

## V. ELECTION ISSUES

Pakistan's experience with elections and democracy is meager. For most of its history, the country has been ruled by dominant, authoritarian leaders, generally from the military. This year's elections represent an opportunity to set a new course.

Pakistanis are proud of the manner in which their country has weathered a series of shocks in the last year, including, most recently, the death of President Zia, floods in the Punjab, and ethnic violence in the Sind. Pride, however, is mixed with apprehension. Few are absolutely confident that their experiment in democracy is going to be an unqualified success.

Many Pakistani politicians did not expect that the elections would occur in November, and now are scrambling to adjust to an abbreviated time schedule. Some politicians may even be setting the stage for failure by pointing to potential abuses. This said, a number of issues have been raised that may or may not have merit.

### A. Role of the President and the Caretaker Government

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan is widely praised for his judgment and leadership following President Zia's death. He has insisted that there be elections as scheduled and has backed steps taken by the courts and the Election Commission to make them possible. Some felt

that the elections should be postponed because of the recent floods in the Punjab and the violence in the Sind, but the President wanted to proceed, and there is no serious opposition to his insistence that the timetable be met.

Following the dissolution of the government and National and Provincial Assemblies in May 1988, President Zia reappointed his supporters as Chief Ministers of three of Pakistan's four provinces. These Ministers constitute "caretaker governments" that have become an election issue. The Chief Ministers wield considerable power in the provinces and have not been reluctant to use the advantages of incumbency to enhance their political interests and those of their allies. These officials have been accused of spending government funds to promote their political agendas prior to the elections. This practice is common in democracies, but the charge carries additional weight in Pakistan because of the legitimacy question.

Some political leaders have criticized the President for his refusal to dismiss the caretaker governments, or at least those members of these governments who are running for office. They argue that these governments have no legitimacy and that, nevertheless, officials are exercising, and in some cases abusing, the advantages of incumbency.

There is particular concern that these ministers will rig elections by using their authority over local officials. Some political leaders further claim that there is a large-scale transfer of

military officers taking place in preparation for the elections and that some local politicians are being harassed.

Notwithstanding the questions raised concerning the legality of Zia's appointment of the Chief Ministers and their ability to influence the elections, most political leaders are not willing to risk a postponement of the elections over the issue.

#### B. National Identity Cards

The requirement that voters present identity cards to the polling officials is considered one of the safeguards integral to fair elections. The Election Commission maintains that 93% of the electorate have been issued identity cards. The PPP disputes this figure, although the party is not entirely clear as to how many prospective voters it believes lack identity cards either because the cards have not been distributed or because the cards have been lost. The Election Commission asserts that the Treasury Ministry, which issues the identity cards, is taking the necessary steps to ensure that all eligible voters have their identity cards before November 16.

The issue of possible disenfranchisement continues to be raised by some in the PPP. Indeed, since the delegation left Pakistan, this issue has become the preeminent concern of the PPP, which fears that precluding prospective voters from casting ballots because of the requirement may increase tensions on election day. Nonetheless, the

PPP has not sought a postponement of the elections, but a modification of the Election Commission regulations so as to allow for other methods of identification to be used if a voter lacks an identity card.

Another concern is that cards will be manufactured en masse and distributed to supporters of one party or the other. Other concerns surround women voters and the fact that many women who are veiled will not have their picture on their I.D. card. The Election Commission maintains that thumb prints, which take the place of the facial picture, will be verified. It is unclear, however, how Presiding Officers will be able to make fingerprint comparisons. In any event, the use of indelible ink, assuming it is truly indelible, should help deter multiple voting.

### C. Party Symbols

Leaders of the PPP raised a special objection with respect to party election symbols. Each party is given a symbol that will appear on ballots. This is essential in a country where 75 percent of the electorate is illiterate. The PPP was not awarded the symbol with which it has been historically identified -- the sword -- but instead received the arrow. Defenders of this policy point out that no other party was awarded a symbol it had used in prior elections.

The PPP requested that the President overturn the Election

Commission's decision on their party symbol. The President turned down their request and supported the Commission. The PPP, in turn, decided not to challenge this decision in court and instead to use the time to familiarize their supporters with their new symbol. Observers believe that this incident bodes well for the process: the President chose to back the independent Commission thereby strengthening it institutionally, and the PPP accepted the decision, thus demonstrating a pragmatic approach.

