

Assessing Internal Democracy of Major Political Parties of Pakistan



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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANP	Awami National Party
BB	Benazir Bhutto
BNDP	Balochistan National Democratic Party
CEC	Central Executive Committee
CM	Chief Minister
CPB	Central Parliamentary Board
CWC	Central Working Committee
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
GB	Gilgit-Baltistan
IK	Imran Khan
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
JUI-F	Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam – Fazal
KP	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa
KTC	Karachi Tanzeemi Committee
MNA	Member National Assembly
MPA	Member Provincial Assembly
MQF	Muttahida Quami Fund
MQM	Muttahida Quami Movement
NA	National Assembly
NAP	National Awami Party
NC	National Council
NDP	National Democratic Party
NP	National Party
PA	Provincial Assembly
PAT	Pakistan Awami Tehreek
PC	Provincial Council
PEC	Provincial Executive Committee
PILDAT	Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development & Transparency
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz
PPC	Peshawar Press Club
PPPP	Pakistan Peoples Party – Parliamentarians
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
PWC	Provincial Working Committee
SG	Secretary General
SVP	Senior Vice President
TTP	Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan
VP	Vice President

Preface

The quality of democracy within political parties impacts the overall quality of democracy in the country. Political parties are the building blocks of a democratic structure and if parties become subservient to individuals, and decisions are taken undemocratically without involving the decision-making structures within the party, the national democratic system becomes hostage to a few individuals. As a result, institutions such as the Parliament are robbed off the ability to perform as the primary institution of genuine representation, people-centric legislation and oversight.

PILDAT Report on **Assessing Internal Democracy of Major Political Parties of Pakistan** has been prepared by analysing eight (8) major political parties of Pakistan including the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP/P), the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam – Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F), the Awami National Party (ANP), the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), and the National Party (NP).¹ Constitutional provisions and on-ground practices of the 8 parties have been studied by PILDAT based on thirteen (13) indicators from an indigenously developed Assessment Framework.

The report also carries a **Score Card** on internal democracy of major political parties. The scores have been obtained from the Steering Committee as well as other relevant experts based on the data on 8 major political parties of Pakistan that has been compiled by PILDAT through obtaining information from political parties as well as using public sources.

The objective behind PILDAT's assessment of internal democracy of political parties is to contribute to improved awareness on state of democracy within political parties of Pakistan. While carrying out this assessment, PILDAT is mindful of the fact that the political parties of Pakistan have been subjected to victimization during repeated spells of Martial Law - parties were outlawed, their bank accounts blocked, their leaders jailed, party officials forced to abandon their parties and join those enjoying official patronage. These repressive measures have not allowed political parties to grow into strong institutions nurtured by democratic traditions.

In addition, people of Pakistan, like most of the developing countries, have a tendency to affiliate with strong populist personalities such as Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Mr. Nawaz Sharif and Mr. Imran Khan. This emotional bond continues almost as strongly with the descendants of the party leader. People's affiliation, in most cases, to political parties is through the popular and strong leader. Many may argue that strong leaders (and their descendants) are not necessarily a negative factor for a political party and that these leaders symbolise the glue which keeps the party together, and but for the existence of these leaders, the parties in many cases would have fragmented.

Most, if not all, of the above factors have hindered the growth of political parties as a democratic institution in Pakistan. However, now that democracy has been restored in Pakistan and democratic institutions are beginning to assert themselves to play their legitimate role, it is necessary that political parties also strengthen their internal democracy.

The purpose of this report is not to subject political parties to undue criticism. The purpose is to help them in identifying weak areas and to promote a healthy discourse on the need for democratic structures within political parties. This is necessary for the growth of parties as strong political institutions in their own right instead of being shadows of their founders or leaders. We strongly believe that strong, democratic political parties are the most important building blocks of a robust democratic polity and society.

We hope that this report and the discourse it generates will be helpful in strengthening the political parties of Pakistan and this contributes to the deepening of democracy in the country.

1. Names of parties have been ordered based on their representation in the National Assembly of Pakistan

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PILDAT gratefully acknowledges the support and cooperation of the Steering Committee consisting eminent Pakistanis. Appendix B carries the list of members of the Steering Committee.

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Disclaimer

The data used in this report has been provided by political parties as well as obtained from party websites while some information has been gleaned from the press. PILDAT has made every effort for accurate use of data and any omission or error, therefore, is not deliberate.

Islamabad
December 2014

Executive Summary

In order to assess democracy within political parties objectively and scientifically, a framework consisting of thirteen (13) indicators was devised by a broad-based Steering Committee constituted by PILDAT. Eight (8) major political parties were selected for the assessment. Five of these parties hold the largest number of seats in the National Assembly. A party-wise account of each of the thirteen (13) indicators has been compiled after collecting data from various sources including the political parties. This account, then, became the basis of quantitative assessment (scoring) for the parties. An overview presents the narrative of the assessment.

The indicators of internal democracy of political parties include Democratic character of the party constitution; Regular and Competitive party elections; Effectiveness of intra-party structures such as Central Executive Committee; The number of party officials elected verses nominated; Role of local party chapters in selecting party candidates for legislatures; Regular meetings of parliamentary parties; Tradition of annual general meetings or conventions; Discouragement of dynastic leadership; Regular change in party leadership; A broad funding base and credible party accounts; Tolerance of dissent within the party; A democratic decision-making process; Active participation of women, youth and minorities in the party affairs and A current and comprehensive party website.

Summary of the party-wise account of the indicators is given below:

The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N)

The 27-page constitution of the PML-N has 151 articles. Membership is open to all adult Pakistani citizens. The President of the party has power to make rules and regulations but cannot amend the constitution.

As per the party's constitution, intra-party elections should take place every 3 years. However, the past two elections were held in 2006 and 2011. The Central Executive Committee (CEC) is supposed to meet every 3 months but has not met even once in the past one and a half years. The National Council which is the electoral college for the Party president and other senior leadership, is supposed to meet at least once a year but has not met for the last many years. Even the total membership of the council is not made public

A workers' convention of the party took place in March 2014 in which about 5000 workers were present. The Provincial Presidents are supposed to be elected through secret ballot as per the party constitution but all current provincial chiefs are nominated. Apparently, keeping in mind the projection being given to the son of the CM Punjab and daughter of the PM and given the fact that the CM Punjab is the real brother of PM, the dynastic leadership is being promoted in the party. The top leadership has not changed in the past 10 years except during Mr. Nawaz Sharif's exile when Mr. Javed Hashmi was 'Acting President' from 2000-2007.

Power within the party seems to be concentrated in the party president's hands, as the party constitution does not grant any specific powers to the Chairman and Vice Presidents – the next senior most positions. Dissent within the party is not readily punished but ignored and most of the decision-making is carried out without formal consultation of the CEC or any other body of the party. This study has shown that the PML-N has the weakest internal democracy in comparison to the other seven parties with an overall score of **32%**

The Pakistan Peoples Party/Parliamentarian (PPP and PPPP)

The constitution of the PPP/P is a 5-page document with 9 articles. A member is required to support party aims, philosophy of Quaid-e-Azam and philosophy of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The PPP Secretary General is the administrative and organizational head of the party and is assisted by Provincial Presidents.

As per the constitution of the PPPP, elections should take place every 2 years. In case of the PPP, elections to offices other than Patron-in-Chief (Mr. Bilawal Bhutto-Zardari is mentioned by name as the Patron-in-Chief in the constitution) and "Patron" should take place every 3 years. The last two intra-party polls took place in 2006 and 2013. The governing body of party is the Central Executive Committee (CEC) that consists of 55 nominated members and as per the verbal information by the party Secretary General; around 12-15 meetings of the CEC have taken place during 2014. News of

'Core Committee' meetings keep appearing in media though no such body is mentioned in the constitution. All current provincial party chiefs are nominated.

A tradition of dynastic leadership is well established in the party though apparently with strong approval by the party rank and file. The top leadership changed only after Ms. Benazir Bhutto's death in 2007 when it was passed to her husband according to her will but approved by the party CEC. Before decisions on important questions of policy can take place, the CEC or the 'Core Committee' meetings usually take place. This study has shown that PPP/P has the second weakest internal democracy among the eight parties assessed with an overall score of **34%**.

The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)

The Constitution of the PTI is 32 pages long and membership is open to all adult citizens of Pakistan. Chairman has extensive powers including the power to interpret the constitution. As per party constitution, election should take place every four years. Past two elections were held in 2009 and 2013. In 2012-13, highly competitive and elaborate elections took place at each level. However, the Chairman was elected unopposed. The current Secretary General of the party is nominated after the elected Secretary General became Chief Minister of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa even though the constitution calls for the post to be filled through an election. All provincial party chiefs are elected except in KP where the elected President resigned after he became Speaker of the KP assembly and the Chairman nominated the provincial party head.

National Council is the supreme party body but the Core Committee seems to be the governing body of the party that meets frequently and on almost a weekly basis during the past four months of party agitation against the federal government. The Central Executive Committee (CEC) consists of Central Office bearers and 30 members nominated by the Chairman from amongst the members of the National Council. Current membership of the party's CEC is 75. A national convention of the party took place at Marriott Hotel, Islamabad in the first week of August 2014 where the decision of holding protests countrywide starting August 14, 2014 was made. It is too early to predict the future but as things stand today, there is no apparent plan for dynastic leadership. However, the top leadership of the party (Chairmanship) has not undergone any change since creation of the party. Dissent is rather arbitrarily dealt with - a celebrated example of which is Mr. Javed Hashmi, President PTI – with whom Mr. Imran Khan announced parting of ways publicly even before a show-cause notice could be served on him after expressing dissent. This study has shown that the PTI is the second-most democratic party (after Jamaat-e-Islami) with an overall score of **49%**. Jamaat being a unique case with restrictive membership etc, PTI may be considered the most democratic party among the remaining seven.

The Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM)

The constitution of the MQM is 9 pages long with 19 articles. Membership is open to every citizen of Pakistan other than a government official. Constitutionally, the Convenor of the Coordination Committee is the party Chief Executive but this position is lying vacant for the last many years. Mr. Altaf Hussain is mentioned by name in Constitution as the founder and ideologue and is practically the sole source of executive power within the party.

As per the party's constitution, intra-party elections should take place every 4 years and the latest two intra-party polls took place in 2002 and 2012. In 2012, an independent commission was formed and elections took place for members of 'Central Coordination (Rabita) Committee (CCC)', Sectors, Units, Zones, Provinces and Districts.

There is no CEC in the MQM. But the CCC can be regarded equivalent to the CEC in which members are all elected. Though the provincial heads should be elected, Barrister Muhammad Saif is nominated President of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa while for Punjab, the nominated President is Mian Ateeq. Party celebrates the 'Founding Day' (*Yom e Tasees*) as an annual congregation.

There does not seem to be a sign of promoting a dynastic leadership though party does celebrate birthdays of Mr. Altaf Hussain's daughter. The top leadership has not changed since its formation and leader Mr. Altaf Hussain has stayed with no visible No. 2. Dissent with Mr. Altaf Hussain is not tolerated. He suspends and removes CCC members and deputy convenors and parliamentary leaders at will. This study has shown that MQM is the fifth most democratic party among

the eight parties with an overall score of 42%.

The Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazal (JUI-F)

The constitution of the JUI-F consists of 24 pages with 29 chapters. Members must agree with party's aims and objectives to become a part of it. According to the party's constitution, elections are to take place every 3 years. The latest intra-party polls took place in August 2014 and before these, in the year 2011. The main party bodies are General Council, Consultative Body and the Central Executive Committee (CEC). The Heads (Amir) and Secretary Generals in the centre and at provincial levels are elected whereas all the rest are nominated.

The CEC is a 13-member body nominated by the Amir of the party in the centre. There appears to be no tradition of holding annual convention. Maulana Fazal ur Rehman succeeded his father Mufti Mehmood as Party Chief. A brother of Maulana Fazal ur Rehman currently heads the party in the KP Assembly where he serves as Leader of the Opposition also. The top leadership, despite regular elections, has not changed in the past 10 years.

The CEC of the party frames the policy and assesses performance of all sections of the party. The decisions made on important questions of policy are carried out by the main bodies of the party such as the decision to join the Federal Government led by the PML-N was made in a meeting of the General Council. This study has shown that the JUI-F is the fourth most democratic party among the eight selected parties with an overall score of 43%.

The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)

The party constitution consists of 95 pages with 11 chapters. The membership criteria are strict and elaborate in which the member has to bear witness that Jamaat creed is his/her creed. Terms of Central Head (Amir), Provincial Heads and District/Local Heads are 5, 3 and 2 years respectively. Latest intra-party elections took place in 2012 and the election of Amir took place in March 2014. No candidature and election campaign is allowed as per the constitution. Main bodies of the party are Central Council and the CEC. The Central Council consists of elected members and the CEC consists of members nominated by the Amir from within the Central Council. Current membership of the CEC is 15. The Vice-Presidents (Naib Umraa) and Secretary General are appointed by the Amir in consultation with the Central Council.

The party used to hold regular annual conventions some thirty years ago but now it holds such events after many years. The recent convention (*Ijtima-e-Aam*) took place in November 2014 after a lapse of some 6 years. There are no signs of a dynastic leadership in the party and the top leadership has undergone regular change. Syed Munawar Hasan was elected Amir in 2009 after Qazi Hussain Ahmed; while Mr. Siraj ul Haq was elected in 2014 after Syed Munawar Hasan. Every member of Jamaat can exercise the right to object, criticize and question the decision of Amir and the Central Council but cannot publicise his/her views in public other than party forums. He or she can present objection to the Consultative Body through any of the body's members or can present it him or herself at the General Assembly. The Amir, in consultation with Central Consultative Council, frames the policy and makes important decisions. This study has shown that the JI is the most democratic among the parties studied with an overall score of 56%.

The National Party (NP)

The National Party's constitution consists of 18 Pages with 6 chapters and membership is open to all adult citizens of Pakistan. Party elections are to take place every 3 years. The past two elections took place in 2014 and 2011. Around 500 delegates from across the country participated in the 2014 elections in Quetta, Balochistan.

The main bodies of the party are National Congress, CEC and the Central cabinet. The CEC regularly meets every 3 months. In the past one year, 5 meetings of the CEC have taken place and the most recent one took place on November 11, 2014. All office-bearers of the party are elected through a process of secret balloting. The CEC consists of 47 members (constitution says 60) who are all elected. However, President can exercise the power to induct 10 persons that he considers worthy at any time. Provincial party chiefs should be elected according to constitution. Dr. Yasin Baloch was unopposed elected party president in Balochistan in 2014 election. But in Sindh, Punjab and KP, provincial heads have been selected through a consultation process between the provincial bodies of the party due to their limited membership.

The National Party holds meeting of its National Congress every 3 years. Many observers from within the party and outside are also invited to the congress. Apparently there doesn't seem to be a tradition of dynastic party leadership and the top leadership has also changed. Dr. Abdul Malik was elected in place of Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch in 2008 and Mir Hasil Bizenjo has been elected in place of Dr. Malik in 2014. The CEC exercises the power to implement the party's aims and objectives and builds policy and committees accordingly. For example, decision of coalition partnership with the PML-N in Balochistan was taken after a meeting of the CEC. This study has shown that the NP is the fourth most democratic party with an overall score of **43%**. NP shares this rank with JUI-F.

The Awami National Party (ANP)

The constitution consists of 8 pages and membership is open to all adult citizens of Pakistan. The President is responsible for supervising the work of the party's office bearers and the No. 2 and 3 in the party are the Secretary General and Vice President respectively but the powers and functions of both are not defined in the constitution.

As per the constitution, intra-party elections should take place every 4 years and the past two elections took place in 2010 and 2014. Elections for the post of Secretary General were quite competitive in the last elections for which candidates were Mr. Afrasiab Khattak, Mr. Latif Afridi and Mian Iftikhar Hussain – the winning candidate was Mian Iftikhar Hussain.

The main bodies of the party include: Central Council, Central Executive Council, and Central Cabinet. The CEC is required to hold 3 meetings in a year and the recent meeting of the CEC took place on November 12, 2014. All party holders are elected and even the CEC is an elected body of the party. There are a total of 80 members that make up this body, 15 from each province. However, the President may nominate 10 members. Provincial Presidents in the ANP get elected according to the constitution. The current provincial presidents were elected in August 2014. However, the top leadership has not changed in the past 10 years.

The ANP is guided by the thoughts of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan). His son Mr. Abdul Wali Khan headed the party. Later Mr. Wali Khan's son Mr. Asfandyar Wali Khan became the party president.

The CEC devises policies and implements them in the light of the constitution and manifesto, as it is the supreme body. For example, the decision to support the PML-N-led Federal Government against PTI/PAT demands for Mr. Nawaz Sharif's resignation was made after a meeting of the CEC. This study has shown that the ANP is the third most democratic party with an overall score of **46%**.

Scoring and Analysis

According to the scores assigned to the selected eight political parties, the list of parties in the order of most democratic to least democratic include the **JI** (56%), the **PTI** (49%), the **ANP** (46%), the **JUI-F** (43%), the **NP** (43%), the **MQM** (42%), the **PPP** (34%) and the **PML-N** (32%).

In brief, the **Jamaat-e-Islami** has been rated as the most democratic party. Apparently, regular party election, regular change in top leadership, lack of dynastic leadership in the party have favoured the party to be rated as the most democratic.

However, if we disregard Jamaat because of its unique and somewhat restrictive ways (Limited Membership based on extensive scrutiny; No candidature or election campaigns allowed during party election etc.), the **PTI** emerges as the most democratic party. Open and keenly contested party election at all levels in 2012-2013 and regular core committee meetings have apparently favoured PTI to become the second most democratic party.

In a relative sense, the **PML-N** has been rated as the least democratic party followed by the **PPP** which is rated as the second least democratic party among the eight parties evaluated. Lack of regular party election, lack of regular meetings of party bodies such as CWC and NC, visible trends of dynastic party leadership and no change in top party leadership for the last many years seem to be the factors which adversely affected the democratic credentials of PML-N. Almost similar factors impacted the democratic credentials of the PPP.

The following table presents the consolidated scores under each indicator of eight political parties:

Table 1: Score Card

Indicator		Percentage Score (%)								
		PML-N	PPP/P	PTI	MQM	JUI-F	JI	NP	ANP	Average
1.	How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? (10 Marks)	53	50	62	45	59	57	50	55	54
2.	How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? (10 Marks)	34	35	64	39	49	62	52	55	49
3.	How effective are the various bodies of the party and how frequently do they meet? (10 Marks)	25	35	45	49	48	64	47	48	45
4.	How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past National and Provincial Assembly elections? (10 Marks)	24	25	42	40	44	44	38	44	38
5.	How regularly the parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? (5 Marks)	37	45	57	63	58	63	48	55	53
6.	How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? (5 Marks)	20	25	34	38	43	52	40	40	37
7.	How far does the party discourage the tradition of dynastic leadership? (5 Marks)	14	14	57	48	35	86	51	42	43
8.	How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? (5 Marks)	11	12	20	18	29	80	66	40	35
9.	How wide is the funding base and how credible are the audited accounts of the party? (10 Marks)	28	31	48	33	31	48	32	30	35
10.	How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against dissenting party officials? (5 Marks)	37	37	26	12	42	48	40	48	36

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Indicator		Percentage Score (%)								
		PML-N	PPP/P	PTI	MQM	JUI-F	JI	NP	ANP	Average
11.	How democratic is the decision-making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? (5 Marks)	26	32	37	28	45	48	35	46	37
12.	How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? (5 Marks)	48	66	77	69	46	37	29	46	52
13.	How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? (5 Marks)	58	32	63	57	23	51	25	45	44
Overall Percentage Score (%)		32	34	49	42	43	56	43	46	43

Why Assessment of Internal Democracy of Political Parties?

The internal life of political parties has not been a subject of much debate in Pakistan and even worldwide. In contemporary politics, there is not found any pure or ideal-type of democracy. Similarly, there is no ideal typical form of democracy for political parties. However, it is accepted widely that the functioning of democracy cannot take place in the absence of political parties but the importance of their internal democracy levels and structures is certainly debatable.

Considering that there is a massive concern regarding the deficit of democracy in Pakistan, the discussion on intra-party politics and democracy only becomes more compelling. Indeed, the organization of a party is dependent upon a certain context and history; and especially in Pakistan, informal factors have and continue to play a greater role than formal ones. Things that have worked for one particular party could prove to be entirely dysfunctional for another. Therefore, there is and cannot be a standard set of 'best practices' in case of intra-party democracy and governance.

Despite major advances, intra-party democracy and politics remain under-researched and under-analysed. This report sets out to assemble some of the pieces of information through investigation of the impact of internal politics of parties and a range of political settings. The intellectual scene is set by the outlining of some key questions, in the form of a framework of assessment, that have arisen in our search for assessing intra-party democracy, various parameters that are mainly indicative of inclusiveness in a party, de-centralization and institutionalization. The section of the report dealing with the party-wise application of the framework offers brief assessment of indicators for internal democracy and explanations to how and why they differ from one another. The inner complexities of a political party as an organization do need special attention. The purpose is to try to define what constitutes democracy within a political party and how the selected political parties are measuring up in a relative sense to these indicators. This is done in the hope that political parties leadership will focus some of their attention towards improving internal democracy of their parties and that party workers and mid to lower level party officials will be further sensitized to the question of internal democracy of political parties.

Methodology of Assessment

This report is based on a collection of data through a series of methods and may serve as a case study on intra-party democracy in Pakistan. It seeks to expand on and add to the existing literature on assessing the quality of internal democracy of political parties, which, in the case of Pakistan, may be the first of its kind.

