

Election 2008

A Comparative Analysis of Election Manifestoes of Major Political Parties

What do the Political Parties PROMISE?

Where do they stand on ISSUES?

December 2007

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Preface

The Analysis of Election 2008 Manifestoes of major Political Parties of Pakistan is an attempt to showcase the pledges, promises and policies of the political parties on issues that they feel are important for the Pakistani electorate. The 2008 Election takes place in the backdrop of a dense political, constitutional and security environment with the electorate complaining of ever-increasing inflation and high cost of living. The issues such as the role of the military in politics, independence of the judiciary and the reinstatement of deposed Judges, insurgency in tribal areas, centre-provinces relations, economic uplift of the people, etc., all make part of news headlines in the period preceding election. This study analyses how the leading political parties of Pakistan that are supposed to have their hands on the pulse of the people, respond to these issues and what policies do they propose for addressing these issues.

Another objective of the Analysis of the Manifestoes of political parties is to facilitate the voter to base his or her decision to vote for a political party on the basis of the party's position on issues. Year 2007 has witnessed an awakening in the society on issues such as the supremacy of the rule of law. Results of various public opinion polls indicate that there is near consensus in the society on some of the key issues relating to the overall debate of the rule of law, democracy and the role of the military in politics. How this trend manifests itself in people's choice in political parties remains to be seen. This study, however, is an attempt to assist the voters in comparative analysis of party's positions on key issues before they choose their candidates.

This study may also be useful to the political parties in comparing their manifestoes with the other parties. Political researchers, analysts and Media both in Pakistan and outside may also find this comparison useful in their professional work.

The present study is second in the series of the comparative analysis of political parties' manifestoes carried out by PILDAT. The first such study was conducted and disseminated before the October 2002 election to fill the information gap and enable the people to make right political decisions on the basis.

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Islamabad
December 2007

Executive Summary

The Analysis of the Election 2008 Manifestoes of Major Political Parties of Pakistan is an attempt by PILDAT to highlight, for the benefit of the Pakistani electorate, how each of the major political parties plans to address key national issues confronting Pakistani state and society today. The comparative analysis of election manifestos of major political parties 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.

The paper analyses the manifestoes of major political parties that have been unveiled ahead of Election 2008. The paper covers the manifestoes of the Awami National Party (ANP), Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), Muttahidda Quami Movement (MQM), Pakistan Muslim League (PML), Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). Instead of analysing the manifesto of each political party separately, the paper analyses the position of each of the parties included in the study on a list of issues including Economic Issues, Political Issues, Social Issues and Nuclear Policy and Foreign Relations. The list of issues analysed in the study has been either derived from the result of various recent public opinion polls in which people have ordered issues of importance or PILDAT has picked them as issues that dominate the 2008 Election debate.

For the purpose of analysis, parties' positions have been defined as General, Detailed, Extensive or No Stance. The analysis of the manifestoes reveals that on most issues, the Pakistan Peoples Party and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz have outlined detailed or extensive policies. Some other parties analysed such as the PML and the MQM have also presented detailed positions on some issues but in comparison to the PPP and PML-N who have had experience in running the governments at the centre and in the provinces, the positions of other political parties lack comprehensive treatment.

A common feature of the manifestoes is the generality or vagueness of their positions on a number of issues. At times, the articulation of the positions amounts to non-statements. Despite this common flaw, some parties have taken specific positions on some issues and that makes the public accountability of the party easy once it comes into power and serves for a term.

Apart from parties' positions on each issue tabulated in the study, the Party Position Chart in the beginning of the study outlines whether a party has taken a position on the issue and the extent of the policies of each party contained in their manifestoes on the categorisation of General, Detailed and Extensive.

On the broader cluster of Economic Issues including Unemployment, Poverty Alleviation, Agricultural Development and Water Resources and Energy, the PML-N and the PPP have presented detailed policies followed by the PML and the MQM. The ANP, mostly focussing on economic issues faced by the NWFP has taken a detailed position only on the Agricultural Development and Water Resources stressing its position against the construction of new water reservoirs. On the critical issue of Energy crisis in the country, both MQM and the PML have outlined no position in their manifestoes while only the PPP has discussed the subject in detail with all remaining

parties with a general mention of their position on the issue. The most striking and bold aspect of the PPP's economic manifesto is the commitment to provide guaranteed employment for at least 1 year.

In the section containing Political Issues including Independence of the Judiciary, Civil-Military Relations, Sovereignty of the Parliament, Provincial Autonomy, Devolution and the Local Government System, Status of FATA, Policy to Counter Terrorism, Independence of the Media and Corruption and Accountability, it is the PML-N and the PPP that have made extensive pledges. The PML-N is the only political party that has devoted a chapter in its manifesto to the Independence of the Judiciary and the Civil-Military Relations, taking a clear position on the reinstatement of the deposed judges. The PML and the MQM, both allies of the Musharraf regime, have taken no position on the question of civil-military relations or on the role of military in politics or the independence of the judiciary. The PPP is conspicuous by taking a very brief, general and almost vague position on the Independence of Judiciary and by taking no position at all on the reinstatement of the judges deposed unconstitutionally on November 3, 2007. Both PPP and the PML-N have outlined extensive positions on the sovereignty of the Parliament outlining key reform to strengthen the institution of Parliament.

On the issues of Education, Health, Labour, Rights of Women, Non-Muslims, Youth and Environment, the parties' positions follow the same pattern. Despite Youth constituting a large chunk of the population and notwithstanding youth's role in the overall electorate today and in the days to come, most political parties including the PPP, the ANP, the MMA and the MQM do not mention Youth in their manifestoes with only the PML and the PML-N outlining detailed positions on the subject. The issue of Health, Women Development, Rights of Non-Muslim Communities and Environment too do not receive adequate levels of attention by the political parties whose manifestoes have been covered in the study. Issues of Labour, as expected, have been mentioned in the greatest detail and the most specific terms in the PPP manifesto. The PML-N, though, is the only party which has given a specific figure (Rs. 5000) for the new minimum monthly wage for labour.

On the Security Policy, especially Nuclear Policy and Pakistan's Foreign Policy with key regional and international players including India, Afghanistan, USA, European Union, China and the Muslim Countries, most parties' positions are not a departure from the existing nuclear policy of the country with all parties supporting strengthening of relations with regional and international players. The PPP wishes to place the command and control of nuclear weapons under the Defence Committee of the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister unlike the current position where this control has been vested in the President recently. The PPP has also outlined extensive proposals to improve relations with Afghanistan while the PML-N wishes to focus on building economic ties with countries around the world.

An important issue which has not received direct or detailed attention from any political party is the fast declining business competitiveness of Pakistan in a globalised world. The vision, policy and plan to address this critical issue are missing from the party manifestoes.

Almost all parties except the former ruling party the PML have repeatedly demanded “an independent Election Commission” but surprisingly how these parties, with the small exception of the PML-N, propose to make the Election Commission independent is not touched in the manifestoes.

Agriculture in Pakistan is suffering due to shortage of irrigation water. The scarcity of water during the low-rain periods necessitates development of water reservoirs on the rivers. The current reservoirs are silting up and capacity is depleting. In addition, hydroelectric projects are essential to meet the rising needs of energy at competitive rates. Despite these pressing needs, Pakistan has been unable to build new storage dams and hydroelectric projects because the provinces could not develop consensus. Unfortunately, none of the political parties have proposed a tangible solution to this critical problem and have largely dwelled in generalities and expression of good wishes.

Party Position Chart

Political Parties Position on Key Issues - Election 2008							
No.	Issues	ANP	MMA	MQM	PML	PML-N	PPP
1	Unemployment	■	■	■	■	■■■	■■■
2	Poverty Alleviation	■	■	■■	■■	■■■	■■■
3	Agricultural Development and Water Resources	■■	■	■■	■	■■■	■■■
4	Energy	■	■	✕	✕	■	■■
5	Independence of the Judiciary	■	■	■	✕	■■■	■■
6	Civil Military Relations	■	■	✕	✕	■■	■■
7	Sovereignty of the Parliament	■	■	■	■	■■■	■■■
8	Provincial Autonomy	■■	■■	■	■	■■	■■■
9	Devolution and Local Government System	✕	■	■	■	■	■
10	Status of FATA	■■■	■	■	■	■	■■■
11	Policy to Counter Terrorism	■	■	■	■	■	■
12	Independence of the Media	■	■	■	✕	■	■
13	Corruption and Accountability	■	■	■■■	■	■■	■
14	Education	■■	■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
15	Health	■	■	■■	■■	■■	■■
16	Labour Issues	✕	■■	■■	■	■■	■■■
17	Women Development	■	■	■	■	■	■■
18	Rights of Non-Muslim Communities	■	■	■■	■	■	■■
19	Youth	✕	✕	✕	■■	■■	✕
20	Environment Issue	■	■■	■	■	■	■■
21	Nuclear Policy	■	✕	■	■	■	■
22	Kashmir Dispute and Relations with India	■	■	■	■	■	■
23	Relations with Afghanistan	■	■	■	■	■	■■■
24	Relations with China	■	✕	✕	■	■	■
25	Relations with the Western Powers (Special Focus on USA)	■	■	■	■	■	■
26	Relations with the Islamic Countries	✕	■	■	■	■■	■

No Stance ✘

General ■

Detailed ■ ■

Extensive ■ ■ ■

Purpose and Scope of the Study

The pre-election atmosphere of the 2008 General Election is different from the previous General Election held in 2002. The 2002 Election appeared devoid of typical fanfare and enthusiasm in the general masses. Owing to the absence of the leaders of the two major political parties, the PML-N and the PPP, most the electoral campaign was at the constituency and not at the national level. This General Election not only seen the heads of the major parties back and in action on the campaign trail, the significant difference is the levels of awareness in the society on key political issues such as the rule of law, independence of judiciary, the continued role of the military in politics. Thanks to the mushrooming of independent electronic news media (although it is placed under significant curbs in the pre-electoral phase beginning November 03, 2007), the lawyers and civil society movements on the rule of law and the reinstatement of deposed judges, successive public opinion polls point towards the new trend of increased public awareness and expression to this awareness in the people.