#### D. Party Demonstrations and Meetings

To date, there has not been serious interference with party demonstrations and meetings. There remains the threat, however, that if these become disruptive, limitations will be imposed in the name of "maintaining public order." Concern that other forms of pressure will be exerted, such as harassment of participants in demonstrations has been expressed by opposition leaders, although to date the delegation could point to no serious incidents of this sort.

#### E. Summary

Clearly, important steps have been taken to reduce the risk of fraud and abuse (identity cards, expanded judicial participation, etc.). Despite the safeguards, there is the widespread assumption that some rigging will occur and that all parties will engage in it to some extent. It is also assumed that given the feudal nature of rural life

in Pakistan, some people will be told how to vote by their local leaders. There is particular concern that the risk of abuse or violence will rise as it becomes clearer who are likely to be the winners and losers in the process. The easy availability of weapons in the country -- fueled by the Afghan war -- will add to this risk.

Despite these concerns, perhaps the most powerful factor mitigating against election fraud is the widespread understanding that a "window of opportunity" for democracy is opening and that it must not be allowed to close. The safeguards built into the process should also deter those who would attempt to manipulate the system to their advantage.

## VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on NDI's long-term interest in Pakistan, the survey team recommends that the Institute proceed to sponsor an international delegation for the November 16 elections in Pakistan. Most of the persons with whom the team met endorsed such an initiative. They believed that the presence of such an international delegation would provide support for the democratic forces in Pakistan at a critical time in the country's history.

There are, however, two caveats to the recommendation. First, the survey team believes it is important to secure an invitation from the Pakistan government or the Election Commission. As has been the case in some other countries where NDI teams were present for elections, there are some in Pakistan who have expressed concern that an international delegation would be perceived as intervening in the domestic affairs of the country. The NDI team assured those who expressed these concerns that the delegation would seek to support the process as it has been designed by the President and the Election Commission. Such a delegation would abide by Pakistan laws, would not interfere in the process and would report to the international community in an objective manner on Pakistani perspectives of the electoral process.

The second caveat relates to the first. Given the level of violence in the country generally and the concerns that violence will increase

around the days of the election, the survey team recommends that NDI not proceed unless the government is prepared to provide security arrangements for members of the delegation. The government has indicated that, as it did for the survey team, security would be provided, assuming an invitation is forthcoming.

The caveats aside, there was a general appreciation of the role that an NDI-sponsored international delegation would play if it were in Pakistan at the time of the elections. The election officials were cooperative in explaining to the survey team how the system is designed to operate and evidenced a willingness to be of further assistance if a delegation were present for the elections.

The Bar Association in Pakistan is very well-organized and, more than most organizations, has earned a reputation as a non-partisan institution. Thus the Bar Association in each of the provinces would be a good organization to visit before and during the elections. Representatives of the Association in Lahore and Karachi have offered to assist an international organization.

Assuming the delegation is organized, it should include 20-25 persons. The United States component should be bipartisan and the international component should include political leaders from Muslim countries. The delegation should plan to arrive in Islamabad on November 13 for pre-election briefings. Because of the decentralized nature of the election process, the delegation should divide into five



teams on Monday for visits to the four provincial capitals -- Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar and Quetta -- with one team remaining in Islamabad. On Monday and Tuesday, the teams should meet with local election officials, political party leaders and representatives of the Bar Association and other nongovernmental organizations. The teams also should plan their election day schedules. Wednesday will be devoted to viewing the balloting and the counting processes.

The teams should regroup in Karachi on Thursday for a debriefing session. By this time, if things go as planned, the results from most of the country should be available. Because of the pending Provincial Assembly election scheduled for Saturday, November 19, the delegation would refrain from issuing any statement that could be construed as interfering in or otherwise influencing the provincial elections. Some members of the delegation should remain in Pakistan for the provincial elections.

The delegation would prepare a comprehensive report describing the process and evaluating the significance of the events for the future of democracy in Pakistan. The report would be disseminated broadly as the Pakistan experience undoubtedly will provide useful lessons for democrats throughout the world.

