75% female staff</li> <li>■ Education, health and social welfare departments to place no restriction on appointment of female officers / officials</li> <li>■ Campaign to spread awareness against gender discrimination</li> <li>■ Women to be given appropriate and effective representation in every walk of life including elected bodies</li> </ul>
<b>NA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Equal rights for women in all spheres of life</li> <li>■ Reservation of 25% quota for women in all public / private sector jobs including their preference in educational sector</li> <li>■ Protection against all kinds of harassment</li> </ul>
<b>PML (N)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To ensure respect, dignity, and protection to women as granted by Islam</li> <li>■ To promote participation of women in national development and their social, political, and economic empowerment</li> <li>■ Preference to women teachers in primary education</li> <li>■ Relaxation of age limit for mothers and widows for employment</li> <li>■ Promotion of female education and health care programs</li> <li>■ Widows with minor children who have no source of income to be provided stipends till a child reaches the age of 18</li> <li>■ Protection of employment quota for women</li> <li>■ Effective representation of women in all key policy / decision making bodies</li> <li>■ Special legislation on violence against women and child abuse</li> <li>■ Review of law relating to sexual harassment</li> <li>■ First Women's Bank to retain its women focus</li> </ul>





What do Political Parties PROMISE?

Where do they stand on ISSUES?

<b>WOMEN DEVELOPMENT</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>PML (QA)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Encouragement of women to take part in elections</li> <li>■ Major Focus on education for women</li> <li>■ Improvement in the existing infrastructure for women and girls</li> <li>■ Involvement of women in agriculture projects</li> <li>■ Protection for women industrial workers under the labour laws</li> <li>■ Promotion of cooperatives for women</li> <li>■ Special legislation to combat all forms of violence against women</li> <li>■ Review of discriminatory laws against women</li> <li>■ Strengthening of laws of inheritance for women</li> <li>■ Ownership of government or state land allotments to be in the name of husband and wife</li> </ul>
<b>PPP (P)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Measures to give a larger role to women in various spheres of life</li> </ul>
<b>PTI</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Free education to girls from poor households up to matric including scholarship for graduates</li> <li>■ Reservation of 33 per cent seats for women in all elected bodies</li> <li>■ Creation of social awareness against brutal and un-Islamic customs and practices</li> <li>■ Legislation to ensure equal workplace opportunities to curb domestic violence against women and enactment of sexual harassment code</li> <li>■ Provision of housing assistance to working women</li> <li>■ To encourage active involvement of women in the management of community based rural development initiatives</li> <li>■ Specific micro-credit schemes for women</li> <li>■ Skill-based training for income generation and special functional literacy programmes for women</li> <li>■ To legislate and enforce laws for in camera trial of molestation and rape cases</li> <li>■ To establish separate "women support cells" in each police station at tehsil level</li> </ul>





## What do Political Parties PROMISE?

## Where do they stand on ISSUES?

### Labour Welfare:

In a country, where a sizeable majority of eligible workers subsist themselves on daily wages in the absence of suitable employment opportunities, it is a pity to note that not enough is being done to protect the rights of labour class. Although Pakistan is a signatory of International Labour Convention, but in practical terms the country lacks implementation in the system of security of employment, workplace safety, compensation and accident insurance, etc. Most of the political parties have now turned their attention to the issue of labour welfare. The stance of each party is enumerated below:

<b>LABOUR WELFARE</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>ANP</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To enforce rights of labour to form trade unions, to organise themselves and</li> <li>■ to have the rights to protest and strike</li> <li>■ Basic pay to be equal to 10 gm of gold (One tola)</li> <li>■ Arrangement of education for labours at their work places for their professional development</li> <li>■ To bring uniformity in the pay structure of highest and lowest paid workers</li> <li>■ Review of labour laws and abolition of anti-labour provisions</li> <li>■ The government and the employer to guarantee education, health and residential facilities to the household members of the labours</li> <li>■ Trade unions to become involved in the affairs of work place involving working conditions, administration and other social issues</li> </ul>
<b>MMA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To ensure profit sharing of labours in industrial profits</li> <li>■ Protection of the rights to unionise, strike and job security against discriminate retrenchment</li> <li>■ To increase the pay &amp; allowance and benefits of the labours</li> </ul>
<b>MQM</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To enact a new labour policy</li> </ul>
<b>NA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Minimum wages to be equal to 10 gm of gold</li> <li>■ Protection of rights of labours in accordance with ILO convention</li> <li>■ Provision of education and health facilities to the children of labours to be ensured with the cooperation of employers</li> </ul>
<b>PML (N)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To ensure safety at work and to provide proper compensation for industrial injuries</li> <li>■ Total prohibition of child labour</li> <li>■ Enactment of laws pertaining to bonded labour and unpaid labour</li> <li>■ Quality of labour force to be improved through technical training and apprenticeship</li> <li>■ Quality schools and colleges for children of labour</li> <li>■ Social security and health service to be improved</li> <li>■ Fund to be set up for helping families of workers whose death is caused by accident on job</li> <li>■ Incentives to be given to employers for offering scholarship for the talented children of workers</li> </ul>



What do Political Parties **PROMISE?**Where do they stand on **ISSUES?**

<b>LABOUR WELFARE</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>PML (QA)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Updating of labour laws</li> <li>■ Minimum working hours to be 48 hours per week</li> <li>■ Safety of workers and system of compensation for industrial injuries to be enforced</li> <li>■ Effective enforcement of laws relating to prohibition of child labour</li> <li>■ Laws pertaining to bonded labour and underpaid labour to be further strengthened</li> <li>■ Encouragement of industries to promote upgrading capacities of their workers through further training</li> <li>■ Minimum wages for industrial labour to be Rs 3000/-</li> </ul>
<b>PPP (P)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Workers to be given the first right to bid for the units under privatisation</li> </ul>
<b>PTI</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To ensure all rights associated with trade union activities</li> <li>■ Implementation of already guaranteed profit sharing system</li> <li>■ Repeal of repressive labour laws</li> <li>■ To extend the scope of labour laws to include labour hired by contractors</li> <li>■ Reorganisation of existing social security institutions</li> <li>■ Provision of job security to workers and insurance and social security / unemployment cover</li> <li>■ Representation for working classes in the National and Provincial Assemblies and local bodies</li> <li>■ Improved vocational training opportunities for labour</li> <li>■ To set the minimum wage limit to Rs 5000 per month</li> </ul>



What do Political Parties PROMISE?



Where do they stand on ISSUES?

## Political Issues

### Constitutional Reforms:

Pakistan's constitutional history is full of instances of abrogation, amendments and ruthless breaches. Every few years, we are faced with the question of what best serves the genius of the Pakistani people in terms of what we can call a "constitution". Our debate on the need for a unanimous constitution has often focused on the 'spirit' thereof rather than its 'substance'. It is the quest of this unique perspective that has often led to countless modifications in the structure of our constitutions-the latest in the series being that of 1973. With the onset of elections that have been preceded by another Legal Framework Order, the masses again find themselves in the midst of a political debate that they have no clue about. Although to a majority of Pakistanis, the issue has no relevance but still some sections of society want our political parties to address two questions of immense constitutional value that are given below:

### Provincial Autonomy:

A very dangerous mix of failing economy, dwindling resources and an ever-increasing population, has once again brought the issue of provincial autonomy to the forefront of political debate. Mainly demanded by smaller political parties in the past that subsisted on regional vote bank, the issue has now also attracted widespread support amongst larger national parties. A glance at the position of major political parties is presented hereunder:

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Constituent units to have full autonomy</li> <li>■ Federal government to have subject of foreign affairs, currency, communication and defence only</li> <li>■ Constituent units to have the right to keep militia force</li> <li>■ Senate to have equal representation from all constituent units</li> <li>■ All nationalities to have equal rights to run the affairs of the state</li> <li>■ Federating units of Pakistan to be restructured according to linguistic, cultural, uniformity and historic basis</li> <li>■ Party to oppose demarcation of Sindh province</li> <li>■ Regional languages to be given the status of national languages</li> <li>■ Right of governance of every constituent unit to rest with the nationals of that units only</li> </ul>
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Real constitutional autonomy to provinces</li> <li>■ Deletion of concurrent list from the constitution of Pakistan</li> <li>■ To ensure allocation of due royalty to provinces against the use of their natural resources</li> <li>■ Judicious distribution of power and resources</li> </ul>





What do Political Parties PROMISE?