PILDAT underwent a process to identify major political parties of Pakistan for the purpose of this study. Since a study of this kind can be undertaken for a limited number of parties keeping in mind the resources available for the study and its practical utility, the number of parties to be studied was originally kept at 5. Political parties with the highest representation in the National Assembly were therefore chosen and these included PMLN, PPPP, PTI, MQM and JUI-F. Later three other parties were added, each for its peculiar reasons. The ANP was added as it was primarily a KP-based political party; National Party was added because of its Balochistan origin and Jamaat-e-Islami was added because of its unique system of membership and election. Thus, eventually, eight political parties were included in the study.

The research used both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques. These were elicited from primary sources through a framework consisting of 13 questions that pertain to internal democratic procedures. A steering committee of 13 knowledgeable persons was formed to review the framework and assign scores against the final set of criteria. The purpose of the committee was to critically examine and provide valuable insight regarding the quality of political parties' internal democracy.

Primary data was collected from politicians, party technocrats, political experts and commentators through face-to-face interviews. The framework consisted of structured, in-depth questions through which the bulk of information was obtained on internal structures, decision-making processes, institutional set-up and other specific aspects of intra-party democracy within a political party. For each political party, an attempt was made to interview the Secretary Generals and/or at least two officials. Unstructured interviews with political commentators, critics and academics were also conducted in order to gain alternate information and perspectives so as to increase the validity of our conclusions and recommendations. Secondary data was obtained from constitutions of political parties, their manifestoes, published research papers and articles. This was a rich source of both qualitative and quantitative data that provided background information and history of political party systems in the context of democracy and Pakistan.

Framework of Assessment

The following framework has been indigenously developed by PILDAT and refined by the Steering Committee to assess internal democracy of political parties in Pakistan. For the purpose of quantitative assessment of the parties, each question has been assigned maximum score. The members of the steering committee and other experts identified by PILDAT have assigned scores to each indicator on a scale of 1 to 10 (For a question with maximum score of 10) or 1 to 5 (For a question with maximum score of 5):

1. How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? (10 Marks)
2. How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? (10 Marks)
3. How effective are the various bodies of the party and how frequently do they meet? (10 Marks)
4. How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past National and Provincial Assembly elections? (10 Marks)
5. How regularly the parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? (5 Marks)
6. How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? (5 Marks)
7. How far does the party discourage the tradition of dynastic leadership? (5 Marks)
8. How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? (5 Marks)
9. How wide is the funding base and how credible are the audited accounts of the party? (10 Marks)
10. How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against dissenting party officials? (5 Marks)
11. How democratic is the decision-making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? (5 Marks)
12. How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? (5 Marks)
13. How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? (5 Marks)

Total Marks: 90

An Overview of the State of Internal Democracy of Political Parties

The seemingly unending protests launched by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and the Pakistan Awami Tehreek in August 2014 highlighted the undemocratic manner in which most political parties in Pakistan operate, which in turn gives birth to lingering fissures and factionalism.

The elected president of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Mr. Javed Hashmi, walked out of the *dharna* and away from the party, alleging not just that the advance in the Red Zone on the night of August 30 was a decision taken by the PTI head Mr. Imran Khan alone² but also that not a single member of the PTI had offered their resignation willingly to the Speaker, National Assembly.³ Though the PTI leadership denied these charges multiple times, there is no doubt that many believed that Khan had ridden roughshod over many of his colleagues in the party to go ahead with the *dharna* and other controversial steps such as announcing the move towards the prime minister's house.

Such claims were lent further credence by a few other PTI National Assembly members who refused to hand in their resignations.

Within the PML-N also, the crisis led to considerable heartburn. Many members expressed – on the condition of anonymity – in media news reports that despite the crisis, the party leadership did not call any meetings to take the party into confidence.⁴

In fact, a relatively new member of the party said in a conversation that most of the party members did not know who to turn to and whom to ask for guidance when asked why the government had not called a meeting of the party to discuss the crisis and create some consensus on how to handle it.

An earlier example – of the manner in which the PML-N is run relates to the Government's decision to hold talks with the Taliban in the beginning of 2014. In a meeting held on Monday, January 29, it was reported

that the majority of the PML-N Parliamentarians spoke in favour of a military operation.

According to a news story, “Senior leader Zulfikar Khosa, after meeting between the PML-N Parliamentarians and the Prime Minister, told Dawn “an overwhelming majority supported the use of force against the TTP.”⁵ However, three days later, the Prime Minister appeared in the Parliament and announced “peace talks”.⁶

Later reports suggested that the Prime Minister changed his mind at the very last minute. No one bothered to question how the Prime Minister made a decision contrary to what his party (and to an extent his cabinet as it is drawn from the party) had recommended and whether or not he had made any effort to bring his party on board after he opted for a different course of action.

The Pakistan People's Party also revealed similar disconnects.

The most obvious was the difference between what the PPP Sindh and PPP Punjab said about the *dharnas*. Whereas people such as Opposition leader Mr. Khurshid Shah were very critical of the politics of the PTI and PAT, Punjab leaders such as Mr. Qamar Zaman Kaira and Mr. Nadeem Afzal Gondal were not; in fact, Kaira even visited Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri and Mr. Imran Khan at the protest sites.

More than once it was reported and explained that the Punjab leaders were worried that unqualified support for the PML-N would cost the party heavily in the province where the party workers wanted the leadership to take a stand against the Sharifs.⁷

Later in the year, at its larger meeting in Lahore, Mr. Asif Ali Zardari reprimanded a senior PPP leader after the latter made a speech predicting that the PPP would help end the PML-N Government.⁸ The story simply confirmed the reports that the Punjab chapter of the party was unhappy with the central leadership's conciliatory attitude towards the Government.

2. Imran's move towards PM House prompted by a message: Javed Hashmi, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1129002>, accessed on October 3, 2014
3. Javed Hashmi announces resignation from PTI, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1135523/javed-hashmi-announces-resignation-from-pti>, accessed on Oct 3, 2014
4. Pressure on PML-N to hold CWC meeting, Dawn, , accessed on Oct 3, 2014
5. PML-N resolves to take battle to TTP bastion, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1083446>, accessed on October 3, 2014
6. PM gives Taliban another chance, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1083663>, accessed on October 3, 2014
7. Support for Nawaz creates rifts in Peoples Party, Nation, <http://nation.com.pk/national/16-Sep-2014/support-for-nawaz-creates-rift-in-peoples-party>, accessed on October 3, 2014
8. A political gaffe, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148009>, Accessed on December 14, 2014)

Such contradictory statements and the central leadership's disregard of the views widespread at the provincial level are also due to the absence of consultations within political parties to not just allow policy formation but also its dissemination to the rest.

Such examples, which illustrate the lack of democratic processes and the space for dissent, within political parties are countless.

This is because many political parties in Pakistan are not democratic organisations in which policies and ideologies are evolved through a process of debate, consultations and democratically elected offices.

Though the Pakistani legal system makes intra party elections mandatory, the absence of effective democratic structures within parties means that elections are held to fulfil legal requirements and are no more than a formality.

The two largest parties, which have effectively ruled at the centre, and its major provinces, have not held completely genuine internal elections.

Internal elections and lack of change at the top

The PPPP held elections as recently as 2013 and the PML-N in 2011. However, these elections have not thrown up any surprises or new faces.

Consider the results of the PPPP's elections in 2013. Held in Karachi, with few prior announcements, the 'election' returned the same faces to the helm of the affair – Mr. Makhdoom Amin Fahim as President; Mr. Raja Pervez Ashraf as General Secretary and Mr. Manzoor Wattoo, Mr. Syed Qaim Ali Shah, Mr. Sadiq Emrani and Mr. Anwar Saifullah as provincial presidents in Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, respectively.

One news paper reported that “PPP leaders were unaware of how and when the process took place” adding that “a party spokesman said the new office bearers were elected unopposed as none of the members had filed their nomination papers and contested the election against them.”⁹ That the

elections were held simply to fulfil a legal requirement is lent further credence as a party member said in the story that the nomination papers were filed on January 15; scrutinized by January 18 and elections held on January 25.

While holding election within PPPP as a formality is understandable as the real party is PPP but what is not understandable is the fact that PPP has not held its election for the last many years.

A similar exercise took place in the PML-N in 2011 when Mr. Nawaz Sharif was re-elected president after a gap of a decade, while Mr. Raja Afar-ul-Haq was re-elected the chairman. As one newspaper noted, “No ballot papers were printed... since the candidates for all the party offices were elected unopposed.”¹⁰

Other parties such as the ANP also appear to have fallen victim to traditions that are undemocratic in spirit. In its internal elections earlier this year, the ANP ended up with one family in charge – Mr. Asfandyar Wali Khan at the centre with his nephew as the president in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and another relative, Mr. Shahi Syed, in Sindh. News reports suggested that it had been decided in advance who the winners would be.¹¹

The JUI-F is no different. Controlled by its *Ameer*, the intra party elections in 2014 were marked by last minute machinations compelling Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman's rival to withdraw from the election so that Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman could be re-elected unopposed. He was challenged by a senior JUI-F leader, Maulana Mohammad Khan Sheerani, who withdrew himself from the contest on the very last day, under pressure from other party leaders.¹²

Indeed, the clearest proof of the formality these elections have turned into can be revealed by the fact that the people heading political parties rarely change – the PML-N (ruled effectively by Mr. Nawaz Sharif since the 1980s); the PPP (where the Bhutto dynasty has simply given way to the younger generation due to deaths); the ANP (run by the founder's grandson, who has now headed the party since 1999 except for a break from 2002-2003); the Muttahida Quami Movement (whose founder continues to control the party) and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam- Fazl-ur Rehman has also been

9. Intra party polls: PPP-Parliamentarians re-elects Amin Fahim, Express Tribune, , accessed October 3, 2014

10. PML-N Elections, Express Tribune, Accessed December 3, 2014

11. A rudderless ship: ANP to complete district-level elections this month, Express Tribune, www.tribune.com.pk/718430/a-rudderless-ship-anp-to-complete-district-level-elections-this-month, Accessed on December 10, 2014

12. Fazl re-elected JUI-F chief unopposed, The News, www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-266712-Fazl-re-elected-JUI-F-chief-unopposed, Accessed on December 10, 2014

headed by Mr. Fazlur Rehman since 1988 when the party was formed. Even the PTI, the leader of which promises change from the past, holds his party together by heading it. Despite holding intra party elections from top to bottom, Khan retained his hold over the number one position.

However, there are still exceptions to this rule. Both the Jamaat and the National Party have been able to break this mould and hold regular elections which have thrown up different leaders. The latter held its latest election in November 2014 in which Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo defeated Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch (the first President of the party) to become the latest president.¹³

Absence of Genuine Elections at the Lower Levels

Another fact that testifies to the 'elections' being mere legal formalities is the absence of provincial level elections. While the parties tend to hold an 'election' to bring about the main leader and provincial heads, there is little information widely available about how the provincial and district level leadership is chosen.

Consider the recent reports about the PPP's decision to hold elections in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. From more than one account, it appeared that the party had not held provincial level elections since 1999.

When asked a journalist, Mr. Ali Hazrat Bacha who covers politics in KP, said, "After expelling Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao from the party in 1999 Barrister Masood Kausar was nominated as provincial president who was later replaced by Khwaja Mohamamd Khan Hoti. Khwaja claims that he was the first-ever elected provincial president. This was confirmed by another former provincial president Rahim Dad Khan. "All the rest of the provincial presidents including, Barrister Masood Kausar, Rahim Dad Khan, Syed Zahir Ali Shah, Sardar Ali Khan, Anwar Saifullah Khan and the sitting president Khan Zada Khan have come through nominations."

The PML-N also has shown similar reluctance to hold elections at the provincial level because such an exercise would highlight the factionalism and

infighting prevalent.¹⁴ The party tends to nominate some provincial leaders such as in Sindh. This is also true of smaller parties such as the NP use nominations in provinces where the support base is too small to hold elections.

This is not to say that the central leadership is chosen anymore democratically. The manner in which the PPP chose its successor after the assassination of Ms. Benazir Bhutto illustrates this. On the eve of her death, the party leadership held a press conference in which the PPPP (which was formed to circumvent laws introduced by the Musharraf-led military regime) president Makhdoom Amin Fahim refused to say whether or not the party would take part in the elections.¹⁵

This crucial decision was taken by her husband, who, along with his son, were anointed the head of the party following the party's CWC's meeting in Sindh three days later in which Benazir Bhutto's will was read and provided the answer. Her letter/will made it clear that the party was to be headed by her son – a decision that was endorsed by the CWC and accepted without much ado.¹⁶

Though there was criticism of a move which treated a political party as a piece of property that could be willed to one's relatives, over the years, the decision has been accepted as logical. It is assumed that the party would be adrift without the Bhutto dynasty. Most commentary that has appeared in recent days (since Mr. Bilawal Bhutto and Mr. Asif Ali Zardari visited Punjab to re-activate the party there) has focused on the out of date PPP message, which can prove unappealing for the province¹⁷ but rarely is it asked if anyone outside the Bhutto clan can provide better leadership or direction to the party. This is an important point because the Congress' defeat in the 2014 General Election in India has led to a debate on whether or not the Gandhi clan is now capable of providing the leadership needed for the party.

Charismatic Politics

The simplistic and oft-quoted explanation for this of

13. NP: Still on the political path, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1144659>, Accessed on Dec 3, 2014

14. PML-N gears up for intra-party elections, Pakistan Today, <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2011/09/15/national/pml-n-gears-up-for-intra-party-elections/>, Accessed on December 14, 2014

15. PPP announces forty-day mourning, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/282039/ppp-announces-forty-day-mourning>, accessed on October 4, 2014

16. Bhutto's son named as successor, BBC, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7164968.stm, accessed on October 4, 2014

17. Bilawal's mea culpa, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1136044/bilawals-mea-culpa>, accessed October 4, 2014 or Peoples Party Ka Ahya, Daily Express, <http://www.columnkaar.com/Columns/nusrat-javed/page/3/>, accessed on October 4, 2014

course is that political parties in Pakistan are personality based organisations which tend to draw authority from charisma of the leaders instead of ideology, party structure or institutionalized politics.

This is particularly true of the PPP, MQM, PTI, and Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri (who has now promised to mainstream his brand of politics by participating in upcoming elections) and to some extent of the JUI-F and the ANP.

There is direct and emotional link between the leader and his supporters, which is neither dependent on any democratic process nor any set of policies but the perceived extraordinary qualities of the leader.

This precludes the evolution of formal structures within the party.

Now whether any of these political parties can and will evolve a more institutionalized approach to organizing and operating remains to be seen.

The experience of the PPP, which as the oldest party has undergone leadership change but has simply used the Bhutto dynasty to maintain the charismatic model. The ANP also seems to have evolved on similar lines. And while Khan claims PTI will be different as his children will not enter politics, it should not be forgotten that his sisters are actively involved in his party and may provide the lineage if and when needed.

Is the PML-N different?

The PML-N may perhaps be slightly different as it is hard to see it as a charismatic party like the PTI and the PPP. It functions more like a political machine.

Like the political machines that dominated the politics of major urban centres in the United States in the pre-World War 2 era, the PML-N also benefits from its links to ethnic groups, access to State patronage (which in the Punjab it has had unhindered access to since its inception except from 1999 to 2008), religious organizations and the business community.

Consider for example, this description: “The machines provided services to the people that they needed in exchange for votes that the machine needed. Both sides benefited from the trade. Without the people's support, the machines would collapse, and thus the politicians worked around the clock to earn favour with the people

by providing jobs, housing, citizenship, political patronage and city improvements, especially in times of crisis.”¹⁸

Mr. Akbar Zaidi, an academic, describes the PML-N as “a party of the older aspiring Punjabi social groups who think that access to the State will benefit them. It is (or perhaps was) seen as a doer party where it delivers goods, services and access... Imran Khan is attracting the more aspiring amongst the PML-N constituents, those who feel that the PML-N is not good enough and no longer fulfils their requirements of this pro-governance, pro-order, conservative social class... the main thing is that people's expectations have increased much more, and that the PML-N is no longer able to fulfil them and has become 'fat'. Imran Khan offers the same promise, packaged differently, maybe better; untried, so more popular.”

His description too tends to be in sync with the definition quoted from the paper on political machines cited earlier.

But what is common to parties such as the PML-N and those who are based on charismatic authority is a lack of internal democracy; in other words, the party is hierarchical and undemocratic.

Dealing with Dissent

To understand the undemocratic nature of political parties in Pakistan, it is important to look beyond the internal elections.

It is also important to consider the platforms or opportunities the party provides for its members to debate policy or provide input for it as well as how dissent is expressed or handled.

Take for example, the Republican Party in the United States. The party among other institutions has the Republican Party Convention that provides the national, elected leadership of the party; the body also coordinates fund raising and election strategy. A second, separate body, Republican National Committee nominates the presidential candidate of the party and provides the platform at which the delegates vote on different issues.

For instance, in the 2012 convention, the party voted on

18. The True Reformers of the Progressive Era: Political Machines and Urban Bosses. Eric J Suh, page 125

issues ranging from climate change to abortion.¹⁹ Similar forums exist in other parties in Great Britain also which is perhaps more similar to Pakistan's system. The Labour Party also holds an annual national conference where traditionally policy has been debated and formulated (though critics say this has been changing in recent years).

Annual Conventions, few and far between

However, no such parallels are found in the Pakistani parties. The JI does hold such a conference but its frequency is around "once in five to six years" says the party's spokesman in Islamabad, MA Shamsi. Called the *Ijtima-e-Aam*, it was held in Lahore in November 2014.

Similarly, the NP, JUI-F and the ANP hold conventions that are mandated by their constitutions, the rest of the parties are not required to hold such events, even if some of them claim that they do. For instance, the PPP argues its meeting in Punjab on the anniversary of its founding is its annual convention; the PML-N pointed to its workers convention held in March 2014 and the PTI referred to a convention held in Islamabad in 2014 at a hotel and the MQM cited the workers conventions called by its head, Mr. Altaf Hussain.²⁰

At best, parties boast of a CWC which meets irregularly, at the behest of the main leadership.

Take for example, the PML-N. The governing party faced its most serious crisis in the summer of 2014 when it was confronted by the *dharnas* held by the PAT and PTI leadership in Islamabad. Keeping the country's history in mind, many expected that the Government would be forced to pack up. However, despite this crisis, the ruling party did not call a single meeting of its larger membership (National Council-NC or Central Working Committee-CWC) to take them into confidence or to brainstorm. In fact, this created considerable concern among the party at large.²¹

In addition, it is not clear how some parties select or elect those who serve on these CWC. As can be seen from the accompanying document, some do not even provide publically the names of those who serve on the working committees.

During its tenure in office, differences between the party (PPP) and Ms. Sherry Rehman, a key member, became so critical that she was issued a show cause notice as well as made unwelcome at the CWC meetings. However, her quiet efforts at mending relations with the party head, Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, resulted in her re-appearance at the meetings.²²

Similar treatment was meted out to Aitzaz Ahsan, who, too, later managed to reclaim his importance in the party.

Such incidents can be found in other parties also. Take the case of Javed Hashmi's decision to leave the PML-N; when it happened, there were few views that policies or divergent views were responsible for the break. Currently, the PML-N is dealing with open criticism from another senior leader – Mr. Zulfikar Khosa.²³ The differences between Khosa and the party can be traced back to the scandal that erupted over Khosa's son's second marriage²⁴ and not policy differences.

At worst, the differences emerge over personality issues and at best over the authoritarian manner in which the party is being led. The latter was one reason for Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan's differences with Nawaz Sharif. For instance, a news report said that "the senior Sharif's cagey way of working had put off many of the party's key leaders including Chaudhry Nisar."

The point is that people are not removed from parties for violating a clear-cut party code or policy but due to their differences with the party head. And once those bridges have been mended, they are welcomed back in the fold. Neither the removal nor the later acceptance is ever explained in terms of written policies. This further increases the tendency of people to kow-tow to the leadership instead of showing any interest in fostering a

19. Republican Platform Draft Reaffirms Blanket Ban on Abortions, Bloomberg News, <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-08-20/republican-platform-won-t-protect-mortgage-tax-deduction>, accessed on Oct 4, 2014 and GOP platform highlights the party's abrupt shift on energy, climate, Washington Post, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2012/08/30/gop-platform-highlights-the-partys-dramatic-shift-on-energy-climate-issues/>, accessed on October 4, 2014
20. All this information was shared by party representatives with PILDAT Team in meetings for this assessment. For details please see detailed notes.
21. Pressure on PMLN to hold CWC meeting, Dawn, http://epaper.dawn.com/DetailImage.php?StoryImage=30_09_2014_001_007, accessed on October 15, 2014
22. How Sherry Rehman got the key diplomatic post, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/675554/how-sherry-rehman-got-the-key-diplomatic-position>, accessed October 15, 2014
23. PML_N stalwarts make no secret of indignations, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1141941>, Accessed on December 10, 2014
24. Appeasement: Nawaz to reconcile with angry Khosa, Express Tribune, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/425982/appeasement-nawaz-to-reconcile-with-angry-khosa/>, Accessed on December 10, 2014

democratic culture in which dissent or consensus building are given any importance.

Even where the differences are ostensibly based on policies, they lead to splinter groups because political parties are not equipped to handle the dissent despite the presence of forums if their constitutions are to be believed. Take the case of the Nazriati Group of the JUI-F.²⁵ For those who have observed the party politics up close, the split was linked to rivalry between two JUI-F leaders from Balochistan, the province to which the Nazriati group is restricted.²⁶ However, on the surface, the split happened due to differences over ideology.²⁷

Perhaps the MQM provides an even better example of how a party can be well organized and structured and still not provide any institutionalized paths for the lower cadres to feed into decision-making.