PAKISTAN

October 10-18, 1988

NDI Team - Graeme Bannerman, Steve Del Rosso, Patricia Keefer,  
Verne Newton, William Oldaker, and Casimir Yost

Monday, October 10

5:30 p.m. Arrive Islamabad - British Air 223

HOTEL: Holiday Inn  
Aghakhan Road  
Telephone: 826121 or 825113  
Telex: 5740 & 5612 (HSIID - PK)

Embassy: Ambassador Robert Oakley  
Control Officer Nancy Powell  
Telephone: 8261-61 thru 79  
Telex: 82-5-864

(Note: GOP escort officer, Allauddin Masood  
Director, Public Relations, Senate)

Tuesday, October 11

7:30 a.m. Breakfast with Ambassador Oakley, Beth Jones, Tom Homan, Ed  
Abingdon, Carol Thompson, Tony Pinson

8:30 a.m. Meeting with Hussain Haqqani  
Far Eastern Economic Review (Tel: 853183)

9:45 a.m. Meeting with Mr. Wasim Sajjad  
Minister for Justice & Parliamentary Affairs

11:00 a.m. Meeting with Justice Syed Nusrat Ali  
Chief Commissioner, Pakistan Election Commission

Also at this meeting:

Justice Muhammad Fafiq Tarar  
Justice Razzak A. Thahim

1:30 p.m. Lunch at Senate (Parliament House)

3:00 p.m. Meeting with Kurshid Ahmad  
Chairman, Institute for Policy Studies  
V.P., Jamaat-i-Islami  
(Yost, Bannerman)

3:00 p.m. Meeting with Attorney General Aziz A. Munshi (Oldaker)

- 3:00 p.m. Meeting with Pakistan Times editorial staff  
(Newton, Keefer, Del Rosso) (Tel: 825893/825766)
- 4:30 p.m. Meeting with Roadad Khan (Newton, Keefer)

Wednesday, October 12

Team A: (Oldaker, Del Rosso, Yost)

- 8:30 a.m. Depart Islamabad aboard PK 385
- 9:20 a.m. Arrive Lahore
- HOTEL: Pearl Continental Hotel  
197 Khyber Road  
Telephone: 76361  
Telex: 52389 & 52309
- 12:00 p.m. Meeting with Makhdoom Sajjas Hussain Quereshi  
Governor of Punjab (Tel: 303747)
- 1:30 p.m. Lunch with Chaudry Abdul Ghafoor  
Punjab Minister for Law & Parliamentary Affairs
- 3:30 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Chaudhury Abdul Aziz  
Punjab Election Commissioner (Tel: 212796)
- 7:00 p.m. Reception at Consul General Richard McKee's residence

Team B: (Bannerman, Keefer, Newton)

- 7:00 a.m. Depart Islamabad aboard PK 682
- 8:00 a.m. Arrive Peshawar
- 8:15 a.m. Meeting at U.S. Consulate with:  
  
Deputy Principal Office Larsen  
Dr. Masud Akram  
Political/Economic Adviser
- 8:45 a.m. Meeting with Haji Mohammad Adeel  
Awami National Party

9:30 a.m. Meeting with Lt. General Fazle Haq (Ret'd)  
NWFP Chief Minister

Also at this meeting:

Omar Khan Afridi  
NWFP Chief Secretary  
Khalid Mansoor  
NWFP Secretary for Home and Tribal Affairs  
Raja Amanullah  
NWFP Minister for Law, Parliamentary Affairs,  
and Communication

10:30 a.m. Meeting with Brigadier General Amir Gulistan Janjua (Ret'd)  
NWFP Governor

11:30 a.m. Meeting with Malek Abdul Rahim  
NWFP Provincial Election Commissioner

1:00 p.m. Lunch hosted in honor of the NDI Study Group by Minister  
Raja Amanullah.

Also attending lunch were:

Khalid Mansoor  
NWFP Secretary for Home and Tribal Affairs  
Haji Sareer  
NWFP Minister of Revenue  
Azam Khan  
NWFP Additional Chief Secretary  
Mahbub Khan  
NWFP Secretary for Law  
Naweed Akram  
NWFP Secretary for Services and General Administration

3:00 p.m. Meeting with Barrister Bacha, PPP candidate

4:00 p.m. Meeting with Consul General Mike Malinowski  
(Tel: 76316)

4:40 p.m. Depart Peshawar aboard PK 683

5:35 p.m. Arrive Islamabad

Overnight at Islamabad Holiday Inn

Thursday, October 13

Team A: Lahore Itinerary

- 9:00 a.m. Meeting with Mr. Khurshid Kasuri  
Central Secretary General of the Tehrik-e-Istiglal party  
(Tel: 874606)
- 10:30 a.m. Meeting with Mr. Muhammed Aslam Saleemi  
Central Secretary General of the Jamaat-e-Islami party  
(Tel: 431091 through 95)