But at the key policy level, can the people differentiate between what various political parties promise to deliver? How do political parties plan to tackle the issues of unemployment, inflation, poverty, extremism and the country's relations with the regional and international players? How do political parties pledge to resolve the crucial question of provincial autonomy and equitable rights of the provinces under the federation of Pakistan? How do they plan to address the insurgency in FATA and stop extremism from finding human ammunition and foot soldiers from the soil of Pakistan?

The analysis of the election manifestoes of major political parties is an attempt by PILDAT to provide some of these answers to the people by highlighting how each of the major political parties plans to address key national issues. The comparative analysis 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. Recognizing that a study of manifestos of all political parties and electoral alliances allowed to contest the forthcoming election 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 five (5) political parties and one (1) political alliance to comparatively analyse their manifestoes.

The selection of issues analysed in the study stems from a variety of sources including various public opinion polls conducted recently in which people picked bread and butter issues such as unemployment and inflation, etc., as issues most important to them in determining which party they vote for. The selection of political and social issues is derived from news analysis and inferred from the very manifestoes of political parties.

Political Parties included in the Study

(In Alphabetical Order)

Awami National Party	ANP
Muttahidda Majilis-e-Amal	MMA
Muttahidda Quami Movement	MQM
Pakistan Muslim League	PML
Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)	PML-N
Pakistan Peoples Party	PPP

Election 2008 - Major Issues

Regardless of the limelight received by political issues prior to Election 2008, most public opinion polls show that “bread and butter issues remain the top concern in the minds of Pakistani voters.”¹ Nearly 80 per cent of the people choose an economy-related issue as the most important in determining which party they would vote for. The order of issues analysed in this paper, therefore, puts the economic issues on top followed by other key issues such as the political issues, foreign relations, social issues, etc., that dominate the 2008 Election debate.

Economic Issues

- Unemployment
- Poverty Alleviation
- Agricultural Development and Water Resources
- Energy

Political Issues

- Independence of the Judiciary
- Civil Military Relations
- Sovereignty of the Parliament
- Provincial Autonomy
- Devolution and the Local Government System
- Status of FATA
- Policy to Counter Terrorism
- Independence of the Media
- Corruption and Accountability

Social Issues

- Education
- Health
- Labour Issues
- Women Development
- Rights of Non-Muslim Communities
- Youth
- Environment Issues

Nuclear Policy and Foreign Relations

- Nuclear Policy
- Foreign Relations
- Kashmir Dispute and Relations with India
- Relations with Afghanistan
- Relations with China
- Relations with Western Powers (Special Focus on USA)
- Relations with the Muslim countries

¹ IRI Pakistan Poll, December 13, 2007; www.iri.org

Party Positions on Important Issues

Economic Issues

Rising inflation, cost of living and increasing unemployment contribute to the major concerns of the voters. In their Election 2008 manifestoes, political parties have focused on the economic issues. The issues clubbed-together under the economic issues include Unemployment, Poverty Alleviation, Agricultural Development and Water Resources and Energy.

Unemployment

In the 2008 electoral campaign, how do the major Political Parties pledge to tackle the issue of unemployment in the country? The following table outlines the key proposals and promises of the political parties on their strategies to manage unemployment:

Unemployment	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – ANP aims to formulate its projects and programmes keeping in view yearly employment targets and the need to create more opportunities – ANP employment policies in addition to its educational reforms seek to contribute in development of skills and vocational expertise at the basic level – To give special attention to the problem of educated and unemployed members of the labour force and to assist in their suitable job placement, internships, placement bureaus and advisory organizations etc. to be created by ANP – ANP seeks to encourage self-employment projects
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Commitment to meet the challenge of unemployment – To provide employment to beggars and allowances to unemployed people – Encouragement of industrialisation, promotion of cottage industries, establishment of vocational institutions and incentives for agro-based industries in rural areas to control unemployment
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Encouragement of industrialisation, promotion of Cottage industries, establishment of vocational institutions and incentives for agro-based industries in rural areas to control unemployment – Other State interventions, i.e. distribution of land to landless <i>Haris / Muzarehs, (tillers)</i>, improved system of Zakat and social insurance besides indigenous philanthropy to go a long way to achieve the desired results
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – To develop enterprise culture which develops skills, supports workers and creates jobs – To establish a state-sponsored Skills Promotion Trust to generate easily available small loans for self-employment – To enhance teaching of communication skills including computer and Information Technology

PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A National Manpower Plan to be prepared to match the demand and supply of manpower and to provide a basis for periodical adjustments in the programmes of education and training - New employment opportunities to be provided to over three million persons in the public and private sectors - A programme of industrialisation and small and medium enterprises to be undertaken in the urban and rural areas to absorb unemployed labour - Emphasis to be placed on the programmes of rural development to provide gainful opportunities for income and employment within the rural areas and prevent the tendency of migration from urban to rural areas - The taxation system to be modified to encourage rapid growth in investment particularly in employment intensive activities. - A National Employment Fund to be created to assist qualified and skilled youth to set up their own business or professional practice. Self employment on individual or cooperative basis will be given maximum support - A National Education Corps to be recruited from among the educated unemployed to spread literacy in the country - Employment opportunities for qualified doctors to be provided by constructing more hospitals; extending soft term, easy instalment loans on personal surety to doctors including tax concessions for establishment and expansion of private hospitals - Programme for the full absorption of engineers, scientist and other skilled manpower, including a new National Consultancy Policy for the use of national consultants - Programme for the development of technical skills to produce technically trained and employable manpower The intake of polytechnics and vocational schools to be increased through introducing double shift in existing institutions
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A labour-intensive Public Works Programme to be put in place so that there is guaranteed employment of at least one year to one working member of the poorest 25 per cent families of Pakistan - Literacy and Health Corps Scheme to be established with an employment guarantee of two years to all youth completing Intermediate, Graduation and Post-Graduation in a given year with a large proportion of the jobs in the social sectors - Vocational education and Technical Training for Youth where there is shortage in the market - Microfinance policy and institutional reforms to be put in place so that Commercial Banks, Micro-Finance institutions and NGOs aggressively increase their outreach to meet the goal of 5 million beneficiaries on a sustainable basis

Poverty Alleviation

With an official unemployment rate of 3.13%², a rising cost of living and an inflation rate of 7.9%³, the figures of a reduced poverty level from 34 %⁴ of the total population to the present 23.94%⁵ are rendered questionable when the “increasing” income levels are at least partially offset by the excessive price hikes. The masses of Pakistan continue to bemoan the struggle it takes to make their ends meet. In this context, there remains a widespread belief that the gains of the financial sector in the last few years have not trickled down to the masses and the inequality between the consumption levels of the richest and the poorest remains high at 29.5%.⁶

Under the given circumstances, the political parties provide following strategies for Poverty Alleviation:

Poverty Alleviation	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – By reducing defence budget, more to be invested in social welfare of the people. 6 % of the GDP to be directed towards education and health facilities – Difference between the low and high paid government employees to be narrowed to a 1:5 ratio.
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Bringing in practice the early Islamic social welfare systems, allowances to be provided to the unemployed, handicapped, widows and senior citizens. Special homes to be created for the same – Low income people to be given easy loans free of interest for the education of children as well as to be provided with travel and residential facilities – Assistance to be provided to the needy through Bait-ul-Maal
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – A comprehensive policy outlining specific aims to curb poverty to be developed with a focus on increasing educational attainment, health facilities, fair distribution of assets and employment opportunities – Mapping of poverty will be a priority – Gap between wage increase and inflation to be narrowed. Public sector wage raises must be directly proportional to inflation – Control of food inflation by stabilising and / or subsidising the prices of Wheat, Rice, Sugar and Oil – Burden of taxes on the poor to be minimised such as reduction of taxes on utility bills – Social Security Schemes to be introduced and enforced to cover all adult population
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – To establish a state supported Skills Promotion Trust to generate