Indeed the MQM is well organized and well run by any account but this has not led to much internal democratization. In fact, it appears (though they are few and far between) that institutions such as the Karachi Tanzeemi Committee (KTC) are far more powerful than the Coordination (Rabita) Committee which is the political face of the party because the former provides the 'muscle' for the party in Karachi.²⁸

However, this is not due to any political processes or institutions within the party but simply the unique manner in which it uses its lower cadres to dominate Karachi; the use and need of sheer force means that those who exercise it within the party at times tend to be more powerful than those who contest elections and have access to state patronage.

It also appears that the Coordination Committee and the KTC are run from London as many a time, these organizations have been disbanded or suspended on the orders of the party head.

Absence of Democracy Leads to Splinter Groups

The absence of consensus building and forums for debate and policy formulation, along with regular and genuine elections are the reasons political parties in

Pakistan experience unhealthy factionalism, splintering and the exit of disgruntled individuals.

Those who may disagree with the leadership have no forum within the party at which to express their views or to exert influence over policy making. They usually either create their own factions – not within the party but outside which is de-facto a separate political party using the name of the mother party with a new suffix or leave the party and join another one. Because there are no regular elections or democratic forums to discuss and form policy, difference of opinion simply takes the shape of a clash of egos between the central leadership and other senior leaders. And this often results in the case of the senior leaders walking out and forming their own parties.

If regular and transparent elections were held, dissenting people or factions would not only realize how much support their views enjoyed within a party, they would also be comfortable in the knowledge that avenues exist for their views to get a wider hearing in the party. In the absence of such forums, there are few options available but to walk out.

This is why the JI is the only party which has never experienced any serious splintering as it is perhaps the only party that holds regular elections. The elections and its relatively democratic structure allows for different views to be heard without any cause for serious friction or factionalism. This was witnessed at its annual convention in Lahore in November 2014 in which the former elected head of the party, Syed Munawar Hasan made controversial remarks which were perhaps not the views that the current party head adhered to; however, Hasan's views did not create any problems within the party.

The National Party, too, has not seen any factionalism and neither has the PTI, though the latter has experienced a number of members breaking away including Mr. Javed Hashmi. The NP also uses its convention as a forum where the party leadership is faced with criticism from below.

All the other parties including the MQM have seen factions break away. The latest such rift has been witnessed in the ANP.²⁹ In the past, bigger parties have faced such splintering at their most vulnerable

25. JUI-F split after 18 leaders expelled, Daily Times, <http://archives.dailytimes.com.pk/national/17-Jan-2008/jui-f-split-after-18-leaders-expelled>, Accessed on December 10, 2014

26. This is based on conversations with Journalists who have exclusively covered Balochistan.

27. Militants turn against Pakistan's JUI-F Islamist Party, CTC Sentinel, , Accessed on December 10, 2014

28. Spotlight on MQM Muscle body, Dawn, , Accessed on October 16, 2014

29. Nasim Wali forms new political party, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1078486>, accessed on October 15, 2014

moments such as the PPP which lost a handful of its senior leaders who formed the Patriots group and joined the Musharraf-led dispensation after 2002. Similarly, after the 1999 coup, a disgruntled lot of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz leaders led by Mian Azhar were among the first to join hands with General Pervez Musharraf. The Azhar-led faction has been alienated with Mr. Nawaz Sharif even before the latter's Government had been removed by Musharraf; the coup simply provided the faction the opportunity to carve out a new party and a new political career – or so it seemed at the moment.³⁰

The JUI-F's case has been discussed earlier.³¹

But while such splintering has always caught the people's attention, what is often ignored is the lingering factionalism or fissures (without splintering) which can debilitate a party at the local level.

Such is the case with the PML-N, for the moment, in the Rawalpindi district where the party is divided between two factions, one which is close to a former MNA, Mr. Hanif Abbasi and one which is loyal to Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan. The two factions are so divided that both sides rarely come together at party level meetings or to celebrate events such as the Independence Day on August 14.³² And once again, the city president is not elected but nominated.

These rifts too show the absence of forums such as regular meetings or party conferences or elections through which differences can be addressed or managed.

Parties' Constitutions provide for Democracy and Platforms for Policy Making

However, it needs to be emphasized that all parties have constitutions that provide for elections and forums at which views can be voiced and then translated into party policies. Though some of the constitutions are not as detailed as others, most of them provide for elections and identify party forums at which policies can be debated and then formulated.

For instance, in the JI, the party head has the power to

formulate policies and take important decisions but he has to take the Central Consultative Body (*Markazi Majlis-e-Shura*) on board.

The PML-N has within the party the Convention and the Council which are responsible for party affairs and the Central Working Committee which forms party policy and deals with dissent. While the first two are mostly elected, the CWC is nominated out of the council members.

The PTI has the National Council which formulates programmes and policies. In addition, it has the Central Executive Committee, which is the main decision making authority to assist the chairman.

The PPP too has a Central Executive Committee that is the main decision making authority. However, its members are nominated.

In the ANP, the 300 members Central Council elected a Central Cabinet and the Central Executive Council. The latter is the supreme executive body of the party which devises policies and implements them.

In the NP, the National Congress is the party's supreme and authoritative body that guides the party's activities while the CEC is the supreme administrative body of the party oversees the organizations of the party. Both bodies comprise mostly elected officials.

In the MQM, the Coordination Committee is the central decision making authority, which according to the party, comprises elected members. However, press reports suggest that the Committee has been repeatedly suspended and then re-established by the party head.

In the JUI-F, the Central Consultative Body of the party advises the party head while the Central Working Committee formulates the policies and programmes. However, these bodies are nominated.

It appears that the larger parties tend to ignore the constitutional requirements for regular meetings of its various bodies. This is especially true of the PML-N. On the other hand, the PPP seems to have few constitutional requirements when it comes to positions and decision-making bodies while confusion abounds because the party has one constitution for the PPP and

30. It is correct that both the PPP and the PML-N witnessed splintering due to the pressure of the then-Military regime but it also has to be acknowledged that those who broke away were at odds with the parties' central leaderships.

31. Militants turn against Pakistan's JUI-F Islamist Party, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/militants-turn-against-pakistan-jui-f-islamist-party>, accessed on October 19, 2014

32. PMLN leaders fail to mend internal rifts, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1123150/pml-n-leaders-fail-to-end-internal-rifts>, Accessed October 16, 2015

another for the PPPP.

Election Tickets distributed without Consultation

At times of elections, such lingering factionalism can cost parties elections especially when tickets are awarded by the party leadership without taking the local level leadership's preferences into account.

The PTI's defeat in NA 1 by election is a case in point.³³

This is not an isolated example. Near the 2013 election, there were reports aplenty about party cadres being unhappy with the tickets that had been awarded. The JUI-F was one such party.³⁴ The ANP, the PML-N, and the PPP too have experienced workers' dismay over the award of tickets, despite the fact that all of these parties claim that their lower party leadership is consulted before tickets are awarded.³⁵

Be it national level alliances that force parties to support candidates that do not belong to their party or the award of tickets to influential turn coats or the leadership's preferences for loyalists who may not enjoy support among the workers, there are many reasons for a disconnect between the party's voters and the ticket holders. However, it needs to be pointed out that similar reports have not come forward about the MQM, the JI or the NP.

The various manifestations of the absence of democratic institutions within political parties can be discussed at length. However, it would be unfair to simply discuss the absence of institutions without touching on why this is so.

A major factor perhaps is the charismatic authority on which many of the parties are based, as discussed earlier. Institutions and rules cannot be formed at this stage. It takes time before the parties can evolve to a stage where the authority is derived from democratic processes such as regular elections.

A second but equally important factor is the larger political system in which these political parties operate.

A nascent political system in a developing economy works primarily on patron client relationships. As a result, political parties are seen as vessels through which state patronage is passed on to local influential people or brokers who use it to ensure support.

In such political systems, the political parties at one level are dependent on the local players who have the ability – to a limited extent – of winning the constituency-level elections and help the political parties with the numbers game in the parliament.

For these individuals, the political party's importance is not linked to its ideology or programme or policies but only its ability to form the government and have access to state patronage. Hence, the pressure to keep these politicians on board compels a party to hone its skills in doling out state patronage in the shape of development funds and government jobs rather than spend time and energy on legislation and policy review.

Critics and scholars have claimed that military interventions and their assaults on political parties have further strengthened these local brokers at the expense of political parties and systems.

Political Parties and Money

A related issue is also of the weakness of political parties (and the larger political system) to establish a formal and institutionalized system of collecting funds.

In the absence of this, political parties remain dependent on the personal fortunes of their main leaders who assume the responsibilities of political expenses (or arranging it from un-transparent source) and individual leaders who are then left to deal with the financing of their campaigning and electoral contests.³⁶

Apart from the burden that these leaders then place on the state resources when they finally come to power, this burden also means that those with means are rewarded by political leadership with party positions. This 'reward' comes with the unspoken understanding that the expense of running the party locally will be the official's responsibility.

33. NA 1 defeat a set back for PTI, News, <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-7-197568-NA-1-defeat-a-setback-for-PTI>, accessed on October 18, 2014

34. JUI-F's craving for the wealthy spreads anger in ranks, Pakistan Today, <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2013/04/16/national/jui-fs-craving-for-the-wealthy-spreads-anger-in-ranks/>, Accessed on December 10, 2014

35. For examples, see <http://www.dawn.com/news/278272/peshawar-ppp-workers-unhappy-over-ticket-allotment>, <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/10/12/national/who-will-win-na-149-by-polls/>, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1024730/pml-n-workers-out-defectors-in>

36. Political parties in Pakistan, SDPI, [http://www.sdpi.org/research_and_news_bulletin/Vol.%202012.%20No.%201%20\(January%20-%20February.%202005\)/political_parties.htm](http://www.sdpi.org/research_and_news_bulletin/Vol.%202012.%20No.%201%20(January%20-%20February.%202005)/political_parties.htm), Accessed on December 12, 2014

In more than one conversation, people associated with the Pakistan People's Party have explained that one factor behind appointing Mian Manzoor Wattoo as Punjab's head was linked to his considerable means. Similarly, those within the PTI have admitted in background conversations that Mr. Jehangir Tareen's position within the party is also linked to his deep pockets; the use of his personal plane for Mr. Imran Khan's travel is no secret. Mr. Tareen has also spent generously on other party concerns. It is noteworthy that Mr. Tareen is perhaps the only key official in the PTI who holds his position as secretary general thanks to a nomination and not an election.³⁷

Other political parties have also witnessed such cases. Earlier in the paper, turmoil within the JUI-F was discussed prior to the 2013 elections when the party accepted rich individuals to the unhappiness of its cadre.

This is also an example of the decisions political parties make due to their weak financial independence. Or the reports that a property tycoon financed Bilawal House recently built in Lahore; if such reports are correct, they indicate that a mainstream party in the country is indebted to some extent to a businessman.³⁸

Till political parties remain dependent on the largesse of individuals to run affairs (in the absence of regulations to oversee political party finances) unelected officials will continue to wield influence in political parties, without or without holding official positions.

The problem, however, is not limited to those of individuals exercising more power than political organisations. At times, the drive for funds also compels political parties to turn non-political activities or reach out to un-savoury elements.

Shortly after 2008, there were reports that the turf war in Karachi between the ANP and the MQM (before the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan entered the fray) was linked to the extortion racket prevalent in the city.³⁹

In this context, the laws that require political parties to file details of their assets and accounts have proved ineffective. As the yearly news reports suggest, the details provided to the Election Commission of

Pakistan are incomplete and unverified; the ECP too does little to verify the details.

This is lent further credence by the details the eight political parties have provided to PILDAT. The funds seem to dip low or jump high without any apparent reason. In a number of cases, the closing statement of a year does not synchronize with the opening statement of the New Year. At other places, the funds witness a massive jump with no explanation. Interestingly, most political parties witness a jump before the 2013 General Election, leading one to guess that the upcoming election expenditure was the reason for his increased revenue. However, the same parties do not witness a similar hike before the 2008 General Election.

In fact, the poor account keeping of all eight political parties underlines the need for urgent and detailed reform in this area if political parties and democracy are to be strengthened.

37. PTI's intra-party election and handpicking of secretary general, Dawn, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1047322>, accessed on October 18, 2014

38. Young Bilawal gets a sprawling house in Lahore, The Nation, <http://nation.com.pk/national/07-Feb-2013/young-bilawal-gets-a-sprawling-house-in-lahore>

39. Karachi is burning, The Friday Times, <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta3/tft/article.php?issue=20120427&page=4>, Accessed on December 12, 2014

Party-wise Application of the Assessment Framework

The Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N)

The Pakistan Muslim League (PML) was originally founded in 1906 at Dacca (Dhaka, now Bangladesh) in United India. The party led the struggle for the creation of Pakistan and became the first ruling party of the newly created state. Over a period of some 67 years since the creation of Pakistan, the PML has at least nine (9) factions each claiming to be the original PML and each enlisted as an independent political party with the Election Commission of Pakistan. The Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz since its creation in 1988 has not only emerged as the strongest of all the Muslim Leagues but also as the most popular political party of Pakistan according to the number of votes polled (About 15 Million or 32 % of all votes polled) and the number of seats won (125 out of total 265 seats open for election) in the National Assembly of Pakistan in the 2013 General Election. President of the party, Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif – after whom the party is named, is also the current Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Internal Democracy guaranteed by the Party Constitution

Question 1: How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? – 10 Marks

The constitution of Pakistan Muslim League – N (PML-N) is a comprehensive document of 27 pages with 151 articles in it.

Membership Criteria

Membership of the Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N) is open to all adult citizens of Pakistan who are not members of any other political organization declared as such by the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League-N.

Powers of the Party Head

The President of the PML-N is the Head of the entire organization. The President can exercise the power to make rules for carrying out the objectives of the constitution though with the approval of the Central Working Committee (CWC). At different levels in the organization of the party, the President can exercise the powers to nominate and appoint people. For example, for the representation of special interest groups, the

President can nominate 100 members to the council. The President is authorised to nominate all the members of the CWC and he can exercise the power to expand, reshuffle or reconstitute the CWC or replace any particular member whenever he thinks necessary.

Powers of the second and third senior-most Office Bearers in the Party

The Chairman is the senior most office-bearer after the Party President but the party constitution does not specify any powers for this position. He or she is to perform functions only as assigned by the President and the CWC of the party. Similarly, the powers and functions of the Senior Vice Presidents and Vice Presidents, who are supposed to be the third and fourth senior-most positions in the party, are not defined except that of the Secretary General and the Chief Coordinator. The absence of clearly defined constitutional powers for the senior most office holders of the party means that these senior party officials are dependent on the party head to enjoy powers or to exercise them. In other words, the Party Head is an all-powerful entity within the party.

The hierarchy of the party according to PML-N's constitution is:

- i. Chairman
- ii. President
- iii. Senior Vice Presidents
- iv. Vice Presidents
- v. Secretary General
- vi. Additional Secretary Generals
- vii. Chief Coordinator
- viii. Finance Secretary
- ix. Information Secretary
- x. Overseas Organization Secretary
- xi. Joint Secretaries

However, the hierarchy mentioned on the PML-N website is a little different:

- i. President
- ii. Senior Vice Presidents
- iii. Secretary General
- iv. Deputy Secretary General
- v. Assistant Secretary General
- vi. Central Joint Secretary
- vii. Secretary Information
- viii. Deputy Secretary Information

There is no mention of the position of Chairman on the website.⁴⁰

40. Website last accessed December 18, 2014

Powers to amend the Party Constitution

The Constitution of the PML-N may be amended by the Council of Pakistan Muslim League-N by at least two-third majority of the members present and voting on the recommendation of the CWC, which will approve the proposed recommendations by at least two third majority of members present and voting.

Nomination of Party Candidates for National and Provincial legislatures

According to the party constitution, a Provincial Parliamentary Board nominated by the Provincial Working Committee (PWC) of the party selects candidates for the Provincial Assemblies in consultation with respective district level office bearers. This Board can consist of up to 12 members.

Similarly, a Central Parliamentary Board constituted by the Central Working Committee selects candidates for the National Assembly in consultation with the respective Provincial Parliamentary Boards. This Board can consist of up to 20 members.

It is not explained in the constitution how nominations for party candidates are received and processed, what is the criteria for selecting the candidates and how the names are finalized.

Constitutional Bodies of the Party

The PML-N consists of the following bodies or structures at the centre: the Convention, the Council, the Central Working Committee (CWC) and the Central Parliamentary Board (CPB). Similar bodies, except the convention, are provided for in the Provincial Muslim Leagues, Islamabad Federal Capital Muslim League, the District and City Muslim Leagues and their branches, Northern Areas (Gilgit-Baltistan) Muslim League, Muslim League FATA and Overseas Branches. Specialized Wings such as Women Wing, Minorities Wing and Youth Wing are also provided for in the constitution.

The Convention periodically reviews the affairs of Pakistan Muslim League and recommends measures to strengthen the party. The Central Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League acts as a Subject Committee to frame and adopt resolutions to be placed before the Convention. The Pakistan Muslim League Council elects the Central office-bearers, amends the Constitution of the Pakistan Muslim League, and considers and passes resolutions with regard to all matters, arising from time to time, relating to the aims

and objects of the Pakistan Muslim League.

The main office bearers include the Chairman, President, Senior Vice Presidents, Vice Presidents, Secretary General, Additional Secretary Generals, Chief Coordinator, Finance Secretary, Information Secretary, Overseas Organization Secretary and Joint Secretaries. Functions of the organizations and roles & responsibilities of the office bearers are defined in the constitution.

Party Elections

Question 2: How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? - 10 Marks

According to the constitution, every office bearer holds his/her position for three years or until the next elections. Members of the Council are supposed to continue working in the same position till the new members are elected. Twelve months before the expiry of the term of the Council, the President has to notify the date by which the constituent bodies, Provincial Muslim League Councils, should elect their representatives to the Council of Pakistan Muslim League.

The party elections at all levels are supposed to take place by secret ballot. There is a Central Election Commission, a Provincial Election Authority and a District Election Authority provided for in the party constitution to conduct the elections. Being a member of the party is the only eligibility criteria defined for contesting the party election.

The last intra-party polls took place in July 2011. The election, before that was held in August 2006.⁴¹ Party officials explain that the long gap between the two elections was due to the fact that main party leadership (Mr. Nawaz Sharif and Mr. Shahbaz Sharif) was in exile. This does not seem plausible because 2006 elections also took place while the leadership was in exile. Three-year term of the present party office bearers and council members is already over since July 2014 and new election is not even announced. The election commissions or boards are also still to be established. In 2011, the voting took place by show of hands. President of the party frequently appoints people in various positions that are supposed to be filled through election.⁴²

Mr. Javed Hashmi was appointed party President by

41. Information obtained from PML-N Central Secretariat, December 2, 2014.

42. Meeting with representative of PML-N

Mr. Nawaz Sharif in 2000 when the latter had to leave for Saudi Arabia from his prison cell under an arrangement with the Pervez Musharraf government brokered by the Saudi government. This important appointment was not made by election or by a party institution although one may grant that this appointment came in very special circumstances when probably normal party procedure was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to follow.

Internal Structures of the Party

Question 3: How effective are the various bodies of the party? - 10 Marks

How frequently do various bodies meet?

The central bodies of the PML-N are the Convention, the Council, the Central Working Committee and the Central Parliamentary Board.

The Convention of the Pakistan Muslim League can hold a session at such time and place as the Central Working Committee or the President of the party may determine. The Convention of the Pakistan Muslim League consists of the following:

- i. Members of the Pakistan Muslim League Council;
- ii. Members of the Provincial Muslim League Councils;
- iii. President and General Secretary of District and City Muslim Leagues;
- iv. Three delegates nominated by each District and City Muslim League Council;
- v. 20 delegates nominated by Muslim League Northern Areas and delegates nominated by Muslim League FATA as and when constituted;
- vi. The President and General Secretary of Overseas Branches of Pakistan Muslim League in each country or their nominees; and
- vii. Other persons invited by the President provided the persons invited are members of the Muslim League

As per the party constitution, the Council shall meet at the discretion of the President provided that he convenes at least one meeting in every calendar year. The President can convene special meetings of the Council at any time to discuss organizational as well as other matters. One third of the total membership of the Council can also request a meeting if the Secretary General receives a written requisition, which states the purpose behind asking for a meeting. The latest

meeting of the Council took place in November 2013.⁴³

Again, as per the party constitution, the Central Working Committee has to meet at least once every 3 months or as often as the President desires. However, in the past one year, the CWC has met only once.⁴⁴

The Council of a Provincial Muslim League is supposed to meet at the discretion of the Provincial President, provided that he convenes at least one meeting every calendar year. No meeting has taken place of the provincial councils. The last time they met was in 2011 after their intra-party elections.⁴⁵

The City or District Muslim Leagues are required to meet once every 3 months.

How far are various party holders elected instead of nominated by the party leadership?

The Pakistan Muslim League Council elects the President and all central office bearers of the party.

The Council of the Pakistan Muslim League is composed of the following:

- 340 members elected by the Council of Punjab Provincial Muslim League;
- 135 members elected by the Council of Sindh Provincial Muslim League;
- 110 members elected by the Council of NWFP (now KP) Provincial Muslim League;
- 40 members elected by the Council of Balochistan Provincial Muslim League
- 15 members elected by the Council of Islamabad Federal Capital Territory Muslim League.
- 10 members nominated by the Council of Northern Areas (Gligit-Baltistan) Muslim League.
- Such number of members nominated by Muslim League FATA as may be allocated to it as and when it is constituted.

This adds up to 640 elected members of the Council. In addition, the party President is authorised to nominate 100 members to the council. The list of Central Council members is not publically available and the information is not posted on the party website. Being the electoral college of the President and other central office bearers and being the highest institution within the party, it is important to maintain an accurate and up-to-date list of its members but there is no evidence that such a record is available.