Team B: Islamabad Itinerary

- 9:00 a.m. Meeting with Col. Abdul Qayyum (Ret'd)  
Additional Secretary, Ministry of Information
- 10:00 a.m. Meeting with T. Hussain  
Director of North American Bureau  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Bannerman)
- 1:45 p.m. Depart Islamabad aboard PK 325
- 3:15 p.m. Arrive Quetta
- HOTEL: Quetta Serena Hotel  
Sharah-e-Zarghoon  
Telephone: 537506  
Telex: 23924 attn: Quetta Serena
- 5:00 p.m. Meeting with General Mohammad Musa Khan (Ret'd)  
Governor of Baluchistan
- 5:45 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Zafrullah Khan Jamali  
Chief Minister
- 6:45 p.m. Meeting with Mr. R. A. Muhajid  
Baluchistan Election Commissioner
- 7:30 p.m. Dinner with Mir Humayun Khan Masri  
Baluchistan Minister for Law

Friday, October 14

Team A: Lahore Itinerary

- 9:00 a.m. Meet with Malik Saeed Hassan  
PPP lawyer and a former judge of the Lahore High Court  
(Tel: 373153)

11:20 a.m. Depart Lahore aboard PK 303

Team B: Quetta Itinerary

9:00 a.m. Tour Quetta

11:10 a.m. Depart Quetta aboard PK 355

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12:30 p.m. Quetta group (Team B) arrives Karachi

1:05 p.m. Lahore group (Team A) arrives Karachi

HOTEL: Ramada Renaissance Avari Towers Hotel  
242-243 Fatima Jinnah Road  
Telephone: (21)525261  
Telex: 24400 AVARI Pk

3:00 p.m. Briefing at Consul General's residence

Participants: Consul General Joseph Melrose, Jr.  
Deputy Principal Officer Ellen Shippy  
Branch Public Affairs  
Political Officer Gene Preston  
Phil Antweiler  
Political Officer

4:00 p.m. Meeting with Mr. M. H. Zaidi  
Sind Election Commissioner

5:00 p.m. Meeting with Justice Qadir-ud-Din  
Governor of Sind

6:00 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Akhtar Ali G. Kazi  
Chief Minister

7:30 p.m. Dinner with Mr. Akhtar Ali G. Kazi  
Chief Minister [12 guests]

Saturday, October 15

2:45 p.m. Bannerman departs on Pan Am 89  
Karachi itinerary

12:00 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Ahmed Ali Khan  
Dawn Newspaper (Tel: 516716)

- 3:30 p.m. Meeting with Kamal Azfar  
Secretary General, National People's Party  
(Tel: 532515 & 533334)
- 5:00 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Zain Noorani  
Former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs  
(Tel: 537658)
- 8:30 p.m. Dinner at home of Consul General Melrose  
in honor of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State  
Howard Schaffer

Sunday, October 16

- 1:05 a.m. Yost departs on Swiss Air 178
- 8:00 a.m. Thatta day trip  
Keefer and Newton depart by car for Thatta
- 10:00 a.m. Meeting with Mr. Babu Ghulam Hussain  
General Secretary, Thatta District, PPP  
(Tel: Thatta 321)
- 12:00 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Hamzo Khan Paliyo  
Chairman, Thatta District Council  
Muslim League/Independent  
Ex-Senator (Tel: Thatta 857)  
(Del Rosso, Newton)

Overnight Karachi

Monday, October 17

Morning itinerary in Karachi

- 12:00 p.m. Debrief of team in Consul General's office

Participants: Keefer and Newton  
Consul General Melrose  
Deputy Principal Officer Ellen Shippy  
Political Counselor Ed Abingdon

Afternoon free

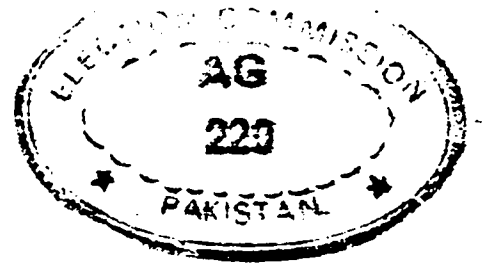
Overnight Karachi

Tuesday, October 18

- 1:00 a.m. Newton departs on Pan Am 89
- 8:45 a.m. Keefer departs on BA 146 to London