² The Economic Survey of Pakistan 2006-2007

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ibid

	<p>easily available small loans for persons desirous of transforming their skills for generating incomes on self help basis.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To launch a <u>Village Development Initiative</u> for integrated development of rural communities - To prepare a “revolutionary programme” for low cost housing to those who cannot afford it - Existing orphanages to be provided with funding to upgrade their facilities
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To evolve a comprehensive package of pro-poor policies, institutions and programmes - A participatory poverty assessment programme by involving poor to generate the awareness and the energy for participatory solutions - To set up <u>Education and Health Sector Foundations</u> for the poor in each province - To set up <u>Manufacturing and Service Enterprises</u> for which the poor will be given bank loans to buy equity in these enterprises and pay back the loans through dividends earned by the enterprise. Similar mechanisms to be established in other sectors, like land development, and agro services. Reclaimed land or state land brought under cultivation through irrigation schemes to be allotted primarily to poor and landless households, and <u>Land Development Corporations</u> established in different districts with majority equity holdings for the poor, contributed in kind or in cash through bank loans. In urban areas, these corporations will establish housing schemes for low income families - To maintain reasonable food prices throughout the year in all parts of the country and protect wages in real terms for urban and rural areas
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>Conditional Cash Transfers</u>, which transfer cash subsidies to poor families in return for sending children (especially girls) to school and getting children inoculated - Strengthening and expansion of social protection programmes, such as Zakat, Social Security, Baitul Mal, worker-retraining and mobility. - Special Programme for the least developed (lowest 50%) Districts to improve access to social services - To look after the senior citizens and to provide financial support to all Senior Citizens above the age of 65 years who have no source of income - To establish a database of the poorest 25% of families so that these programmes can be properly targeted

Agricultural Development and Water Resources

Being an agrarian economy, the focus of development in Pakistan stays on agricultural development and on judicious management of water resources. Development of Water Resources has become an emotive subject and the country faces severe water shortages for agriculture. The position of major parties on how to address the growth in agriculture and manage the contentious issue of water resources and reservoirs is as follows:

Agricultural Development and Water Resources	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Considering the importance of agriculture in the provincial and national GDP, ANP to accord special priority to agricultural development - Production of fruits, vegetables, flowers and oil-rich products such as olives to be encouraged so as to develop these into profit generating cash crops - ANP to take appropriate steps to support poultry farming in the province of NWFP - Efforts to be made in order to bring collection of excise duty on tobacco under the prowess of the provincial government - To work for water irrigation projects at Federal and Provincial levels to ensure utilization of water available under Indus Water Distribution Accord (2MAF) to NWFP. - ANP to continue opposition to any projects that do not benefit the people of the NWFP province or that affecting the employment level, land belonging to people or environment of the province
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Non-irrigated government land to be distributed amongst farmers. - Landholdings in possession of feudal lords on nominal lease to be distributed amongst farmers. - Feudalism to be abolished. - Farmers and workers on government land to be given ownership rights according to Islamic laws. - Free electricity for agricultural tube wells - Government subsidies to be provided for seeds, urea, agricultural machinery and tractors, etc - Loans on soft conditions to farmers - Official farms that are not in use will be provided to landless farmers - More and more big and small Water reservoirs to be built
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abolishment of prevailing feudal system from the country - Effective land reforms by fixing a reasonable ceiling. - Increase share of cultivators (Harris / Muzareh) from 50% to 60% - District level micro finance credit on <i>Grameen</i> Bank pattern; Tractor and small agriculture machinery on subsidized prices; Cooperative farming and more importance to be attached to direct marketing to eliminate the role of middle-men - Allocation of State land to landless cultivators followed by the cooperative farming, cooperative marketing and easy credit for the inputs - Revision of agriculture tenancy laws to stop ejection of tenants at will - Peasants (Harris/Muzarehs) to be declared as labour and legislation on the pattern of Labour Laws for them - Promotion and incentives for agro-based industries in rural areas - Greater incentives to land holders for live stock breeding and farming - Intensive development of inland and marine fisheries at a controlled

	<p>pace</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lining of water channels and re-modelling of the system. Innovative devices to conserve irrigation water - New water reservoirs in the country with the consensus of all federating units. - Computerization of land revenue record
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Appropriate steps to be taken to increase agricultural production to develop food self-sufficiency and to promote high value crops for export - Dams and water reserves to be built based on need basis, but through consultation and consensus
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To turn agriculture into a fully viable economic industry by changing the policy framework and terms of trade in favour of agriculture - Focus to be on small farmers as the real back bone of the rural economy by providing access to knowledge, inputs and markets - Priority to be given to the development of livestock sector - Cooperative movement to be revitalised to meet the real needs of the rural population by setting up agri-service corporations with majority equity of the poor and managed by professional managers - To reform the agricultural credit system to ensure that at least 50% of the total is provided to the small farmers and land owners are able to obtain credit on the basis of the market value of the land rather than outdated produce index units. - Pakistan to be converted into a large net exporter of food and high-value crops. Removal of restrictions on agricultural exports - Building consensus on the basis of the 1991 Water Accord on the distribution of Indus River Water to allow new water projects to be undertaken and extension of irrigation facilities to additional areas - To ensure full utilisation of available water resources by expanding the on-farm water management programme - To initiate schemes for crop insurance through private insurance companies to protect the farmer against the vagaries of weather - To encourage ecologically sound development policies to preserve and develop the country's natural and forest resources to counteract the impact of global warming - To provide incentives for farmers to adopt social forestry on a commercial scale rather than depend on restrictive laws for this purpose particularly in border areas - To expand the programme to fight the cancer of water-logging and salinity - A major programme of aquifer recharge in arid and semi arid areas of Cholistan, Thar and Balochistan to ensure that water flow from tube wells installed in these areas can be sustained - Immediate updating of the revenue and property records using Information Technology to be undertaken. Based on the information so generated 'benamis' can be done away with property rights of female members protected and access to credit by the poor assured

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy shift in agriculture from commodity based agriculture to product based agriculture. As an example 22 products can be produced from corn. - All agricultural research organizations to be completely revamped to ensure that the benefits of research actually reach the farmers. - Agricultural education in general and curriculum of agriculture universities in particular to be modernized - Mafias and monopolies in case of major agriculture products to be done away with by putting in place appropriate agricultural marketing strategies
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Special attention to be given to encouraging Banks to expand rural lending, while maintaining sound credit policies - Special capacity-building programmes for agricultural support services to be put in place to revitalize key institutions of research and extension - Aggressive Agriculture and Rural Development to be another central pillar of growth - The private sector to provide key inputs and services -such as credit, fertilizer, pesticides, extension, marketing, seeds, tractors-in a timely manner and at competitive prices - Surplus electric power to be provided for tube-wells free of cost - To put in place a bold and comprehensive programme to ensure water security for future generations. Key elements of the strategy would consist of: water conservation, additional storages, farmer-managed irrigation systems, rehabilitation of the ageing canal and barrage system, an effective drainage system, enhancing water productivity, strengthening water rights and protecting the lower delta eco-systems

Energy

Pakistan faces a major energy crisis in natural gas, oil and electric power that has the potential to choke the economic growth for many years to come. Not only that, the impact of the energy crisis on the average citizen has been deeply felt in the election year itself. How do the political parties plan to manage the energy crisis, the following table unfolds:

Energy	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To work towards making electricity a provincial subject, as structured before the introduction of one-unit government in the country - To reduce dependence on WAPDA, which sells electricity at a price much above the production costs which reduces NWFP's comparative advantage in electricity production - To encourage investment in small-scale electricity-generating projects
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Special importance to be accorded to nuclear and solar energy projects. - To make efforts to increase oil production and to reduce oil, electricity and gas prices on an immediate basis - To rid the masses of the Load Shedding predicament - To control power theft and waste

MQM	- Recurring power load shedding to industrial units would be addressed
PML	<i>No reference is made to the subject in the manifesto</i>
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To provide the full energy needs of an expanding industrial sector through maximum exploitation of domestic sources of energy namely coal, gas and hydro to reduce the country's dependence on imported energy. - To ensure conservation of energy and a more efficient use of the same.
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Committed to establishing a comprehensive and credible programme ensuring Energy Security and Adequacy of Supply - To ensure maximum use of indigenous water and hydrocarbon resources, energy conservation, proper pricing and use to protect consumers. - To encourage private sector investment in the energy sector and fast tracking of exploration and development of indigenous hydro carbon resources. - To accelerate development of alternative energy including wind and solar energy and to revive the Keti Bunder project, establishing an energy corridor from Central Asia to Balochistan.

