

Political Parties in Pakistan
Disabled by Design



Awami National
Party



Balochistan National
Party



Pakistan
Tehreek-e-Insaf



Pakistan
People's Party



Pakistan
Awami Tehreek



Jamaat-e-Islami



Pashtoonkhaw
Milli Awami Party



Pakistan Muslim
League (N), (QA), (J)



Jamhoori
Watan Party



Jamiat-e-Ulema
Islam (F)



Muttahida Quami
Movement

Zafarullah Khan

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Zafarullah Khan

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Disclaimer:

Every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of this publication. The author does not accept responsibility of any omission, as it is not deliberate. Nevertheless we will appreciate provision of accurate information to improve the next edition.

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Right of Association

- (1) Every citizen shall have the right to form associations or unions, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, public order or morality.
- (2) Every citizen, not being in the service of Pakistan, shall have the right to form or be a member of a political party, subject to any reasonable restriction imposed by law in the interest of the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan or public order and such law shall provide that where the Federal Government declares that any political party has been formed or is operating in a manner prejudicial to the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan or public order, the Federal Government shall, within fifteen days of such declaration, refer the matter to the Supreme Court whose decision on such reference shall be final.

Provided that no political party shall promote sectarian, ethnic, regional hatred or animosity, or be tilted or constituted as a militant group or section.

- (3) Every political party shall account for the source of its funds in accordance with law.
- (4) Every political party shall, subject to law, hold intra-party elections to elect its office-bearers and party leaders.

Article 17, Chapter 1-Fundamental Rights, Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan-1973:

(Of all the Fundamental Rights, the Right of Association has faced rather frequent re-adjustments and modifications. Article 17, resultantly, has been amended thrice. The first amendment in May 1974 excluded the citizens in service of Pakistan from joining or forming a political party. Simultaneously, it bound the political parties to reveal sources of their funds. The second amendment in November 1975 added some restrictive clauses to conform operation of political parties to "sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan" in addition to public order and morality. The second amendment followed the ban on the National Awami Party which was quickly re-organized as National Democratic Party and later re-named as Awami National Party. The third amendment has been made through the controversial Legal Framework Order (LFO)-2002 incorporated in the 17th Amendment which is strongly contested by the democratic forces. Beside further reinforcing restrictive clauses about public order it added a new clause to check sectarian, ethnic and regional tendencies and militancy in the post 9-11 world. Through the same amendment yet another clause has been added to make it mandatory to hold intra-party elections.)

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Preface

“Every mother wants her son to be the President but no mother wants to see him as a politician.” One is reminded of this quote while going through this report that documents the state of political parties and of politics in Pakistan. A political party, as an important primary democratic structure, is the vehicle through which an individual’s political aspirations can find expression. Political parties bring like minded people together and enable them to organize themselves and their political thoughts.

However, all this needs enabling circumstances, as the writer has repeatedly pointed out. Some of these `enabling circumstances, in my view are:

- ♦ Public funding of political parties as it in the interest of the public to have political parties.
 - ♦ Parties should be internally democratic
 - ♦ A mechanism of upward movement within the party should be in place.
- And most importantly
- ♦ Political parties should be allowed to operate freely without coercion.

It is not surprising that the political parties are `disabled.” as Mr. Khan points out in the report. For if political parties are constantly struggling for their own survival, if they have to be constantly on the defensive, if they have to be constantly apologetic for their very existence.... It is no wonder that parties have not taken the time to invest in themselves and their workers.

Banning political parties or political figures without any legal framework is a move that will never put a country on the democratic path. The world of politics is like a public market..... parties set up their stalls, men and women present themselves before the public as the best person for the job and the public should be left to determine who to assign the job to.

It is only when people are given this freedom that political parties would feel inclined towards investing in their internal capacity building and it is only then that democracy would shine on the country in all its glory.

In the meantime, the Foundation is happy to support such initiatives like that of Mr. Zafarullah Khan. I wish him all the best but hope that next time he documents the state of political parties they would be `able” and not `disabled.’

Peter Andreas Bochmann
Resident Representative
Friedrich Naumann Foundation
Pakistan.

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Prologue:

Political parties in Pakistan: disabled by design

“Those who are more closely acquainted with politics are only too well aware of the amount of work that actually goes into it. Due respect for this nation-preserving, state building activity!”

Friedrich Naumann-German political thinker

Political party is a forum of freedom and equality, reason and logic. There is no democracy without political parties. Emerging out of the socio-economic and cultural realities of the society, political parties tend to aggregate and articulate public concerns and mediate between the citizens and the state. Every political party is out to influence public opinion to earn the trust of the electorate and win power to govern. That is the only way to implement their vision.

The metaphor of a train best explains a political party. The leadership serves as the strong engine pulling a variety of carriages ranging from the cozy and comfortable saloons to the modest with bare minimum facilities yet sharing the same track and direction. People with different social backgrounds and resources embark (and disembark) for different reasons and destinations. Those left on the platform, obviously, reach nowhere. Like a train, a party has to trudge ahead and cross a variety of terrains, bridges and tunnels, and duly abide by the signals en-route. It has to pass through dark underpasses that look like an abyss taking its passengers along. As an addendum to these external challenges, the train also faces frequent interruptions by its passengers pulling the emergency chain, both with or without reason.

Leadership in Pakistan is a matter of resources than organizational talent. In the street-cricket, as ever, the skipper is the boy who owns the bat or the sports gear. His skills don't count in the game. He happily declares himself as the captain, often without challenge, and insists to bat first regardless of the toss. In the political arena, there are too few clubs that offer equal opportunities to all. On our political crease, too, the self-styled skippers of political parties, often the feudal lords and neo-riches, love to bat than to field and stay at the wicket as long as possible. For that they don't mind switching teams and crossing floor of the parliament. Ordinary public can participate but only as placard holders. Success in the carefully designed 'sustainable democracy' depends on one's understanding with the referee. Matches are fixed. Anyone challenging the credentials of the referee is immediately shown the red card.

Derived from Latin word *pars*, meaning "part, direction", the term Party is generally used to describe an association of like-minded people with regard to politics, social issues, economic policy and world view. They form a party to influence politics. In this sense parties have existed, as loose groupings, since the Ancient city-states in Greece and in republican Rome as well as during the political and religious movements of the 16th and 17th century.

The political parties of modern times began to shape up during the 18th and 19th centuries. England was the trend setter of this process where, during the 18th century, the Tories and Whigs established themselves as permanent bodies with distinct characteristics. They strictly followed party policy when making comments in public. The party groupings formed during the American struggle for independence, the French Revolution and some time later during constitutional movements in Germany were sharply outlined.

The aim of a political party or a group of similar parties is to form a majority in parliament as a coalition, or a single-party majority and gain dominance over state policy and political opponents. This interplay between the parties is a fundamental condition of the modern constitutional state and its system of government.

The article 17 of the Constitution of Pakistan recognizes political parties as the fundamental right but puts at least ten conditions on them to exist and operate. The article 17 reads: "Every citizen shall have the right to form associations or unions, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, public order or morality. Every citizen, not being in the service of Pakistan, shall have the right to form or be a member of a political party, subject to any reasonable restriction imposed by law in the interest of the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan or public order and such law shall provide that where the Federal Government declares that any political party has been formed or is operating in a manner prejudicial to the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan or public order, the Federal Government shall, within fifteen days of such declaration, refer the matter to the Supreme Court whose decision on such reference shall be final. Provided that no political party shall promote sectarian, ethnic, regional hatred or animosity or be titled or constituted as a militant group or section. Every political party shall account for the source of its funds in accordance with law. Every political party shall, subject to law, hold intra-party elections to elect its office-bearers and party leaders."

Political Parties Order-2002 defines a political party as "an association of citizens or a combination or groups of such associations formed with a view to propagating or influencing political opinion and participating in elections for any elective public office or for membership of a legislative body."

Political parties have mushroomed in Pakistan. Every shade of political opinion or religious/sectarian denomination is now organized as a full fledged party. Thanks to the Constitution, there is no condition as to the minimum membership. Presently over 90 submit their internal elections certificate and annual income and expenditure statements to the Election Commission of Pakistan to qualify for an election symbol. Sixty two tried their luck in election-2002 and 16 parties and two alliances got representation in the National Assembly, twelve parties and two alliances won berths in the Senate and a few more in the provincial assemblies. This is the highest number of political parties to reach the representative democratic institutions in Pakistan. Interestingly seven out of fifteen are single legislator parties and one party Pakistan Peoples Party-Patriot parachuted from the opposition to treasury benches after Establishment facilitated factionalism in Pakistan Peoples Party-Parliamentarians. Amazingly majority of defectors hailed from Punjab and many of them have been elevated to ministerial posts. One MNA of Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal from NWFP also

changed his loyalties to serve as a minister of state in the cabinet.

Traditionally Pakistani Establishment has encouraged and, on occasions, facilitated factionalism in political parties but for the first time 'family planning' of political parties has taken place at the national level. (Readers: Family Planning is a popular political idiom introduced by sarcastic Pir Pagaro in the post 1977 scenario) Five factions of Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-I-Azam, Functional, Junejo, Jinnah and Zia) merged to be a united Pakistan Muslim League (PML). Smaller parties in the folds of National Alliance including Millat Party and Sindh Democratic Alliance also joined the united PML. Two factions of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) namely Patriot and Sherpao also merged to deprive Benazir Bhutto's party of its original name. The pro-Bhutto PPP now operates under the banner of PPP-Parliamentarians. All this appears to be a sort of consolidation of what could be described as pro-Establishment



Federal Political Department. The Political Parties Order 2002 (Annex-I) is, however, silent about such post election mergers of political parties.

The popular perception is that the civil-military Establishment has only two treatments for political parties. The conformists are allowed into the power corridors and the non-conformists are locked in Attock Fort. Yet the same Military Establishment has been decorated with "Democracy Medal" in 1989 for giving democracy a fair chance. Ballot is a lucky chance than a constitutional routine in Pakistan.

Politics is about empowerment but the powers that be have introduced execution and exile as the alternatives for arch rivals. Blame exile, three major political parties have become 'remote control machines' unable to show reflexes as organic parties. Pakistan Peoples Party of Benazir Bhutto operates from London and Dubai via e-mail. The party occasionally calls its meetings abroad that has made inter-action with leadership pretty expensive for its modest workers/leaders. The exiled leaders of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) keep contact with their supporters from Saudi Arabia and thanks to the pilgrim traffic, have no such difficulty. Yet unlike Benazir Bhutto they can't hold a formal party conference in the Saudi Kingdom. Muttahida Qaumi Movement's International secretariat in London operates via 'phone khitabs' which do echo on the state-owned electronic media since the Muttahida Qaumi Movement is a partner in the ruling coalition in Sindh and the Federation.

Of the exiled leaders, PML-N president Mian Shahbaz Sharif in May 2004 did try to end his three-year exile by attempting a landing after a favourable verdict of the Supreme Court that acknowledged every citizen's right to return to his homeland. However the government deported him to Saudi Arabia within an hour after he stepped on his soil at Lahore airport where he was taken into custody by commandos. The city was literally in a state of siege as police contingents numbering up to 16,000 were posted on major roads and key intersections throughout the provincial metropolis to stop workers from welcoming the junior Sharif. As usual, police tear-gassed, baton charged and detained dozens of PML-N and ARD activists on this occasion.