43. Information obtained from PML-N Central Secretariat, December 2nd 2014.

44. Meeting with Secretary General, Mr. Iqbal Zafar Jhagra on November 20th 2014 at Serena Hotel, Islamabad

45. Information obtained from PML-N Central Secretariat, December 2, 2014.

The Councils of City and District Muslim Leagues elect the Members to the Provincial Muslim League Council. The Council of Federal Area Muslim League consists of 50 members elected by the Council of District Muslim League and City Muslim League. Every Tehsil or Town Muslim League elects 20 per cent of its members up to a maximum of 10, as members of District Muslim League Council.

According to the PML-N Secretariat, all provincial councils exist. The Council of the Provincial Muslim League in each Province consists of members as shown below:

- Punjab 600
- Sindh 300
- NWFP 250
- Balochistan 100
- Federal Capital Pakistan Muslim League 50
- Northern Areas 50
- FATA (when organised) 50
- 30 members nominated by the President of a Provincial Muslim League after his election to provide adequate representation to women, labour, youth or any other interest group. Presidents and General Secretaries of specialized wings in each province are ex-officio members of the respective Provincial Councils.
- All members of the Parliament who are members of Muslim League are ex-officio members of the Provincial Muslim League Council of the Province to which those members belong.
- All members of Provincial Assemblies who are member of Muslim League are ex-officio members of the Council of the Provincial Muslim League of the Province concerned.

The Convention of the Pakistan Muslim League consists of three delegates nominated by each District and City Muslim League Council; 20 delegates nominated by Muslim League Northern Areas (now Gilgit-Baltistan) and 20 delegates nominated by Muslim League FATA as and when constituted.

The Council of the Pakistan Muslim League includes 10 members nominated by Muslim League Northern Areas (now Gilgit-Baltistan or GB) and 100 members nominated by the President to provide adequate representation to special interest groups.

All office-bearers of the Pakistan Muslim League along with the Central Working Committee of Pakistan Muslim League can consist of not less than 15 and not

more than 40 members. The President nominates the Central Working Committee from the members of the Pakistan Muslim League Council. The Provincial Working Committees are nominated by the respective Provincial Presidents and they should consist of not less than 12 and not more than 40 members.

The party President nominates the President of each specialized wing of the Muslim League, and to head the central co-ordination committee of that wing from among the members of the PML Council.

The President of each District or City Muslim League as the case may be, nominates a 25 member Working Committee from the relevant council.

The President of the Tehsil and Town Muslim League nominates a 15 member Working Committee from the members of the relevant Council.

The President of the Primary Muslim League in consultation with other office bearers nominates his 15-member Working Committee.

The Provincial Election Authority is nominated by the Provincial Working Committees.

How predominant are the nominated members of the CEC in comparison to the elected ones?

According to the party constitution, the entire Central Working Committee is nominated by the President from among the members of the Pakistan Muslim League Council and its strength should not be more than 40 members. However, currently there are 59 members of the CWC nominated by the party President.⁴⁶

Are the provincial party chiefs elected and not nominated by the party chief?

The Provincial Presidents are supposed to be elected through secret ballot as per the party constitution. The PML-N Punjab President Shahbaz Sharif was elected unopposed in 2012. Mr. Sardar Sanauallah Zehri is the PML-N President Balochistan; Pir Sabir Shah is the PML-N President KP; and Mr. Ismail Raho is the PML-N President Sindh. They are all nominated.

Involvement of local party organizations in selecting party candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

Question 4: How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past

46. Meeting with Secretary General, Mr. Iqbal Zafar Jhagra on Thursday, November 20, 2014 at Serena Hotel, Islamabad.

National and Provincial Assembly elections? - 10 Marks

As per constitution of the PML-N, a Provincial Parliamentary Board consisting of up to 12 members nominated by the respective Provincial Working Committee selects candidates for the Provincial Assemblies in consultation with the respective district level office bearers. The provincial parliamentary boards did meet before the general elections 2013 to conduct interviews and carry out the selection process.⁴⁷

The meeting of the PML-N central parliamentary board⁴⁸ was held in March 2013 in which names of candidates of more than 1100 national and provincial constituencies were discussed and selected for the past General Elections of May 2013. The PML-N chief Mr. Nawaz Sharif headed the meeting of the board in which Mr. Shahbaz Sharif (President PML-N Punjab), Mr. Iqbal Zafar Jhagra (Secretary General), Mr. Raja Zafarul Haq (Chairman), Mr. Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, Mr. Ishaq Dar, Mr. Mehtab Abbasi, Mr. Parvez Rasheed and other senior leaders of the party were also present. However, it is not clear how these bodies actually function and how they select the candidates.

Parliamentary Parties' role in developing party position and agenda for parliamentary sessions

Question 5: How regularly do parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? - 5 Marks

Parliamentary party meetings do not take place very regularly before or during the sessions. At times, a fixed agenda or party line is delivered to the parliamentarians from the top leadership before a session. An overview of the agenda is given and discussed but the parliamentarians are generally not expected to give an input.⁴⁹

Annual Party Conventions

Question 6: How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? - 5 Marks

The constitution of the PML-N does not require

holding of an annual convention. However, a worker's Convention of the party was held on March 14, 2014. Approximately five thousands workers attended.⁵⁰

Dynastic Leadership

Question 7: How far does the party discourage the tradition of dynastic leadership? - 5 Marks

With the exception of a brief period when Mr. Javed Hashmi was made President of the PML-N from 2000 to 2007 under extra-ordinary circumstances of Nawaz Sharif's exile in Saudi Arabia, the top leadership of the party has stayed within the family of Nawaz Sharif. For most of the time, Mr. Nawaz Sharif has been and still is the powerful President of the party. For another brief period, Mr. Shahbaz Sharif (brother of Nawaz Sharif) was made Party President as Mr. Nawaz Sharif could not be the party president for some technical cum legal reason. Mr. Hamza Shahbaz Sharif, son of Mr. Shahbaz Sharif, is an MNA and de-facto but unofficially acts as the Deputy Chief Minister Punjab. All signs are that he is being groomed for the position presently occupied by Mr. Shahbaz Sharif. Apparently, Ms. Maryam Nawaz Sharif, daughter of Mr. Nawaz Sharif, is also being groomed for a leadership role at the centre. This was probably the reason that she was appointed head of the Prime Minister's Youth Loan Programme. Although the Lahore High Court did not consider her appointment fair and therefore Ms. Maryam Nawaz had to resign from the position on November 12, 2014, she remains quite vocal and active on the social media. Earlier, despite not holding any official position, she was frequently invited to state-run colleges to distribute laptops or as chief guest to the events in order to project her as a potential leader. Mr. Nawaz Sharif's son-in-law Captain Safdar was elected a member of the National Assembly although he did not have any political background or career. These and similar other practices indicate a strong possibility of dynastic leadership in the party.

Change in top party leadership

Question 8: How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? - 5 Marks

With the exception of a brief period when party leadership had to be turned over to Mr. Javed Hashmi

47. Information obtained from PML-N Central Secretariat, December 2nd 2014.

48. http://www.awaztoday.com/News_PML-N-parliamentary-board-to-meet-today_1_31746_Political-News.aspx

49. Meeting with representative of PML-N

50. Information obtained from PML-N Central Secretariat, December 2, 2014

(From 2000 to 2007), and another brief spell when Mr. Shahbaz Sharif assumed Presidency of the party and Mr. Nawaz Sharif was designated as 'Quaid' or Leader (From 2007 to 2011), Mr. Nawaz Sharif has remained the founder and President of the PML-N since 1988 when it was formed following the split in the PML leading to the formation of the PML-Nawaz and PML-Junejo.

Funding Base and Credibility of party accounts

Question 9: How wide is the funding base and how credible are the audited accounts of the party? - 10 Marks

Funding Base

Party Membership fee in each country is fixed periodically by its Council, which also determines the manner in which these funds will be utilized. Every member of the Provincial Council pays Rs. 50/- as annual subscription to the party or as determined by the Provincial Working Committee. Every Councillor of the Tehsil/Town Council is required to pay Rs. 20/- as annual subscription to the Tehsil/Town Muslim League, failing which he shall not be allowed to attend the meeting of the Council. Every Provincial Muslim League shall pay the Pakistan Muslim League ten per cent of the income it collects from membership fees.

Funds are collected through the enrolment fee of the membership that is distributed amongst the Primary Muslim League, Union Council Muslim League, Tehsil Muslim League, City Muslim League, District Muslim League and Provincial Muslim League, in accordance with the instructions issued from time to time by the Provincial Muslim League. Party claims that no donation; contributions or funds (in any form) are accepted from multi-national or domestically incorporated public or private company, firm, trade or professional associations. The party also claims that it

party only accepts donations from party workers and Pakistani citizens.

A large amount of the party's income is generated from fee collected from applicants for party's tickets at the time of election: For Provincial Assembly, the application fee was Rs. 80,000 and for National Assembly, Rs. 100,000 during the 2013 election. Party's annual statement of accounts submitted to the ECP does not specify the number of donors and therefore it is not possible to ascertain how wide (or narrow) is the funding base. The information has been sought from the party but till the final compilation of this report the information was not received. Party income registered an unprecedented (about 70 times) increase in 2012-13 (Rs. 594 Million) over the income in 2011-12 (Rs. 8.5 Million) but the number of donors was not disclosed.

Credibility of the annual Statements of Accounts submitted to ECP:

The following two tables give the figures for the Closing and opening balance for two sets of years:

Technically both figures i.e the closing balance of the preceding year and the opening balance of the following year should have been the same but there was a marked discrepancy in the opening and closing balances. This significant difference of over Rs. 51 Million in one case and of around 8 Million in the other may be due to an innocuous typographical error but places a question mark on the integrity and credibility of the statements of accounts.

Tolerance for Dissent within the Party

Question 10: How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against party officials who were considered to have violated the party discipline? - 5 Marks

Table 2: The PML-N: Difference in Closing & Opening Balances; 2011-12 & 2012-13

Closing Balance 2011-12 (Rs.)	Opening Balance 2012-13 (Rs.)	Difference (Rs.)
1,855,810	53,192,987	51,337,177

Table 3: The PML-N: Difference in Closing & Opening Balance; 2012-13 & 2013-14

Closing Balance 2012-13 (Rs.)	Opening Balance 2013-14 (Rs.)	Difference (Rs.)
53,192,987	61,217,238	8,024,251

According to the party constitution, if any dispute arises between a member and the party on principles or aims and objectives of the party, the matter will be referred to a three-member committee constituted by the Party President or the Central Working Committee.

There is a national and provincial level Ethics and Discipline Committee. Respective Presidents or Working Committees may refer complaints against any office bearer of the party to the respective ethic and discipline committee for investigation and recommendations to respective president for action.

In practice, the PML-N is not known to expel the dissenting leaders in haste. The cases of Mr. Saranjam Khan, former party president in KP, Justice (Retired) Ghaus Ali Shah, former party president in Sindh and, more recently, of former governor Punjab, Sardar Zulfiqar Khosa, all of whom went public on their grievances with party leadership, show that party generally tolerates dissenting views. It may not address the grievances but disciplinary action against the dissenting leaders is rather rare

Decision-making on Important Questions of Policy

Question 11: How democratic is the decision making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? - 5 Marks

The Central Working Committee of the party considers and passes resolutions with regards to matters arising from time to time relating to the objectives of the Pakistan Muslim League and to ensure that these are not inconsistent or at variance with the policy of the party. The Committee takes all necessary steps to implement the resolutions passed at a session of the Convention or a Council meeting.

Following are some of the important decisions taken by the party and/or its leadership over the past year:

- i. Policy to prosecute General (Retired) Pervez Musharraf for high treason – This decision was informally discussed among party leadership and apparently the decision was taken after consultation and in line with the consensus arrived at. However, it is not known if the subject was ever discussed at a formal party forum.
- ii. Decision to initiate dialogue with TTP – Mr. Nawaz Sharif decided to do this without

consulting the CWC or any other body of the party.

An informal consultation with the party leadership had developed a consensus for military action but the party president opted to negotiate with the TTP.

- iii. Policy on addressing civil-military issues in the back drop of ISPR Press Release summarizing the points made by General Raheel Sharif while addressing Officers and Jawans of SSG Headquarter in Cherat. The press release quoted the Chief of the Army Staff, General Raheel Sharif, during the visit at the SSG Headquarters as saying the following while “responding to the concerns of soldiers on undue criticism of the Institution in recent days.” – No consultation process is known to have taken place
- iv. Policy to respond to long marches and sit-ins of Mr. Imran Khan and Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri (August-November 2014) – Meetings of top leadership did take place but no formal party meetings took place.
- v. Removal of Senior Vice President Mr. Amir Muqam – No formal consultation took place despite pressure in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.

Participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the Party

Question 12: How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? - 5 Marks

The party has a Women's Wing with its own office bearers both at the national and provincial level. A special Minorities Wing is also present in the organizational structure of the party. A PML-N Youth Wing office was also opened in Lahore in March 2013 just ahead of the general election. It is not evident how active these wings are.

There is a provision in the party constitution for the nomination of 30 members to each provincial council to provide adequate representation to women, labour, youth or any other interest group.

Party Website

Question 13: How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? - 5 Marks

The PML-N's website address is <http://www.pmln.org/>. The status of availability of basic information on the website, when accessed during July to December 2014, was as follows:

The Available Information:

- i. A list of PML-N parliamentarians elected to the Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies.
- ii. Party Constitution
- iii. 2013 Election Manifesto
- iv. Names of Central, provincial and lower tiers office bearers
- v. Names of the members of the Central Working Committee
- vi. Only some of the policy statements issued by Chairman and other party Officials are available.
- vii. Some of the party publications
- viii. Press Releases are given in the media section

The information not available:

- i. Current Party Structure is not mentioned
- ii. Names of the members of the Central Council not given
- iii. A record of meetings of various bodies within the party, at least at the national level including those of the Parliamentary Party meetings in the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies are not given
- iv. Party's annual audited accounts statements, including the ones submitted to the ECP – are not given

Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP)

The PPP was launched at its founding convention held in Lahore on November 30 - December 01, 1967. At the same meeting, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was elected as its first Chairman. An immediate task, as declared at the convention, was to struggle against the government of President Field Marshal Ayub Khan. Basic principles of the PPP were unveiled as 'Islam is our Faith; Democracy is our politics; Socialism is our Economy and All Power to the People.' Just before 2002 general election held under the regime of President General Pervez Musharraf, the PPP decided to create another entity called the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) under the presidentship of Makhdoom Amin Faheem with Raja Pervez Ashraf as its Secretary General in order to contest the election from its platform as the PPP under Ms. Benazir Bhutto was unable to get registered with the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). Although the PPPP maintains its separate identity but it is simply an 'electoral device' and is totally under the PPP leadership. Apparently the PPPP has outlasted its utility and may cease to exist when the next election is contested under the original name of PPP. At the time of its founding, the PPP had unveiled a comprehensive set of founding documents. An elaborate party constitution was also framed but it is neither visible nor operational at present. Initially only PPPP was registered / enlisted with the ECP but recently PPP has also been enlisted and Sardar Latif Khosa is cited as its Secretary General. This section assesses both the PPP and the PPPP.

Internal Democracy guaranteed by the party constitution

Question 1: How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? – 10 Marks

The constitution of the PPPP is only a 5-page document with 9 articles and does not appear to be a complete document that can account for its intra-party structures and procedures. Similarly constitution of the PPP handed to PILDAT by its Secretary General Sardar Latif Khosa is also a very concise document (5 pages, 9 Articles) without even the basic details. The PPP is said to be the 'mother' party whereas the PPPP serves as an 'electoral device'.

Membership Criteria

As stated in the constitution, any person who supports the aims of the PPP Parliamentarians to build a society

in conformity with the principles, politics and philosophy of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Ms. Benazir Bhutto and desirous of contesting the elections on the PPP Parliamentarians ticket with a view to promote these aims is eligible for membership.

Powers of the Party Head

President is the party head in the PPPP whereas Secretary General is the 'administrative and organizational head' of the PPP. Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari is named as the Patron-in-Chief of the party in the PPP constitution. However detailed powers and functions of the Patron-in-Chief, President and Secretary General are not defined in the two constitutions.

Powers of the second and third senior-most Office Bearers in the Party

Within the PPPP, the Vice President is to preside over meetings and exercise the powers of the President in the latter's absence. Those powers, however, are not mentioned in the constitution. The powers of the General Secretary are also not stated apart from that he or she is to record the minutes of meetings. In the case of the PPP, the Secretary General is the administrative and organizational head of the party and will be assisted by Provincial Presidents. The Information Secretary is responsible for promoting the viewpoint of the PPP and conveying the decisions of CEC.

According to the PPPP's constitution, the party hierarchy is as under:

- 1) President
- 2) Vice President
- 3) General Secretary
- 4) Information Secretary
- 5) Secretary Finance
- 6) Executive Member.

And, according to the party's official website, it is:

- 1) Patron-in-Chief
- 2) Secretary General
- 3) Secretary Information
- 4) Secretary Finance.

The functions of the office bearers are not defined in detail.

According to the PPP's constitution, the party hierarchy is:

- 1) Patron-in-Chief

- 2) Secretary General
- 3) Information Secretary
- 4) Secretary Finance
- 5) Executive Committee

Powers to amend the Party Constitution

Members can make changes to the Constitution as long as such changes are in conformity with the aims for which the PPPP is established. No procedure for making an amendment is specified. In the case of PPP, 'any amendment can be proposed by a member which shall be subject to approval by the central body....'. It is not prescribed whether a simple or a 2/3rd majority will be required to approve the amendment. It is also not clear what is meant by 'central body'

Nomination of Party Candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

The exact procedure of nominating candidates is not defined but it is stated that members with an active record of promoting the aims of the party and in good standing will be eligible. Their eligibility is subject to their credibility as a candidate that can win an election, their public record and their undertaking to remain loyal members.

Constitutional Bodies of the Party

The PPPP constitution does not even list the different internal bodies of the party and define their various roles and responsibilities. Only a 'Council' is mentioned which has the responsibility to 'debate political situation and liaise with pro-democracy and pro-awami forces'. No membership structure is specified for the Council.

In the PPP, a Central Executive Committee (CEC) and Federal Council are mentioned. The CEC assists the Secretary General in the administration of the province in consultation with Council. The Federal Council discusses and debates the political situation and liaises with other political parties/organizations as well as Human Rights, NGOs and other segments of society.

Party Elections

Question 2: How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? - 10 Marks

According to the constitution of the PPPP, elections to the offices have to take place every 2 years or as the "Federal Organization" determines. In case of the PPP, elections to offices other than Patron-in-Chief and the

"Patron" of the PPP will take place after every three years or on the resignation, death, incapacity or removal of any of the office bearers as determined by the 'Central' Organizations. It is not clear in the constitution what the role of the "Patron" is or what is meant by the "Central Organizations".

All members who have "good standing" and "discipline" and "who subscribe to the aims of the PPPP" are eligible to contest for the offices of the party. The same criteria also apply to the voters of the party offices. Voter lists comprise the members in the particular geographic area being voted i.e. federal or provincial or district. The constitution of the PPP is the same.

The election rules and procedures are to be prescribed from time to time by the party as in the constitution. However, the constitution does not provide anything specific and is sketchy about the elections procedure.

The last two intra-party polls in the PPPP took place in 2006 and in January 2013.

Internal Structures of the Party

Question 3: How effective are the various bodies of the party? - 10 Marks

How frequently do various bodies meet?

There is only one body mentioned in the constitution of the PPPP - the Council. There is no mention in the constitution about the frequency of the meetings of the Council. This is also true of the PPP constitution in which CEC and the Federal Council are mentioned.

The governing body of the PPP is CEC and in the past year, around 12-15 meetings of the CEC have taken place.⁵¹

Meetings of the 'Core Committee' of the PPP / PPPP are frequently reported in the media but there is no provision of a core committee in either the PPP or PPPP.

How far are various party holders elected instead of nominated by the party leadership?

The inadequate PPPP constitution does not state the number of elected members versus nominated members in any particular body or organization of the party. However, the CEC members are nominated; they are currently 55 in number.⁵²

51. Meeting with Secretary General, Mr. Latif Khosa on November 20th 2014 at Serena Hotel, Islamabad

52. Meeting with representative of the PPP

How predominant are the nominated members of the CEC in comparison to the elected ones?

The top leadership of the party nominates all members of the CEC.

Are the provincial party chiefs elected and not nominated by the party chief?

Despite the constitution stating that elections at all tiers of the party have to take place, all provincial party chiefs are nominated. Mian Manzoor Wattoo⁵³ is a nominated Provincial President of PPP's Punjab Chapter and Mr. Makhdoom Shahabuddin is president of South Punjab. Party Co-Chairman Mr. Asif Ali Zardari issued a notification to replace Mr. Imtiaz Safdar Warraich with Mian Manzoor Wattoo as central Punjab president on October 17 2012. In Sindh, the Provincial President is Syed Qaim Ali Shah, Balochistan Provincial President is Mr. Muhammad Sadiq Umrani and in KP, Mr. Khanzada Khan is the President. However, according to the Secretary General of the party, all provincial presidents were elected.

Involvement of local party organizations in selecting party candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

Question 4: How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past National and Provincial Assembly elections? - 10 Marks

The exact procedure as to how candidates are nominated is not defined but it is stated that members with an active record of promoting the aims of the party and in good standing are eligible to contest. Their eligibility is subject to their credibility as a candidate that can win an election, their public record and their undertaking to remain loyal members. Hence the role of local party organizations in deciding the National and Provincial Assembly candidates during last election is unclear.

In practice, district level boards are formed where applications are received and shortlisted names sent to Provincial level boards. In the time of Ms. Benazir Bhutto, she carried out this process but in 2013, Ms. Faryal Talpur (the sister of Party Co-Chair Mr. Asif Zardari) and Mian Manzoor Wattoo conducted interviews in Punjab and final decisions were made in consultation with CEC.