Political Issues

The 2008 Election faces many a politically volatile issues. Where on the one hand, political parties are split on the question of whether to boycott or not to boycott the election before the establishment of the rule of law and the reinstatement of deposed judges of the apex court, the country also witnesses unprecedented levels of polarization between the civil and the military. Media remains the most respected institution with nearly 80 per cent popularity and media independence a huge electoral issue with most news media under curbs. Terrorism, the status of Federally-Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), provincial autonomy, all occupy the central plank of political and security-related discourse in Pakistan. How do the major political parties respond to these challenges, the following tables identify:

Independence of the Judiciary

On November 3, 2007, the Chief of Army Staff Gen. Pervez Musharraf suspended the Constitution of Pakistan with the key target to purge the Judiciary, which had begun to assert its independence. Unlawful removal of such a large number (around 60) of senior judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts has become one of the most important issues of the political discourse surrounding the 2008 Election. Whereas all parties talked of boycotting the January 2008 Election initially until the judiciary was restored, major political parties have opted to participate in the election while some national and provincial parties have chosen to boycott the election on this issue. The table highlights the parties' position on this crucial issue of Independence of Judiciary:

Independence of Judiciary	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Judiciary to be separated from the executive, the sole exception being when services of magistrates are required by the executive for non-judicial work – Financially, the Judiciary will be completely independent – Parallel legal and quasi-legal systems to be abolished so as to ensure a uniform and integrated judicial system
MMA	– Independence of the Judiciary to be safeguarded
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The Judiciary must remain independent, impartial and autonomous – Parallel judiciary systems to be abolished to uphold the sanctity of the judiciary and for an effective judicial system – The non-trial or inordinate delays of cases, congestion in prisons and the litigant's grievances for delayed judgment to be addressed through appropriate steps by the government and the judiciary – Extensive and effective jail reforms to be introduced to reform the prisoners into responsible citizens and eliminate human rights abuses in jails
PML	<i>There is no mention of the independence of the Judiciary in the Manifesto</i>
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The Judges deposed by the present government to be restored and all unconstitutional laws to be abolished – The PML-N to appoint a Judicial Commission comprising eminent jurists, Judges, parliamentarians, representatives of lawyers, and civil

	<p>society to recommend and supervise restructuring and reforms of judicial system</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The system of appointment of judges to be reformed to ensure appointments on merit alone and in a transparent manner. Judicial information system to be put in place for the efficient functioning of the Judiciary - Lower Judiciary to be strengthened for speedy delivery of justice in order to protect the life and property of ordinary citizens - Alternative dispute resolution mechanisms to be developed to facilitate social cohesion - Special monitoring cells to be set up in the centre and the provinces to check heinous crimes - Administrative mechanisms to be instituted for the prevention of misconduct, implementation of code of ethics, and removal of Judges on such charges brought to its attention by any citizen. All special courts including anti-terrorism and accountability courts shall be abolished and such cases tried in ordinary court - No judge shall take oath under any Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) or any other oath that is contradictory to the exact language of the original oath prescribed in the Constitution of 1973 - A Federal Constitutional Court to be set up to resolve constitutional issues, giving equal representation to each of the federating units whose members may be judges or persons qualified to be judges of the Supreme Court, constituted for a six year period. The appointment of judges to be made in the same manner as for Judges of higher judiciary
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The PPP supports an independent Judiciary free of political manipulation - The appointment of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to be made by the Prime Minister - The appointments of the Judges to the superior Judiciary to be made with the advice and consent of a Joint Parliamentary Committee consisting of equal representatives of the Treasury and the Opposition on the recommendation of a Commission headed by former Chief Justice who has not taken oath under the PCO - A Federal Constitutional Court with equal representation from each Federating Unit to resolve Constitutional issues

Civil Military Relations

At this juncture, the Civil-Military Relations are at their most strained, suffering from deep polarisation. The political parties, and the civil society have begun to loudly question the role of the military in politics and in key areas of policy formulation in Pakistan. In fact, the military's political role and its repeated interventions are considered the major stumbling block in Pakistan's transition towards a sustainable democracy in the country. Given the centrality of the civil-military relations to the overall question of governance and democracy in the country, how do political parties propose to deal with this key issue through their election manifestoes? The table below highlights the stance of the parties:

Civil Military Relations	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Non-interference of the Military in politics to be guaranteed by appropriate legislative and administrative measures – Defence expenditures to be reduced to the extent that they do not hamper people’s economic and social welfare – Armed forces personnel including doctors, teachers, engineers, skilled and semi-skilled individuals to provide their services in times of need, on a non-profit basis – Interference of the Armed Forces and the civil bureaucracy in politics to be dealt with legal and administrative actions
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – All state institutions to perform their role within the constitutional parameters prescribed in the 1973 Constitution – Parliament to make such legislative reforms through which the military can not intervene in politics and usurp power in the future. Such laws to be made that no head of any state institution can sabotage the constitution in the future – The political role of intelligence agencies to be abolished – No institution and no holder of high office will be exempted from accountability including the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, Governors, Public Representatives, Judiciary and the Military, etc.
MQM	<i>No reference is made in the manifesto</i>
PML	<i>No reference is made in the manifesto</i>
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – To ensure that the armed forces perform only such functions as are assigned to them under the constitution. – National Security Council to be abolished. The Defence Committee of the Cabinet to be reconstituted as Cabinet Committee on Defence and National Security chaired by the Prime Minister. The newly structured committee to have a permanent secretariat under a National Security Adviser to the Prime Minister. – The Joint Services Command Structure to be strengthened and made more effective – Military's honour and respect as a professional and apolitical institution to be restored. Highest professional standards in the armed forces to be maintained – Pensions and other facilities for Armed Forces to be improved and special programmes launched for the well-being of disabled soldiers and their families – The defence budget to be brought within the purview of the National Assembly for approval
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The appointment of three service chiefs to be made by the Prime Minister – The National Security Council to be abolished and replaced by the Defence Committee headed by the Prime Minister. – Nuclear Command and Control to be placed under the Defence Committee of the Cabinet – All Military and Judicial Officers to file annual statements of Wealth and Income

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All Security Agencies including ISI and MI to be made answerable to the elected Prime Minister - All indemnities promulgated by military regimes to be reviewed - Defence Budget to be placed before and approved by the Parliament - Military Land and Cantonments to be controlled by the Ministry of Defence
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Sovereignty of the Parliament

In a democracy, Parliament remains the key institution with the authority to legislate, represent the people of the country and to oversee the executive. Due to repeated interventions in democracy, Parliament as an institution has not been allowed to strengthen. Key policy decisions have been made outside the Parliament without a meaningful consultation with the public representatives. For a strong democracy, it is necessary that Parliament remains a sovereign and supreme institution. The position of each of the key parties reviewed in this study is enclosed in the table:

Sovereignty of the Parliament	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Federal Legislature to consist of the existing two houses. However, Senate to be given authority to oversee financial bills and appointments to positions of importance
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parliament to be given a superior status over other institutions of the state. All government and constitutional institutions to be given clear guidelines as to their role and authority - Agreements signed with foreign countries to be subjected to approval from the Parliament - The Chairman of the Islamic Ideology Council and Members to be appointed after consultation with President, Leaders of the House and Opposition
MQM	<i>No specific reference is made in the Manifesto</i>
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supports Parliamentary democracy and free and fair elections under a strong and independent Election Commission - The Opposition to be consulted in all major decision making and given key committees of the Parliament, including chairmanship of the Public Accounts Committee - Strengthening of Defence and Foreign Affairs Committees of the Senate and National Assembly. - To open parliamentary committees meetings to media and public.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To re-establish the supremacy of Parliament and its Committees to perform the role assigned to it under the Constitution - The Reserved Seats for Women in the National and Provincial Assemblies to be allocated to parties on the basis of the number of votes polled in the general elections by each party - The strength of the Senate of Pakistan to be increased to give representation to Minorities and Senate seats to be allocated to parties in proportion to total votes secured by them in most recent provincial

	<p>elections on the basis of lists of candidates filed along with the nomination papers for the general elections</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The size of National and Provincial Cabinets to be curtailed and number of Ministers and Ministers of State to not exceed a certain percentage of seats in the National and Provincial Assemblies
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The 1973 Constitution as on 12 October 1999 to be restored save for the provisions of Joint Electorates, reserved seats for Minorities and Women, lowering of the voting age to 18, and increase in seats in Parliament - Reserved seats for Women to be allocated in proportion to percentage of votes polled by each contesting Party - The strength of the Senate to be increased - All Security Agencies including ISI and MI to be answerable to the elected Prime Minister - All indemnities promulgated by military regimes to be reviewed - Defence Budget to be placed before and approved by Parliament - Rules of Business to be reviewed to conform to Parliamentary Traditions - The Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee to be appointed by the respective Leaders of the Opposition in the House

Provincial Autonomy

The federation of Pakistan is facing strains in the realm of centre-provinces relations. Mostly economic in nature, the issues in centre-provinces relations include disagreement over equitable share of resources as well as provinces' powers in the management and administration especially after the introduction of the local government system. The following table carries the position of major political parties on how do they wish to tackle the issues in the Provincial Autonomy:

Provincial Autonomy	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ANP to strive for provincial autonomy, to rename the NWFP as <i>Pakhtoonkhwa</i> and to merge the tribal areas with the province - The tribal areas to have seats in the Provincial Assembly and the total number of provincial seats to be increased accordingly. - Additional federating units to be recognized as per their wish, on the basis of cultural, linguistic and geographical similarities. - To renegotiate royalty and terms of agreement with the federal government, in the wake of new oil and gas reservoir discoveries in NWFP - Posting of federal civil service officers in the province will be through the permission of the provincial government, which will be completely in control of the federal cadre officers in the province. In the centre, the province will get its rightful share in the posting of officers - Due to the discovery of new oil and gas reserves in <i>Pakhtoonkhwa</i>, royalty rates will be renegotiated so as to obtain additional resources for the development of the province - The centre took cantonment property tax from the province but the

	responsibility of infrastructure development and services remained that of the province due to which the provincial resources further suffered. The centre will be asked to pay the province for the delivery of these services
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - According to the Constitution, provinces to be given due autonomy and authority over the relevant provincial affairs - Smaller provinces to be taken into account in decision-making and resources to be distributed on fair basis - Senate to be given powers to pass money bills relating to provincial rights
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The federation to retain the subjects of Defence, Foreign affairs and Currency with all other subjects falling in the domain of the federating units - To create an Inter Provincial Council for promoting harmony between federation and the provinces and amongst provinces
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PML Committed to provincial autonomy with the federal framework - To continue the initiative by the Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan - There is a need for devolution of authority from the federation to the provinces - The subjects belonging to the province to be handed back to them. Minimal interference from the centre in the functioning of provinces - Provincial autonomy to include the right to regulate and control the natural resources existing within each province - The Senate to be strengthened - The provinces which take special initiatives to enhance the welfare of the people, particularly poverty alleviation, to be provided with special assistance by the Federal Government - Prime Minister's Secretariat to be down-sized.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PML-N to promote unity among the federating units through maximum provincial autonomy and decentralisation of administrative and financial powers to the provincial and lower levels - The Concurrent List in the Constitution to be abolished or drastically curtailed. - A new NFC award by consensus to be announced regularly at 5-year intervals, and principle of provincial autonomy to be fully respected.
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Concurrent Legislative List to be abolished - Provinces to be given their due share in their Natural Resources - Distribution criteria for NFC award to take into account contribution to revenues, geographic size, backwardness and level of development as well as population - The Natural Gas rates and Royalty formula to be determined as specified by the Constitution of 1973 - All Companies engaged in exploration and extraction of Natural Resources to be required to train local people and allocate funds for social development - Provinces to be given part of the sale proceeds in the sale of federal assets in their province

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Octroi will revert to local governments and be collected by them - Sales tax to be progressively returned to provinces
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Devolution and the Local Government System

The current Local Government System was installed in the country on August 14, 2001 through a Devolution Plan. The devolution plan has been a bone of contention in the overall realm of centre-provinces relations but has also been considered an important element of governance in the country. How do the political parties view the devolution and what promises do they make about it:

Devolution and the Local Government System	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<i>No specific mention in the Manifesto</i>
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To protect the masses from police aggression, national, provincial, district and city level commissions to be established.
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Police to be brought under the City and District Governments. - To create a "unity of command". A single administrative agency controlled under the City/District Nazim as far as municipal services and its revenue are concerned, for effective dealing and coordinative efforts to solve the problems of the citizens, like water, sewerage, solid waste, power supply etc.
PML	- ?
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local Body elections to be held on party basis through provincial election commissions in the respective provinces. - Constitutional protection to be given to the local bodies to make them autonomous and answerable to their respective assemblies as well as to the people through regular courts of law.
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local Body elections will be held on Party Basis. - Local Body Elections will be held within three months of General Elections. - Neutral administrators will be appointed by the Competent Election Authorities during the Conduct of elections. - Octroi will revert to local governments and be collected by them

Status of FATA

The status of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the inability of the Government of Pakistan to mainstream the population of these areas with the rest of the country has been a major issue of concern. The question of the status of FATA has especially gained currency after Pakistan joined the US in what the United States terms as its war against terrorism. The military operation against suspected militant hideouts in these areas as well as the dismal state of development in FATA form part of the overall issues of FATA. The stances of major political parties are listed below:

FATA Status	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	- To merge FATA into NWFP

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To amend the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) on a priority basis to protect human rights as enshrined in the Constitution of Pakistan - Political Parties' Act to be extended to the Tribal Areas - Tribal Areas to be represented in the Provincial Assembly thereby increasing the total number of seats of NWFP Assembly - Reconstruction Opportunities Zones to be established in the Tribal Areas - Population Census to be undertaken in these areas to estimate and formulate development plans
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To immediately stop the on-going military operations in the Tribal Areas and Balochistan and to amicably solve the issues through dialogue and negotiations
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Federally Administered Areas (FATA) to be merged into the mainstream administration whereby the law of the land becomes applicable in consultation with and consent of the people of these areas.
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Democracy and development to be brought in FATA
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - FATA to be brought into the mainstream of the country's political, economic and cultural life - Northern Areas to be developed by giving it a special status and further empowering the Northern Areas Legislative Council to provide people of Northern Areas access to justice and human rights
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - FATA to be merged into the NWFP in consultation with the tribal areas - Northern areas to be given a special status and empowerment - To restore the authority of the Government in the Tribal Areas - The PPP to facilitate the extension of the Laws of Pakistan to FATA, including the Political Parties Act. As a first step, amendments to be brought in the Frontier Crimes Regulation to enable a right of Appeal to the Peshawar High Court and further to the Supreme Court of Pakistan against all convictions - The seats in the NWFP Provincial Assembly to be enhanced to accommodate representatives from the FATA directly elected by adult franchise, according to the population of each Agency. - To push forward schemes for the educational advancement and economic uplift of FATA, creating job opportunities, increasing quotas in Colleges, Universities and Government - In order to expedite investment and create jobs, the FATA to be made into a tax-free zone on items manufactured in these areas

Policy to Counter Terrorism

Pakistan is a part of what the US terms as 'the war against terrorism'. This partnership with the West especially the US is not popular among the masses and this situation has created severe strains in the Pakistani Society. In addition, despite heavy price paid by the armed forces of Pakistan and creating dissent within the country, Pakistan is constantly pressurised to 'do more' in the war. The following table tries to illustrate how do political parties plan to counter the spread of terrorism and promote peace and harmony in the society:

Policy to Counter Terrorism	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The short term policy of the ANP to address the issue of terrorism in NWFP is through dialogue with people and the long term policy to ascertain the root causes of the problem
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ongoing policy and operations in NWFP and Balochistan to be halted and problem to be solved through dialogue and negotiations
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Believes in the policy of peaceful coexistence - live and let live. All the disputes and conflicts to be resolved through dialogue and peaceful means - A rigorous campaign and public awareness to be launched in collaboration with the people and religious scholars to exterminate religious extremism, hatred, fanaticism and terrorism from the country
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PML to prepare strategy after reviewing reasons and causes of rise of extremism based on education and persuasion. Use of force not to be the instrument for combating the extremism problem. Report to be prepared by a special Task Force and to be submitted within 100 days - Democracy and development to be introduced in FATA and other areas to counter terrorism and extremism
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthening the capacity of law enforcing agencies to detect and control terrorist groups and their supporters - Influencing the groups which directly or indirectly support terrorism, through political intermediaries and civil society organisations to adhere to basic Islamic principles of peace, moderation and justice - Promoting the rule of law, tolerance and mutual respect in the country to overcome the sense of desperation which pushes certain segments of society towards extremism - Taking steps to mainstream the tribal areas into the political, economic and cultural activities of the country and accelerating the pace of economic and social development in these areas - To intensify diplomatic efforts so as to deal with the underlying causes like Kashmir and Palestine - While actively supporting all UN and global initiatives for curbing the menace of international terrorism, Pakistan to seek to support a just and fair international political and economic order based on the UN Charter and principles of co-existence
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Terrorism born in the bowels of dictatorship which recruited, trained, armed and financed extreme factions while marginalising the moderate, democratic and pluralistic forces - The PPP to dismantle militant groups who seek to take hostage the foreign policy of the country and impose their writ through force on the tribal areas of Pakistan and elsewhere - No distinctions between, and amongst terrorist groups to be maintained any longer.

Independence of the Media

As an institution, the independent News Media has gained tremendous popularity in the public. In fact, the few recent public opinion polls indicate that media tops the public approval ratings (78 per cent of public approval⁷) in a list of institutions including the Judiciary, the Armed Forces and the Parliament, etc. Through the promulgation of Martial Law by the Chief of Army Staff on November 3, 2007, media freedom has been curtailed and all independent news channels remained off air. Till the writing of this report, the curbs on the independent news media remain and one of the most popular news channels, Geo TV, has not been allowed to transmit into Pakistan. Media freedom is one of the key ingredients of a democracy. How do political parties pledge to ensure media freedom in the future, the table below reveals:

Independence of Media	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	– Freedom of media to be ensured
MMA	– Media to be given freedom – The Media to be stopped from airing immoral programmes
MQM	– The media emancipation to be non partisan, impartial and responsible. MQM to fully support media's freedom of expression. Under no circumstances, media's independence to be curbed and public to be deprived of their valuable service – The media regulatory authorities to be completely independent and mandated with sensible rules and fair regulation that cannot be used as a political tool
PML-N	– The press and electronic media to be allowed its independence. Access to information laws to be further improved.
PML	?
PPP	– The media to have freedom of access to information regulated by law.