Appendix B

Appendix C



ووٹ بڑھیر ٹاک

No 196307

نمبر شمار

انتخابی ضلع کا نمبر اور نام

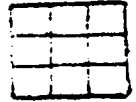
ووٹر کا نام

انتخابی نشست میں  
ووٹر کا نمبر شمار

انتخابی ضلع کا نام

انتخابی ضلع کا نمبر اور نام

Appendix D



نمبر شمار

No 196307

بچے دی ہوئی خالی جگہ میں صرف اس امیدوار  
کا نام لکھئے جس کو آپ ووٹ دینا چاہتے ہیں۔





صدر  
 نظام الحق  
 خان  
 کے حقیق  
 ایکشن کمنشنر  
 کو وسیع  
 افق ترقی  
 دیکھنے اور  
 تازہ دماغ  
 رکھنے

راولپنڈی  
**جنگ**  
 ہدویک میگزین

۱۲ اکتوبر ۱۹۸۸ء



چیف الیکشن کمنشنر  
 جسٹس عبدالصمد  
 جنھوں نے انتخابی  
 شیڈول کا اعلان  
 کر دیا۔

ELECTION SYMBOLS انتخابی نشانات									
1. ARROW	2. BAY	3. BELL	4. BICYCLE	5. BOWL	6. BOOK	7. BRIDGE	8. BUSH	9. BRUSH	10. BUCKET
11. BUSH	12. BUS	13. CANDLE	14. CAR	15. CUP AND SACK	16. CAP	17. CAR	18. CAR	19. LAMP TORCH	20. FISH
21. FISH	22. COAT	23. CUP AND SACK	24. COAT	25. CUP AND SACK	26. COAT	27. COAT	28. COAT	29. FLOWER VASE	30. FUG
31. FISH	32. HAND PUMP	33. HAT	34. HAT	35. HAT	36. HAT	37. HAT	38. HAT	39. JUG	40. LOTA
41. HAT	42. HAT	43. HAT	44. HAT	45. HAT	46. HAT	47. HAT	48. HAT	49. SACKET	50. SACKET
51. HAT	52. HAT	53. HAT	54. HAT	55. HAT	56. HAT	57. HAT	58. HAT	59. SPARE	60. SPARE
61. HAT	62. HAT	63. HAT	64. HAT	65. HAT	66. HAT	67. HAT	68. HAT	69. SPARE	70. SPARE
71. HAT	72. HAT	73. HAT	74. HAT	75. HAT	76. HAT	77. HAT	78. HAT	79. SPARE	80. SPARE
81. HAT	82. HAT	83. HAT	84. HAT	85. HAT	86. HAT	87. HAT	88. HAT	89. SPARE	90. SPARE
91. HAT	92. HAT	93. HAT	94. HAT	95. HAT	96. HAT	97. HAT	98. HAT	99. SPARE	100. SPARE



جسٹس  
 اجمل میاں  
 کی پابندی وقت  
 ضرب المثل بن  
 چکی ہے (مطلب)

بوگرہ اور تھو ڈیز اعظم سے وزیر خارجہ اور وزیر خارجہ اور اعظم بک (مطلب)

ایوب خان کی خواہش، تجویجی مسعود صادق سے محبت! (مطلب)

تسلیمی اداروں میں ہنگاموں کا ذمہ اڑکون؟ (مطلب)

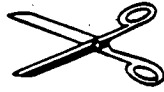
NA-184 KARACHI-II  
SERIAL

استغلی فرست میں  
نیر شاد رائے دہندہ  
استغلی فرست کاحصر  
عام ایکٹیوٹل ایڑیا  
نشان آکوشا  
رائے دہندہ

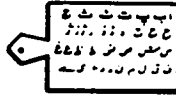
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احمد خان