Parliamentary Parties' role in developing party position and agenda for parliamentary sessions

Question 5: How regularly do parliamentary party meetings take place during sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? - 5 Marks

Parliamentary Meetings take place a couple of hours prior to the session. In case of an emergency, the parliamentary leader simply gives relevant instructions regarding the party's stand on the agenda.⁵⁴

Annual Party Conventions

Question 6: How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? - 5 Marks

There is no set clause in the constitution of the PPPP to hold an annual convention. However, the annual convention takes place every year on November 30 on the Foundation Day and Punjab usually hosts it.

Dynastic Leadership

Question 7: How does the party discourage the tradition of dynastic leadership? - 5 Marks

The Chief of the PPP has always been a Bhutto. After the death of Ms. Benazir Bhutto in 2007, her husband, Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, became the co-chairman with her son, Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari as the Chairman. When Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was assassinated, his wife Ms. Nusrat Bhutto became the chairperson, who was replaced by Ms. Benazir Bhutto. Dynastic leadership is therefore a set tradition within the party.

Change in top party leadership

Question 8: How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? - 5 Marks

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto founded the PPP in 1967. After his execution in 1977, his wife, Ms. Nusrat Bhutto became the leader after a meeting of the CEC and remained Chairperson till 1984 when her daughter, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, became the Chairperson. She was assassinated in 2007 since when the party is being led by her husband and son, Mr. Asif Zardari and Mr.

53. <http://www.dawn.com/news/757477/wattoo-gets-ppp-command-in-punjab>

54. Meeting with representative of the PPP

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari as co-chairman and chairman respectively based on a will which Mr. Asif Zardari produced before the CEC meeting at the funeral of Benazir Bhutto. In the meeting, Mr. Asif Zardari proposed Mr. Bilawal Bhutto's name as patron-in-chief of the party and the CEC voted for the decision unanimously. It is not clear whether Mr. Bilawal Bhutto holds both the positions of Chairman and Patron-in-Chief.

Funding Base and Credibility of party accounts

Question 9: How wide is the funding base and how credible are the audited accounts of the party? - 10 Marks

Funding Base

Fees are collected from the members of the executive committee and the council, according to the PPPP. Each member of the federal, provincial and district committees pays an annual fee of Rs. 12,000. In the case of the PPP, each member of these bodies pays an annual fee of Rs. 20,000. Each applicant for the party ticket for election to National Assembly, Provincial Assembly or Senate has to pay a non-refundable application fee of Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000 to the party. When the party assigns a ticket, an 'Assigning Fee' which usually is in the range of Rs. 200,000 is paid by the ticket holder. These fees also form a major source of party income. . Since exact number of contributors to the party income is not known and the information is not available in the audited statement of accounts submitted to the ECP, it is difficult to assess how wide or narrow is the funding base. This information has been requested from the party but has not been received till the finalization of this report.

Credibility of the annual Statements of Accounts submitted to ECP:

The following table gives the figures for the Closing and opening balance for the years 2011-12 and 2012-13.

Technically both figures i.e the closing balance of the

preceding year and the opening balance of the following year should have been the same but there was a marked discrepancy in the opening and closing balances. This significant difference of over Rs. 414 Million may be due to an innocuous typographical error but places a question mark on the integrity and credibility of the statements of accounts.

Tolerance for Dissent within the Party

Question 10: How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against party officials who were considered to have violated the party discipline? - 5 Marks

According to the Constitution of the PPPP, all its members are encouraged to reconcile their differences. A member is free to give their opinion in the PPP forum. But when a dispute arises between a member and PPPP including differences related to suspension and expulsion, the member shall cease to be a member of PPPP in the overall interest of the PPPP.

In October 2014, the provincial leadership of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) KP advised against holding intra-party elections. The party's KP chapter had been rife with disagreement after a group of influential leaders stood up against the provincial president Mr. Khanzada Khan and began demanding intra-party polls.⁵⁵ A sizeable number of senior leaders and activists had been holding separate meetings to demand intra-party elections. The resentment among PPP workers increased further when central leadership nominated a provincial cabinet of the party and warned that four senior leaders including Barrister Masood Kausar, Mr. Abdul Akbar Khan, Mr. Lal Mohammad Khan and Mr. Tariq Khattak would be issued show cause notices for holding separate meetings.

The PPP central leader Ms. Faryal Talpur had called disgruntled leaders including Mr. Tariq Khattak and Mr. Abdul Akbar Khan to Islamabad to discuss the group's objections to the nomination of the party's provincial office-bearers.⁵⁶

Table 4: The PPPP: Difference in Closing & Opening Balances; 2011-12 & 2012-13

Closing Balance 2011-12 (Rs.)	Opening Balance 2012-13 (Rs)	Difference (Rs)
43,5397	414,727,779	414,292,382

55. <http://tribune.com.pk/story/770055/voice-of-dissent-ppps-k-p-chapter-opposes-intra-party-polls/>

56. <http://pass.dawn.com/news/1113514/ppp-steps-up-efforts-to-calm-dissenting-voices>

Internal Democracy on Important Questions of Policy

Question 11: How democratic is the decision making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? - 5 Marks

As per the constitution, the Central Executive Committee of the PPP directs and supervises all party policies at the centre and provincial level. It is the highest governing authority in the party that has final jurisdiction over all the decisions of the party.

Important decisions taken over the past year:

- i. Policy to support the Nawaz Sharif government against PTI/PAT assault in August 2014 and opposition to their demand for the PM's resignation – This decision, as informed by the PPP Secretary General Sardar Latif Khosa during a meeting with the PILDAT Steering Committee on Internal Democracy of Political Parties on November 20, 2014, was made after a meeting of the PPP Central Executive Committee
- ii. Key points of Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari's speech at public meeting addressed by him in Karachi on October 18 2014, especially the criticism directed at his party's coalition partner, MQM, which prompted MQM to dissociate from the coalition government – No meeting of the CEC took place before the rally. It was a policy statement that came from the Co-chairman⁵⁷ without any apparent formal consultative process within the party.
- iii. Decision to nominate Syed Khurshid Shah as party's candidate to be the Leader of Opposition in the National Assembly and Chairman Public Accounts Committee – The Sindh chapter of the party was consulted in this regard and a consensus was developed over his candidacy. However, no formal process was adopted for this purpose at the national level.
- iv. Decision to appoint Syed Qaim Ali Shah as the Chief Minister of Sindh after PPPP's victory in 2013 election – Reportedly, Party leadership consulted Sindh Chapter of the party but it is not clear which formal party forum was used and whether other aspirants were given a chance to present themselves for consideration or not.

Participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the Party

Question 12: How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? - 5 Marks

Though the Constitution does not say anything about women, youth and minorities, special wings for all three do exist at almost every tier of the party that has been evident through media. It is no secret that twice the supreme leadership of the party was in the hands of women, Ms. Nusrat Bhutto and Ms. Benazir Bhutto. Party has generally assigned substantive positions to women when in power. Dr. Fehmida Mirza was made the Speaker of the National Assembly for the term 2008-13; Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar was appointed Foreign Minister of Pakistan during the same period. Youth Wing of the party is not very active although at one time the PPP was known to be a party of the Youth.

Party Website

Question 13: How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? - 5 Marks

The website for PPP is <http://ppp.org.pk/> and for PPPP is <http://www.pppp.org.pk/pppchange/>. The PPP's website is rather basic and only contains the recent speech of Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari at Karachi (October, 2014). A lot of the website data disappeared after it was recently hacked. The constitution and manifesto are not available on both websites. Only the names and profiles of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto and Asif Zardari are given on the website. The latest news item on the website was two months old at the time it was visited (6th November 2014).

57. Meeting with representative of the PPP

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)

The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was founded by Imran Khan in 1996 in Lahore, Pakistan. The PTI participated in the general election of 1997 but could not win on any seat. The PTI initially supported military takeover led by General Pervez Musharraf in 1999 and supported Musharraf in his quest for legitimacy through referendum in 2002. In 2002 general election, the PTI could secure only one National Assembly seat and that was of Mr. Imran Khan who had contested from his native area of Mianwali. The PTI boycotted 2008 election but secured the second highest number of votes in 2013 election. With 7.7 Million votes which translated into a little less than 17 % of the total votes polled and 28 National Assembly seats, the PTI emerged as the third largest political party in the National Assembly. At the provincial level, the PTI became the largest party in KP and formed a coalition government. The PTI undertook an unprecedented, massive and open electoral exercise at various levels within the party in 2012-13.

Internal Democracy guaranteed by the party constitution

Question 1: How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? – 10 Marks

The constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) is a comprehensive document spread over 32 pages.

Membership Criteria

The membership of PTI is open to all citizens of Pakistan regardless of religion, caste, creed, gender and place of residence. They have to be at least 18 years of age and should fully subscribe to the constitution and objectives of the party.

Powers of the Party Head

The Chairman is the Head and Chief Spokesman of the party. His powers are outlined extensively in the constitution of which the most pertinent to note is: *'have all other powers not specifically stated including the power of interpretation of the party constitution for successful functioning of the organization'*. This has been buffered to some extent by another statement that follows it: *'... an appeal against the Chairman's interpretation could be made to the National Council'*. The Chairman can also exercise the power to appoint assistants, consultants, and specialized committees in addition to existing office bearers he considers necessary to his understanding and satisfaction in the interest of the party.

Powers to nominate people at various levels in the party is seen in different sections of the constitution. For example, the Executive Committee consists of the Central Office bearers and 30 other members nominated by the Chairman from amongst the members of the National Council. Out of the CEC, the Chairman also nominates fifteen members to constitute a Core Committee that gets approved by the CEC through a secret ballot. Similarly, the President also holds certain powers to appoint people such as the Secretary Information, Secretary Finance, Secretary Social Media, Secretary Political Training and Secretary Policy Planning of the National Council, which is stated to be the supreme body of the party.

Powers of the second and third senior-most Office Bearers in the Party

The President is the second most important office holder in the party. Vice Chairmen rank third in the party hierarchy. It is significant to note that Powers and functions of the President of the party and the Vice Chairman are not defined and it is stated that the both will perform functions assigned by the Chairman. This lack of well-defined powers for the two most important positions after the Chairman renders these two positions almost powerless and totally dependent on the Chairman. On the other hand, this further contributes to the accumulation of authority in the hands of a single person, the Chairman, which runs counter to the spirit of democracy. However, the constitution does outline in detail the powers and functions of the Secretary General and other office bearers.

Powers to amend the Party Constitution

The procedure defined in PTI's constitution to make amendments in the constitution is democratic in that a proposed amendment can be approved by the National Council if two-third of the members present favour it. However, the Chairman may refer the amendment back to the Council for reconsideration, which will require the Council to pass it again, with a two thirds majority.

Nomination of Party Candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

The criteria and procedure of selection for Party Candidates for the National and Provincial Assemblies is defined in PTI's constitution. The Chairman, in consultation with the Provincial President, constitutes a Provincial Parliamentary Board for each province.

The Provincial Parliamentary Board receives names from the Regional Parliamentary Board and recommends one candidate and a covering candidate to the Central Parliamentary Board headed by the

chairman. The Provincial President, in consultation with the Regional Presidents, constitutes a Parliamentary Board for each region that recommends at least three persons for selection as Party Candidate in each constituency. In case of any objection to the qualification of a candidate, the Chairman appoints a Scrutiny Committee to resolve it. The matter of concern in this regard however is that the constitution does not go on to explain how those recommendations are then finally shortlisted down to one candidate from one constituency to stand for elections.

Constitutional Bodies of the Party

The PTI constitution describes the following types and levels of internal organizations: Primary organization consisting of a census block, Union Council organizations, Tehsil/Taluka/Town organizations, District organizations, Regional organizations, Provincial organizations, National organizations inclusive of the National Council and the Central Executive Committee, organizations for the Federal Capital Territory, Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Gilgit Baltistan, Azad Jammu & Kashmir, overseas Pakistanis and a National organization for the entire country.

The Central Executive Committee consists of the central office bearers and 30 members from the National Council nominated by the Chairman. The National Council consists of the office bearers of Provincial organizations, presidents of Regional and District organizations, 35 members from the women, youth, students, labour, farmers, minorities, lawyers and overseas organizations, and technocrats not exceeding one-fourth of the total number of members nominated by the chairman. In case of disputes, Reconciliation Committees can be formed at the District, Regional, Provincial and National levels.

The National Council is the supreme body of the Party that reviews the progress of the Party from time to time, and formulates programmes and policies suitable to needs and demands of the time.

The functions of the Central Executive Committee are assisting the Chairman in carrying out the day-to-day functions of the National Council; laying down the party policy and guiding the party at the national level; and acting as the executive authority of the party at the national level.

Party Elections

Question 2: How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? – 10 Marks

According to the constitution, the term of office of all organizations is four years. The process of elections is to commence 120 days before the expiry of the term and concluded 30 days before the expiry of the term. However, the Chairman does have the power to extend the term of office in consultation with the CEC by a period not exceeding one year.

Eligibility Criteria for Party Office:

Sources of income and wealth should not be based on corruption;
Standard of living is in accordance with his known sources of income;
Has not obtained plots and permits through influence and bribery;
Has not used his influence to get remission of loans;
Has not been convicted with an offence of moral turpitude;
Is not known to have affiliation with the underworld, or known to have amassed wealth from illegal and anti-social activities;
Has disclosed his assets and assets of his immediate family, income earned and taxes paid; and;
Has not been directly responsible for any unconstitutional acts violating independence of the judiciary.

The Central Executive Committee appoints a Central Election Commissioner for a period of four years who, in consultation with the Chairman, appoints members of the Central Election Commission; The Central Election Commission further appoints Provincial Election Committees responsible for holding elections at all tiers below the Provincial Organizations.

The last party elections were held from October 2012 to March 2013 where the party finally elected the National Council after a long drawn electoral process with over four million registered members as their electoral college. With these elections, the PTI became Pakistan's first political party to hold the largest intra-party elections from the general electoral base. Previous intra party polls were held in 2009.⁵⁸ The total number of registered voters in the party elections of

58. Meeting with Mr. Shafqat Mahmood, Head of Policy and Planning Wing, PTI on November 28, 2014 at Avari Hotel, Lahore.

2013 was around 4,500,000. The party also used cell phones for enlisting members and later casting votes. Although it was a bold move, several weaknesses were discovered in party election including inaccuracies and duplication in the members data

Internal Structures of the Party

Question 3: How effective are the various bodies of the party? - 10 Marks

How frequently do various bodies meet?

The main bodies of the party include the National Council, Central Executive Committee (CEC), Provincial Councils and Executive Committees at provincial levels.

The National Council is the supreme body of PTI that has to meet at the discretion of the Chairman at least once in a calendar year. However, 1/5th of the total membership of the National Council may requisition a meeting of the Council and, on receipt of such requisition, the Chairman has to convene the meeting of the Council within 30 days.

The Chairman at his discretion may summon the Central Executive Committee at any time. However, not more than 60 days should elapse between two successive meetings of the Central Executive Committee. The decision making body of the party is the Core Committee, the members of which are nominated by the Chairman out of the elected members of the CEC. The number of members in the Core Committee is around 40 and it meets almost on a weekly basis.⁵⁹

The provincial President at his discretion may summon a Provincial Executive Committee at any time. However, not more than 60 days should elapse between 2 successive meetings of the Executive Committee.

The Provincial Council should meet at the discretion of its President at least once in a year. However, 1/5th of the total membership of a Provincial Council may requisition a meeting of the Council and, on receipt of such requisition, the President should convene the meeting of the Council within 14 days. The Chairman may direct the President to call a meeting of the Provincial Council and the President should call such a meeting within 14 days of the receipt of such instruction.

The Regional Organizations and District Organizations

are to meet at least once in 3 months.

How far are various party holders elected instead of nominated by party leadership?

The member of every organization within the party has elected its respective Office bearers in the past party elections concluded in March 2013. The Presidents of organizations at different levels nominate members to form their respective Working Committees. The office bearers are ex-officio members of the Working Committees. The current Secretary General of the party was nominated by the Chairman after the elected Secretary General became the Chief Minister of KP. President of KP PTI was also nominated by the Chairman after the elected President resigned after becoming Speaker of the KP assembly.

The Central Executive Committee of the party consists of the Central Office bearers and 30 members nominated by the Chairman from amongst the members of the National Council. The Chairman may also nominate 15 members out of the CEC to constitute a Core Committee that is approved by the CEC through a secret ballot.

The National Council includes 35 members, five each from the women, youth, students, labour, farmers, minorities, lawyers and overseas organizations, who are nominated by their respective organizations in the party. The Chairman further nominates technocrats and professionals that cannot exceed 1/4th of the total number of members. Similarly, the Provincial Council includes 25 members nominated by the Chairman in consultation with the Provincial Presidents along with nominating technocrats and professionals.

In addition to the office bearers at the Tehsil/Taluka/Town level, a working committee of the Presidents of the Union Council organizations exists in which the President of Union Council also nominates 10 members. Similarly, at the district level, the President of the district nominates 15 members to the working committee. And at the regional level, the President of the region nominates 10 members.

The Chairman and the Provincial Presidents nominate fund-raising committees in the Centre and at the Provincial level.

How predominant are the nominated members of the CEC in comparison to the elected ones?

The Central Executive Committee of the party consists of the Central Office bearers and 30 members

59. Meeting with Mr. Shafqat Mahmood, Head of Policy and Planning Wing, PTI on November 28, 2014 at Avari Hotel, Lahore

nominated by the Chairman from amongst the members of the National Council. The Chairman may also nominate 15 members out of the CEC to constitute a Core Committee that is approved by the CEC through a secret ballot. Currently, the total number of members in the CEC is 75.

Are the provincial party chiefs elected and not nominated by the party chief?

The current provincial presidents of the party were elected in competitive elections in 2013. Mr. Ejaz Ahmed Chaudhry is the elected Provincial President of PTI's Punjab Chapter. Mr. Nadir Laghari is the elected Provincial President of PTI's Sindh Chapter. Mr. Asad Qaiser was the elected Provincial President of PTI's KP Chapter until he resigned after he was elected as an MPA and then Speaker of the KP Assembly. His successor, Mr. Azam Sawati, was appointed by the party chairman. Mr. Qasim Khan Suri was the elected Provincial President of PTI's Balochistan Chapter but a news item published in the Express Tribune (Jan 20, 2014)⁶⁰ states that he was fired but another news item published in Dawn (Feb 22, 2014)⁶¹ quotes Suri as provincial president of the PTI in Balochistan.

Involvement of local party organizations in selecting party candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

Question 4: How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past National and Provincial Assembly elections? - 10 Marks

The Chairman, in consultation with the Provincial President, constitutes a Provincial Parliamentary Board for each province that recommends party candidates. The Provincial Parliamentary Board receives names from the Regional Parliamentary Board and recommends one candidate and a covering candidate to the Central Parliamentary Board headed by the chairman. The Provincial President, in consultation with the Regional Presidents, constitutes a Parliamentary Board for each region that recommends at least three persons for selection as Party Candidate in each constituency. In case of any objection by any party members to the qualification of a candidate, the Chairman appoints a Scrutiny Committee to resolve it.

Parliamentary Parties' role in developing party position and agenda for parliamentary sessions

Question 5: How regularly do parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? - 5 Marks

Until the PTI legislators tendered resignation from their seats, parliamentary party meetings took place very regularly before the sessions of the Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies. Many a times more than just one meeting takes place and they go on during the sessions too.⁶²

Annual Party Conventions

Question 6: How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? - 5 Marks

There is no set clause in the constitution of PTI to hold an annual convention. A national convention of the party took place at Marriott Hotel, Islamabad in the first week of August 2014 where the decision of holding protests on August 14, 2014 against the results of General Elections 2013 was taken. Besides this, party conventions are held at provincial level. A recent convention took place in Lahore on November 27th 2014.

Dynastic Leadership

Question 7: How does the party follow the tradition of dynastic leadership? - 5 Marks

Since its inception to date, Mr. Imran Khan is the Chairman of the PTI. He has frequently and strongly spoken against dynastic leadership in other parties. His two sons live and study in the UK and occasionally visit Pakistan. It is too early to make a definitive judgment on dynastic tendencies in party leadership but it cannot be ruled out as it is the party membership who rally towards the leader's close relatives (wife, children, etc.) in case the charismatic leader goes temporarily or permanently off the scene.

60. <http://tribune.com.pk/story/660908/out-of-favour-imran-khan-fires-pti-balochistan-president/>

61. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1088759>

62. Meeting with Mr. Shafqat Mahmood, Head of Policy and Planning Wing, PTI on November 28, 2014 at Avari Hotel, Lahore

Change in top party leadership

Question 8: How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? - 5 Marks

Mr. Imran Khan is the founder and Chairman of the PTI since 1997 when it was established.

Funding base and Credibility of party accounts

Question 9: How wide is the funding base and how credible are the audited accounts of the party? - 10 Marks

Funding Base

According to the constitution, a membership fee maybe prescribed at the time of joining the party. All Organizations at various levels shall have the authority to require the lower Organizations to contribute a portion of their income to their funds as and when such necessity arises. To maintain the independence of the Party and to finance the implementation of its aims, objectives and programmes, the Central and Provincial Executive Committees authorize fund-raising activities to meet the financial targets. The Chairman and Provincial Presidents nominate fund-raising committees for the Centre and Provinces respectively. These fund-raising committees function in accordance with the instructions issued by the CEC and respective PECs, according to the party's constitution.

An 'Azadi' fund was created after the protests that started on August 14, 2014 against alleged rigging in the general elections 2013. Around Rs. 90,000,000 were raised as of December 1, 2014. The overseas members of the PTI donate \$100 per year, mostly from the United States.

Credibility of the annual Statements of Accounts submitted to ECP:

The following table gives the figures for the Closing and opening balance for the years 2010-11 and 2011-12.