Corruption and Accountability

Corruption and Accountability remains a serious challenge in Pakistan. In the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index 2007, Pakistan stands at the score of 2.4 while scores below 5 in the index indicate that the country face serious perceived levels of domestic corruption. The effort to control corruption and to carry out across-the-board accountability requires the government to engage more actively with civil society in fighting corruption. The major political parties plan to control corruption and carry out accountability through the following means:

Corruption and Accountability	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	– The elimination of bribery and corruption, black-marketing, smuggling and other social evils to be given top priority – A permanent, independent authority to be established in order to enforce accountability

⁷ IRI Public Opinion Poll, December 13, 2007 (www.iri.org)

MMA	– Those who indulge in corruption to be held accountable
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strict adherence to the principle of merit to be ensured – Transparency and merit to be ensured in all Governmental actions including contracts, awarding of work and recruitment etc. – Secret Funds placed at the disposal of the Prime Minister or Chief Minister to be subjected to independent audit and public scrutiny – Federal and Provincial Ombudsman and Accountant General Offices, Anti-Corruption Departments, Public Accounts Committees, Prime Minister’s and Chief Minister’s monitoring Committees to be headed by senior and dedicated government officers and public representatives to make these institutions more efficient and effective
PML	– An independent, non-partisan anti-corruption institution, free of government control, to be established with a view to attacking corruption without fear or favour so that accountability is not used as a weapon of revenge against political opponents
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The National Accountability Bureau to be revamped so that it may not be used (misused) by the government for victimising its opponents. Military and judiciary to be included in its purview – The National Accountability Bureau (NAB) to be replaced with an independent Accountability Commission, whose chairman to be nominated by the Prime Minister in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition and confirmed by a Joint Parliamentary Committee with 50 per cent members from treasury benches and remaining 50 percent from opposition parties – To prescribe criteria of integrity as a basic qualification for all senior appointments and strict observance of the process of accountability at all levels without any discrimination on the basis of rank or seniority – District Ombudsmen offices to be set up in all districts to provide relief to other common man against injustice and bribery – The administrative system to be further streamlined to reduce discretion and misuse of power
PPP	– A politically motivated NAB to be abolished and replaced by an Independent Accountability Commission whose Chairman to be appointed jointly by the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition with the advice and consent of Joint Parliamentary Committee with parity between Treasury and the opposition parties

Social Issues

Education

Pakistan's adult literacy rate at nearly 54%⁸ is among the lowest in the world and second lowest amongst its South Asian neighbours. The state of education sector on the whole and in particular the existing condition of educational institutions in rural areas results in a high drop-out at the primary level each year. Low adult literacy level at 54% (65% for men and 42% for women) remains one of the biggest obstacles in achievement of universal literacy and better educational standards. Following table depicts the stance of the parties for improving the state of education in the country:

Education	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – 6% of the GDP will be directed to education and health sector. – Provision of free education up to the primary level and affordable education for higher levels – To work for abolition of the existing parallel education systems that breeds class differences and protects the feudal interests in the country. ANP to create an internationally compatible uniform education system – Basic education to be given in the mother tongue of the students
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Attempts would be made to impart free education – The same curriculum to everyone will be imparted according to Islamic traditions – Special importance will be attached to Islamiyat, course on ethics, Islamic history, Pakistan Studies and English – Efforts to be made to give education in villages – Technical and computer education to be introduced at the school level
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – To make education compulsory for each and every child and education to be made available free up to Matriculation or its equivalent level – To increase present allocation from 2.2% to 5% of the GDP – Minimum 20% of Provincial and District Government's revenue to be allocated to education – Syllabus to be amended according to national requirements and needs of the modern age – Dual systems of education to be abolished by improving Urdu medium schools – Educational institutes to have Management Boards/Committees and their performance to be monitored regularly – Female teachers to be preferred for primary education – <i>Madrassahs</i> need to be provided all out incentives to ring their syllabus and standard of teaching in conformity with the mainstream education. – More professional and vocational training institutes to be established – Private education institutions to be regulated by the government – "Adopt a School" policy to be encouraged to fully utilise the available resources

⁸ Government of Pakistan PSLM Survey, 2006

PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Free and universal primary education to be promoted - Training of teachers, expansion of their expertise and increasing their salaries and status to be ensured - National Teachers Day to be celebrated - Vocational and technical education to be encouraged - The <i>Madrassah</i> students to benefit both from religious education and education by other schools - All scholarships offered to Pakistanis, either at home or from overseas, to be duly publicized through advertisements and through the internet - Retirement age of teachers to be increased to 65 years - The PML to take up the case with respective foreign governments regarding the denial of student visas to Pakistani students in sciences like physics and engineering - The PML to encourage setting up of public libraries equipped with the modern research and reference tools, including internet facilities - Sports, Arts, Music and languages as well as English and Math to be taught in all schools
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education in all public sector institutions up to higher secondary to be free of cost. The system to work through provision of transferable voucher scheme to encourage competition in the public sector educational institutions. - Achieve 100% enrolment in middle school education by 2012, 100% enrolment in secondary education (Matric) by 2015; and 80% enrolment in higher secondary education (Intermediate) by 2020 - Guarantee that all students who get first division in both Matric and Intermediate examinations are ensured of a place in a public sector college in their tehsil/taluka/sub-division. This target to be achieved by 2010 - A National Education Corps to be set up to employ all graduates without jobs and to also employ the same in literacy and adult education programmes with the objective of achieving 100% adult literacy by 2010, 100% adult education up to middle level by 2015, and 100% adult education up to Matric by 2020 - Maximum facilities to be provided for science education and vocational training for all middle and high school students - Fiscal and other incentives to be provided for private investment in education - Special attention to be given to the development of libraries at national, provincial and district levels - Several centres for professional excellence to be promoted in various scientific disciplines by providing highly qualified teachers, generous scholarships for training abroad, and liberal grants to science laboratories - Curriculum to be standardised at all levels to eliminate multi-class education system - Federal govt. to fund 50% of the public sector education up to higher secondary level and 100% of all universities and higher education institutions - To provide maximum facilities for vocational training for all middle and

	high school students
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Universal enrolment by 2015 of all children between the ages of 5 to 10 to be promoted - Every child in primary school to be provided a stipend - At least one computer in each school to be installed - The quality of existing colleges and universities to be improved and the number of Public Universities and Colleges, particularly in Science and engineering, medicine and agriculture to be increased - Funding to be regulated and monitored through Quality Assurance Boards of the higher Education Commission. Funding to private Sector universities to be enhanced through a competitive programme - A free boarding school for socially or economically disadvantaged children to be provided - The ban on student unions to be lifted with no permission for arms on campus - <i>Madrassah</i> reforms to be initiated. No militia to be allowed to seek refuge under the name of <i>madrassahs</i> for militant activities - The party to stop abuse of the education curriculum by removing hate, violence and reference to student militancy

Health

As a key issue concerning the lives of the people, manifestoes of most political parties have outlined policies to improve the healthcare system in the country. Following is an outline of the parties' policies:

Health	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To work for increased availability of health services to all citizens of Pakistan. Insurance schemes and privatisation options to be considered to achieve this - 6% of GDP allocation on health to be ensured in the annual budget - ANP to focus on provision of maternal care services, clean drinking water and medicines
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Residents of all cities and villages to be provided with modern medical facilities - Health and First Aid studies to be made part of the curriculum and to be dispensed to public through mosques - Private sector to be encouraged to establish hospitals with proper monitoring mechanisms to check standards and charges - Establishment of hospitals and dispensaries in rural areas to be a point of focus for MMA - Doctors, Para medical and other staff to be offered better employment terms
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Public Expenditure on health to be increased from 0.6 % to 4% of GDP during next five years - Hospitals to be established in every district and health care centres in every village of the country

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adequate staff, equipments and medicines to be provided to primary and secondary health centres through out the country - The Government to negotiate with multi-nationals to bring down the medicine prices - Import Tax on medicines to be abolished as well as no Custom Duties to be paid for medical equipments. - Mother and Child-Care Centres with breast screening facility would be setup in each district. - Health Insurance Schemes to be introduced by the Government for all citizens giving priority to senior citizens.
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To ensure that drug companies in Pakistan are able to provide access to affordable essential life saving drugs for the common man, producers of fake drugs will be given exemplary punishment - A special National Foundation to be established for provision of group life and medical insurance for artists, artisans, writers, poets, sportsmen and journalists - To establish a National Health Service backed by sustained investment in hospitals to provide better treatment to the patients. Doctors will be given special incentives to serve in rural areas - To upgrade and expand the existing health care structure of the country, specially focusing on the far flung and the less developed regions of the country. This would include expansion and up-gradation of the existing health care network with modern medical facilities
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Main Teaching Hospitals both in the Federal Capital and Provincial headquarters to be modernised and equipped with the state of the art medical equipment and facilities - Production of quality generic medicines to be encouraged to provide cheaper medicines to the common man - All out efforts will be made to provide clean drinking water and basic hygiene facilities to the rural population - AIDS is an incurable, fatal but preventable disease. A national campaign will be launched to make people aware about its prevention and dangerous consequences - Effective measures to control Hepatitis, which has become a serious health problem in Pakistan, to be taken - Senior citizens to be provided special health care facilities. Free medical care to be provided to deserving patients - Free medical care to be provided to poor and deserving patients through Zakat fund assistance ear-marked for health care
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PPP to further consolidate the ongoing Lady Health Worker programme and take the number of LHWs to 200,000 during the next 5 years extending it to <i>katchi abadis</i> in urban areas - A scheme for inducting 10,000 male health workers to be launched in NWFP and Balochistan - To initiate a media campaign on various aspects of preventive health measures to increase awareness - Access to quality drugs to be ensured on parity with regional price levels.