Where do they stand on ISSUES?

<b>PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>MQM</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To make senate an effective body for the protection of rights of constituent units</li> <li>■ Provinces to have full provincial autonomy in accordance with the spirit of Lahore Resolution of 1940</li> <li>■ Federation to have only three subjects: defence, foreign affairs and currency</li> <li>■ No taxes or fees to be raised by the federation on its own behalf</li> <li>■ Funds needed by the federation for Defence, Foreign Affairs and Currency to be paid by the provinces on the basis of their population</li> <li>■ Zakat to be distributed in the same district from where it is collected</li> <li>■ All federally administered areas to be made as regular districts within the jurisdiction of the respective provinces except the federal capital</li> <li>■ Local bodies institutions to be strengthened with effective financial, administrative and legislative powers and constitutional protections</li> <li>■ All cantonment areas to be brought under the political ambit of the Local / District / City Governments</li> <li>■ All Federal Corporations, Autonomous Bodies and Services including Defence to have equal provincial representation</li> <li>■ Governors to hold office during the leisure of Provincial Assemblies</li> </ul>
<b>NA</b>	
<b>PML (N)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Provincial autonomy to be respected and enforced in accordance with the constitution</li> </ul>
<b>PML (QA)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Allocation of more funds to provinces through National Finance Commission</li> </ul>
<b>PPP (P)</b>	
<b>PTI</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Rejection of recent constitutional amendments that undermine provincial autonomy</li> <li>■ National Finance Commission to have a permanent secretariat</li> <li>■ Federal share in divisible pool of taxes to be reduced to 55% from 62.5%</li> <li>■ An independent body to assess the royalties for provinces</li> <li>■ Setting up of provincial finance commission for fiscal discipline</li> <li>■ National and provincial finance commissions to allocate resources to local bodies</li> </ul>



What do Political Parties PROMISE?

Where do they stand on ISSUES?

**Role of Military in Government:**

In a period of little over 50 years, Pakistan has seen military governments on four occasions eclipsing the total time span of civilian governments in the history of Pakistan. Once again Pakistan prepares itself for a return to civilian rule through the forthcoming elections, but like always the question facing the nation is not what to expect of their new government but to suspect as to how long the honeymoon will last? This time, the return to democracy is taking place under the shadow of a khaki-clad president duly aided by a National Security Council. The new constitutional amendments have given a formal role to the all-powerful military in the affairs of the government. Through these amendments, the military seems to have seized the power to bargain with their civilian partners. But do the political parties including those booted out of their office under the military pressure address this issue? What is the stance of political parties on the issue of the role of military? Party-wise position on this issue is given below:

<b>ROLE OF MILITARY IN GOVERNMENT</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>ANP</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To guarantee against the involvement of military and civil bureaucracy in national politics</li> <li>■ Accountability for past unconstitutional interventions</li> </ul>
<b>MMA</b>	—
<b>MQM</b>	—
<b>NA</b>	—
<b>PML (N)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The defence committee of the cabinet to be reconstituted in to a cabinet committee on defence and national security</li> <li>■ Military's honour and respect as a professional and apolitical institution to be restored</li> <li>■ Defence budget barring classified items to be debated</li> <li>■ Necessary constitutional amendments to block future military take-overs,</li> <li>■ Military law to be amended to make obedience of unlawful command a crime like the disobedience of a lawful command</li> <li>■ The efficacy of the Higher Defence Organisation to be reviewed and defence production capability to be professionalised and commercialised</li> <li>■ The service chiefs to be appointed by the president on the advice of the prime minister on merit</li> <li>■ Military intelligence agencies to be confined to security and counter-terrorism assignments only</li> <li>■ Highest professional standards in the armed forces to be maintained</li> </ul>
<b>PML (QA)</b>	—
<b>PPP (P)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To take steps to prevent military interventions and strengthening of democratic institutions</li> </ul>
<b>PTI</b>	—