Technically both figures i.e the closing balance of the

preceding year and the opening balance of the following year should have been the same but there was a marked discrepancy in the opening and closing balances. This significant difference of over Rs. 179 Million may be due to an innocuous typographical error but places a question mark on the integrity and credibility of the statements of accounts.

Tolerance for Dissent within the Party

Question 10: How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against party officials who were considered to have violated the party discipline? - 5 Marks

According to constitution of PTI, all matters, differences and disputes at meetings of various Organizations of the Party shall be decided by a majority of votes. But with matters that are not brought up at meetings or are more complex, there is no clear policy.

A show-cause notice was issued to PTI MPA from KP, Mr. Javed Naseem on October 4, 2014 for issuing statements against party leaders. Mr. Javed Naseem had⁶³ protested outside Peshawar Press Club (PPC). He made scathing remarks about rampant corruption and nepotism, and challenged the authority of Chief Minister (CM) Pervez Khattak. Apparently, there was a case of indiscipline which justified party action.

Earlier, a show cause notice was issued in September 2014 to the party President, Mr. Javed Hashmi who had held a press conference in Islamabad in which he levelled serious allegations against Mr. Imran Khan. Reacting to this, Mr. Imran Khan without forming any committee to probe into the matter of dissent, declared in front of a large crowd at his sit-in that he was "parting" ways with Mr. Javed Hashmi.

Internal Democracy on Important Questions of Policy

Question 11: How democratic is the decision making process on important questions of policy? How

Table 5: The PTI: Difference in Closing & Opening Balances; 2010-11 and 2011-12

Closing Balance 2010-11 (Rs)	Opening Balance 2011-12 (Rs)	Difference (Rs)
4,178,028	183,432,614	179,254,586

63. <http://tribune.com.pk/story/771526/voice-of-dissent-pti-issues-show-cause-notice-to-javed-naseem/>

democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? - 5 Marks

The Central Executive Committee of the party lays down the party policy and guides the party at the national level. It takes all necessary steps to give effect to decisions of the National Council. According to the party's constitution, the Committee places all reports of actions taken, orders passed and activities carried out before the Council at its annual meeting for approval.

Some important decisions taken by the PTI over the last year are as follows:

- i. Azadi March and sit-in (Dharna) starting on 14th August 2014 to protest against alleged rigging in General Elections of 2013: This decision was taken in a meeting of the Core Committee.
- ii. Removal/Resignation of the President of PTI (Mr. Javed Hashmi) in reaction to his difference of views with PTI Chief – according to a constitutional provision, a show-cause notice was issued to the President. He did not respond to it after which he was removed. Mr. Hashmi also resigned from PTI basic membership.
- iii. Resignation of PTI MNA's and MPAs: 29 MNAs out of 34 tendered resignation from the assembly following the party chairman's instructions; this decision was made in a meeting of the Core Committee.

Participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the Party

Question 12: How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? - 5 Marks

There are special organizations for Women, Youth, Students, Minorities, Labour and Overseas Pakistanis that form wings of the Party. They exist as per the constitution of the party. Women and Youth are generally very active within the party and in party activities.

Party Website

Question 13: How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? - 5 Marks

PTI's website address is <http://www.insaf.pk/>. The status of availability of basic information on the

website, when accessed during July to December 2014, was as follows:

The Available Information:

- i. Party Constitution
- ii. 2013 Election Manifesto
- iii. Current Party Structure – provincial chapters and various wings are outlined
- iv. Policy Statements issued by Chairman and other party Officials are available
- v. Party Publications such as White Papers, Reports are available
- vi. Press Releases are available

The information not available:

- i. Names of Central, provincial and lower tiers office bearers are not found on the website
- ii. Names of the members of the Central Council are not available
- iii. Names of the members of the Central Executive Committee are not available Current Party Structure is not mentioned
- iv. Names of the Core Committee are not available
- v. A record of the meetings of various bodies within the party, at least at the national level including those of the Parliamentary Party meetings in the Senate, NA and Provincial Assemblies are not available
- vi. Party's annual audited accounts statements, including the ones submitted to the ECP – are not given

Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM)

The Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) was founded as Mohajir Qaumi Movement by Mr. Altaf Hussain in 1984. The MQM originated from an ethnic student organization – All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization (APMSO) which was formed by Altaf Hussain in 1978 in University of Karachi. Later on July 26, 1997, MQM officially changed its name from Muhajir Qaumi Movement to Muttahida Qaumi Movement. The MQM initially targeted just the Urdu-speaking people, who migrated to Pakistan after the independence in 1947. Since 1997, it has started to aim downtrodden masses at the national level, with a manifesto to improve low social and economic status of the country. Although it has turned into a national political party, working in all major cities of Pakistan, its stronghold remains urban areas of Sindh. Party secured 5.32 % popular votes and 18 National Assembly seats in 2013 election. MQM secured a little over 25 % popular votes in Sindh province and 36 out of 130 seats of the Sindh Assembly. Party has been a coalition partner in the Sindh Government and Federal Government several times.

Internal Democracy Guaranteed by the Constitution

Question 1: How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? – 10 Marks

The constitution of MQM is a nine-page document consisting of 19 articles.

Membership Criteria

Every citizen of Pakistan who is not in the service of the country is eligible for membership and may be elected as an office bearer or participate in the political activities of the party. However, the membership is subject to the approval of the Central Coordination Committee.

Powers of the Party Head

The Convenor is the Chief Executive of the party whose job is to preside over meetings of the Central Coordination Committee (CCC) and exercise his vote in the event of a tie. No other duty or responsibility of the convenor is defined in the constitution. Mr. Altaf Hussain is mentioned by name in the constitution as the founder and ideologue of the party from whom guidance would be sought by the Central Coordination Committee on major issues. Since, Mr. Altaf Hussain has repeatedly suspended, removed and reinstated individual members of the Central Coordination Committee and at times the entire committee, it is

understood that he is not merely an ideologue, he holds the supreme executive powers as well

The party hierarchy is as follows: 1) Convenor of the CCC 2) Deputy Convenor CCC 3) Members CCC 4) Finance (May be taken care of by a Deputy Convenor CCC). Their roles and responsibilities are not clearly defined.

Powers of the second and third senior-most Office Bearers in the Party

The Deputy Convenor is to assist the Convenor in the discharge of his 'official' duties that are undefined in the constitution. The number of Deputy Convenors may not exceed six as part of the Committee. It is not clear in the constitution who comes third in the party hierarchy.

Powers to amend the Party Constitution

Amendments in the constitution can only be made by a two-third majority of the Central Coordination Committee.

Nomination of Party Candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

The Central Coordination Committee forms a Central Parliamentary Board for the selection of the candidate for the Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies and Local Bodies. The Central Parliamentary Board is assisted by the Provincial/Divisional Zonal Parliamentary Boards constituted by the Committee. The Committee also takes the final decision when it is presented with the shortlisted names of candidates by the Central Parliamentary Board.

Constitutional Bodies of the Party

The Central Coordination Committee at the Federal level, Provincial level and local levels through the respective sub-committees administers the management and organization of the party. The province of Sindh is administered through District/Zonal/Divisional Committees while the provinces of Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan are managed through its respective provincial committees. At local levels, sub-committees are formed and for Karachi, a divisional organizing committee functions. The Central Coordination Committee (Rabita Committee) was formed in 1993 through a selection process conducted by the founder, Mr. Altaf Hussain.

Party Elections

Question 2: How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? - 10 Marks

According to the constitution, all party offices are filled every four years. However, if regular elections have not

taken place, the Committee fills the existing vacant offices by a 2/3 majority.

The eligibility criteria for becoming a leader or an office bearer is:

Should be 18 years or above
Should be a Pakistani citizen
Should be a member of the Party
Should be of good character

The Central Coordination Committee (Rabita Committee) is supposed to constitute an Election Commission to conduct the process of party election. Elections to all offices are supposed to be held through secret balloting on the basis of "proportional representation". The candidates at the Federal, Provincial and Local level securing the highest votes in "descending order" shall be deemed to have been elected for the offices.

The last intra-party polls took place on June 17, 2012. Intra-party election before that was held in 2002. In the party elections of 2012, an independent commission was formed and elections took place for members of the 'Central Coordination Committee', Sectors, Units, Zonal, Provincial and Districts. The next elections are due in 2016.⁶⁴

Internal Structures of the Party

Question 3: How effective are the various bodies of the party? - 10 Marks

How frequently do various bodies meet?

The main bodies of the party include the Central Coordination Committee at the Federal, Provincial and Local levels. The Central Coordination Committee makes all decisions regarding the convening of meetings as and when deemed necessary.

How far are various party holders elected instead of nominated by the party leadership?

According to the constitution of MQM, all party offices are filled by elections of the members. However, in November 2011, the Central Coordination Committee formed a Central Executive Council for the purpose of its assistance in all party matters. It is not stated clearly on the website as to how this Council came into being, that is, either through appointments, nominations or elections

How predominant are the nominated members of the CEC in comparison to the elected ones?

The constitution of MQM does not mention a CEC body, however, according to their website, their Central

Coordination Committee formed a Central Executive Council in Karachi on 20th of November 2011, comprising 42 members. Whether this Council was elected or nominated is not clearly mentioned. For all practical purposes, the Central Coordination Committee is the de facto Central Executive Committee. All its members are elected as per the constitution

Are the provincial party chiefs elected and not nominated by the party chief?

According to the constitution, the provincial leaders have to be elected. However, the Central Co-ordination Committee of the MQM nominated Barrister Muhammad Saif as the President of MQM Khyber Pakhtunkhwa on September 23, 2014. In Punjab, the nominated President is Mian Ateeq.

Involvement of Local Party Organizations in Selecting Party Candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

Question 4: How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past National and Provincial Assembly elections? - 10 Marks

The Central Coordination Committee forms a Central Parliamentary Board which currently includes Dr. Farooq Sattar, Mr. Amir Khan, Mr. Aslam Afridi, Mr. Haider Abbas Rizvi, Ms. Nasreen Jaleel, Dr. Saghir Ahmad, Mr. Wasay Jaleel and Mr. Kunwar Naveed Jalil for the selection of the candidates for the Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies and Local Bodies elections.

The Central Parliamentary Board is assisted by the Provincial/Divisional Zonal Parliamentary Boards constituted by the Committee. However, the final decision lies with the Committee, which is presented with a shortlist by the Central Parliamentary Board. The Central Parliamentary Board consists of 10 elected members.

As per the constitution, recommendations for party candidates are received from lowest tier of the party – unit provincial and then national level.

Parliamentary Parties' Role in Developing Party Position and Agenda for Parliamentary Sessions

Question 5: How regularly do parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate,

64. Meeting with representative of MQM on November 20, 2014 at Serena Hotel, Islamabad

National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? - 5 Marks

Party leadership informed that Parliamentary meetings take place before the sessions and views are shared amidst a healthy debate.

Annual Party Conventions**Question 6: How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? – 5 Marks**

There is no set clause in the party's constitution to hold an annual convention, but workers' conventions do take place every now and then when the leader of the party, Mr. Altaf Hussain, addresses the party workers. The last one took place in September 2014 at the MQM sector office in Karachi.

Dynastic Leadership**Question 7: How does the party follow the tradition of dynastic leadership? - 5 Marks**

The founder and leader of MQM is Mr. Altaf Hussain since the inception of the party. However, no blood relations of his hold any party positions.

Change in Top Party Leadership**How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? - 5 Marks**

The MQM was founded in 1984 and since then Mr. Altaf Hussain has remained its supreme leader. Currently, the deputy convenors are Dr. Khalid Maqbool Siddiqui and Dr. Nusrat Shaukat. Convenors and Deputy Convenors had been changing.

Funding Base and Credibility of Party Accounts**Question 9: How wide is the funding base and how****credible are the audited accounts of the party? - 10 Marks****Funding Base**

According to the party literature and the verbal information shared by the party leadership, the party raises funds through subscriptions, voluntary donations and through other lawful sources. There is a Muttahida Quami Fund (MQF) in which every member of the party contributes one per cent of his or her monthly income. These funds are mostly utilized for various party activities such as meeting the expense of elections. There are two other foundations as well by the name of 'Shuhada Fund' in which all members contribute Rs. 8000 each year and the 'Khidmat-e-Khalq Foundation' through which donations and funds are collected from time to time.⁶⁵ It is difficult to ascertain how wide is the funding base in the absence of the information about the number of donors. The information on the number of donors is not included in the Audited Annual Accounts statements submitted by the party to ECP.

Credibility of the annual Statements of Accounts submitted to ECP:

The following table gives the figures for the Closing and opening balance for the years 2010-11 and 2011-12.

Technically both figures i.e the closing balance of the preceding year and the opening balance of the following year should have been the same but there was a marked discrepancy in the opening and closing balances. This significant difference of over Rs. 42 Million may be due to an innocuous typographical error but places a question mark on the integrity and credibility of the statements of accounts.

Tolerance for Dissent within the Party**Question 10: How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against party officials who were considered to have violated the party discipline?****Table 6: The MQM: Difference in Closing & Opening Balances; 2011-12 and 2012-13**

Closing Balance 2011-12	Opening Balance 2012-13	Difference
19,789,557	61,792,264	42,002,707

65. Meeting with representative of MQM on November 20, 2014 at Serena Hotel, Islamabad

- 5 Marks

According to constitution of MQM, if a party member has any complaint against any office bearer, he/she will submit his or her complaint in writing to the Committee. The committee will then constitute a subcommittee to interrogate, undertake a proper learning and forward the recommendations to the committee for the final decision.

In practice, investigation committees are formed that submit reports to the top leadership of the party. Besides an investigation committee, a Workers' Committee is also formed in order to collect the views of party members in general. In case of the suspension of Dr. Farooq Sattar from the position of Deputy Convenor, the same process was adopted. Currently, he is a member the Central Coordination Committee.⁶⁶

Internal Democracy on Important Questions of Policy

Question 11: How democratic is the decision making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? - 5 Marks

The Central Coordination Committee is the highest policy and decision-making organ of the party. Ordinary decisions are made by a simple majority of members present in a scheduled meeting and major policy decisions call for 2/3 majority of the Committee. The Committee seeks guidance from Mr. Altaf Hussain on major decisions and takes all necessary steps for giving practical effect to resolutions passed. The committee frames all rules, regulations and necessary guidelines for implementing policies and decisions of the party. The constitution does not clearly define what a major decision is for which a 2/3rd majority is needed to approve in the CCC.

Important decisions taken by the party over:

- i. Decision to ask former Mayor of Karachi, Mustafa Kamal, to quit the Senate – Party leadership informed that the decision was a personal one; taken by the person concerned on the basis of his personal circumstances.
- ii. Suspension of Central Coordination Committee members in July 2014 'for their negligence in party affairs' and their reinstatement after an apology –

Party representatives explained that this decision was taken after a meeting of a Workers' Committee, where the issue was voted.

- iii. MQM Chief Altaf Hussain ordered party legislators in September 2014 to submit their resignations at Nine-Zero in reaction to the ongoing protests in the country – Party representatives explained to PILDAT that the decision was taken with the consent of the party legislators and top leadership
- iv. Demand by Mr. Altaf Hussain in September and October 2014 to create administrative units within Sindh, a demand that provoked severe reaction from PPP and Sindhi nationalists – Again the party representatives told PILDAT that the demand was made after the members of the CCC and Workers' Committee voted on it. The majority was in favour of creation of administrative units for better governance of Sindh.

Participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the Party

Question 12: How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? - 5 Marks

There is no mention of a special wing for women, youth and minorities in the constitution but they do exist, based on media reports. The MQM has a dedicated website for its women wing (<http://mqmwomenwing.org/>) and similarly, wings for minorities and youth are active at least at the national and Sindh provincial level.

Party Website

Question 13: How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? - 5 Marks

The website for MQM is <http://www.mqm.org/default.aspx>.

The status of availability of basic information on the website, when accessed during July to December 2014, was as follows:

The Available Information:

- i. 2013 Election Manifesto
- ii. Names of Central, provincial and lower tiers office

66. Meeting with representative of MQM on November 20, 2014 at Serena Hotel, Islamabad

- bearers – mostly given
- iii. All Policy Statements issued by Chairman and other party Officials are available
 - iv. Press Releases

The information not available:

- i. Party Constitution is not available
- ii. Party rules and regulations
- iii. Current Party Structure
- iv. Names of Central, provincial and lower tiers office bearers are not found on the website
- v. Names of the members of the Central Coordination Committee are not available
- vi. A record of the meetings of various bodies within the party, at least at the national level including those of the Parliamentary Party meetings in the Senate, NA and Provincial Assemblies are not available
- vii. Party's annual audited accounts statements, including the ones submitted to the ECP – are not given
- viii. Party publications such as white papers etc. issued by the party are not available on the website

Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam – Fazal (JUI-F)

The Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Fazl-ur-Rehman group was formed when the JUI split into two groups in 1988. The original JUI traces its roots back to the Jamiat Ulema Hind (JUH) that existed before the creation of Pakistan. The Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam came into being when in 1945 the JUH supported the Indian National Congress against the Muslim League's demand for a separate state of Pakistan and Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani, a leader of the JUH, broke away and formed JUI. The party became somewhat inactive after the death of Maulana Usmani. Mufti Mehmud, as Secretary General of JUI, re-activated the party in the 1960's. In 1980 Maulana Fazlur Rehman took over as the party head after the death of his father, Mufti Mehmud. Differences of opinion led to the break-up of JUI leading to the JUI-F led by Maulana Fazal ur Rehman and JUI-S led by Maulana Sami ul Haq. Although the JUI-F has its presence in almost all parts of the country, its main strength lies in KP, Balochistan and FATA. It was the dominant part of the Muttehidha Majlis e Amal (MMA) that swept the 2002 elections in KP and emerged as the third largest party in the National Assembly with 11.4 % votes and 46 National Assembly Seats. JUI-F led the MMA government in KP from 2003 to 2007. MMA share of votes in KP was 46.7 % in 2002. JUI-F contested 2008 general election under the MMA banner but without an alliance with JI. JUI-F secured 2.21 % and 13.96 % votes on the national level and in KP respectively. It secured 3.16 % and 13.56 % votes on the national level and in KP respectively in 2013 election.

Internal Democracy guaranteed by the Party Constitution

Question 1: How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? – 10 Marks

The constitution of Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam – Fazl (JUI-F) is a comprehensive document consisting of 29 chapters and spread over 24 pages.

Membership Criteria

Membership criteria includes agreeing with the aims and objectives of the party's constitution, paying the membership fee of Rs. 30 at the time of joining and then Rs. 10 per month, filling out the membership form and abiding by the rules and regulations of the party.

Powers of the Party Head

The Ameer of the party would act as the President of the Consultative Body and Central Working Committee. If

any office-bearer of the party is not able to carry out his duties or is guilty of working carelessly, the Ameer will have the power to appoint other officer-bearers to do the job. He can also dissolve those subordinate bodies of the party that are not in favour of fulfilling the aims and objectives of the party.

Powers of the second and third senior-most Office Bearers in the Party

Next to the Ameer, are the four 'Naib Umraa' while the Secretary General is third in the party hierarchy. One of the 'Naib Umraa' will have the powers of the Ameer in his absence. And in his presence, they will carry out the duties assigned to them by the Ameer. The Secretary General will have the power to manage the secretariat and the salaried workers of the party.

Powers to amend the Party Constitution

The power to amend the party constitution lies with the General Council, which can pass an amendment with a two-thirds majority.

Nomination of Party Candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

The party candidates are nominated through the provincial election board and district election board.

Constitutional Bodies of the Party

The main bodies of the party include the General Council, the Central Consultative Body (*Markazi Majlis e Shura*) and Central Working Committee (*Markazi Majlis e Aamla*).

The Ameer will nominate a few individuals from the party's General Council to the Central Consultative Body and the total number of the latter should not exceed 45, inclusive of the office-bearers. The Central Working Committee will constitute of at least 20 workers

The Central Consultative Body of the party serves the purpose of advising the Ameer in the Centre. The Central Working Committee serves the purpose of devising the policies and programmes of the party along with supervising the performance of the various organizations in the party.

Party Elections

Question 2: How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? - 10 Marks

According to the constitution, party elections are to take place every three years in which the Central Working Committee (Majlis-e-Aamla) appoints a Central Election Commissioner to carry out the

procedure.

The Central Election Commissioner appoints election commissioners at the provincial level and the Provincial Election Commissioners appoint elections commissioners at the district level. The respective election commissioners will elect members from the lowest to the highest level of the General Council. In the months of Jamad-ul-Awwal and Jamad-ul-Akhir, officer bearers at the union, tehsil and district levels will be elected whereas in the month of Rajab and Shaban respectively, provincial and central officer-bearers will be elected.

The last two intra-party polls took place in 2011 and August 2014.

Internal Structures of the Party

Question 3: How effective are the various bodies of the party? - 10 Marks

How frequently do various bodies meet?

The party has a Central Organization under which fall the Provincial Units. Every unit in the party will consist of the following assemblies: General Council, Consultative Body and Executive Committee.

The General Council at the central level is required to meet at least once a year; the Provincial level Council is required to meet every six months and the district level once every four months. It constitutes 1300 nominated members out of a total membership of 15,00,000; nomination is done by mutual consultation between top leadership.⁶⁷

The Consultative Body is required to meet whenever the *Ameer* wants. However, it is important that it meets at least once every six months. Both the central and provincial consultative bodies consist of 45 members nominated by respective *Ameer*.

How far are various party holders elected instead of nominated by the party leadership?

The Head (*Ameer*) and Secretary General in the centre and at provincial levels are elected whereas all the rest are nominated.

How predominant are the nominated members of the CEC in comparison to the elected ones?

The CEC is a 13-member body nominated by the *Ameer* of the party.

Are provincial party chiefs elected and not nominated by the party chief?