	- To ensure health of both mother and child by introducing Planned Parenthood programmes
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Labour Issues

On the basis of Pakistani population to be over 155 million, the estimated labour force in Pakistan is over 50 million.⁹ With such a large labour force in Pakistan, the sector bemoans its condition leaves much to be desired. The following table outlines the parties' positions on the issues of Labour force in Pakistan:

Labour Issues	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To allow trade unions and associations to encourage better relations between the employers and the employees. - To consult trade union leaders in budget preparation and privatization processes. - For better utilisation of the available man power, to provide education and training to the workers. - Performance of labour courts to be improved. - Labourers to be provided with residential and medical facilities and their children to be provided with free education. - Labourers and workers to be paid in proportion to the prevailing inflation rate and the excess revenue generated for each year. - To provide a pension mechanism for labourers
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The gap between wage increase and inflation to be narrowed. In particular, public sector wage raises to be directly proportional to inflation - Reasonable wage structure, provision of health care insurance, old age benefits, disability pension and a housing unit after retirement to be ensured for low income employees in public and private sectors. - Trade unions of employees to be consulted before the public assets are privatized to safeguard interests of employees. - To encourage industrialization, promotion of cottage industries, establishment of vocational institutions etc. to control unemployment. Special incentives such as land allotments and easy credit to be provided for small and cottage industries. - To increase share of peasants (harris/muzareh) from 50% to 60% - Peasants (harris/muzarehs) to be declared as labour and legislation on the pattern of Labour Laws to be formulated - Social security schemes to be introduced and enforced to cover all adult population - More incentives to be provided for labour intensive industries
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To ensure the rights of the children and bonded labour are protected. Legislation will be swiftly undertaken against child

⁹ PILDAT Briefing PaperNo. 25: Understanding Labour Issues in Pakistan

	<p>exploitation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The rights of labour and peasants to be protected and a skilled labour force to be developed in order to meet the challenges of a growing economy - The minimum wages of labour to be periodically fixed to counter inflation and to provide a reasonable standard of living for the wage earners
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Safety at work and proper compensation for industrial injuries to be legislated - Total prohibition of child labour through effective monitoring and strict enforcement of law to be ensured - Laws against bonded labour and unpaid labour to be strengthened and effectively enforces - Quality of labour force to be improved through technical training and apprenticeship - Parks/ community centres to be developed near labour colonies. - Incentives to given to employers for offering scholarships for the talented children of workers
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Industrial Relations Ordinance 2002 to be reviewed so as to bring it in conformity with the ILO Conventions, ratified by Pakistan, and Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution of Pakistan. - The EOBI and other labour welfare programmes to be strengthened and Public-Private Partnerships to be established so that labour and their families have access to quality education, health care and affordable housing - To Review President's Special Powers of Removal from Service Ordinance 2000 with regards to trade union activities. - Elimination of child labour, forced labour and bonded labour, and education and rehabilitation of those children once withdrawn from the workplaces - Enforcement of statutory labour laws, through inspection systems - To hold National Tripartite Labour Conference to formulate labour, economic and social policies and to devise mechanisms for their effective implementation - To ensure a work safety and prevention of accidents at workplaces. - Minimum wage to be enhanced to meet the escalating needs of labour

Women Development

Women form about 50 per cent of the population but they have traditionally lacked level-playing field and a strong voice to raise their issues and influence resolving of those issues effectively. What are the specific policies of the political parties to undertake women development in Pakistan:

Women Development	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	- All discriminatory policies that infringe on the equal rights of women and

	<p>their participation in decision making to be abolished. To support this by promulgating legislation on domestic violence, honour killings and trafficking of women, sexual harassment and assault</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In addition to the international treaties signed by Pakistan for prevention of violence against women, the ANP to endorse the Optional Protocol of the International Convent on Civil and Political Rights and other such agreements. - To ensure election of women from general seats in addition to the reserved seats, as direct election cannot have an alternative - To ensure that any law, policy or code of conduct passed by the state does not discriminate against women - To review National Identity Cards policies to ensure people are registered under father's name and not spouse's to ease lengthy processes in case of any changes in marital status. Furthermore, to end the requirement for adult women to register in presence of a male guardian - To ensure equal opportunities for women at every level
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women's property and ownerships rights to be granted and their education to be promoted - Un-Islamic customs like marriage to Quran, vani, karokari and honor killing to be addressed - To open separate universities for women in every province - Professional and technical education to be imparted to women - A quota in assemblies for women to be ensured - A special institution to be formed regarding women's problems with all-female staff
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All the discriminatory laws against women and religious minorities to be repealed - Social ailments like gender discrimination, sexual harassment, domestic violence, child abuse, rape in vengeance and forcing the opponent's womenfolk to march on public streets naked, honour killings, child marriage, Karo Kari, Vani, Marriage to the Holy Quran, Bondage to be dealt with by public awareness campaigns in collaboration with community participation and stringent legislative measures - Rampant gender discrimination both in urban and rural areas, the discouragement of female education and their full participation in society as equal citizen would be addressed through persistent teaching, public awareness and appropriate administrative and legislative measures
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fundamental human rights and dignity of women to be guaranteed and justice provided, including legal prosecution against acts of physical and domestic violence and honour killings - To ensure the end of unjust and unacceptable practices like Wannu, Karokari, honour killings, marriage with Quran, etc. and ensure that women are not deprived of their due property rights by their more powerful male relatives
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To ensure respect, dignity, and protection to women granted by Islam - To promote participation of women in national development and their social, political and economic empowerment

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To give preference to women teachers in primary education - To promote female education and health care programmes to overcome gender gaps - Effective representation of women in all key policy/decision making bodies to be ensured - Special legislation on violence against women and child abuse to be enacted - Micro credit for female borrowers to be expanded substantially as a part of the process of their empowerment
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The 20% affirmative action job quota for Women in public service to be initiated - Effective legislation to enable legal ownership of assets and resources for Women to be enacted so as to facilitate their financial independence - Institutional initiatives to be taken to prevent crimes against Women in the name of tribalism, such as honour-killings and forced marriages - Family Courts to be presided by Women Judges to hear Family Law Cases. Right of Maintenance and child custody according to law to be implemented - Women to be appointed to the superior judiciary - Ministry of Women Development to be part of important policy-making bodies

Rights of Non-Muslim Communities

Non-Muslim Communities, alongside Women, are considered disadvantaged communities in terms of systemic denial of their rights or lack of equal opportunities to them as citizens of Pakistan. Non-Muslim Communities dislike the appendage of “minorities” attached to them. However, the manifestos of political parties reveal that parties are not sensitive to this and continue to use the term of “minorities” for referring to non-Muslim communities. These communities believe that their rights, as equal citizens of the country, should be provided, respected and protected. Following tables highlight the policies of the political parties in ensuring the rights of the Non-Muslim Communities:

Rights of Non-Muslim Communities	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethnicity, faith and gender-based discrimination to be opposed at all levels - Every Pakistani citizen to enjoy equal political, economic and social rights - Ethnic and Religious minorities to be protected
MMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Constitutional guarantees to be given to minorities - Minorities to be given opportunities in education, employment and in other arenas - Places of worship of all minorities to be given protection - An easy way to be devised for minorities to help them cast their votes and choose their representatives
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All the discriminatory laws against women and religious minorities to be repealed

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No religious obstruction to exercise the inherent right of a citizen of Pakistan to participate in any matter; socio economic and/or political - The religious minorities to be treated as equal citizens of Pakistan and to be given state protection for their lives, property and freedom to practice their religion freely - To provide representation to minorities at least 5 % seats be reserved for them in Legislative Bodies - A rigorous campaign and public awareness to be launched in collaboration with the people and religious scholars to exterminate religious extremism, hatred, fanaticism and terrorism from the country
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The minorities to have full freedom of worship and the right to employment in all sectors of the Pakistani state - Their religious holidays to be commemorated nationally
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A commission to be set up to look into complaints of religious discrimination - Scholarships for higher education to be offered for talented children of minorities from low income families - Minorities to be integrated in the mainstream of national development through active participation at different levels
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A job quota for minorities in the services of Pakistan, including the operational services like Army, Police, Intelligence Agencies, Judiciary and Foreign Affairs to be allocated - An independent permanent National Commission for Religious Minorities to be instituted, with the powers of Tribunals which can entertain complaints and provide redress on urgent basis - Minorities to be given administrative control of their places of worship and a person belonging to a minority group to be made head of the Evacuee Trust Property Board - The statutes that discriminate against religious Minorities to be reviewed