## What do Political Parties PROMISE?

## Where do they stand on ISSUES?

### Law and Order:

A single distinction of the successive governments in Pakistan has been their stark failure to maintain adequate law and order situation in the country. Over the years, the situation has gone from bad to worse and there is no sign of improvement despite there being a military government in the country. The rise in crime rate has not only added to the feeling of insecurity of a common man but the sense of loss of dignity at the hands of an unbridled police force, has made him to expect much more than plain talk from the political parties. Party-wise viewpoint on the issue is appended below:

<b>LAW AND ORDER</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>ANP</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Effective actions to curb crimes and lawlessness in the country</li> </ul>
<b>MMA</b>	—
<b>MQM</b>	—
<b>NA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Safety of life and property to be ensured</li> <li>■ Police stations to be made answerable for crimes within their jurisdiction.</li> <li>■ Promotion and demotion of police officers to be according to their performance</li> </ul>
<b>PML (N)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Fair and across the board application of law</li> <li>■ Police to be made a community oriented service and reformed</li> <li>■ Heinous crime cases and criminals to be dealt with iron hand</li> <li>■ Criminal justice system to be reformed for speedy disposal and Pakistan Penal Code, Law of Evidence, and the Criminal Procedures Code to be revised</li> <li>■ Narcotics trade and sectarian / religious violence to be eliminated from the society</li> <li>■ Jails to be made correction centres</li> <li>■ Security agencies to be made effective</li> <li>■ Special monitoring cells to be set up in the centre and provinces</li> <li>■ Crime fighting agencies to be trained in the modern investigation and crime prevention techniques and tools</li> <li>■ Citizen and Police liaison committees to be set up at all levels</li> <li>■ Budget for inland security to be doubled</li> </ul>
<b>PML (QA)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Introduction of police reforms to make it citizens friendly</li> <li>■ To strengthen the law enforcement system</li> </ul>
<b>PPP (P)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Top priority to protection of the life and property of the people</li> </ul>
<b>PTI</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Setting up of Permanent Public Safety Commissions at the Federal and Provincial levels</li> <li>■ Enactment of laws to reform the police system</li> <li>■ Setting up of independent prosecution service to ensure impartial police investigations and to oversee that the arrests made by police are justified under law</li> <li>■ Equip police with modern arms and communication facilities</li> <li>■ District Mohtasibs to be appointed to look into the grievances regarding police highhandedness</li> <li>■ District police officers to be held accountable for crime rate higher than monitoring indicators</li> <li>■ To rationalise and reform the intelligence gathering agencies</li> </ul>




**What do Political Parties PROMISE?**
**Where do they stand on ISSUES?****Corruption and Accountability:**

In the dictionary of Pakistani politics, corruption and accountability go hand in hand. The use of these terms is alternated as the change in the position of parties take place; from the position in government to the position in opposition or vice versa. Like the corruption in public offices, the Pakistani society on the whole suffers from the malaise of corruption as well. The recent tough laws and the establishment of National Accountability Bureau seemed to have marginally helped in arresting corruption. The general masses are of the view that there is a need for the enactment and enforcement of tougher laws to check corruption especially in public offices. It may be mentioned that the leadership of two major political parties i.e. PML (N) and PPP were charge sheeted on account of corruption at the time of their ouster from the government. But the masses consider that exercise as nothing more than a witch-hunt. It is because of this that the general masses expect the political parties to announce workable policies to check corruption. The stance of political parties on this issue is appended below:

<b>CORRUPTION AND ACCOUNTABILITY</b>	
<b>Party</b>	<b>Proposed Programme</b>
<b>ANP</b>	—
<b>MMA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To ensure across the board accountability of rulers, elected representatives, judiciary, Armed Forces and administrative officials</li> </ul>
<b>MQM</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Statutory Public Accounts Committees to be streamlined and strengthened</li> <li>■ Office of Auditor General to be made more independent and effective</li> <li>■ All functions and powers of NAB to be transferred to the expanded offices of Federal and provincial Ombudsmen</li> </ul>
<b>NA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To organize a movement against corruption in government and society</li> <li>■ To confiscate all ill-gotten wealth from the corrupt</li> </ul>
<b>PML (N)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Promulgation of law of conflict of interest</li> <li>■ Setting up of an ethics committee of both houses of parliament to check the conduct of members</li> <li>■ Setting up of a national accountability body to check corruption in all sectors of society</li> <li>■ Empowerment of Auditor General's office to check corruption and abuse in government departments</li> <li>■ Disclosure of assets of public representatives to be made mandatory</li> <li>■ System of property rights and land transfer to be streamlined to eliminate corruption</li> </ul>
<b>PML (QA)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Strengthening of National Accountability Bureau (NAB)</li> <li>■ Anti Corruption Departments at provincial levels to investigate all civil servants</li> <li>■ Disclosure of assets and interests by government officials, industrialist and businessmen to be made mandatory</li> </ul>




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What do Political Parties PROMISE?

Where do they stand on ISSUES?

### INDEPENDENCE OF STATE- CONTROLLED ELECTRONIC MEDIA

Party	Proposed Programme
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To introduce and enforce law that frees the electronic media from government control</li> <li>■ To promote professionalism in journalism</li> <li>■ To institute legal reforms to strengthen the law to ensure responsible conduct of the media</li> <li>■ To eliminate corruption in government departments dealing with advertisements</li> </ul>

## Foreign Relations

### Kashmir Dispute and Relations with India:

In the history of Indo-Pak relations, mutual distrust and enmity between these countries have been of a constant factor. Both countries have already fought four wars over the still unresolved issue of Kashmir, besides engaging themselves in an unending arms race that also led to the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and missiles by both countries. During the past few months, tensions between these neighbours have assumed an alarming proportion with the eyeball-to-eyeball engagement of troops on both side of the border. In terms of politics, popularity of a government or a political party in both countries depends a great deal on the bellicose gestures and inflammatory postures towards the other country. However, the ground reality of this constant tension is that people on both sides genuinely want their governments to make peace with each other including the settlement of Kashmir dispute. Being a subject of vital importance, people in Pakistan want their political parties to address the issue of peace with India in a sincere manner. How each of the political party, under our study, aims to address this issue is given hereunder:-

### KASHMIR DISPUTE AND RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	—
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To get right of self determination for the Kashmiris</li> <li>■ To strengthen the defence of the country</li> </ul>
MQM	—
NA	—
PML (N)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To secure the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir</li> <li>■ To endeavour to establish friendly and cooperative relations with all neighbouring countries of South Asia</li> </ul>
PML (QA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To support the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir in securing the right of self determination for their people</li> <li>■ To work for the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues for normal relations with India without compromising our Commitment to Kashmiris</li> </ul>



What do Political Parties PROMISE?



Where do they stand on ISSUES?

## KASHMIR DISPUTE AND RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Party	Proposed Programme
PPP (P)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To strive for the solution of Kashmir problem in accordance with the UN resolutions and the Simla accord</li> <li>■ To enter into tripartite talk involving Pakistan, India and the representatives</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ To take steps for de-escalation of tensions between both the countries</li> </ul>
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Resolutely support the Kashmiris freedom struggle for their right of self determination</li> <li>■ To promote and strive for regional peace with all neighbouring countries based on sovereign equality</li> </ul>