Earlier in April 2004 Makhdoom Javed Hashmi, President of the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy and acting PML-N chief was sentenced to 23 years imprisonment for an alleged act of sedition. His trial was conducted in Rawalpindi's Adiala Jail under Section 124-A (defamation of government), 131 (inciting people to mutiny), 468, 469 and 471 (forgery), 505-A (defamation of army) and 500 (defamation of army) of the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC). Mr. Hashmi was arrested on October 29, 2003 on charges of defaming the government and the army, incitement to mutiny and forging documents. The case was brought after the former minister in deposed premier Nawaz Sharif's cabinet circulated a letter allegedly written by an army officer opposing the role of the military in national politics. The PML-N called the verdict the darkest hour in the country's judicial history and in August 2004 the opposition parties nominated Makhdoom Javed Hashmi as a joint candidate against Shaukat Aziz for the office of Prime Minister. Besides critical times for PML-N in September 2003 a treason case was also registered against six leaders of Balochistan National Party in Quetta for distributing posters and pamphlets against the role of armed forces. However no one was arrested.

Political parties figure as sovereign in Rousseau's Social Contract but in Pakistan they appear to be a weak and virtually disabled actor in the carefully designed and controlled democracy. Nevertheless now there is an emerging desire among the political parties to reclaim their lost ground and play an effective role to make Pakistani democracy substantive. Some of them have realized their objectionable conduct in the past. Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) has publicly apologized on the floor of National Assembly for having supported the military in the past. The party has authored a 'covenant on democracy' to bring the country out of the existing political quagmire.

According to an opinion poll conducted by Pakistan Legislative Strengthening Consortium (PLSC) in Pakistan 45% people believe political parties are essential and necessary for democracy but 62 % think that the parties primarily serve their own interests. Only 13 % consider political parties do attend the public interest. That shows the political parties have to put their house in order to gain wider acceptance and reclaim their lost territory. This argument figured prominent at a recently concluded Leadership Development Course in NWFP arranged by National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and Centre for Civic Education Pakistan with support from National Endowment for Democracy. The zeal of members of seven participating political parties epitomized their desire to reform their parties. Encouraged by the outcome of this effort, National Democratic Institute and Centre for Civic Education Pakistan have started a Political Party Development Program in Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan. These courses are first of its' kind for political parties in the country and it is hoped that all mainstream political parties will gradually establish their own training systems to grow and groom as organic political institutions.

There can't be two opinions that the political parties help shape the democratic destiny of the nation and time has come that the Pakistani political parties perform their long awaited role. Democracy is in our blood and the normative well organized parties provide fresh oxygen to it. The three military aberrations that the country had to suffer during the last 57 years finally had to explore some sort of legitimacy either in 'basic', 'Islamic' or 'sustainable' democracy and they created political puppets in the garb of officially controlled political parties. What the country really requires are the people centered organic political parties that can take the nation out of present quagmire. This report is designed to initiate a debate about the working of political parties by focusing on critical issues like political parties funding and other developments in the field of political communication.

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Can integrity and influence co-exist?

In Global Corruption Report 2004, published by Transparency International, Pakistan figures in a category of states where investment in political parties can yield desired policy outcomes sought by the investors in the game. This study conducted by World Economic Forum to expose the extent of political corruption around the world is based on the results of 2003 Executive Opinion Survey in the Global Competitiveness Report. The report places Pakistan in the category of the countries with 'medium political corruption' where the culture of irregular payments in government policy making, policy consequences of political donations and odd reality of illegal political donations do exist.

Money is the mother's milk for politics. The nature of funding shapes the dynamics of political processes in the society. The role of money to manipulate political influence is as old as democracy itself and as fresh as today's headlines. Political analysts all over the world do reconcile that one cannot have democracy without money just as one cannot have humanity without original sin. All democracies thrive on political parties which in order to exist, organize, campaign and communicate require and spend money. The costs of running a successful political party have considerably risen over the past few years. Functional parties need permanent staff, well run secretariats and sufficient amount of money to run both electoral and routine campaigns because a quiet spectator is never in the game.

In Pakistan for all these tasks, parties mostly rely upon the leaders' purse or a highly secretive and centralized system of donations. The prevailing practice deteriorates country's democracy into plutocracy marred by citizen's exclusions from political process. The way political parties are funded often raise many unanswered questions in Pakistan and being a weak actor in country's political scene, parties often shy away when questioned about their funds and keep their lips zipped on this subject.

All political parties in Pakistan have to come up with some cooked figures by August 29 every year to fulfill a legal requirement of submitting an annual statement of income and expenditures. Article 13 of the Political Parties Order, 2002 and Rule 4 of the Political Parties Rules, 2002 require every political party to maintain its accounts indicating its income, annual expenditure, source of funds, assets and liabilities to be submitted to the Election Commission within 60 days after the end of a financial year.

Article 13 of Political Parties Order, 2002, reads:-"Information about the sources of party's fund.

- (l) Every political party shall, in such manner and in such form as may be prescribed

or specified by the Chief Election Commissioner -submit to the Election Commission within 60 days from the close of each financial year, a consolidated statement of accounts of the party audited by a chartered accountant containing- (a) annual income and expenses; (b) sources of its funds; and (c) assets and liabilities.

- (2) The statement referred to in clause (1), shall be accompanied by a certificate signed by the party leader stating that (a) no funds from any source prohibited under this Order were received by the party; and (b) the statement contains an accurate financial position of the party."

The chosen representatives seldom commit a wrong or do anything unfair. All an elected legislator requires is a little intelligence in filling pro-forma to avoid stepping on line. The Election Commission seldom blows a whistle. The 342 members of National Assembly (MNA), 100 Senators and 728 members of four provincial assemblies do fulfill the requirements of election laws but in a bit trickier fashion. First, upon their election they have to hide the actual expenditures incurred on their election campaign to remain within the legally permissible limit. Secondly, they have to submit the details of their assets on an annual basis, of course, showing no illegal acquisition or addition to their fortunes and lastly they have to be a bit watchful of their academic credentials. They ought to defend the genuineness of their university degree or equivalent certificate/sanad particularly if they are on the opposition benches.

Come September:

On June 30, 2003 an election tribunal of Peshawar High Court disqualified Mufti Ibrar Sultan (NA-14) of Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal holding that a sanad (certificate) issued to him by a religious seminary was not equivalent to a Bachelors degree. The Attorney General for Pakistan contended that the degrees issued by religious institutes were not equivalent to graduation. The appeal of Mufti Ibrar Sultan is pending with the Supreme Court that on July 8, 2003 restored his membership and ordered its office to fix his appeal for final hearing in mid-September. The chief justice said Mufti Ibrar's appeal will be heard with the other petition filed by a lawyer, Dr Aslam Khaki, challenging the qualification of MMA's 65 legislators. The promised September has yet to come. In a rejoinder, MMA leader Farid Paracha at a National Students Convention in Islamabad claimed that more than 42 lawmakers in National Assembly, majority treasury benchers, possess fake degrees.

In 2003, out of the 73 political parties enlisted with the Election Commission Pakistan (ECP) only 45 submitted their accounts. On September 27, 2003, for the first time in country's history, through the official gazette Election Commission made public annual accounts of 56 political parties.

The civil society welcomed this disclosure policy. However the ECP failed to put this vital information on its official website: <http://www.ecp.gov.pk>

The ECP has repeated the practice in 2004 and it is expected that it will help initiate a

meaningful debate and discussion on the issue. In 2004, some 59 political parties submitted their accounts. Out of these 11 were not properly audited and one was not delivered in the prescribed manner. According to the Election Commission about 34 political parties, including Awami National Party, failed to submit their accounts.

Last year newspapers extracted quite a few juicy stories out of the published information about individual assets and party funds. One can draw interesting inferences from these details. A naked example of horse-trading is the election of Mr. Azam Swati, perhaps the richest Senator of Pakistan, who was able to win a berth in the Upper House as an independent candidate from NWFP in what was designed to be a party-based election. That's the advantage in the secret ballot. On the contrary many ostensibly opulent politicians are quite poor as per their own declarations in black & white.

At present, the richest political party in the country is the ruling Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-I-Azam (as known during election time before merger) with income and assets worth 36 million rupees. Its head office on the Capital's scenic Margalla Road is perhaps the most expensive property owned by any political party in Pakistan. But the property is politically disputed for it was acquired by PML (N) and forcefully occupied by PML (Q) much after the military takeover. The two of its coalition partners, Pakistan People's Party-Patriot and Grand National Alliance were reported to be almost penniless. In 2004 the Patriots merged with another faction of PPP and the constituent parties of GNA merged with PML, thus PML-Q dropping the Q. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz has assets worth Rs 24.7 million, according to the gazette. The Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf of former cricketer Imran Khan has a liability of Rs 100,000 and many non-representative parties have a slight difference in earnings and expenditures.

An outline of the account details of the various other parties are as follows:

- ♦ Opening balance of the MMA was zero last year and now it has Rs 133,862.
- ♦ Jamaat-e-Islami, a component party of the MMA, has Rs 377,995 in its account while its assets are worth Rs 1,419,115,
- ♦ Pir Pagaro's PML Functional has Rs 200,000,
- ♦ The JUI of Maulana Samiul Haq Rs 320,00,
- ♦ Muttahida Qaumi Movement Rs 349,000,
- ♦ Dr Tahir-ul-Qadri's PAT Rs 1,418,000 and
- ♦ The PML-Zia Rs 32,000.

If one goes by the declared income and assets of political parties, then this amount is far less than the known annual budgets of big non-governmental organizations and funds poured by international donors for their projects to promote democracy and strengthen electoral processes in Pakistan. Nevertheless this statement does not explain the entire picture because the parties spend much more than their declared funds. The modest calculations of campaign expenditures, in reality, are almost triple of the authorized limits i.e. Rs 1.5 million for a National and Rs. 1 Million for a Provincial constituency. During this research the author had the opportunity to interview at least ten members of the parliament about actual expenditures incurred on their electoral bid.

Following is the chart based on estimates extracted during these interviews. Beside these expenditures every politician is expected to attend all important marriages and funerals in his/her constituency and make dozens of local and long distance calls to win favor for their supporters’.

<i>Legally allowed and estimated actual election expenditures</i>		
Limit of expenditure for National Assembly seat:	Rs.	1500,000
Limit of expenditure for Provincial Assembly seat:	Rs.	1000,000
Candidature Fee to be deposited with Returning Officer:	Rs	4,000
Party ticket fee: Ranging from free to maximum	Rs	30,000
Party donation (for publicity):	Rs	100,000
45-days election campaign (3 rallies a day @ Rs15,000 per rally):	Rs.	2,025,000
Advertisements in newspapers/cable etc	Rs.	200,000
Stickers/posters/banners	Rs.	1000,000
Charities: (people give their bills etc to be paid)	Rs.	200,000
Transport: 5 vehicles per day for 45 days @ Rs.3000 per vehicle:	Rs.	6,75000
Paid political workers/security guards etc: 50 @Rs.500 for 45 days	Rs.	1,125,000
30 offices in the constituency for 45 days @ Rs. 3,000 per day:	Rs	4050,000
<i>Election day expenditures:</i>		
Election camps: 250 x Rs 2000 per camp:	Rs	500,000
Transport at least 40 vehicles @ Rs. 3000 per vehicle:	Rs	120,000
Grand total:	Rs.	12,629,000

Funding of political parties raised many critical questions in 1994 when a former director general of Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) confessed the Agency had distributed over 140 million rupees among favorite politicians during the general election of 1990. The scandal popularly known as Mehrangate hit headlines giving birth to the new lexicon of “briefcase politics” in the country’s political diction. A Human Rights Petition (HRC 19/96) filed by Air Marshal (retired) Muhammad Asghar Khan in the Supreme Court against the retired COAS General Mirza Mohammad Aslam Beg, the former ISI chief retired Lt General Asad Durrani and Younis Habib of Mehran Bank, relating to the disbursement of public money and its misuse for political purposes, is still pending. The case was initiated after Benazir Bhutto's interior minister, another retired general, Naseerullah Babar, disclosed in the National Assembly in 1994 how the ISI had disbursed funds to purchase the loyalty of politicians and public figures so as to manipulate the 1990 elections, (b) form the Islami Jamhoree Ittihad (IJI), and (c) bring about the defeat of the PPP. Media reports and political analysis suggest that nothing has changed since 1994. The intelligence networks continue to spend taxpayers’ money to fix our

future. Only recently self-exiled leader of Muttahida Qaumi Movement, Altaf Hussain has accused the intelligence agencies for encouraging factionalism in his party despite the fact that it is a ruling coalition partner in Sindh and in the Federal Government.