Youth

Youth is the backbone of a society and plays a major role in shaping up a mature, conscientious society. Youth are an integral part of any society. Participation in civil society activities assures that youth are keenly engaged in shaping their future. Pakistan is a rather young country in terms of its demographics and young women and men constitute over 30% ¹⁰ of the country's population. How do various political parties plan to harness the potential of youth in the future? The following table highlights the parties' plans:

Youth	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<i>No specific reference is made in the Manifesto</i>
MMA	<i>No specific reference is made in the Manifesto</i>
MQM	<i>No specific reference is made in the Manifesto</i>
PML	- The Ministry of Youth Affairs to directly work under the Prime

¹⁰ Draft Pakistan Youth Policy, 2005

	<p>Minister's Secretariat to ensure a special focus on Youth policies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opportunities for employment of youth to be provided both at home and abroad. Communication skills including computer and information technology to be an area of special focus. - Special inter-provincial youth campaigns to be launched to enhance inter-provincial harmony. - To establish Youth Parliament at the centre and in provinces, for provision of invaluable training in democracy for youth and students. - To undertake orientation campaigns in Pakistan for overseas Pakistani youth with families in the country to sensitize them to their culture.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth training programmes to be started in order to create 100,000 positions for apprenticeship in trade and industry. These opportunities to be created in collaboration with the private sector. - Self-employment loans to be extended to those who complete training/apprenticeship. - Inter-provincial visits of youth to be organized. - Youth to be provided special sports facilities in all educational institutions. - Anti-addiction campaign to be launched to stop youth from drug abuse.
PPP	<i>No specific reference is made in the Manifesto</i>

Environmental Issues

Environmental issues figure prominently in the overall governance framework. Environment not only affects productivity, availability of natural resources, but also has an effect on health expenditures, reduced labour productivity, and other areas. Population growth and poor water infrastructure have reduced per capita water availability from 53,000 cubic meters to 1,200 cubic meters, and heavy reliance on firewood has contributed to the world's second highest rate of deforestation. Poor agricultural practices have led to soil erosion, groundwater degradation, and other problems that have hindered crop output and contributed to health problems for rural communities. Solid waste burning, low-quality fuels, and the growing use of fuel-inefficient motor vehicles have contributed to air pollution which in some cities has exceeded levels deemed safe by the World Health Organization. Following table outlines the environment-related policies and programmes of various political parties:

Environment	
Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	– Special importance to be accorded to protection of environment in the country
MMA	– Attempts to be made so as to provide a pollution free environment
MQM	– Improvement of environment by making efficient use of natural resources and energy, respecting the natural world and wild life, utilizing the open spaces, eco-friendly designs and construction methods, recycling waste, plantation on a large scale and creating parks in each locality

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Extensive forestation to be undertaken in a most aggressive way - Ensure industrial effluent and untreated sewage are not dumped in to the sea - To ensure protection of sea and coast lines
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A national campaign to be launched to provide steps to protect the environment, particularly the protection of green areas, planning of trees and development of forests
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encourage ecologically sound development policies to preserve and develop the country's natural and forest resources to counteract the impact of global warming
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The PPP to follow environment-friendly policies to build a cleaner, healthier environment - Curriculum on environment to be introduced in schools - A cadre of environment workers to facilitate poor communities in urban and rural areas to be created. Legal framework to be provided to community participation in biodiversity conservation and protected areas management - Private sector participation to be encouraged - The PPP supports the Kyoto protocol on climate change - The PPP to accelerate programs which will ensure clean air, land, and water for all - The PPP to introduce CNG units in major cities to reduce vehicular pollution - To set up a new <u>National Calamities and Disaster Management Authority</u> and make the Pakistan Environmental Protection Agency (PEPA) an autonomous authority

Nuclear Policy and Foreign Relations

In the world of today, the security and foreign policy of Pakistan is of crucial importance to the country. Due to the peculiar geo-political and international environment, Pakistan's security policies and its external policy are of significant importance not only to the Pakistani electorate but also to the outside World. Political Parties, therefore, have made efforts to explain their stance in detail on how they will conduct the security, especially nuclear, and foreign policies of the country if voted into power. Following tables carry the positions of the political parties whose manifestos have been analysed for this study:

Nuclear Policy	
<i>Party</i>	<i>Proposed Programme</i>
ANP	- To support a policy of arms reduction and nuclear disarmament on a universal basis
MMA	- No roll back of nuclear technology under any external pressure.
MQM	<i>The manifesto contains no reference</i>
PML	- Pakistan not to accept double standards on the nuclear issue nor allow intrusion into its nuclear programme or provide access to any of its nuclear installations and scientists to outsiders
PML-N	- No proposal or initiative to ever be considered if it compromises, weakens, reduces or diminishes Pakistan's nuclear and missile capability
PPP	- Nuclear Command and Control to be placed under the Defence Committee of the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister.

Foreign Relations

Foreign Relations	
<i>Party</i>	<i>Relations</i>
<i>Kashmir Dispute and Relations with India</i>	
ANP	- Relations with India to be strengthened - All issues including the resolution of the Kashmir dispute to be negotiated with India
MMA	- All types of support to be given to Kashmiri people to exercise their right of self determination
MQM	- MQM to solve the Kashmir issue through meaningful, sincere and honourable dialogue according to the wishes of Kashmiri people - To encourage confidence-building measures and dialogue process with India and to work for peace and close cooperation between the countries of South Asia especially in economic fields so as to provide peace
PML	- The PML supports the right of self determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir through implementing UN resolutions. However, in order to break the deadlock on this issue existing for the last 60 years, the PML to support all those initiatives to peacefully resolve the Kashmir question which enjoy the support and backing of the Kashmiri people

	- The peace process with India to be pursued with vigour
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Every effort to be made to resolve the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, in accordance with the provisions of the relevant UN resolutions and in consonance with the aspirations of the people of the territory for their inherent right of self determination. - A peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues with India, in a spirit of fairness and equity to be accorded special priority by the Party.
PPP	- The PPP supports the rights of the Kashmiri people and commits to pursue the composite dialogue process agenda that it initiated with India including Kashmir and Indo-Pak issues in the light of UN Conventions and to the wishes of Kashmiri people.
Relations with Afghanistan	
ANP	- Relations with Afghanistan to be strengthened.
MMA	- Improvement of relations with all neighbouring countries
MQM	- Improvement of relations with all neighbouring countries
PML	- To find a peaceful solution to the war in Afghanistan and efforts to be made by the foreign forces in Afghanistan to initiate a dialogue with the resistance
PML-N	- Special attention to be accorded to strengthening relations with the brotherly Islamic states
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The PPP seeks to sign a <u>Treaty of Peace and Cooperation with Afghanistan</u> based on the following principles: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations • Settlement of all disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement • Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation • Respect for justice and international obligations - The PPP to set up <u>Joint Working Groups</u> with Afghanistan so as to enhance and rationalize trade between the two nations - The PPP commits to the restoration of close cultural, economic and trade ties with Afghanistan - The PPP commits to using resources in Balochistan for the mutual benefit of the energy needs of Afghanistan and Pakistan's largest province
Relations with China	
ANP	- Relations with China to be further strengthened
MMA	<i>No specific reference made in the Manifesto</i>
MQM	<i>No specific reference made in the Manifesto</i>
PML	- Relations with China to be strengthened.
PML-N	- China has been a time tested friend of Pakistan. Every effort to be made to strengthen and enhance this relationship
PPP	- The PPP believes in good neighbourly relations with Peoples Republic of China
Relations with Western Powers (Special Focus on USA)	

ANP	- Relations with USA to be based on equal partnership and no interference to be accepted in the internal affairs of the country
MMA	<i>No specific reference made in the Manifesto.</i>
MQM	<i>No specific reference made in the Manifesto</i>
PML	- Friendly relations with the West and the international community to be strengthened
PML-N	- Independence and sovereignty of the country and freedom of its people to be the supreme guiding principle - The foreign policy to endeavour to strengthen relations, particularly in the economic sector
PPP	- The PPP believes in further strengthening relations with the USA, Canada, European Union, Japan and the Commonwealth
Relations with the Islamic countries	
ANP	<i>No specific reference made in the Manifesto</i>
MMA	- Strengthening of relations with all Islamic countries
MQM	<i>No specific reference made in the Manifesto</i>
PML	- The PML to support Iran's right to a peaceful nuclear programme under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards and to reject any threat of force or use of force to resolve this issue - The PML to support the establishment of an independent democratic state in Palestine with Jerusalem as its capital - The PML considers the war in Iraq illegal and it feels that the way out is a peaceful solution through termination of foreign occupation. To make more efforts to replace the occupation with a joint United Nations - OIC peacekeeping force - The PML supports Pakistan's initiative endorsed by the Islamic Summit in Malaysia in 2003 for reform of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). In this regard, the PML welcomes the report and recommendations of the Commission of Eminent Persons and hopes that these recommendations will be implemented in letter and spirit to make the OIC effective
PML-N	- Unity and solidarity amongst the member states of the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) to be promoted - Efforts made to strengthen the effectiveness and credibility of the organization. Special attention to be accorded to strengthening relations with brotherly Islamic states
PPP	- The PPP to develop trade and cultural ties with the Gulf States, Iran and Central Asian States