اقتیاز صفدر



رحمت علی



ریاض احمد



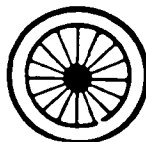
سلیم شیخ



عزیز علی

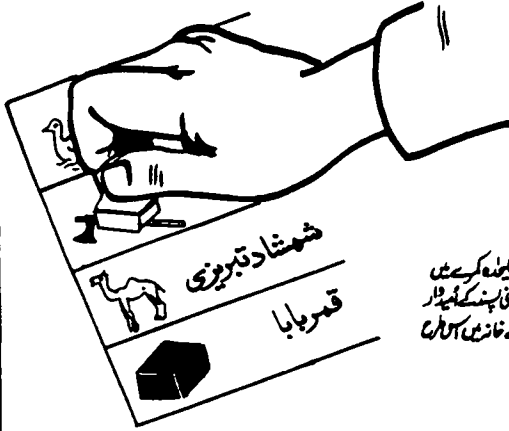
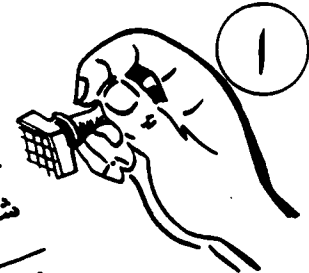
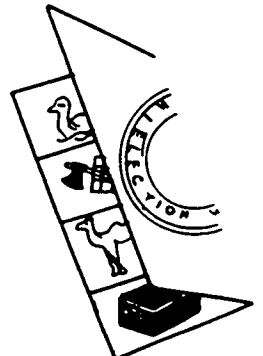
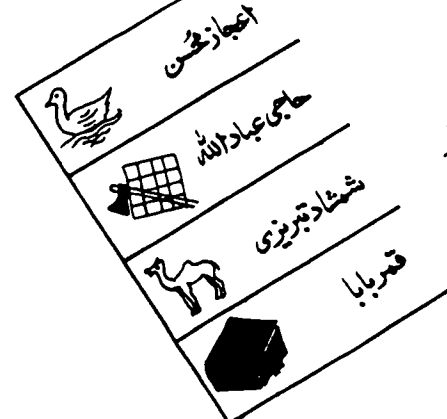
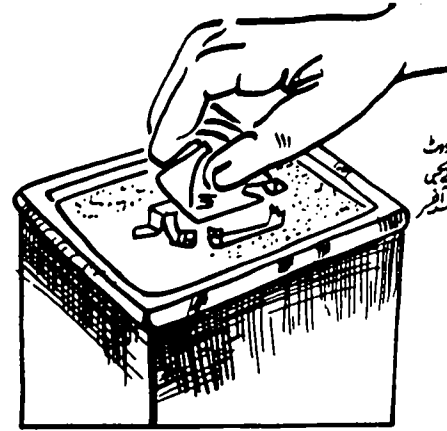
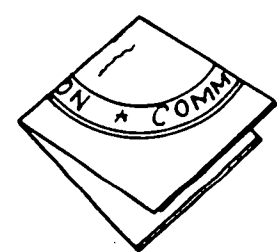


فرقان احمد



محمد اشرف

# انتخابی پوزٹی پر مہر سے نشان لگانے کا طریقہ

<p>۲</p>  <p>شہزاد تبریزی قمر بابا</p> <p>اس مہر سے آپ علیحدہ کرے ہیں ووٹ کی پٹی پر لپٹی آپ کے نمبر کے نام اور نشان کے غائبیوں مہر لگائیے۔</p>	<p>۱</p>  <p>اعجاز محسن حاجی عبداللہ شہزاد تبریزی قمر بابا</p> <p>ووٹ کی پٹی ہے جس پر اسی طرحوں کے نام اور ان کے نشان لگے جیسے وہ ہے اور یہ وہ مہر ہے جو ووٹ کی پٹی پر لگانے کے لئے آپ کو لوگ اسٹیبل دی جانے گی۔</p>
<p>۴</p>  <p>علیحدہ کرے ہیں ووٹ کی پٹی پر نشان لگانے کے بعد اس کو اس طرح چھریں کہ آگے لگا ہوا نشان لکھنے والے مہر کو روک دیا نہ ہو سکے۔ پٹی کو اس طرح تہہ پچھ کر مہر دار کے نشان کا کاپی - ۲۰۲۰ -</p>	<p>۳</p>  <p>اعجاز محسن حاجی عبداللہ شہزاد تبریزی قمر بابا</p> <p>یہ وہ نشان ہے جو آپ نے مہر سے ووٹ کی پٹی پر لگایا ہے۔</p>
<p>۶</p>  <p>علیحدہ کرے سے باہر گئے ووٹ کا تہہ شدہ پٹی ووٹ کی پٹی میں ڈال دیں جو پر زور لگائیے کی مہر رکھا ہے۔</p>	<p>۵</p>  <p>پھیل چمکے تہہ اس بات کا خیال رکھیے کہ وہ ووٹ کی پٹی کی پٹ پر لگا ہوا مہر کا نمبر نشان دکھانی دے سکے۔</p>