Legally speaking, political parties in Pakistan can raise their funds through the membership fee and individual voluntary contributions made strictly by Pakistani citizens. The membership fees, blame the declining trust in parties, obviously can't suffice for the financial requirements of a party. Secondly the voluntary contributions most of the time are not strings free. They are used to peddle influence.

According to Political Parties Order 2002, the parties are supposed to keep record of their membership and contributions made by members or supporters. The PPO-2002 prohibits any contribution made directly or indirectly, by any foreign government, multi-national or domestically incorporated public or private company, firm, trade or professional association. The law explicitly explains that the parties may accept contributions and donations only from individuals. Such contributions or donations include cash, kind, stocks, hospitality, accommodation, transport, fuel and provision of other such facilities.

Practically, political parties raise bulk of their funds by charging fee for the Party tickets. The cost of such tickets in 2002 elections varied from the maximum of Rs. 30, 000 for the ruling Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-I-Azam) to one thousand rupees for the ticket by fringe parties. Interestingly, the tickets of religious political parties including JUI (S), JUI (F) and Jamaat-I-Islami are awarded free of charge. Among others who do not prefer to sell their party tickets are Muttahida Qaumi Movement and Balochistan National Movement. The MQM's election cell, instead, pays the prescribed nomination fees for every candidate. The Party, consequently, exercises total control over their legislators and it made three of its MNAs quit their seats in 2004 after complaints from their constituencies.

The parties charge a slightly higher fee for reserved seats for women. The PML-Q asked for Rs. 25,000 for reserved seats for women at the national and Rs. 20,000 for provincial, thus earning Rs 10,000 profit on each ticket. Nevertheless the ruling party offered free tickets for the Senate to two columnists namely Syed Mushahid Hussain and Mr. Ikram Sehgal. The former accepted while the latter declined even though both had not applied for it.

Interestingly on January 2, 2002 PML-N also invited applications from people desirous of taking part in elections on vacant seats of town and union council nazims, naib nazims and councilors. The press announcement asked the applicants to send Rs. 2000 as non-refundable security. The local government elections in the country were held on non-party basis.

Number of candidates fielded by various political parties in Election-2002

<i>Party</i>	<i>Fee for National Assembly</i>	<i>Number of Applicant/ candidates</i>	<i>Fee for the Senate</i>	<i>Number of Applicants/ candidates</i>	<i>Fee for Provincial assembly</i>	<i>Number of Applicants/ candidates</i>
PML-Q	Rs. 15,000	C-197	Rs. 30,000 For technocrat seat Rs. 35,000	A-162	Rs. 10,000	C-450
PPP-P	Rs. 25,000	A-1500 C-232	Rs. 25,000	A-150	Rs. 15,000	C-478
PML-N	Rs. 20,000	C-171	Rs. 25,000		Rs. 15,000	C-375
MMA	Nil	C-183				C-387
GNA		C-75	Rs. 10,000			C-197
PML-Z	Rs. 10,000	C-16			Rs. 5,000	C-41
MQM	No fee	C-20	No fee		No fee	C-38
PTI	Rs. 10,000	C-97			Rs. 5,000	C-198
PAT	Rs. 10,000	C-66	Did not invite applications		Rs. 5,000	C-152
ANP		C-32				C-80
BNP		C-6				C-18

A-number of applicants, C-number of candidates

How much money parties are able to raise through such mechanism remains an unanswered question. At best only estimates can be made. For example, one of the country's largest party, the Pakistan Peoples Party fixed the fee of Rs. 25, 000 for its' ticket for the Senate and the National Assembly and Rs. 15,000 for the Provincial Assembly tickets. According to a newspaper report, it received more than 1500 applications from all over the country. Therefore on average the party received Rs. 20,000 per application and by the estimate the party was able to collect about 30.2 million rupees. On December 16, 2002, Rao Sikandar Iqbal alleged that PPP charged Rs. 100,000 from each ticket holder in the name of campaign material and collected 80 million rupees but, according to him, had done very little electoral campaigning.

Another mode of raising party funds has been adopted by the PML-Q which made it mandatory for every member of its 43-member Central Working Committee to contribute Rs. 10,000 per annum. The PPP has also fixed various amounts as mandatory contributions from its office bearers and members of central and provincial executive committees. The religious political parties collect hides of sacrificial animals to raise funds while a few regional parties are also accused of collecting extortion money. The hidden culture of toll-gating also exists in the country.

An advertisement in daily Dawn (September 15, 2002) carried MQM's chief Altaf Hussain appeals for election fund:

"I appeal to the people of Pakistan generally but particularly to wealthy, business community, shopkeepers to come forward and contribute generously for the success of Muttahida Quami Movement in the forthcoming general elections."

The advertisement said the donations may be deposited in the Allied Bank, Dastagir Branch, Account no. PLS. 4531-8. It informed the readers that committees have been formed to collect donations consisting of MQM candidates, party leaders and office bearers of zones, sectors and units.

The likely donors were assured and cautioned by the party in a language that has a different connotation in Karachi where traders were subjected to 'bhatta': "A numbered receipt will be issued for every donation received. Kindly do not hand over any money without receiving a duly signed receipt. "The party also established a complaint cell at MQM headquarter "Nine Zero" to weed out irregularities. The ad provided phone, fax and e-mail contacts of the party's Karachi office and International secretariat in London.

Political parties raise the bulk of their resources from donations from Pakistanis living abroad. The emphasis on establishing party's branches overseas is nothing but fund-raising technique. The leadership of overseas branches is determined by the ability of mobilizing resources than collecting postal ballots. On May 19, 2004 the dissidents in Pakistan Awami Tehrik while creating their own faction with the name of "Carvan" claimed that for election 2002 the party raised Rs 100 million from abroad in mere 25 days. The information would have never been public if the party had maintained the unity in her ranks. Maulana Azam Tariq, chief of Millat-e-Islamia (now defunct) days before his assassination said, "For funds we do not have to look around internationally. Locally we collect Rs. 30 million through our members alone, who give 100 rupees as mandatory donation every year and presently we have some 300,000 members. Besides that every Sipah-e-Sahaba activist always gives the skins of sacrificial animals to our welfare trust. Further more our activists give zakat to us to be spent on our members currently behind bars, their families and the kith and kin of those who were martyred. We have sympathizers in Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom who send us US \$ 100 or 1,000 Riyals. But to say we have a network over there is incorrect."

Conclusion:

The situation calls for urgent political funding reforms in the country. The rationale of such political funding reforms could be derived from the recognition that political activity is a noble endeavor and should be funded legitimately, transparently and sufficiently. In order to do so, some of the ideas worth considering are given below:

- ♦ Tax credits need to be given for political contributions.
- ♦ Secondly there should be full disclosure of all funding, both by the donors and

recipient. Such disclosures should be both by the political parties and individual candidates. These details should be made public.

- ♦ There should be no exemption on the money spent by parties and friends in electioneering campaigns or a reasonable ceiling should be fixed.
- ♦ If parties conform to internal democratic norms and financial transparency, then the government should explore the possibilities of public funding.
- ♦ Indirect funding in the form of free time on public service radio and television for recognized parties could be another possibility. For such supports parties could be qualified on the basis of a certain vote threshold.

These reforms are vital and would help eliminate political corruption and encourage many more to participate in politics who presently simply can't afford the prevailing expensive political business. The politicians who suffer due to prevailing plutocratic practices apparently have lost the will to reform and rarely talk about it. It was only Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz that in its 2002 Election Manifesto "Pledge with Pakistan" came up with a suggestion to set up a permanent National Commission for Democracy in the country that will work for the strengthening of democracy in the country and promote democratic tolerance. The commission will also give funds to political parties on the basis of their seats in Parliament for party development and political education.

Who is really tainted?

On February 28, 2003 Federal Minister Raza Hayat Hiraj told the National Assembly that the National Accountability Bureau had recovered Rs. 1.8 billion from 87 high officials and Rs. 770.10 million from 149 officials working at lower levels. On second biggest recovery of Rs. 450.10 million was from military officers and the much-maligned politicians were at number three as Rs. 260.20 million were recovered from 17 politicians.

**Details of parties funds:
2002-2003**

<i>Party</i>	<i>Opening Balance</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>	<i>Closing balance</i>	<i>Sources of Funds</i>
PML-Q	Rs. 1,457,144	Rs. 25,608,522	Rs. 22,582,501	Rs. 4,334,115 Assets worth Rs. 31,681,117	Donations from leaders and members, ticket fee, inter-party election fee
PPP-Parliamentarian	Nil	Rs. 1,000	Nil	Rs. 1,000	
PPP-Patriot	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
National Alliance	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
PML-N	Rs. 90774 US \$ 306	Rs. 3,465,650	Rs. 3,491,765	Rs. 64659 Assets worth Rs.24,752,731 Liabilities Rs. 34,000	Not mentioned
Pakistan Tehreek-I-Insaf	Rs. 257,832	Rs. 2,900,817	3,156,131	Assets Rs. 150,000 Liability of Rs. 100,000	Local contribution by party members, office bearers and Central Executive members
Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal	Zero	Rs. 825,455	Rs. 691,593	Rs. 1,33,862	Contributions from members and
Jamaat-e-Islami	Rs. 651,597	Rs. 2,853,071	Rs. 3,126,673	Rs. 3,77,995 Assets: Rs. 14,19,115	Contributions from members and
PML-F	Rs. 191,179	Rs. 491,935	Rs. 483,114	Rs. 200,000	Donations
Muttahida Quami Movement	Rs. 369,335	Rs. 2,762,051	Rs. 2,287,033	Rs. 349,241 Assets worth: 1,118,053	Donations, MQM Fund
Pakistan Awami Tehreek	Rs. 2,660,917	Rs. 5,066,359	Rs. 6,308,675	Rs. 1,418,601	Subscriptions
JUI-Sami	Rs. 4,413	Rs. 198,355	Rs. 170,583	Rs. 32,185	Membership fees and donations
PML-Z	Nil	Rs. 36,000	Nil	Rs. 36,000	Donations
Balochistan National Party (Awami)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
National Peoples Party	Rs. 99,165.	Rs. 48,000	Rs. 72,050	Rs. 291,000	Leaders contribution
PML-Jinnah	Rs. 950	Rs. 7,500	Rs. 8,450	Nil	Receipts from Members
Awami National Party	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Rs. 15,000 per month	Rs. 300,000	Not mentioned
Millat Party	Rs.517,680	Rs. 1,200,647	Rs. 1,241,264	Rs. 40,917 Assets worth Rs. 487,647 Liabilities Rs. 10,884	Voluntary contributions by party members
PML-Junejo	Rs. 44,463	Rs. 430,000	Rs. 468,261	Rs. 6,202	Not mentioned
Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan	Nil	Rs. 106,000	Rs. 104,000	Rs. 2,000	Not mentioned
PPP-Sherpao	Nil	Rs. 1,078,060	Rs. 1,003,339	Rs. 45,825 Assets: Rs. 37,850	Donation and party tickets fee, membership

