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## *ACKNOWLEDGMENTS*

The international delegation organized for the October 1990 Pakistan National Assembly elections required an enormous effort before, during and after the elections. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), which sponsored the delegation, thanks all those who contributed to this important endeavor.

NDI board member Kenneth Melley led a five-member, pre-election mission, which visited Pakistan from September 9-16. The work of the pre-election mission provided the basis for deciding to send an international delegation and for determining the delegation's terms of reference.

The members of the international delegation gave generously of their time, not only by participating in the election mission, but also by reviewing diligently the post-election analysis performed as part of the project. NDI owes a special debt of gratitude to the delegation leaders: former Turkish Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglu and Senator Stanislaw Dembinski of Poland. Their leadership and their personal experiences and expertise were critical to the delegation's activities.

The contribution of delegation member Lee Feldman deserves special mention. Feldman dedicated considerable time to preparing a detailed statistical analysis of the results, which measurably enhanced the delegation's understanding of the overall process. Feldman's analysis and conclusions are reported in Chapter 7B.

NDI Executive Vice President Kenneth Wollack served as liaison with the delegation leaders as well as the Institute's principal

spokesperson. NDI Senior Consultant Patricia Keefer and NDI Research Director Mahnaz Ispahani managed the Pakistan project. Keefer has been responsible for NDI projects in Pakistan since 1987, while Ispahani is a scholar of South Asian politics. NDI program staff members Donna Huffman, Gina Giere and Joe Hennessey ensured that the program was successfully implemented in Pakistan. NDI Senior Consultant Larry Garber advised on the plan for the mission and NDI Legal Consultant Eric Bjornlund handled press relations.

NDI benefitted enormously from the contribution of Josh Steiner, who served as NDI's representative in Pakistan following the elections. His perseverance, ingenuity and sound judgment in investigating allegations of irregularities provided the delegation with a more complete basis upon which to analyze the election process.

This report was prepared under the auspices of NDI, which assumes full responsibility for its content and accuracy. There was, however, extensive consultation with members of the delegation during the drafting process. All members of the delegation reviewed the Executive Summary and, before its release, a consensus was reached on the conclusions contained therein.

Responsibility for preparing this report was shared by many individuals. Garber, Ispahani and Steiner served as principal authors and redactors, while Bjornlund and Keefer also drafted individual chapters. Delegation members Kathryn Baran, Lovida Coleman, Feldman, Edward Fox, Peter Hatch, Maria Leissner, Peter Manikas, Gigulu Nkwinti, James McAvoy, William Richter, Barnett Rubin and Sue Wood prepared team reports, condensed versions of which are included in Chapter 5. Some of the material contained in Chapter 2 draws upon Mahnaz Ispahani's Adelphi Paper, *Pakistan: Dimensions of Insecurity* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies 1990).

The task of editing the report was shared by the authors, as well as by Wollack. NDI President J. Brian Atwood, who co-led the international delegation to the 1988 Pakistan elections, provided valuable insights during the drafting process. In addition, NDI Public Information Director Sue Grabowski demonstrated her usual indispensable expertise in reviewing the manuscript and in managing

the production of the report. Hennessey also assisted in editing the report, while Giere assembled and organized the appendices.

NDI wishes to acknowledge the assistance and cooperation it received from the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Embassy in Pakistan and the Agency for International Development (AID), which provided most of the funding for the project. Recognizing NDI's professionalism and experience in the field of election observing, the State Department, the U.S. Embassy and AID fully respected the independence of the delegation.

Finally, NDI thanks the many Pakistanis who gave generously of their time in meeting with members of the delegation before, during and after the elections. Special mention should be made of the Central Election Commission (CEC), which provided access to all aspects of the election process. In addition to observing the balloting activities, delegation members were able to review the process of reporting the results at the CEC headquarters and were able to meet on a regular basis with CEC officials, who answered the delegation's many questions about the conduct of the elections.

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