### Relations with United States of America:

Pak-US relations have seen many periods of ups and downs since their establishment about 60 years ago. During this period, Pakistan has always acted as a loyal friend to the US in support of her goals-whether it was to help establish Sino-US relations or to act as a conduit state against the occupation in Afghanistan. In the more recent times, Pakistan has also joined hands with the US to fight the war on terrorism. It appears that such a strong resume of support would have resulted in the establishment of closer linkages between the government and the people of both the states. What can be said so in the case of the former, but the general feeling in Pakistan towards the US is one of antagonism and distrust. Influenced largely by the opposition's criticism, the widespread view is that the US has miserably failed to reward Pakistan for the sacrifices in support of the US interests. This perception that always translates into the loss of goodwill for the Pakistani governments on the issue of Pakistan's relations with the US. In this backdrop, the issue of Pak-US relations becomes very important for the Pakistani political parties to address in their manifestos. But in actual how these political parties treat this issue, is shown hereunder:

## RELATIONS WITH USA

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	_____
MMA	_____
MQM	_____
NA	_____
PML (N)	■ To cooperate with US for promoting international peace and security
PML (QA)	■ To further promote long standing and fruitful relationship with the US
PPP (P)	_____
PTI	■ Establish a new paradigm of mutually beneficial relations with the USA based on shared interests and common values



What do Political Parties PROMISE?

Where do they stand on ISSUES?

## POLITICS OF ISSUES PROFILES OF INDIVIDUAL PARTIES

### Awami National Party:

The manifesto of ANP lacks assimilation of recent developments in socio-political environments. As a matter of fact, the election manifesto provided to PILDAT seems to date back to 1980, and as such leaves many important issues as unanswered. Overall, the party has made extensive commitments on agricultural and labour reforms, as well as on the issue of provincial autonomy. On agricultural reforms, the party intends to limit land holdings and wants to set up large farms on cooperative basis. On the issue of labour welfare reforms, ANP intends to promote welfare of workers and to fix minimum wages equal to grams (one tola) of gold. On provincial autonomy, the party stands for a limited role of federation that only deals with the subject of foreign affairs, currency, communication and defence. On the issue of the role of military in government affairs, ANP seems to have taken a bold stand. It pledges to resist all military interventions and vows to hold accountability of past military take-overs. To a lesser degree, the party also makes a mention of its employment programme, poverty alleviation, women development and law and order improvement plans. However, the party has not made any commitment, whatsoever, regarding reduction in the utility charges, elimination of corruption, end of government control on state electronic media and on Pakistan's relations with India and US. Overall, the party's manifesto gives an impression of ANP being a regional party rather than a national party.

### Mutahhida Majlis-e-Amal:

This six party alliance of religious parties has presented a manifesto that only discusses the issues in general terms. The manifesto is critically devoid of specifics in all regards and omits some of the pressing issues of the current election campaign like the debt retirement programmes, the role of military in government, the improvement in law and order situation, as well as the alliance's position on Pakistan's relations with USA. The alliance, however, attends to some issues in a broader manner and makes concrete pledges. On the issue of education, it declares to make education as compulsory up to class 8th. Similarly, on provincial autonomy the alliance intends to grant real constitutional autonomy and intends to delete concurrent list from the constitution as well. The alliance intends to hold accountability of all-powerful elements of society including the members of armed forces and the judiciary. But overall, the alliance seems to have resorted to simple pronouncements without providing details of how it intends to implement its ambitious programmes.

### Multahidda Qaumi Movement:

MQM's manifesto is full of many surprise omissions on certain issues regarding which the party is known to have a hawk like policy. As such, it is strange to find out that the party has not touched upon the issue of the role of military in government affairs. Similarly the party has also overlooked to discuss the labour welfare, improvement in law and order, the issue of unemployment and the reduction in the prices of the utilities, etc. On the other hand, the party has covered the issue of provincial autonomy in much greater depth than many other parties. On this issue, the party intends to fight for a new constitution on the basis of Lahore resolution of 1940 that provides guarantees for provincial autonomy with few subject in the hands of the federal government. The party has also made extensive pledges on the spread of education and on women development issues. On the foreign affairs front, MQM has made no mention about the resolution of Kashmir dispute and regarding Pakistan's relations with India and USA. Overall it seems that MQM has only followed the goal of rewriting of the constitution as the central theme of its manifesto.





What do Political Parties PROMISE?

Where do they stand on ISSUES?