PPP-Sherpao	Nil	Rs. 1,078,060	Rs. 1,003,339	Rs. 45,825 Assets: Rs. 37,850	Donation and party tickets fee, membership
Balochistan National Party (Mengal)	Rs. 10,000				
Pushtoon Khawa Milli Party	Nil	Rs 3,650,000	Rs. 4,297,775	Nil Liabilities Rs 647,775	Membership fee Jirga members contribution
Jamhoori Watan Party	Rs. 35,977	Rs 302,820	Rs 251,142	Rs. 87,655	Ticket fee, Party members

1st July 2000-to 30th June 2001

Party	Opening Balance	Income	Expenditures	Closing balance	Sources of Funds
PML-Junejo	14,034	3,65,000	3,74,528	4507	Muslim League House in G-6/3, IBD
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	931480 US \$ 20100	3595194 US \$ 7169	3897974	628700 US \$ 3000	Flat in Karachi Worth 800,000
Jamaat-e-Islami	2,56,279	25,29,907	2667150	1,19,036	
PDP	8579	2,30,200	2,24,415	14,364	
JWP	179,888	140,215	320,103	Zero	
Social Democratic Party		5,900	23230	Negative	
Tehreek-e-Jafria, Pak		41,68,136	42,13,146	Negative 45010	
National Workers Party	410	34500	34,450	460	
Social Democratic Party of Pakistan		2,27,160	217438	9722	
Mazdoor Kissan Party		18,000	18,000	Nil	
NPP	1,05,216	1,01,000	89,050	1,16,950	
PPP	2,85,00,562	3,22,76,980	2,94,76,897	3,13,00,645	
PML-Q	450669	929010	810512	5,69,167	Assets worth Rs. 26,712,240 (PMI-secretariat, IBD, PML-House Lahore & Karachi)

* Two parties with the same name Social Democratic Party
Parties with zero
Social Democratic Party
Pakistan Freedom Party
Pakistan Ittehad Tehreek
Awami Qiadat Pakistan

1999-2000					
Party	Opening balance	Receipts	Expenditures	Closing balance	Assets
JWP	1,45,841	2,90,200	2,56,153	1,79,888	
PDP	47,080	2,55,100	2,93,241	8,939	
Wattan Party	3000	27500	24000	6500	
Pakistan Ittehad Tehrik	894	Nil	Nil	894	
PML-Qayyum	835	125000	124350	1485	
Tehrik-I-Jaffaria Pakistan	14,54,062	38,70,925	49,87,326	3,37,661 Liabilities 447011	
Tehreek-e-Insaf	131053	22,06,755 US \$ 67,741	39,98,328	964480 US \$ 20100	
PML-Junejo	26,989	6,05,000	6,17,964	14,025	
Pakistan National Conference	4,45,892	Nil	70,898	3,74,994	
Tehrik-I-Istiqlal	1,09,271	1,63,689	75,638	197322	
Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadith	10,04,152	81,35,235	80,55,161	10,84,226	
JUP	63 794	35700	99325	169	
National Workers Party	Nil	62,800	62,390	410	
Pakistan Peoples Party	2,65,74,126	40,44,876	44,80,713	2,61,38,289	
Pakistan Awami Tehrik	2,26,320	43,91,375	44,09,885	2,07,810	
JI	3,26,068	20,82,522	21,52,311	2,56,279	
Millat Party	3,82,973	19,98,963	18,98,111	4,83,825 Liabilities: 77,382	Assets 1,96,070
Awami Qiadat Party	478	3000	3429	48	
PML-N	2,84,107	45,29,000	41,64,319	6,48,788	Rs. 23,200,000 book value Assets purchased Rs. 20,77,000
Parties with zero balance: <i>Khidmat-e-Insaniyat Party</i> <i>Jamiat Mashaikh Pakistan</i> <i>Pakistan Labour Party</i>					

1998-1999					
<i>Party</i>	<i>Opening balance</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>	<i>Closing balance</i>	<i>Assets</i>
PML-N	24,255,602	45,22,892	28,628,004	1,50,490	
PPP	33586	20,73,680	18,51,806	2,55,360	
JWP	68,788	6,55,400	5,78,347	1,45,841	

Talk-show Democracy

Media publicity nurtures parties and politicians. Politics is the art of grabbing public attention, gaining acceptance for party policy, programs and marketing political leaders. Parties orchestrate media centered events like press conferences, seminars, rallies, protests and campaigns. Leaders give interviews to spread their message. It is the communication process that transforms political parties from a cool but closed refrigerator to an air-conditioner that spreads the cool air all around. This essential role for democracy and articulation of opinions earned media the title of "fourth estate" and a pillar of democracy.

Pakistani democracy, like else where, could be described as media-led democracy. Almost all major parties run their media centers on professional basis. Traditionally pro-Establishment parties have monopolized the state controlled media. Now there is a window of openness. The emerging culture of political talk-shows on private television channels is reshaping the style, strategy and scope of political communication in Pakistan. The opposition parties are also getting a fair chance to plead their point of views. Beside live talk-shows the private channels have started new genres like a day with a politician and political satire.

However the newly found freedom on private television channels has new challenges to face. One private channel was pressurized not to air a program about PML unification because one participant from PML-N was very critical of the pro-establishment move. On March 12, 2004 (Dawn) the London-based chief of Muttahida Qaumi Movement threatened the country's television channels with a boycott for their failure to project the down trodden's cause. Altaf Hussain was obviously not too happy over the treatment meted out to his party by the electronic media. He cautioned the channels that if they failed "to invite the poor people to their programmes, the masses would be constrained to sever their links with them". The channels conveniently omitted all references to the Muttahida Qaumi Movement, the third largest political party with 18 MNAs, 41 MPAs and 7 senators, said Mr. Hussain. The exiled party boss who champions the middle class asked: "Isn't it strange that only the influential and the big landlords are invited to talk shows and debates on the electronic media, especially those privately owned?" When he asked the people whether they would be contributing one rupee each towards the fund for the establishment of a new channel, "dedicated to the cause of the poor and highlighting the misdeeds of Waderas and landlords who refused to allow schools and hospitals to be opened in their areas of influence", the audience responded in a loud affirmative.

One private channel had a testing time when it aspired to interview Shahbaz Sharif, president of PML-N a day before he tried to end his exile. The stunned host Dr. Shahid Masood and Shahbaz Sharif looked at each other as ARY TV's scheduled time for the interview clicked

past. No interview was telecast. According to media reports intelligence goons were sent to the ARY's Pakistan studios to threaten the channel. The embarrassed host after a short while went on air with a vague explanation and sort of apology to his viewers for not 'managing' the interview. He did not give any detail of what happened but vowed that "his TV channel would continue its struggle for media freedom."

These days Pakistan is experiencing a continued ban on political rallies and congregations- the traditional channels of political communication in the country. Such a ban poses no hardship to the religious political parties as they have the opportunity to use Friday sermons to propagate their point of views in mosques with zero cost. Along with this opportunity they also invariably succeed in hosting huge gatherings. Jamaat-i-Islami recently held a huge congregation in Izakhel (Nowshera) and Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam arranged International Deoband Conference. The tone and tenor of both gatherings remained political. For ordinary public tea stalls, roadside hotels, huts, barber shops, deras, baithaks, hujras and outaqs continue to be Habermasian public sphere for discussing politics. Though on many modest hotels it is explicitly written to refrain from political discussions but the society has a strong gup-shup (gossips) culture and inevitably all discussions revert to politics after five minutes.

In a recently conducted nation wide survey by Pakistan Legislative Strengthening Consortium (PLSC) it was revealed that for forty three percent people the source of information



on political situation is the state run Pakistan Television, for sixteen percent Radio Pakistan, for 13 percent private channel GEO TV, for 12 percent daily Jang newspaper, for 9 percent BBC Radio and for equal percentage Daily Nawa-e-Waqt. Among the rest are ARY TV (7%), FM Radio (5%), Indus Vision TV (4%), Kawish newspaper (4%), family and friends (37%), Hujra, chopal, Bethak etc (12%). Another odd finding of this survey was that only twenty three percent of people have a great deal or fair amount of information on political situation, while 57 % have not much or none at all.

The manifesto of ruling PML-Q's promised to make the working of elected representatives more transparent through a new television channel to cover parliamentary proceedings live. Pakistan Legislative Strengthening Consortium funded by USAID is trying to establish C-Span like channels in Pakistan. In the United States of America an exclusive channel C-Span is devoted to cover US Congress and US Senate and Committee's meetings. The prevailing situation in Pakistan is that the private channels have to rely on the footage of PTV. On March 29, 2003 Senator Amanullah Kanrani of JWP and Senator Ilyas Bilour of ANP asked the Chairman Senate to allow private channels to cover parliamentary proceedings. Such demand resurfaced at the time of Prime Ministerial election of Chaudhary Shujat Hussain in June 2004 when the speech of leader of the opposition Maulana Fazlur Rehman was blacked out.

On August 29, 2003 the National Assembly was informed that the opposition was given around 2-hours during PTV Khabarnama from November 23, 2002 to May 20, 2003, while the government was given around 14-hours in Khabarnama during the same period. The President was given 4.5 hour coverage, Prime Minister 8 hours and Information Minister 1.75 hours during these six months. Whereas all the leaders and parties of the opposition could get only 1 hour and fifty six minutes coverage in Khabarnama (news bulletin). The Punjab Assembly in one of its' session declared that they will not allow PTV because it does not give proper coverage to the Assembly's proceedings and called for a private news channel to fill in the gap.

As far as the coverage in the PTV network news bulletins of PTV other than Khabarnama is concerned the President got 27.5 hours, Prime Minister got 45 hours, Information Minister got six hours and the opposition got less than six hours during the six months. The total duration of network news bulletins including Khabarnama telecast during November 23 to May 20, 2003 was 470 hours and 49 minutes.

On July 19, 2003 The News Rawalpindi reported that the National Assembly secretariat has started censoring speeches delivered by the opposition members before making them part of the official record. The pretext is a ruling by the speaker on the eve of no confidence motion against the deputy speaker that the persons and authorities who were not present in the house to defend themselves could not be criticized by the legislators.

Web-watch:

It is not only the parliament that is not performing to the standard, rather its virtual extensions-the websites of the National Assembly and the Senate are also non-functional. The address of the website of the National Assembly is www.na.gov.pk The site during the last year has provided a sketchy brief history and a list of members. Most of its sections are always under construction. Some of the information on the website is outdated and factually incorrect.

For example Pakhtoonkhawa Milli Awami Party has been given a new name. Balochistan National Party that has a single legislator representation is missing from the list of political parties in the Assembly. The merged factions of PML and GNA still live on the website. The website of the Senate of Pakistan www.senate.gov.pk has slightly better information. The website of Election Commission of Pakistan has not been updated after 2002 elections. The commission has taken a few good initiatives like disclosing the assets of MPs and political parties but one can't find them on the Commissions' website.