JUI elects all heads for its Provincial Chapters. In Punjab, the *Ameer* is Maulana Attiq-ur-Rehman; in Balochistan, the *Ameer* is Maulana Faiz Mohammad; in KP, the *Ameer* is Maulana Gul Naseeb Khan and in Sindh, the *Ameer* is Maulana Abdul Samad Haleji.

Involvement of Local Party Organizations in Selecting Party Candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

Question 4: How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past National and Provincial Assembly elections? - 10 Marks

The district selection board nominates candidates for National and Provincial Assemblies. The Provincial Board will review and ascertain the final decision. In case of a complaint, an appeal shall be made to the central committee. The District Board will decide on the nomination of candidates for the Local Council, City Council and District Council. No candidate is allowed to attend the meetings where the nominations are finalised, according to constitution. However, it is unclear if the local party organizations were present when the candidates were chosen for the National and Provincial Assembly during the last elections.

Parliamentary Parties' Role in Developing Party Position and Agenda for Parliamentary Sessions

Question 5: How regularly do parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? - 5 Marks

Meetings take place before the sessions and whatever statements are made in the senate and the assemblies by the party leaders are pre-decided and approved on majority vote count at a meeting of the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura).

Annual Party Conventions

Question 6: How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? - 5 Marks

As per constitution of the JUI-F, a pre-determined schedule is followed to hold annual convention. All members of its Central Consultative Body (Majlis-e-

67. Meeting with Secretary General, KP of JUI-F, Maulana Shuja-ul-Mulk on November 28, 2014 at Avari Hotel, Lahore

Shura) and members of Central Working Committee (Majlis-e-Amla) are required to be present.

Dynastic Leadership

Question 7: How does the party follow the tradition of dynastic leadership? - 5 Marks

Maulana Fazl-ur-Rahman inherited the leadership of JUI from his father, Mufti Mahmood, and formed his own party, the JUI-F, when he was challenged. Two brothers of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman are also senior party officials / Leaders. Maulana Lutf-ur-Rehman is leader of the Opposition in KP Assembly and Maulana Atta-ur-Rehman has been a MNA in the previous National Assembly. Party appears to have a tendency for dynastic leadership

Change in Top Party Leadership

Question 8: How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? - 5 Marks

Mufti Mehmood was the Secretary General (Chief Executive) of JUI until he died in October 14, 1980. Following his death in 1980, Maulana Fazal ur Rehman became the party chief. The party split in 1988 between two factions and eventually two independent parties - JUI-F led by Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman son of Mufti Mehmood and JUI-S led by Maulana Sami-ul-Haq. Since the split, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman remains the Ameer (President) of JUI-F, for the last 26 years.

Funding Base and Credibility of Party Accounts

Question 9: How wide is the funding base and how credible are the audited accounts of the party? - 10 Marks

Funding Base

Funds are based on enrolment fee of the membership, charity collected on special occasions, a monthly fee of Rs. 10 from members, income from any meeting, zakat and sacrificial money and funds collected in emergency circumstances. The audited annual statements of accounts do not provide the information on the number of donors of party funds and therefore it is not possible to ascertain how wide is the funding base of the party.

Tolerance for Dissent within the Party

Question 10: How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against party officials who were considered to have violated the party discipline? - 5 Marks

According to the party constitution, in case of complaint, an appeal shall be made to the central committee. The District / Central Board will decide on the resolution of a dispute that may arise within members. The Board has the power to cross-examine, undertake a proper course and forward the recommendations to the Central Leadership (Markaz) for the final decision.

Internal Democracy on Important Questions of Policy

Question 11: How democratic is the decision making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? - 5 Marks

The Central Executive Committee (*Markazi Majlis-e-Amla*) of the Jamiat frames the policy and assesses performance of all sections of the party, according to constitution. However, the General Council in practice also takes many of the decisions on vote count of its members as it is said to be the supreme body of the party.⁶⁸

Important decisions taken over the past year:

- i. Decision to join the Federal Government led by the PML-N – This decision, as informed by the party representative, was made in a meeting of the General Council.
- ii. Decision to select JUI-F Ministers for the federal cabinet – According to the party representative, the selection was merit-based and a meeting of the Central Consultative Council (*Markazi Majlis-e-Shura*) discussed the subject.
- iii. Decision to call an APC against Imran Khan and Tahir ul Qadri – This decision was made by the CEC (*Markazi Majlis-e-Amla*).

68. Meeting with Secretary General, KP of JUI-F, Maulana Shuja-ul-Mulk on November 28, 2014 at Avari Hotel, Lahore

Participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the Party

Question 12: How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? - 5 Marks

Nothing is mentioned regarding women, minorities or youth in the constitution. However, there is a women wing of the organization. Ms. Naeema Kishwar is the Secretary of the Women's wing. Meetings of the women wing are organised separate from men.

Party Website

Question 13: How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? - 5 Marks

JUI-F does not have a website.

Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JI)

The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) is an Islamist political party, advocating for an Islamic and democratic form of government in Pakistan. Muslim theologian and socio-political philosopher Abul Ala Maududi founded it in 1941 in Lahore. After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, party founder moved to Pakistan and re-organised Jamaat e Islami Pakistan. The members who remained in India regrouped to form an independent organization called Jamaat-e-Islami Hind. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is considered to be one of the most well organised political party of Pakistan but has not been very successful in electoral politics. The party vote bank has hovered around 5 % but has lately declined to 2 % in 2013 election. Jamaat's best electoral showing was probably in 2002 election when it contested election as a part of the MMA. It was part of the ruling coalition in KP from 2002 to 2007. It boycotted 2008 election. The party won 3 National Assembly seats, all from KP, in 2013 election. Currently, the party is a part of the PTI-led ruling coalition in KP.

Internal Democracy guaranteed by the Party Constitution

Question 1: How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? – 10 Marks

The constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami is a comprehensive document of 95 pages organised in 11 chapters.

Membership Criteria

Every mature and sensible person (man or woman, belonging to any race, caste or community) may become a member of the Jamaat, provided that: After understanding the Jamaat's creed along with its explanation, he/she bears witness that the same is also his/her creed; After understanding the Jamaat's mission along with its explanation, he/she declares that the same is his/her mission; After studying the constitution, he/she commits that he/she shall bind him/herself to the Jamaat's discipline in accordance with this constitution; He/she observes the obligatory duties of the Shari'ah and avoids the major sins; None of his/her means of subsistence falls in the category of illegitimate earnings e.g., interest (usury), wine, adultery, dance and music, false witness, bribery, breach of trust, gambling etc.; If he/she be in possession of property that came to him/her by forbidden means, or that in which are the usurped rights of the deserving, he/she shall withdraw from it and return to the deserving their dues; He/she is not associated with such a party or institution whose principles and objectives

are opposed to the creed, mission, and strategy of Jamaat-e-Islami; The Jamaat's cadre is satisfied that he/she qualifies for the Jamaat's membership. Usually, it takes from a few months to a few years for a person to become Jamaat member. Party membership is quite restrictive.

Powers of the Party Head

The Ameer-e-Jamaat (President of Jamaat) has the power to formulate policies of the party and take important decisions in consultation with the Central Consultative Body (Markazi Majlis-e-Shura). The Ameer, out of the members of the Central Consultative Body, nominates the Central Working Committee (*Majlis e Aamila*). Under emergency conditions, the Ameer can take immediate steps without consulting the Central Working Committee. Out of the Central Consultative Body or through its consultation, the Ameer can appoint his Deputies or Vice Presidents (Naib Umra). Under section 7 of the party's constitution, the Ameer can validate a person's membership and under section 90, he can invalidate it. Under section 91 of the party's constitution, he can suspend any subordinate body. Under section 23 of the party's constitution, the Ameer can extend the tenure of the Central Consultative Body. The Ameer can allow any person other than members of the Central Consultative Body to attend its meeting under section 27 of the party's constitution. Under section 16, he can summon a General Assembly of all members.

Powers of the second and third senior-most Office Bearers in the Party

According to the constitution, Ameer of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan has the highest position to run the party and deal with all affairs, what so ever. After him the secretary general is responsible for all organizational affairs. *Naib Umraa* (Vice Presidents) are the next senior level of party office holders who do not command much authority being the nominated office-holders.

Powers to amend the Party Constitution

The power to amend the constitution lies with the Central Consultative Council (Markazi Majlis-e-Shura) and the amendment can be made based on 2/3rd majority votes.

Nomination of Party Candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

Parliamentary committees are formed starting from the district level. Recommendations are sent to the provincial parliamentary committee where further shortlisting is done and final nominations go up to the

central parliamentary committee.

Constitutional Bodies of the Party

The main bodies of the party include General Assembly (Ijtima-e-Aam), Central Consultative Council (Shura), Central Working Committee (Aamla), Provincial Council, Provincial Working Committee, Divisional Council, and District Council.

Central Council consists of 70 members directly elected by the members (arakan). The Ameer has to make sure that at least one representative from each provincial council is a member of the Central Council. The President of the Council would be the Ameer-e-Jamaat himself who would have the power of casting vote. The 'Naib Umraa' and Secretary General would also be members of the Council.

The Central Working Committee consists of 15 members who are nominated by the Ameer-e-Jamaat out of the elected members of the Central Council. These members would be inclusive of Secretary General and 'Naib Umraa' and the Ameer Jamaat would be the President of the Committee.

The Central Council (Markazi Majlis-e-Shura) is for the purpose of assisting and advising the Ameer-e-Jamaat. Its job is to formulate the policy of Jamaat. It can interpret and amend the constitution. The Central Working Committee exercises the same powers and functions as the Central Council in its absence.

Party Elections

Question 2: How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? - 10 Marks

The JI holds intra-party elections every 3 years but the term of office for the Ameer in the Centre is 5 years. At the provincial level, elections take place after 3 years and at district and local level, they take place every 2 years.

Election Commissioners at all levels are appointed 90 days before the date of intra-party elections. They are allowed to appoint deputy election commissioners as per requirement. The elections are held through secret balloting. In case of election of Ameer, the central Majlis-e-Shura normally proposes three candidates from whom the party members choose their Ameer for a five-year term. Members are however free to vote for any other eligible member. There are no formal candidates and election campaign is not allowed.

The last intra-party polls took place in 2012 and the election of Ameer-e-Jamaat took place in March 2014. Elections at all levels take place regularly. Independent election tribunals at every level are formed by the Ameer-e-Jamaat in consultation with the Consultative Body (Majlis-e-Shura). In the recently held elections, 87% of 35,000 eligible members casted their vote. By Jamaat standards, it is considered a low voter turnout.

Internal Structures of the Party

Question 3: How effective are the various bodies of the party? - 10 Marks

How frequently do various bodies meet?

The meeting of the General Assembly (Assembly of all members) takes place depending upon the needs of members or when the Central Consultative Body or Ameer-e-Jamaat deems necessary. However, if two or more provinces of the Jamaat or five or more constituencies (Halqa jaat) pass a resolution, then it would be necessary to hold a meeting within a prescribed period of time.

The Central Council has to meet once every year and the meeting has to take place at the end of each financial year so that the activities of the Jamaat in the past year can be discussed along with presentation of the audited accounts. Meeting of the Council can also take place any time the Ameer Jamaat deems necessary. A requisition for a meeting can be made by 1/4th of the members of the Council or if/when the position of the Ameer Jamaat falls vacant. In practice, the Central Council (Majlis-e-Shura) meets at least twice a year or sometimes thrice.

The Central Working Committee meets at the discretion of the Ameer-e-Jamaat.

After the election of the Provincial Council, the Ameer has to organize an inaugural within a period of 2 months and on regular basis, the meeting of the Council has to take place once a year. The Divisional Council is required to meet twice a year whereas the District Council is required to meet thrice in a year.

How far are various party holders elected instead of nominated by the party leadership?

The Central Consultative Body (*Markazi Majlis e Shura*) of the party consists of at least 50 members who are elected by the members of the *Jamaat*. The Working Committee of the party consists of 15 members who are nominated by *Ameer* from amongst Central Consultative Body. Currently, the membership of the

Central Council is 80.⁶⁹

The *Ameer-e-Jamaat* gets elected whereas the Secretary General is nominated by the *Ameer-e-Jamaat* in consultation with the Central Consultative Body of the party.

How predominant are the nominated members of the CEC in comparison to the elected ones?

The Central Working Committee (*Markazi Majlis e Aamla*) of the party constitutes 15 members who are nominated by the *Ameer-e-Jamaat* from amongst the members of the Central Consultative Body (*Markazi Majlis e Shura*) who are all elected.

Are the provincial party chiefs elected and not nominated by the party chief?

Jamaat-e-Islami elects all Chiefs for its Provincial Chapters.

Involvement of local party organizations in selecting party candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

Question 4: How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past National and Provincial Assembly elections? - 10 Marks

The candidates for National and Provincial Assemblies are selected on strict selection criteria of religious status and piety. The Shura reviews and then ascertains the final decision based on factors such as the candidates participation for a minimum of 2 years in the provincial and local governing bodies.

Starting from the district level, recommendations are sent to the provincial parliamentary committee that sends final recommendations to the central parliamentary committee.

Parliamentary Parties' role in developing party position and agenda for parliamentary sessions

Question 5: How regularly do parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? - 5 Marks

Parliamentary party meetings take place always before

the sessions in which the parliamentary leaders of the party discuss the agenda and main focus is legislation.

Annual Party Conventions

Question 6: How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? - 5 Marks

It is not mandatory to hold the convention every year. In practice, it is held every 4-5 years. The most recent convention that took place in November 2014 was held after 6 years.

Dynastic Leadership

Question 7: How does the party follow the tradition of dynastic leadership? - 5 Marks

In Jamaat-e-Islami, there is no dynastic politics and no apparent heirs. Abul A'la Maududi founded the party and the position for *Ameer-e-Jamaat* has been passing on through a process of elections. The subsequent *Ameers* of the party include Mian Tufail Mohammad, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Syed Munawar Hassan and Mr. Siraj ul Haq. None of them were related to each other or to the founder and first *Ameer*, Maulana Maudoodi.

Change in top party leadership

Question 8: How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? - 5 Marks

During the past 67 years since the establishment of Pakistan, the JI has seen change of top party leadership five times. Maulana Maudoodi, the founder *Ameer* (President) of JI resigned citing poor health from party leadership in 1972. His successor Mian Tufail Muhammad was elected *Ameer* in October 1972 by the Council and remained in that position till 1987. He also refused to be considered for re-election due to his health conditions and Qazi Hussain Ahmed was elected as his successor in 1987. Syed Munawar Hassan was elected *Ameer* in 2008 while Qazi Hussain Ahmed was still around and active. Recently, party has elected Mr. Siraj ul Haq as *Ameer* in 2014 while Syed Munawar Hassan is still around.

Funding base and credibility of party accounts

Question 9: How wide is the funding base and how

69. Meeting with Secretary General, Mr. Liaqat Baloch on November 11, 2014

credible are the audited accounts of the party? - 10 Marks

Funding Base

Abait-ul-maal (treasury) is established at every level in *Jamaat*. Funds are collected through donations, *zakat*, charity, profit earned from *Jamaat's* publications, schools set up by the *Jamaat*, income from estates owned by *Jamaat* and property devoted to *Jamaat*. Coupons ranging from Rs. 100 – Rs. 1000 are distributed and donations collected. *Jamaat* members and sympathisers present around the world contribute funds to *Jamaat* regularly. Information on exact number of donors is not available in the annual statement of accounts submitted by the party to the ECP. The same has been requested from *Jamaat* and is awaited.

Tolerance for Dissent within the party

Question 10: How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against party officials who were considered to have violated the party discipline? - 5 Marks

Every member of the *Jamaat* can exercise the right to object, criticize and question the decision of the *Ameer-e-Jamaat* and the Consultative Body. He or she can present it to the Consultative Body through any of the *Shura* members or can present it him or herself at the General Assembly given that the plea is submitted within 10 days of announcement of the General Assembly. However, the authority to conduct investigation into the matters presented will be with the Consultative Body. Public dissent of members with the party is rare. There are a couple of celebrated cases of dissent and in each case the dissenting members stated their position and dissociated from *Jamaat*.

Internal Democracy on Important Questions of Policy

Question 11: How democratic is the decision making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? - 5 Marks

The *Ameer-e-Jamaat* in consultation with the Central Consultative Council (*Markazi Majlis-e-Shura*) of the *Jamaat* frames the policy and makes important decisions. If any problem arises in the regular activities of the *Jamaat*, the Central Consultative Council tries to solve it. It can exercise the power to interpret and

amend the constitution. Under all those circumstances, in which the meeting of the Central council is not taking place or is difficult to summon, the CWC will exercise the powers and functions of the central council, however the central council will have the full authority to approve or disapprove decisions made by the CWC.

Important decisions taken over the past year:

- i. Decision of Ameer JI, Mr. Siraj ul Haq, to act as a mediator between PTI/PAT and the Federal Government – This decision was made after a meeting of the Central Council.
- ii. Acceptance by Professor Muhammad Ibrahim, provincial Ameer JI-KP to be a member of the Committee nominated by TTP to hold dialogue with the Government – The name was proposed by TTP and it was discussed in the Central Council for final acceptance.
- iii. Decision to join coalition government in KP with the PTI – Initially it was discussed in a meeting of the Parliamentary Committee, then the Provincial Working Committee and Central Working Committee finalized the decision.
- iv. The decision to oppose call for dissolution of KP assembly by the PTI chief Mr. Imran Khan – It was made in a meeting of the Central Working Committee.

Participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the Party

Question 12: How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? - 5 Marks

Ji has a dedicated website for its women wing (<http://jamaatwomen.org/site/index>) but the women wing is autonomous with its own hierarchy at each level. The youth wing of the party is also active called *Shabab-e-Milli*. In 2013, Ji also established a minority wing.

Party Website

Question 13: How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? - 5 Marks

The website for *Jamaat-e-Islami* address is <http://jamaat.org/>

The status of availability of basic information on the website, when accessed during July to December 2014,

was as follows:

The Available Information:

- i. Party Constitution
- ii. 2013 Election Manifesto
- iii. Current Party Structure
- iv. Press Releases

The information not available:

- i. Names of Central, provincial and lower tiers office bearers are not found on the website
- ii. Names of the members of the Central Council are not available
- iii. Names of the members of the Central Working Committee are not available
- iv. A record of the meetings of various bodies within the party, at least at the national level including those of the Parliamentary Party meetings in the Senate, NA and Provincial Assemblies are not available
- v. Party's annual audited accounts statements, including the ones submitted to the ECP – are not given

National Party (NP)

The National Party was founded in October 2003 when the Balochistan National Democratic Party (BNDP) led by Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo, son of the Baloch nationalist leader Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, merged with another Balochistan-based middle-class nationalist party, Balochistan National Movement (BNM) led by Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch. Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch became the first president of the party and Mir Hasil Bizenjo the first Secretary General in the first party election in 2004. Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch was elected President in 2008 and 2011 party elections but he resigned from the position in 2013 when he was elected Chief Minister of Balochistan. Mir Hasil Bizenjo took over as the interim President. In the most recent party election in 2014, Mir Hasil Bizenjo was elected President. The party boycotted 2008 general election but emerged as the third largest party in the Balochistan Assembly in the 2013 general election. National Party contested 2013 polls only in Balochistan where it secured 5.56 % votes – securing 5th position in terms of votes polled. The polled votes translate into 0.13 % votes nationally. Party won one National Assembly seat and seven provincial assembly seats in 2013 election.

Internal democracy guaranteed by the Party Constitution

Question 1: How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? – 10 Marks

The constitution of National Party is a comprehensive document consisting of six chapters and spread over 18 pages.

Membership Criteria

The membership of National Party is open to all those citizens, irrespective of area, religion, caste or creed, who abide by the aims and objectives of the party's constitution. The minimum age for membership is 18 years. It is mandatory for the member to pay the basic fee for membership and donation demanded by the party from time to time. The member is also bound to defend the policies, procedures and decisions of the party and participate actively and regularly in the various activities of the party.

Powers of the Party Head

The President is the Chief of the party. He can exercise the power to take disciplinary action against any member of the party or the Central Committee (except office bearers at the central and unity councils) and

suspend them for three months. However, these actions are subject to approval in the next meeting of the Central Committee. The President can summon a meeting of any body of the party at any time and chair that meeting. He can then take disciplinary action against any of the subsidiary bodies; however, approval from the central committee is necessary. The President will have the power to nominate members in case of vacant positions in the Central Committee and the National Congress, but approval from the Central Committee would also be required.

Powers of the second and third senior-most Office Bearers in the Party

The no. 2 and 3 in the party are the Senior Vice President and the Secretary General. The Senior Vice President, in the absence of the President, can exercise all his powers. In the President's presence, he will assist the President in carrying out all party activities. He will also be responsible for external affairs and guide the party in relevant matters. The Secretary General will have the power to prepare the agenda for meetings of the Central Committee and National Congress. He can also summon a meeting of the Central Committee and National Congress in consultation with the President. The various organizations of the party will have to submit reports of administrative activities to the Secretary General whenever he demands. He can also form a Secretariat to monitor the activities of different organizations in the party with the approval of the Central Committee.

Powers to amend the Party Constitution

The power to amend the party constitution lies with the National Congress, which has to approve the amendment with a two-thirds majority.

Nomination of Party Candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

The Central Executive Committee forms a five-member Parliamentary Board for nomination of party candidates.

Constitutional Bodies of the Party

The National Party comprises of the following bodies: National Congress, Central Executive Committee, Central Cabinet, National Unity Council, Unity Cabinet, Regional Committee, District Council, District Cabinet, Tehsil Council/Union Council, Tehsil Cabinet (for cities), Primary Unit (for villages).

The National Congress consists of 500 members inclusive of the Central Committee, Central Cabinet, Unity Cabinet, District Presidents and General Secretaries according to their designations.