## POLITICS OF ISSUES PROFILES OF INDIVIDUAL PARTIES

### National Alliance:

This alliance of mostly regional nationalist parties has presented a balanced manifesto that has not addressed the issues of provincial autonomy, the role of military in government and Pakistan's relations with India / USA. But the alliance has made elaborate commitments regarding the issues of unemployment, high cost of utilities and agricultural development, etc. The alliance has also made specific commitments with regards to its policy on law and order, labour welfare reforms, women development and the spread of education. The hallmark of the alliance's manifesto is that it has covered many important issues that were beyond the scope of this study. However, the extensive array of issues covered by the alliance, reflects that the alliance aims to take a national perspective on the issues confronting our country. Alliance's failure to address the issue of role of military in government may convey a negative message to the people as the alliance already seems to enjoy the backing of the military government.

### Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz):

The manifesto of PML(N) is unique because it has altogether omitted some of the policy issues that the party seemed to have spearheaded in the past. One such glaring omission is the non-discourse on the debt retirement scheme-a programme initiated with much fan-fare by former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif during his second term in office. It is therefore strange to find that the party's manifesto is completely silent on the issue. Similarly, on the issue of rising prices of utilities and on the independence of state controlled electronic media, PML(N) has taken no stance at all. On another note, the party has not come up with a firm policy against the constitutional amendments proposed by the present regime. Although not a topic of discussion of our study, but on a general level it is expected that the two main parties of the countries i.e. PML (N) and PPP(P) should address this issue owing to their stature in Pakistani politics and also being the victims of military-led expulsions from the governments in the past. Again just like the National Security Council, the party has proposed a similar body in the shape of defence committee of the cabinet without elaborating the scope and the extent of such a forum that formalises the process of involvement of the military in government affairs. Despite its glaring shortcomings in addressing some of the main issues, the party has presented a detailed manifesto that encompasses most of the important issues of the present day political landscape.

### Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam)

In terms of contents, the manifesto of PML(QA) is not much different from PML(N). Both of these parties seem to have presented similar programmes on many issues, barring exceptions of few issues like the civil- military relations that have been covered in detail by the PML (N). On the average, the party has made extensive commitments in terms of agriculture development, the spread of education and on women development issues. The party has also made specific pledges in terms of fighting corruption and for speeding up the accountability process. However like the National Alliance (NA), PML(QA) has also not addressed the issue of the role of military in government affairs-ostensibly for the similar reasons. Overall, PML(QA) has presented a better and balanced picture of its programmes.



What do Political Parties PROMISE?



Where do they stand on ISSUES?

## POLITCS OF ISSUES PROFILES OF INDIVIDUAL PARTIES

### Pakistan Peoples Party (Parliamentarians)

Unfortunately, PILDAT could not obtain a copy of the manifesto of **Pakistan Peoples Party (Parliamentarians)** as the party leadership refused to provide an early copy before the announcement of the party's manifesto. However, for this study, PILDAT relied on few news items published in the national dailies that printed some of the contents of the upcoming manifesto of the party. The highlight of this manifesto is the proposal for the creation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to address the question of political victimisation. The party also seems to have taken a tough stance on the question of military interventions in the country. True to its tradition, the party intends to make the provision of *Roti* (Food), *Kapra* (Clothing) and *Makan* (Housing) as the corner stone of its election campaign.

### Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf:

Of all the parties included in our study, PTI seems to have presented a manifesto that covers most of the important issues agitating the minds of voters. More so, the manifesto seems to contain many elaborate programmes like debt retirement scheme, agricultural development and water resources management programmes, education and women development programmes, etc. PTI has also made extensive proposals regarding labour welfare, the issue of accountability and for the independence of the state controlled electronic media. On the issues of foreign policy, PTI has also discussed its stance on the Kashmir problem and the extent/scope of Pakistan's relations with India and USA. Of all the issues covered by PILDAT's study, PTI has omitted the issue of the role of military in government affairs. Considering the record of PTI's support for the presidential referendum, it can be said that the omission seems rather deliberate and the party seems to follow a non-confrontational stance against the military government.