E-government directorate in Ministry of Information Technology on November 12, 2003 advertised a project for automation at the National Assembly and the Senate. The project, according to the advert sought to streamline the process of communications between the parliamentarians and the secretariats of the two Houses, thus providing easy access to parliamentarians about the information related to parliament's work and its proceedings from residences and work places. The second purpose of this project, according to the advertisement, is to identify ways and means of engaging and involving the citizens of Pakistan in the working of the parliament, thus moving towards greater involvement of the citizens. However the euphoria of e-governance is in its infancy and most of the websites appear only a cosmetic tool than a useful source for political information.

Among political parties the ruling Pakistan Muslim League has recently earned some space in the cyber world and came up with an innovative idea of Universal Access Number (UAN): 111-14-1947 for the party through out the country. The websites of PPP, PML-N and MQM are pretty effective and are being operated from outside Pakistan. Tehrik-I-Insaf has not up-dated its website after election-2002.

Parties Media Products

Party	Newspaper	Magazines/Newslette	Website
ANP	Shahbaz (Now closed)	Pashtoon	www.anp.org
PML-Q		UAN: 111-14-1947	www.pakistanmuslimleague.info
PML-N			www.pmlnpk.org www.pmlusa.org
PPP	Daily Mussawat	Monthly Mussawat	www.ppp.org.pk
Pakistan Tehreek-I-Insaf			www.insaf.org.pk
MQM			www.mqm.com
JI		Weekly, Asia, Monthly Tarjuman-ul-Quran	www.jamaat.org
JUI (S)		Monthly, Aljamiat	
JUI (F)		Monthly, Aljamiat	www.juipak.org
JWP			
PAT			www.pat.com.pk
BNP		Monthly Movement	www.balochistan.net/bnp

Party Law: instrument of political engineering

The two laws tending to regulate political parties in Pakistan are both the brain child of military rulers. The first one enforced in 1962 by General Ayub Khan was later amended by another military ruler, General Zia, in 1979 and the Political Parties Order-2002 was promulgated by General Pervez Musharraf.

With the imposition of first martial law in 1958, political parties in Pakistan became a target of military rulers. General Ayub banned all political parties in 1958. After four years the General tailored the system of Basic Democracy and in 1962 Political Parties Act was promulgated to allow political parties under a formal regulatory framework. General Zia also banned political activities in 1977 and amended the Political Parties Act in 1979 to start registration of political parties with a mandatory submission of their accounts to the Election Commission. The requirement for registration of political parties existed till 1988 when the Supreme Court of Pakistan in Benazir Bhutto case (PLD 1988 SC 416) struck it down terming it against the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution.

With a desire to regulate political parties and do the political landscaping, General Pervez Musharraf also came up with a Political Parties Order on June 28,2002. The basic flaw of this one-man law is that the law giver himself has never been part of any political party. Though the word registration does not figure in the PPO 2002 but it lists certain preconditions for getting election symbol from the Election Commission. Through Legal Framework Order-2002 and the 17th Amendment the PPO-2002 has been kept in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. According to the article 268 (2) of the Constitution the laws specified in the Sixth Schedule can not be altered, repealed or amended without the previous sanction of the President. These measures make sure that anti regime politicians namely; Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif are unable to become legitimate leaders of their political parties. As a consequence Nawaz Sharif has become "Quaid-e-Afzal" of PML-N after handing over party's presidentship to his brother Shahbaz Sharif, while Benazir Bhutto has lost the original name of Pakistan Peoples Party as the Election Commission has formally acknowledged the Patriots and Sherpao factions as the legal PPP.

Nevertheless the PPO-2002 since its promulgation has been amended twice. First amendment introduced through an executive order on October 6, 2002 excluded the Federally Administered Tribal Areas from the ambit of the law. The second amendment omitted an article from the PPO-2002 on July 19,2004 that barred holders of elected public office from holding offices in political parties simultaneously.

The second amendment was necessitated after the elevation of Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, president of ruling PML to the seat of Prime Minister for a short term arrangement. Even before that the ruling PML-Q had already violated Political Parties Order by failing to separate party and public offices. Party's former Sindh president, Ghaus Baksh Maher was a federal minister and the present president Arbab Ghulam Rahim is the Chief Minister. Likewise the party's Punjab president, Pervaiz Elahi as well as the Balochistan Party boss Jam Muhammad Yousaf are chief ministers of their provinces. None of the provincial presidents resigned from their posts after being elected either to a high public office or higher party office. Interestingly the PML constitution also insists that anyone in a party office at time of getting elected to a public office must relinquish the party office.

Another deficiency of the PPO-2002 is its inability to check massive defection of elected representatives. This law is quiet about parachute parties like PPP-Patriots that emerge as a consequence of floor crossing in the Parliament. This odd tradition has eclipsed the scope of normative political parties in the political process. The trend started with the emergence of Republican Party in 1950s, the Convention Muslim League in 1960s and the Official Muslim League in 1980s. According to a media report the PPP-Patriot was enlisted with the Election Commission in December 2002 without any manifesto that itself constitutes a violation of PPO-2002.

Similarly the PPO-2002 is silent about the merger politics among various political parties. This deficiency figured when the heads of five Muslim Leagues (Quaid-i-Azam, Jinnah, Functional, Junejo and Zia) decided to unify themselves under the banner of PML-headed by Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain. Later the Millat Party and Sindh Democratic Alliance also joined the bandwagon.

They said it:

- ♦ *Khawaja Muhammad Asif on July 7, 2003 said at the floor of the National Assembly that the PML-N and its top leadership apologize to the entire nation for facilitating the dictatorial rule of General Zia-ul-Haq for 11 years (1977-1988). He admitted that by facilitating the military dictator, the PML-N weakened democracy and for this they seek forgiveness of the nation and democratic forces. He also pledged to the nation that the PML-N would not back military dictators in future.*
- ♦ *Federal Minister for Information Shiekh Rasheed Ahmed on November 9, 2003, in a television interview opined, "President, Pervez Musharraf should assume one office and take over PML presidency."*
- ♦ *"Party leadership grows stiff-necked after assuming power and treats their fellows as slaves. There should be legislation to check this unhealthy practice."
Bushra Rehman, MNA (PML-Q) at women parliamentarian workshop in Islamabad (February 1, 2003) arranged by Jinnah Foundation*

Interestingly two political groups namely Tehrik-e-Islami a resurrection of banned Tehrik-I-Jafria that was a part of Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal and Millat-i-Islamia a reappearance of outlawed Sipah Sahaba Pakistan has been banned on the pretext of their alleged involvement in spreading sectarian hatred in the country under anti-terrorism measures and not through a formal reference in the Supreme Court as envisioned in the PPO-2002.

Peep into Political parties secretariats:

Episode-1

On June 26, 2004 Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali opted to announce his resignation as prime minister at Pakistan Muslim League secretariat in Islamabad and nominated his successor. He rightly pointed out that "Party secretariat was the appropriate place to make and announce such decisions" However this gesture was immediately eclipsed when out of blue Shaukat Aziz's name cropped up to be the permanent prime minister.

In a democratic society political parties are an essential component of the political process. They perform function unlike any other institution. They aggregate and represent social interests and provide a structure for participation besides training leaders who will assume role in governing society.

Episode-2

On February 22, 2003 in a major demolition operation at MQM Haqiqi headquarters in Landhi, the Karachi Building Control Authority (KBCA) and the anti-encroachment cell of Karachi City District Government razed a portion of the Baitul Hamza, retrieving a service road, a ladies park, and some open space. The demolition teams uprooted the main entrance to the Haqiqi headquarters, bulldozed its boundary walls, and also sealed the main building. The main gate of the Baitul Hamza was sealed on court orders two months back. Nearly 200-300 policemen, besides the personnel of rangers, were deployed in and around the Baitul Hamza to maintain law and order and to handle any ugly situation. "The entire building housing Baitul Hamza was built in violation of the Sindh Building Control Ordinance, 1979," the KBCA officials announced. Interestingly just before the operation while granting a review application filed by a MQM Haqiqi leader, the additional district and sessions judge, had ordered the de-sealing of Baitul Hamza.

These two separate episodes involving two political parties whose creation and existence is often credited to mighty establishment speaks volumes about the way parties are provided operational space in Pakistan.

There are over ninety political parties recognized by the Election Commission out of which four, the Pakistan Muslim League, Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf, maintain their central secretariats/media centers in Islamabad. Jamaat-i-Islami and Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam operate from Lahore, Muttahida Qaumi Movement

from Karachi, Awami National Party from Peshawar and Balochistan National Party from Quetta.

The way political parties offices are run in Pakistan reflect miserable state of affairs. With the exception of Jamaat-i-Islami's Mansoor the situation is pretty pathetic for all political parties. The ruling PML is housed in a building that was purchased in 1998 by Nawaz Sharif by spending over thirty million rupees on posh Margalla Road in Islamabad. After 1999 military coup the intelligence networks facilitated the dissenters to capture the building that has more than thirty rooms designed in a corporate fashion to run an organization. After this episode the PML-Nawaz had to shift to a house hired by Begum Kalsoom Nawaz after Nawaz Sharif's arrest. Pakistan Peoples Party led by Benazir Bhutto is housed in a building purchased back in 1989. The building figures in the assets details submitted by Ms. Naheed Khan, political secretary to Benazir Bhutto as a property belonging to her husband Senator, Safdar Abbasi and its' declared worth is 1.8 million rupees. However the declared worth of ruling PML's office is 30 million rupees. Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf is housed in a rented building. Awami National Party has constructed "Baacha Khan Center" in Peshawar by spending 10 million rupees back in 1996. The party offices are housed in a similar center in Karachi and another one will be constructed in Quetta.

How well organized these secretariats are?. One member of our research team visited the offices of three political parties and was able to get the membership of all the three major political parties without any problem. Nobody asked him any questions about his interest or political orientation. After months none of these parties have invited him to be part of any activity of these parties or to attend any training or orientation workshop by the party to become an active worker.

The parties simply don't keep any kind of



data base of their members. With the exception of Jamaat-i-Islami not a single party has a proper library geared to the political education of their workers/members nor do they conduct study circles or training programmes to educate their workers on the dynamics of politics, their party position on different issues. Ruling Pakistan Muslim League has now outlined a 100-day plan to take party's message to grassroots.

Upon request for political literature one hardly gets anything more than an outdated publication or election manifesto or perhaps with a little bit of luck, a sticker or poster of the party leader. At best the secretariats of political parties serve as an office for the party leaders or a place to address a press conference. Very little professional and paid staff is employed at these secretariats. Most of the workers are volunteers. All this keeps the parties organizationally inefficient and structurally weak.

One finds the culture of any sort of policy research, regular opinion polls, fund-raising efforts, building of relationship with interest groups to broaden the party's base, utilization of volunteer membership etc totally missing at the political parties offices. In September 2004 for first time in country's history the parliamentary opposition, Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal announced a ten member shadow cabinet to vigilantly monitor treasury's performance and suggest alternatives. But the MMA's office is temporarily housed in a guest house of Jamaat-i-Islami and lacks the basic facilities that make a political party's secretariat functional. However for MPs MMA has established a support office in the parliament lodges where leaders of Pakistan Oppressed Nations Movement was denied to hold a public rally on the pretext that these lodges are only for residential purpose.

In certain countries political parties are provided public resources to operate. In neighboring India all major political parties have been provided an office space in the capital on nominal rent. The situation in Pakistan is pretty odd and as long as Pakistani politics revolves around personalities and political parties continue to be regarded as personal assets, party offices will continue to be seen as the self-centered bastions of power, rather than as professional, people-centered units with long term goals and vision.

Failing to empower the youth

***“All mothers want their son to be the president,
but don’t want to see them politician in the process.”***

John F. Kennedy

Young people constitute the most dynamic part of Pakistani society. Their youthful vision, hopes, expectations and energies are just like fresh oxygen that is vital for survival. Philosophers, thinkers and intellectuals who have reflected on the future of mankind have been convinced that the fate of any country depends on education, awareness and participation of youth. Tomorrow’s world belongs to young people; and it will be what they want it to be. By the virtue of their productive energy, idealism, creativity and above all the constructive zeal to contribute towards their society, youth can work miracles. They needed only inspiring stimulus in the right direction, coupled with their functional capabilities and provision of facilities to exhibit their talent.

In Pakistan Movement the student leaders from the platform of Muslim Students Federation played historic role. Upon creation of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah asked them to read John Morley’s “On Compromise” to learn the art of flexibility and modernity to meet the challenges of the future.

The article 51 (2) b of 1973 Constitution says that a person shall be entitled to vote if s/he is not less than eighteen years of age. In this way young people get the right to vote usually when they are students at graduate level but by then they have submitted an affidavit to the authorities that they will not participate in any political activity. Similarly the article 153-B of Pakistan Penal Code 1860 makes inducing students etc, to take part in political activity an offence.

In Pakistan the Student Unions were banned in February 1984 on the pretext to curb violence at campus but after twenty four years the violence at the campus has risen in scale and frequency. Benazir Bhutto’s government restored students unions in 1989 but her successors in the power corridor banned them again and the Supreme Court upheld the curb. The ban on students unions only killed the culture of debates and literary magazines at the educational institutions. Our leaders who get a chance to study abroad often boast that they remained president of Oxford Union or any other society, but they have opted to deny this right to Pakistani youth. Present government came-up with an idea of students’ parliament that was rejected and resisted by all major student organizations with political orientation.

UNDERTAKING

I, _____ D/O _____, do hereby solemnly undertake the following:-

- a. That I shall not indulge myself in any political activities and such other activities which are prohibited under the college regulations.
- b. That I shall abide by the rules and regulations of the college and instructions and attend the college regularly.
- c. That I pledge to learn to become good citizen and uphold the college reputation and credibility through exemplary personal conduct.

d. In case of violation of the above code or in case of unauthorised absence, the college authorities shall reserve the right to take disciplinary action against me including expulsion from the campus. Amazingly almost all political parties have their students and youth wings to push the party programs and policies. Getting youth involved in the political life is vital for the future prospects of democracy. The youth often has fresh ideas and enthusiasm but they are rarely offered opportunities of growth by party hierarchies. In absence of any formal platform to learn the art of politics and other vital skills apolitical generation is grooming at the campus.

I, _____ S/O _____, do hereby solemnly undertake to bind myself to the following:-

There can't be two opinions that the students and youth need a platform to vent their energies and learn the skills that will enable them to become future leaders and take steps to avoid bloody clashes. These days many political parties suffer from the lack of trust and confidence. One way to address the problem is to work with a new generation of young party activists. For this provision of enabling environment to young people is important and necessary.

Some facts about the Political Parties:

- ♦ *A British citizen Mr. Hume created the first political party in the Sub-Continent, Indian National Congress in 1884. In 1906 the Muslim aristocrats formed All-India Muslim League. The party was pretty elitist as the prerequisite for its membership was an ability to read and write along with an annual income of Rs. 500 at that time.*
- ♦ *In November 1919 Jamiat-Ulema-I-Hind was established to organize the people along religious-political lines. In the areas that constitute Pakistan in 1935 the feudal from Punjab created the Unionist party. In 1938 Anjuman Ittihad-I-Balochan was converted into Kalat National Party. In 1941 Jamaat-I-Islami was formed. The pre-partition trends of aristocratic, religious and nationalist political parties still dominate the country's political landscape.*
- ♦ *After the partition the first political party created in Pakistan was Azad Pakistan Party. Mian Iftikharuddin established it in 1949.*
- ♦ *Unlike other countries where political parties first win the electoral trust of the citizens and then occupy berth in the representative democratic institutions, Pakistan holds a unique honor of giving birth to at least three political parties inside the representative democratic institutions. Republican Party in 1950s, Convention Muslim League of Ayub Khan in 1960s and Official Muslim League in 1980s. In 2003 country lived up to this odd tradition and PPP-Patriot parachuted from opposition to treasury benches after deserting PPP-Parliamentarians.*
- ♦ *In Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) the political parties are not allowed to operate freely, whereas number of the members of the parliament are elected from these areas. The FATA that got adult franchise in 1997 elections witnessed the birth of a political party, "Qabail Jamhoori Party on April 28, 2002. The first amendment introduced to PPO-2002 snatched the right of parties to exist in FATA. Interestingly a few MNAs from FATA had contested Election-2002 on MMA's election symbol-book.*
- ♦ *In Pakistan most of the time weak political parties have joined political alliances for their survival. Presently there are three functional political alliances in the country namely: the Alliance for Restoration of Democracy, Pakistan Oppressed Nations Movement, and Muttahida Majlis-I-Amal.*
- ♦ *The Political Parties Order 2002 defines a political party as "an association of citizens or a combination or group of such associations formed with a view to propagating or influencing political opinion and participating in elections for any elective public office or for membership of a legislative body."*

<i>Party Leadership:</i>					
<i>S.no.</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>President</i>	<i>Background</i>	<i>Secretary General</i>	<i>Background</i>
1	ANP	Asfandyar Wali	Landlord	Ehsan Wyne	Lawyer
2	BNP	Akhtar Mengal	Landlord	Habib Jalib	Lawyer
3	JI	Qazi Hussain Ahmad	Religious scholar	Syed Munawar Hassan	Educationist
4	JUI-F	Maulana Fazlur Rehman	Religious teacher	Maulana Ghafoor Haidri	Religious Teacher
6	MQM	Altaf Hussain	Political activist	Not known	
7	PML-N	Shahbaz Sharif	Industrialist	Sarinjam Khan	Businessman
8	PML-Q	Ch. Shujat Hussain	Landlord	Syed Mushahid Hussain	Journalist
9	PPP (without any legal status)	Benazir Bhutto	Landlord	Jhangir Badar	Lawyer
10	PPP-Parliamentarian	Makhdoom Amin Fahim	Feudal	Raja Pervaiz Ashraf	Businessman
11	PPP	Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao	Feudal	Makhdoom Faisal Saleh Hayat	Feudal
12	Tehrik-I-Insaf	Imran Khan	Sportsman	Air Marshal (retired) Zulfiqar Ali	Retired Airmarshal
13	PkMP	Mehmood Khan Achakzai	Feudal	Akram Shah	Lawyer
14	MMA	Qazi Hussain Ahmad	Religious teacher	Maulana Fazlur Rehman	Religious teacher

Political Parties Ideological Positions

<i>Party</i>	<i>Slogan</i>	<i>Creed/Mission Statement</i>	
PML (N)	Unity, Faith, Discipline	To make Pakistan true Islamic Welfare State	
PML (Q)		Best Policies for Prosperous Pakistan	We want to strengthen institutions and supremacy of the Constitution of Pakistan
PPP	Roti, Kapra aur Makan (Food, clothes & shelter)	Islam is our faith, Democracy is our politics, Socialism is our economy, All powers to the people	
Awami National Party	Provincial Autonomy, Democracy, Secularism	Apni Zameen, Apna Ikhtiar	
(Our land, our rule)			
Pakistan Tehreek-I-Insaf	Aiming for a better Pakistan		
Justice for All: Social, Political and Economic Justice	Endeavor to establish model modern Islamic State		
MQM	To protect the rights of 98% citizens against 2% elite	To further the program of national development and a nation-wide campaign against feudal domination.	
Jl	Islam, Democracy, Social Justice		
JUI (S)	God's Laws on God's Earth	Qurani Nizam Raji Karna	
(To implement Quranic rule)			
JUI (F)	God's Laws on God's Earth	To change the system and bring the Islamic system	
JWP	Maximum provincial autonomy within the federation		
BNM	End Economic Exploitation, feudalism, tribalism and address national question to end domination, promote democracy, and rule of law.	Struggle for the emancipation of the national and economic rights of the oppressed nationalities and for strengthening national institutions with equal rights for everyone	
BNP	Decentralization		

Political Parties Brief History

<i>Name of the Party</i>	<i>Year of formation</i>	<i>Major alliances</i>	<i>Has ever been in power/elected to democratic institutions</i>
PML (N)	Claims to be extension of AIML of 1906. Practically formed in 1985 as Official Muslim League in the Parliament. In 1993 it emerged as a new faction of the league.	IJI, ARD	Yes
PML (Q)	Claims to be extension of AIML of 1906. Practically formed in 2000 as a break-away faction of PML (N)	None	Yes
PPP	November 1967	MRD, PDA, GDA, ARD	Yes
ANP	In 1986, its roots are in Khudayee Khidmatgars of 1930s. After partition Azad Pakistan Party, then in 1956 NAP, after ban converted to NDP.	Democratic Action Committee in 1960s, UDF, PNA, MRD, GDA, ARD	Yes
PTI	April 25, 1996	GDA	Yes
MQM	In 1984 formed as Mohajir Quami Movement, on July 26, 1997 converted to Muttahida Quami Movement	IJI	Yes
Jl	August 26, 1941	DAC, UDF, PNA, IJI, MMA	Yes
JUI (S)	1992	IJI, MDM, MMA	Yes
JUI (F)	Extension of JUI (Hind) formed in 1927	PNA, MRD, IJM, MMA	Yes
JWP	August 16, 1990	GDA	Yes
BNM	August 1989	BNA, PONAM	Yes
BNP	December 6, 1996	PONAM	Yes

What should be done?

In order to explore ways and means to strengthen Pakistani political parties and make funding of the politics transparent, following suggestions could be put forward:

Overall vision:

In search of the starting point there is a need of a realization that political activities are a noble endeavor and a vital nation-building activity. With this acknowledgement the political parties are the major stakeholders in the political sphere. Therefore they should be provided enabling environment to grow and should be funded transparently and legitimately.

Structures:

There should be open and announced membership campaigns by the political parties so that the interested citizens can join them freely and voluntarily.

There should be well-defined rights of the political workers in the political parties. This report includes a “Declaration of Rights of Political Workers” (Urdu) with a hope that the political parties will adopt it and facilitate their workers to grow and progress in the party and enrich country’s political sector. We sincerely hope that this small step will strengthen Pakistani democracy.

The parties should define a pattern of growth for interested and engaged citizens upon joining political parties from local activist to leadership. The parties should not be the horizontal grouping of like-minded influential.

There should be no restrictions on liaison and cooperation with international like-minded outfits like the Liberals International, Socialist International etc. Presently Pakistan Peoples’ Party is member of Socialist International and Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam is in contact with Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind.

The political parties should initiate civic and political education programs for the training and orientation of their members.

Issues:

The intelligence networks should refrain from their desire to eliminate the political parties,

which they don't like and should not dole out favors to the favorites. Otherwise the normative political parties will never be able to mature as functional and policy bearing popular political institution.

There should be no non-party based elections at any level i.e. local, provincial and national because the practice undermines the very rational of functional political parties.

Instead of imposing discriminatory rules of the political game and individual tinkering with the Constitution the parties should be provided enabling environment to consider vital reforms to replace the rot.

Funding:

There is a need to check the flow of covert money both by the interest groups and the secret agencies.

Tax rebate should be given on political contributions made by individuals and business concerns along with prescribing the maximum upper limit for such support.

There is a dire need of full disclosure of all funding. The details submitted to the Election Commission should be made public proactively.

There should be provision of public funding to the political parties. In cash for votes obtained (say Rs. 5 or 10 per vote obtained) or as a matching grant against funds raised by the party fundraisers.

The political parties should also be given free time on Public Service Media, radio and television and an opportunity of free postage of political material according to the number of registered voters in their area of operation.

In order to qualify for these funds and support facilities there should be a benchmark of securing say at least 5 percent votes in the National or provincial elections.

Communication:

The public service media should give coverage to the political parties on basis of the issues they kick-in the political field and not on the basis of the activities of their leadership. The opposition should be given a fair chance to propagate its' views.

Private television channels should promote plurality of political views existing in the cultural and ethnic diversity of Pakistan.

The civil society and citizens' groups should come forward to monitor media contents and raise voice for a democratic frame of reference in various media programs.

There should be a strict ban on all kind of smear campaigns and anonymous

advertisements to demonize the politics, parties and the politicians.

In this regard the constituent parties of the Alliance for Restoration of Democracy has come-up with a good starting point that in the past they made mistakes and would remain forward looking in the future.

In order to promote discourse based on facts the long awaited implementation of Freedom of Information ordinance-2002 be realized and a culture of access to information be promoted.

General:

There is a need to establish an institution say an Academy for Politics and Governance to facilitate the politicians and train those who aspire to join politics.

National Defence College has taken an initiative to invite elected legislators to their “security workshops”. There should be some platform where politicians could present their point of view to those who interrupt continuity of democracy in the country on one or the other pretext.

There is a need to introduce special courses like, “How to interact with elected politicians?” and How to appear before parliamentary committees?” etc at the Civil Services Academy, National Institutes of Public Administration, Staff College and the National Defence College.

Political Parties Order-2002

AN ORDER to revise, consolidate and re-enact the law relating to political parties

WHEREAS it is intended to create a political environment conducive to the promotion of a federal and democratic system as enshrined in the Constitution;

AND WHEREAS political parties play a pivotal role in fostering a constitutional, federal, democratic political culture;

AND WHEREAS the practice of democracy within the political parties will promote democratic governance in the country for sustaining democracy;

AND WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for formation and regulation of political parties;

AND WHEREAS it is essential to revise, consolidate and reenact the law relating to political parties and matters connected therewith and incidental thereto;

AND WHEREAS the Chief Executive is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary to take immediate action;

NOW, THEREFORE, in pursuance of the Proclamation of Emergency of the fourteenth day of October, 1999, and the Provisional Constitution Order No. 1 of 1999, and in exercise of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is pleased to make and promulgate the following Order:-

CHAPTER-I PRELIMINARY

1. Short title, extent and commencement.-

(1) This Order may be called the Political Parties Order, 2002.

(2) It extends to the whole of Pakistan, excluding Federally Administered Tribal areas ¹:

(3) It shall come into force at once.

2. Definitions.- In this Order, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,-

(a) "Chief Election Commissioner" means the Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan;

¹ Since its promulgation PPO 2002 has been amended twice. First amendment introduced through an executive order on October 6, 2002 excluded the Federally Administered Tribal Areas from the ambit of the law.

- (b) "Election Commission" means the Election Commission of Pakistan;
- (c) "foreign-aided political party" means a political party which-
 - (i) has been formed or organised at the instance of any government or political party of a foreign country; or
 - (ii) is affiliated to or associated with any government or political party of a foreign country; or
 - (iii) receives any aid, financial or otherwise, from any government or political party of a foreign country, or any portion of its funds from foreign nationals;
- (d) "political party" means an association of citizens or a combination or groups of such associations formed with a view to propagating or influencing political opinion and participating in elections for any elective public office or for membership of a legislative body; and
- (e) "prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this Order.

CHAPTER-II FORMATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

3. Formation of political parties, etc.-

- (1) Subject to the provisions of this Order, it shall be lawful for any body of individuals or association of citizens to form, organise, continue or set-up a political party.
- (2) A political party shall have a distinct identity of its structures at the national, provincial and local levels, wherever applicable.
- (3) Every political party shall have a distinct name.
- (4) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1), a political party shall not -
 - (a) propagate any opinion, or act in a manner prejudicial to the fundamental principles enshrined in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; or
 - (b) undermine the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, public order or public morality or indulge in terrorism; or
 - (c) promote sectarian, regional or provincial hatred or, animosity; or
 - (d) bear a name as a militant group or section or assign appointment titles to its leaders or office-bearers which connote leadership of armed groups; or
 - (e) impart any military or para-military training to its members or other persons; or

(f) be formed, organise, set up or convened as a foreign-aided political party.

4. Constitution of political parties.-

- (1) Every political party, including a political party already in existence, shall formulate its constitution, with whatever name it may be referred, including, inter alia,-
 - (a) the aims and objectives of the party;
 - (b) organisational structure of the party at the Federal, Provincial and local levels, whichever applicable;
 - (c) criteria of membership of the party;
 - (d) membership fee, to be paid by the members;
 - (e) qualifications and tenure of the party leader and other office-bearers of the party;
 - (f) criteria for receipt and collection of funds for the party; and
 - (g) procedure for-
 - (i) election of party leader and other office-bearers at the Federal, Provincial and local levels, wherever applicable;
 - (ii) selection or nomination of party candidates for election to public offices and legislative bodies;
 - (iii) resolution of disputes between members and party, including issues relating to suspension and expulsion of members; and
 - (iv) method and manner of amendments in the constitution of the party.
- (2) Every political party shall provide a copy of its constitution to the Election Commission.
- (3) Any change in the constitution of a political party shall forthwith be communicated to the Election Commission which shall maintain updated record of the constitutions of all the political parties.

5. Membership of political parties.-

- (1) Every citizen, not being in the service of Pakistan, shall have the right to form or be a member of a political party or be otherwise associated with a political party or take part in political activities or be elected as an office-bearer of a political party:

Provided that a person shall not be appointed or serve as an office-bearer of a political party if he is not qualified to be, or is disqualified from being, elected or chosen as a member of the Majlise- Shoora (Parliament) under Article 63 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan or under any other law for the time being in force.

- (2) Where a person joins a political party, his name shall be duly entered in the record of the political party as a member and shall be issued a membership card, or any other document showing his membership of such political party.
- (3) A person shall not be a member of more than one political party at a time.
- (4) A member of a political party shall have the right of access to the records of the political party.

6. *Membership fee and contributions.-*

- (1) A member of a political party shall be required to pay a membership fee as provided in the party's constitution and may, in addition, make voluntary contributions towards the party's funds.
- (2) The contribution made by members or supporters of any party shall be duly recorded by the political parties.
- (3) Any contribution made, directly or indirectly, by any foreign government, multi-national or domestically incorporated public or private company, firm, trade or professional association shall be prohibited and the parties may accept contributions and donations only from individuals.
- (4) Any contribution or donation which is prohibited under this Order shall be confiscated in favour of the State in the manner as may be prescribed.

Explanation.- For the purpose of this section, a "contribution or donation" includes a contribution or donation made in cash, kind, stocks, hospitality, accommodation, transport, fuel and provision of other such facilities.

7. *Suspension or expulsion of a member.-* A member of a political party may be suspended or expelled from the party's membership in accordance with the procedure provided in the party's constitution:

Provided that before making an order for suspension or expulsion of a member from the party, such member shall be provided with a reasonable opportunity to show cause against the action proposed and of hearing.

8. *Selection for elective offices.-* The political parties shall make the selection of candidates for elective offices, including the membership of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and Provincial Assemblies, through a transparent democratic procedure.

9. *Omitted:* ²

Holders of elected public offices prohibited to hold party offices.- The holders of elected public offices shall not hold any political party office, or where a holder of an elected public

² The second amendment omitted this article from the PPO-2002 on July 19, 2004

office was already holding a party office at the time of his appointment to a public office, he shall relinquish the party office before joining such public office.

EXPLANATION. - For the purpose of this section, the expression "holder of elected public office" shall mean the office of the President of Pakistan, Prime Minister, Governor, Chief Minister of a Province, Chairman Senate, Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Federal Minister, Minister of State, Provincial Minister, Advisor, Special Assistant to Prime Minister or Chief Minister and holders of other elective executive offices as may be modified by the Federal Government for the purpose.

10. Functioning of political parties.-

- (1) Every political party shall have an elected general council at the Federal, Provincial and local levels, wherever applicable, and by whatever names these may be referred.
- (2) Every political party shall, at least once in a year, convene a general meeting at the Federal, Provincial and local levels of the party, wherever applicable, to which the party members or their delegates shall be invited to participate.
- (3) A member or group of members of the political party may nominate in writing any other member of the party as a delegate to represent him or them and cast his or their votes in a party meeting.

11. Elections within a political party.-

- (1) The party leader and other office-bearers of every political party at the Federal, Provincial and local levels, wherever applicable, shall be elected periodically in accordance with party's constitution through secret ballot based on a democratic and transparent system:
Provided that a period, not exceeding four years, shall intervene between any two elections.
- (2) Every member of the political party shall, subject to the provisions of the party's constitution, be provided with an equal opportunity of contesting election for any party office, including that of the party leader.
- (3) All members of the political party at the Federal, Provincial and local levels shall constitute the electoral college for election of the party general council at the respective levels.

12. Certification by the political party.-

- (1) The party leader of each political party shall, within seven days from completion of the intra-party elections, submit a certificate under his signatures to the Election Commission to the effect that the elections were held in accordance with the constitution of the party and this Order to elect the party leader and other office-

bearers at the Federal, Provincial and local levels, wherever applicable.

- (2) The certificate referred to in clause (1) shall contain information in respect of-
 - (a) the date of the last intra-party elections;
 - (b) the names, designations and addresses of the party leader and all other office-bearers elected at the Federal, Provincial and local levels, wherever applicable;
 - (c) the election results, including the total number of votes cast and the number of votes secured by each contestant for all of its party offices; and
 - (d) copy of the party's notifications declaring the results of the election.
- (3) The Election Commission shall publish for public information the certificate including details of elections referred to in clause (2).

13. Information about the sources of party's fund.-

- (1) Every political party shall, in such manner and in such form as may be prescribed or specified by the Chief Election Commissioner, submit to the Election Commission, within sixty days from the close of each financial year, a consolidated statement of accounts of the party audited by a Chartered Accountant containing-
 - (a) annual income and expenses;
 - (b) sources of its funds; and
 - (c) assets and liabilities.
- (2) The statement referred to in clause (1), shall be accompanied by a certificate signed by the party leader stating that-
 - (a) no funds from any source prohibited under this Order were received by the party; and
 - (b) the statement contains an accurate financial position of the party.

14. Eligibility of party to obtain election symbol.-

- (1) Notwithstanding anything contained any other law for the time being in force, a political party shall be eligible to obtain an election symbol for contesting elections for Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and Provincial Assemblies on submission of certificates and statement referred to in Articles 12 and 13:
 Provided that a combination of political parties shall be entitled to obtain a common election symbol for such election only if, each party constituting such combination,

submits the certificates and statement referred to in Articles 12 and 13.

- (2) Where any political party or a combination of political parties, severally or collectively, contravenes the provisions of Article 12 or 13, it shall not be entitled to obtain an election symbol for election to the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) or the Provincial Assemblies, and the Election Commission shall not allocate an election symbol to such party or, as the case may be, the combination of political parties for such election.

CHAPTER-III DISSOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

15. Dissolution of a political party.-

- (1) Where the Federal Government is satisfied that a political party is a foreign-aided party or has been formed or is operating in a manner prejudicial to the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan or is indulging in terrorism, it shall make such declaration by a notification in the official Gazette.
- (2) Within fifteen days of making a declaration under clause (1), the Federal Government shall refer the matter to the Supreme Court whose decision on such reference shall be final.
- (3) Where the Supreme Court upholds the declaration made against a political party under clause (1), such party shall stand dissolved forthwith.

16. Effects of dissolution of political party.-

- (1) Where a political party is dissolved under Article 15, any member of such political party, if he is a member of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) or a Provincial Assembly, shall be disqualified for the remaining term to be a member of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) or, as the case may be, the Provincial Assembly, unless before the final decision of the Supreme Court, he resigns from the membership of the party and publicly announces his disassociation with such political party.
- (2) A person becoming disqualified from being a member of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) or Provincial Assembly under clause (1) shall not participate in election for any elective office or any legislative body till the expiry of four years from the date of his disqualification from being a member of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) or, as the case may be, the Provincial Assembly.
- (3) The order of members of a political party becoming disqualified from being members of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) of the Provincial Assembly on its dissolution shall be notified in the official Gazette.

CHAPTER-IV
MISCELLANEOUS

17. *Intra-party elections for general elections, 2002.-*

- (1) Every political party desiring to take part in general elections, 2002, shall be required to complete its intra-party elections referred to in Article 11 in accordance with the party constitution and this Order by the fifth day of August, 2002, and submit the certificate referred to in Article 12 accordingly.
- (2) A political party which has already completed intra-party elections, as far as possible, according to the requirements of Article 11, before the commencement of this Order shall submit a certificate to the Election Commission in accordance with Article 12.
- (3) A party not complying with the provisions of clause (1) and (2) shall not be allotted election symbol for the general elections, 2002.

18. *Code of conduct of political parties.-*

The Election Commission shall, in consultation with the political parties, prepare and publish a code of conduct for the political parties

19. *Rules.-*

The Election Commission may, with approval of the Federal Government, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Order.

20. *Repeal.-* The Political Parties Act, 1962 (III of 1962), is hereby repealed.

GENERAL
PERVEZ MUSHARRAF
Chief Executive of
The Islamic Republic of Pakistan,
And Chief of Army Staff

MR. JUSTICE
MANSOOR AHMAD,
Secretary

28th June, 2002

Political Parties Rules 2002

ELECTION COMMISSION OF PAKISTAN

Islamabad, the 23rd July, 2002

NOTIFICATION

S.R.O 456 (I) 2002. -- In exercise of the powers conferred by Article 19 of the Political Parties Order, 2002 (Chief Executive's Order No.18 of 2002), the Election Commission, with the approval of the President, is pleased to make the following rules:-

1. Short title and commencement.--

- (1) These rules may be called the Political Parties Rules, 2002.
- (2) They shall come into force at once.

2. Definitions.--

- (1) In these rules, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,--
 - (a) "Article" means an article of the Order;
 - (b) "Form" means a form appended to these rules;
 - (c) "Order" means the Political Parties Order, 2002 (Chief Executive's Order No. 18 of 2002); and
 - (d) "Party leader" means the head of a political party duly elected in accordance with the constitution of the political party and the provisions of the Order by whatever name designated.
- (2) The words and expressions used but not defined herein shall have the meanings as assigned to them in the Order.

3. Political parties to provide printed copy of constitution Every political party--

- (a) within ten days of its formation; or
- (b) which is already in existence, within ten days of the publication of these rules in the official Gazette shall provide to the Election Commission a printed copy of its constitution along with a certificate duly attested by the Party leader that its constitution is in conformity with the requirements of the Order.

4. Submission of statement of accounts.- Every political party shall maintain its accounts in the manner set out in Form-I indicating its income and expenditure, sources of funds, assets and liabilities and shall, within sixty days from the close of each financial year (July-June),

submit to the Election Commission a consolidated statement of accounts of the party audited by a Chartered Accountant, accompanied by a certificate, duly signed by the Party leader to the effect that no funds from any source prohibited under the Order were received by the party and that the statement contains an accurate financial position of the party.

5. Financial transactions within a party.-- All financial transactions within a party shall be entered in the statement of accounts submitted under rule 4.

6. Confiscation of prohibited funds.-- Where the Election Commission decides that the contributions or donations, as the case may be, accepted by the political parties are prohibited under clause (3) of Article 6, it shall, subject to notice by the political party concerned and after giving an opportunity of being heard, direct the same to be confiscated in favour of the State to be deposited in Government Treasury or sub-Treasury in the following head of the account:--

"3000000-Deposits and Reserves-B-Not Bearing interest
-3500000- Departmental and Judicial Deposits-3501000-
Civil Deposits-3501010- Deposits in connection with Elections".

7. Submission of certificate to the Election Commission regarding intra-party elections.-

- (1) The Party leader of each political party under his signatures shall, within seven days of the completion of intra-party elections, submit a certificate to the Election Commission in Form-II specifying that the intra-party elections have been held in accordance with the constitution of the party and the provisions of the Order.
- (2) The Election Commission shall, after satisfying itself that the certificate fulfils the requirements of Articles 11 and 12 of the Order, publish the certificate including the details of election in the official Gazette.

8. Intra-party elections for the forthcoming general elections 2002.-- Every political party, desirous of taking part in general elections 2002, shall complete its intra-party elections by the 5th August, 2002 and submit within seven days of intra-party elections, a certificate set out in Form-III that the aforesaid elections have been held in accordance with constitution of such party and the Order.

9. Intra-party elections held before commencement of the Order.-- Where a political party has, before the commencement of the Order, completed intra-party elections, it shall, within seven days of the publication of these rules in the official Gazette, submit to the Election Commission a certificate specified in Form-IV to the effect that the intra-party elections were held, as far as possible, in accordance with the requirements of Article 11.

10. Scrutiny of political parties' constitution and information, etc.-- Where the Election Commission is of the opinion that the constitution, other documents and information submitted by a political party is not in conformity with the Order, it shall return the same to the concerned political party for re-submission in accordance with the provisions of the Order.

11. Mode of submission of documents.-- The constitution, certificates, documents, etc. to be submitted to the Election Commission, as required under the Order shall be delivered through

an office bearer of the party, duly authorised by the Party Leader and shall not be entertained through post, fax, courier service or any other mode.

12. *General.*-- The Election Commission may, from time to time, prescribe such proformae as it may deem necessary for carrying out the purposes of the Order.

13. *Repeal.*-- The Political Parties Rules, 1986 are hereby repealed.

FORM-I
[See rule 4]

Statement of Accounts in respect of _____
(Name of Political Party)
Financial Year _____

S. No.	Opening Balance/Funds/ amounts in balance at the commencement of financial year (July-June)	Total Income/ Receipts for the year	Total Expenses for the year	Net balance on the close of year	Sources of funds with details	Total values of assets on the closed of year	Total liabilities on the close of year	Name of Bankers	Remarks/ Additional Information if so desired
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

It is certified that--

- i. No funds from any sources prohibited under the Political Parties Order, 2002 were received by the Party*
- ii. Statement Contains an accurate financial position; and*
- iii. The information is correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.*

**Details/documents be annexed.*

Name, Signature and seal of the party Leader

Form-II
[See rule 7(1)]

CERTIFICATE REGARDING INTRA-PARTY ELECTIONS

I Party leader (specify designation)
(Name)

..... hereby certify that the intra-party elections have been held
(Name of the political party)

in accordance with the constitution of the party and the Political Parties Order, 2002 (CE's Order No. 18 of 2002) and furnish the following information and documents annexed hereto in respect of--

- (i) the date of the last intra-party elections;
- (ii) the names, designations and addresses of the Party leader and all other office-bearers elected at the Federal, Provincial and local levels, wherever applicable;
- (iii) the election results, including the total number of votes cast and the number of votes secured by each contestant for all of its party offices; and
- (iv) copy of the party's notifications declaring the results of the election.

2. It is hereby certified that the information furnished along with this certificate is correct and nothing has been concealed therefrom.

Name, signature and seal of the Party leader:.....

Dated:.....

Form-III
[See rule 8]

**CERTIFICATE REGARDING INTRA-PARTY ELECTIONS FOR
GENERAL ELECTIONS, 2002**

I.....Party leader (specify designation)
(Name)

.....do hereby certify that the said political party is desirous
(Name of Political party)

of taking part in General Elections, 2002 and further certify that intra- party elections have been held by or before the 5th of August, 2002, in accordance with the constitution of the Party and the Political Parties Order, 2002 (CE's Order No. 18 of 2002) and furnish the following information and documents 8 annexed hereto in respect of--

- (i) the date of the last intra-party elections;
- (ii) the names, designations and addresses of the Party leader and all other office-bearers elected at the Federal, Provincial and local levels, wherever applicable;
- (iii) the election results, including the total number of votes cast and the number of votes secured by each contestant for all of its party offices; and
- (iv) copy of the party's notifications declaring the results of the election.

2. It is hereby certified that the information furnished along with this certificate is correct and noting has been concealed therefrom.

Name, signature and seal of the Party leader.....

Dated:

Form-IV
[See rule 9]

**CERTIFICATE REGARDING INTRA-PARTY ELECTIONS HELD BEFORE THE
COMMENCEMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES ORDER.**

IParty leader (specify designation)
(Name)

.....do hereby certify that the intra-party elections
(Name of political party)

in the aforesaid party have been held, before the commencement of the Political Parties Order, 2002 (CE's Order No. 18 of 2002), as far as possible, in accordance with requirements of Article 11 of the Order and the party constitution and furnish the following information and documents annexed hereto in respect of---

- (i) the date of the last intra-party elections;
- (ii) the names, designations and addresses of the Party leader and all other office-bearers elected at the Federal, Provincial and local levels, wherever applicable;
- (iii) the election results, including the total number of votes cast and the number of votes secured by each contestant for all of its party offices; and
- (iv) copy of the party's notifications declaring the results of the election.

2. It is hereby certified that the information furnished along with this certificate is correct and nothing has been concealed there from.

Name and Signature of Party leader

Dated:.....

About the author:

Zafarullah Khan is Islamabad based Political Management Consultant with specialization in political communication, political strategy and delivering governance. He holds a masters degree in Media and Communication from London School of Economics (United Kingdom). Mr. Khan has moderated number of workshops/courses on democracy, political leadership and communication arranged by national, regional and international organizations. As a journalist he launched the annual State of Media and Press Freedom Report in Pakistan in 1995. In 2002 he authored State of Political Parties Report: Struggling for Survival. Mr. Khan has been associated with country's leading newspapers and electronic media and as project coordinator with Friedrich Naumann Foundation-Pakistan. Presently he is working as Director of Center for Civic Education Pakistan. Mr. Khan could be contacted at: cce@comsats.net.pk