The President nominates 50 members from different regions for the National Congress and the remaining are elected by the District Councils. The Central Executive Committee comprises of 60 members including the Central Cabinet, Presidents and Secretaries of National Unity Councils and 10 members nominated by the Party President. The Central Cabinet consists of the following: President, Senior Vice President, Provincial Presidents, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, Joint Secretary, Finance Secretary, Information Secretary, Labour Secretary, Culture Secretary, Secretary Women Wing, Secretary Overseas, Coordination Secretary, Secretary Human Rights, Secretary Research and Advocacy, Secretary Education, Secretary Law, and Secretary Farmers.

The National Congress is party's supreme and authoritative body that guides the party's activities. The CEC is the supreme administrative body of the party that will oversee and guide the societal, political and academic organizations of the party.

Party Elections

Question 2: How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? - 10 Marks

According to the constitution, party elections are to take place every three years. The first party election took place in 2004 followed by the second in 2008, the third in 2011 and the fourth and the most recent one in November 2014.⁷⁰ As a part of the most recent election, around 1200 members participated in their party's national congress out of which 500 were elected delegates. Before this, intra-party elections took place in September 2011.

For all bodies and office bearers of the party, the process of intra-party elections takes place through secret balloting. In the case of central office bearers, the Central Committee and for the election of the rest of the office bearers, the central, provincial and related cabinets form a three-member election committee to carry out the process of elections. The members of the respective committees nominate the election commissioners. Membership is frozen 3 months before the date of convention.

Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo was elected president

and Dr. Yasin Baloch secretary general of the National Party (NP) in the party elections held on November 10th 2014. Mr. Bizenjo obtained 333 votes from the party's councillors against 132 votes polled by veteran Baloch leader Dr. Hayee Baloch. The names and positions of new office-bearers of the party are: Mir Tahir Bizenjo, Senior Vice President (previously Secretary General); Dr. Hassan Nasir, Deputy Secretary General; Mr. Mehrab Marri, Joint Secretary; Mr. Haji Fida Mohammad Dashti, Finance Secretary; and Mir Jan Mohammad Buledi, Secretary Information.

Internal Structures of the Party

Question 3: How effective are the various bodies of the party? - 10 Marks

How frequently do various bodies meet?

The National Congress is required to meet whenever the Central Committee decides to hold a meeting depending upon majority vote count. Under unusual circumstances, one-fourth members of the National Council can send a written requisition for a meeting to the President or the Secretary General and it has to take place within one month.

The Central Executive Committee is required to meet every three months. Otherwise, one-fourth of the Central Executive Committee can send a written requisition for a meeting to the President or the Secretary General. After a meeting with the party president, Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo, it has been confirmed that this is done in practice as well. In the past one year, 5 meetings of the CEC have taken place and the most recent one took place November 11, 2014.⁷¹ The Central Executive Committee can also seek a meeting of the Provincial Council by giving it a 10 days' notice.

How far are various party holders elected instead of nominated by the party leadership?

All office-bearers of the party are elected through a process of secret balloting. The members of election committees formed at every level nominate the election commissioner. Only chiefs at the district level are nominated, otherwise, all other position holders are elected.

How predominant are the nominated members of the CEC in comparison to the elected one?

The National Party's Central Executive Committee (CEC) currently consists of 50 members who are all

70. Meeting with National Party President, Mr. Hasil Khan Bizenjo on November 9, 2014 at the Serena Hotel, Quetta

71. Data collected from the party Secretary General

elected through secret balloting. There is an elected Central Cabinet. However, in the meeting with Mr. Hasil Khan Bizenjo at Quetta during their intra-party elections (November 2014), it was clarified that the President can exercise the power to induct 10 persons that he considers worthy at any time into the Central Executive Committee. In case of a new organizational setup in an area, nominations take place for members of organizing committees.

According to Dr. Yasin Baloch,⁷² the newly elected Secretary General of the party, the party membership is 80,000.

Are the provincial party chiefs elected and not nominated by the party chief?

The provincial party chiefs are to be elected according to the constitution. In practice, however, only provincial head of Balochistan is elected while other three provincial heads are appointed for the time being probably because the party does not have a proper organization in any other province except Balochistan for the time being. The provincial elections are due in March 2015 for Balochistan. In case of the rest of the provinces, their respective leadership will decide when to hold their elections. The provincial chief of Balochistan is Dr. Yasin Baloch (elected unopposed), who is also now the Secretary General of the party, for Sindh it is Mr. Rahim Baksh Jaffry (selected through consultation), for Punjab it is Mr. Ayub Malik (selected through consultation) and for KP it is Mr. Mukhtar Bacha (selected through consultation).

Involvement of local party organizations in selecting party candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

Question 4: How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past National and Provincial Assembly elections? - 10 Marks

Local party organizations will have the authority to form a three-person election committee. The district selection board nominates the candidates for National and Provincial Assemblies. The Provincial Board will review and will then ascertain the final decision. But participation of local party organizations in finalising the candidates for National and Provincial Assembly during the last elections in 2013 is unclear.

Parliamentary Parties' role in developing party position and agenda for parliamentary sessions

Question 5: How regularly do parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? - 5 Marks

The parliamentary party in Balochistan Assembly, being the ruling party with many members in the cabinet, does not meet regularly but informal contacts among members and leadership are maintained. In the National Assembly and the Senate, there is only one member of the party in each house so the question of a meeting does not arise...

Annual Party Conventions

Question 6: How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? - 5 Marks

National Party holds its conventions (called Congress in Party constitution) regularly after every three years. There is no concept of meeting annually. The fourth such national congress of the party took place from 8th - 11th November 2014 in Quetta and a Central Secretary Report was presented. The workers and councillors debated freely on it, presented their criticisms to the Chief Minister Balochistan (Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch), the party president (Mir Hasil Bizenjo) and Central Secretary General (Mir Tahir Bizenjo). Intra-party elections at central level also take place during these days.

Dynastic Leadership

Question 7: How does the party follow the tradition of dynastic leadership? - 5 Marks

There is no indication of a tradition of a dynastic leadership in the party as of now. Three party presidents elected so far have no relationship. Apparently there is no effort to groom new leaders from the family of any of the present leadership. Party seems to have a strong democratic tradition. Sitting President of the party who also happened to be the founding President, Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch lost election for the party President when he sought re-election in 2007. The unsuccessful candidate, highly respected in his own right, did not

72. Meeting with Secretary General, Dr. Yasin Baloch on November 20 2014 at Serena Hotel, Islamabad

dissociate from the party as is the norm in many other parties. Dr. Baloch contested presidential election in 2014 again but lost to Mir Hasil Bizenjo.

Change in top party leadership

Question 8: How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? - 5 Marks

Three Party Presidents have taken their positions through open election in the past 11 years history of the party.

Funding base and credibility of party accounts

Question 9: How wide is the funding base and how credible are the audited accounts of the party? - 10 Marks

Funding Base

Funds are generated through membership fee that is Rs. 20/month, donations, grants and aid, profit from publications of the party and its broadcasting house, charity collected on special occasions and other welfare activities carried out by the party. The party, as claimed in the party statement of accounts and during interviews, does not have any external donors and the entire income generated by the party comes from the membership. For the purpose of carrying out the intra-party elections for 2014 in the centre, they organized a convention and raised funds. The total number of donors is not known. The information has been requested from the party and is still awaited.

The party has not been regular in submitting its annual audited statements of accounts to the ECP. Out of the past 6 years, the party has submitted its accounts for only two years (2009-10 and 2011-12)

Tolerance for Dissent within the party

Question 10: How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against party officials who were considered to have violated the party discipline? - 5 Marks

According to constitution, disciplinary action can be taken against any member, member of council or central executive committee if they are found guilty of breaking the norms and constitutional bindings,

involved in corruption or nepotism. In case of dispute resolution or vote of no confidence on the leadership and or designated executive council members, all members can call for a session if 25 per cent of the members are in favour of it. Once the quorum is established, the members can vote or debate on an issue.

If the president or any member from the top leadership has a complaint against any party member, he or she can be suspended temporarily. A meeting of the Central Executive Committee is summoned and only then the final decision is taken. A person cannot be suspended or removed till the approval of the Central Executive Committee is received. If the President or any other top leader is guilty of any violation, there is no solution but to call the National Council.

Internal Democracy on Important Questions of Policy

Question 11: How democratic is the decision making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? - 5 Marks

The Congress and CEC of the party can exercise the power to implement the party's aims and objectives and develop policy and committees accordingly. It can partner with other organizations, strategize, build linkages and start joint political movements while remaining within the boundaries of the constitution. For any dispute – constitutional, organizational or political – the committee can debate upon it and take a final decision.

Important decisions taken over the past year:

- i. Decision of Coalition partnership with PML-N in Balochistan – It was taken after a meeting of the Central Executive Committee.
- ii. Decision of Dr. Malik to not contest for president ship of the party after he became CM – It was decided after a meeting of the Central Executive Committee.
- iii. The decision to take part in the elections of 2013 was very important as they had in the past, boycotted the elections of 2008. The decision was taken after a meeting of the CEC.
- iv. It has recently been decided to establish the party's presence in all four provinces. The matter was put before the Congress and approved through a consensus among all members.

Participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the Party

Question 12: How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? - 5 Marks

There are reserved seats for women in the National Congress, Central Executive Committee and Central Cabinet of the party. The party leadership informed that they try to ensure that women representation in these bodies is at least 15 per cent but this is a goal that is still to be achieved. Specialized wing for women exist at every level in the party headed by Secretary Women Wing. One of the Vice Presidents elected this year is a woman named Syeda Ghulam Fatima for Punjab.

Party Website

Question 13: How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? - 5 Marks

The website for National Party is www.nationalparty.org.pk. The website was inactive previously but now a web home page exists without any active links or data on it.

Awami National Party (ANP)

The Awami National Party (ANP) was formed in 1986 with the merger of National Democratic Party (NDP) with several other groups. NDP was the successor of Abdul Wali Khan-led National Awami Party (NAP) which was banned by the federal government in 1975. The ANP has its main power base in KP province. Mr. Khan Abdul Wali Khan became its first President in 1986. Mr. Asfandiyar Wali Khan, son of Mr. Abdul Wali Khan, became President of ANP in 1999 and continues in the position at present. He has been elected President of the party for the fifth time in August 2014. The ANP was returned as the largest party in the KP Assembly in 2008 and it formed the provincial government in coalition with the PPPP. The ANP secured around 2% votes in 2008 election with 10 seats in the National Assembly. The party was however routed in 2013 election when it could muster less than 1 % votes and a lone seat in the National Assembly.

Internal Democracy guaranteed by the party constitution

Question 1: How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? – 10 Marks

The constitution of Awami National Party (ANP) is a document of 8 pages with articles not separately identified in it.

Membership Criteria

Membership into the Awami National Party, constitutes for the member to agree to a few key points being that he/she should be above 16 years of age and willing to publicize the ideology of the party and not already part of another party..

Powers of the Party Head

The President is the Party's Head who is responsible for supervising the work of the party's office bearers. His powers are outlined in a total of six points and not as well defined.

Powers of the second and third senior-most Office Bearers in the Party

The No. 2 and 3 in the party are the Secretary General and the Vice President, respectively.⁷³ Both their powers and functions are not defined except stated that in the absence of the President, the Vice President shall be the acting President and exercise all his powers and in his presence, assist the President in performing his duties. The Vice President is to do what is delegated to him by the President or the CEC.

The hierarchy of the party is as follows:

President
Secretary General
Senior Vice President
Vice Presidents
Deputy Secretary General
Joint Secretaries
Secretary Finance
Secretary Information
Secretary Foreign Affairs
Secretary Labour and Student Affairs
Central Chief Commander.

Powers to amend the Party Constitution

Amendments in the party's constitution can be made by two-third majority of the present members of the Central Council provided that the number of members present in the meeting shall not be less than half of the total members of the Central Council.

Nomination of Party Candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

There is no clear procedure or terms of reference defined in the constitution regarding the nomination and selection of party candidates for national and provincial assemblies. There is, however, a Central Parliamentary Party that consists of those members who have been elected in the National Assembly and Senate on Party's tickets.

Constitutional Bodies of the Party

The structure of the party consists of the following institutions: Central Council; Central Executive Council; Central Cabinet; Central Parliamentary Party and Central Election Office. The structure of the National Units (Provinces) consists of Executive Councils of the National Units i.e. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Balochistan, Sindh, Punjab and Saraeki; Cabinets of National Units; Parliamentary Boards of National Units; Parliamentary Parties of National Units; Volunteer groups of National Units; District, Tehsil (Taluka/Tappa), Wards/ Primary Committees of National Units and Election Commissions of National Units.

The Central Council elects a Central Cabinet for a 4-year period and elects members of the Central Executive Council from each National Unit. It can also amend and abrogate manifesto and constitution of the Party.

The Central Executive Committee is the supreme executive body of the Party. It devises policies and implements them in the light of the Party's manifesto. It

73. Meeting with Ex-Secretary General, Mr. Ehsan Wyne on November 13, 2014

also passes resolutions, in accordance with the Party's manifesto, and takes steps for their implementation in the light of the aims and objectives of the Party and in view of the problems being faced by the people.

Party Elections

Question 2: How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? - 10 Marks

According to the constitution, the term of office is 4 years but all office bearers perform their duties till the next elections can take place. In practice, intra-party elections take place regularly. The last intra-party polls took place in April 2014.

The Central Executive Committee has to appoint a five-member election commission that supervises party elections in the entire country. The Senior Vice President is the Chairman of the commission and he takes one representative from each province to constitute the body. The Election Commission has to chalk out its own procedure of conducting elections.

Although President and Senior Vice Presidents were elected un-opposed, election for the position of the Secretary General was quite competitive for the year 2014 in that there were three strong nominees: Mr. Afrasiab Khattak, Mr. Latif Afridi and Mr. Iftikhar Hussain; Mr. Iftikhar Hussain won.

Internal Structures of the Party

Question 3: How effective are the various bodies of the party? - 10 Marks

How frequently do various bodies meet?

The main bodies of the party include: Central Council, Central Executive Council, Central Cabinet, Central Parliamentary Party and Central Election Office.

1/4th members of the Central Council can requisition a meeting by issuing a written notice, along with agenda, in the name of the Secretary General of the Party. On receipt of the notice, the Secretary General, after consultation with the President, shall be bound to summon a meeting of the Council within two weeks. There are around 300 Central Council members and representation from each province is 70-80 in number. The meeting of the Council takes place once a year and otherwise, the President can also summon a meeting.

The **Central Executive Committee** is required to hold

3 meetings in a year, that is, once after every four months. One-fourth members of the CEC can issue a notice to summon an emergency meeting provided that agenda is attached with the notice. The secretary general in consultation with the president can also call for the meeting of CEC. And the President can also summon a meeting whenever he deems necessary. The recent meeting of the CEC took place on November 12 2014 and the agenda was to support the constitution of Pakistan in the light of the PTI protests happening around the country.⁷⁴

The meetings of the **Central Council** and the **Central Executive Committee** are required to be held in each province by rotation.

How far are various party holders elected instead of nominated by the party leadership?

Members of the Central Executive Council are elected from each National Unit (Province).

The Central Executive Committee comprises 15 elected members from each Unit, besides members of the Central Cabinet.

The Central President, in his discretion, nominates 10 members from the Central Council to the Central Executive Committee.

How predominant are the nominated members of the CEC in comparison to the elected ones?

The Central Working Committee is an elected body of the party. There are a total of 80 members that make up this body, 15 from each province. However, the Central President, in his discretion, nominates 10 members from the Central Council to the Central Executive Committee.

Are the provincial party chiefs elected and not nominated by the party chief?

Provincial Presidents in the ANP get elected according to constitution. The current provincial presidents were elected in August 2014 and include the following names: Mr. Manzoor Ahmed (Punjab), Mr. Haider Khan Hoti (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa), Mr. Shahi Syed (Sindh) and Mr. Asghar Khan Achakzai (Balochistan).

Involvement of local party organizations in selecting party candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures

Question 4: How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past

74. Reported by Mr. Ehsan Wyne who had attended the CEC Meeting

National and Provincial Assembly elections? - 10 Marks

There is no apparent route or terms of reference defined in the constitution regarding the nomination and selection of party candidates of the ANP for National and Provincial Assemblies. There is, however, a Central Parliamentary Party that consists of those members who have been elected in the National Assembly and Senate on Party's tickets. The ANP constitutes elections committees and organising committee for each district that was tasked to supervise the membership campaign as well as holding of fair intra party elections at the level of Union council, District and Provincial level.

The provincial councils recommend names to the provincial elections commissions for assigning of tickets for both National and Provincial Assemblies. The main criteria are keeping in view the person's sacrifices, commitment and loyalty to the party. Granting provincial autonomy is the base of ANP.

Parliamentary Parties' role in developing party position and agenda for parliamentary sessions***Question 5: How regularly do parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? - 5 Marks***

Before the sessions of Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies, a meeting of the CEC takes place in which the parliamentary leaders are also invited. During this meeting, the leaders are prepared for the stand they have to take during the sessions and it is made sure that everyone is united on the agenda at hand.

Annual Party Conventions***Question 6: How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? - 5 Marks***

As per constitution of the ANP, an annual convention is held each year in which party workers, members, committees and central council participates. Usually such a convention is timed with death anniversaries of Mr. Bacha Khan or Mr. Khan Abdul Wali Khan.

Dynastic Leadership***Question 7: How does the party follow the tradition of dynastic leadership? - 5 Marks***

Mr. Asfandiyar Wali Khan has been elected President of the party for the fifth term in 2014. His father Mr. Khan Abdul Wali Khan was the founder President of the party from 1986 to 1990. The party is inspired by the ideas of Mr. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was the grand father of Mr. Asfandiyar Wali Khan. Mr. Asfandiyar Wali Khan's nephew, Mr. Amir Haider Hoti, is elected provincial president of the party in KP. Previously he served as Chief Minister of KP under the ANP government from 2008 to 2013. These developments indicate a strong tradition of dynastic leadership.

Change in top party leadership***Question 8: How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? - 5 Marks***

Mr. Asfandiyar Wali Khan is the President of the party since 1999 with about one year gap in 2002-03. Party Leadership has, therefore, not changed during the last 10 years.

Funding base and credibility of party accounts***Question 9: How wide is the funding base and how credible are the audited accounts of the party? - 10 Marks*****Funding Base**

The Party funds are raised through the following sources:

1/4th of the donations or membership fee raised by the National Units or subordinate organs of the Party is allocated to the Central Fund of the Party.

Each member of the Central Council pays a monthly fee of Rs. 25, which is deposited before a meeting of the Council.

Each member of the Central Executive Committee pays a monthly fee of Rs. 50 that is deposited before a meeting of the Central Executive Committee.

Each observer in the Central Council or Central Executive Committee meetings pays a fee of Rs. 100.

At the recent meeting of the CEC that took place on November 12, 2014, a donation of Rs. 1000 was collected from the members who attended. Those members who could afford to give more, donated generously.⁷⁵

The Annual Statement of Accounts submitted by the

75. Meeting with Mr. Ehsan Wyne on November 13, 2014.

party does not indicate the number of donors. It is, therefore, not possible to ascertain how wide is the funding base of the party. The information has been sought from the party and is still awaited.

Tolerance for Dissent within the party

Question 10: How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against party officials who were considered to have violated the party discipline? - 5 Marks

The CEC can take disciplinary actions against the National Units Party and subordinate bodies as needed. It can take disciplinary action against a Party member and give verdicts in appeals filed by members of the Party in decisions given in disciplinary action against them by National Units or lower organs of the Party. It also considers cases of disciplinary actions taken by the Central President and endorses or reverses such decisions by the Central President.

The award of some party tickets for the General Election 2013 became a bone of contention among members of the Awami National Party⁷⁶ (ANP). Former MPA Mr. Ateef-ur-Rehman Khalil contested as an independent candidate following disagreements with the ANP's leadership. He criticized ANP's leadership and accused it of ignoring deserving candidates in favour of influential ones. He alleged many union council cabinets from PK-5 to PK-10 had resigned from the party. The party leadership clarified that the legal way to defend oneself in case of not being awarded a party ticket is to first file a case with the parliamentary board wherein a five-member committee decides the case on merit. If the parliamentary board fails to decide the matter, the case is forwarded to the appellate board that has the final authority to accept or reject it.

Internal Democracy on Important Questions of Policy

Question 11: How democratic is the decision making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? - 5 Marks

The Central Executive Committee of the ANP devises policies and implements them in the light of the

constitution and manifesto, as it is the supreme body of the party that delegates powers to the president. It collects all necessary information for the achievement of party's aims and objectives and passes resolutions in view of the problems faced by members.

Important decisions taken over the past year:

- i. The decision to appoint a relatively inexperienced Mr. Amir Haider Hoti, Asfandyar Wali Khan's nephew, as Chief Minister KP following 2008 election while stalwarts like Mr. Bashir Bilour were available for the position: ANP representatives explained to PILDAT that this decision was taken with the approval of the Central Working Committee. It was then thought by the party that Mr. Hoti was more qualified and articulate than Mr. Bilour even though there is no denying that Mr. Bilour also enjoyed a great deal of support from the party. Decision was, therefore, taken in favour of Mr. Hoti because of, as the ANP representative put it, his greater intellectual abilities.⁷⁷
- ii. Policy to respond to the formation of Begum Nasim Wali Khan-led ANP-Wali: Based on an interview with a senior Party leader, it was ascertained that the party believes there is no other bloc in the party and it has no existence for them. They do accept that it is a sad thing that Begum Nasim Wali Khan is angry with the leadership but politically, there are no repercussions and it is all in all just one party.
- iii. The decision to support the PML-N led federal government against the PTI/PAT demands for Mr. Nawaz Sharif's resignation was taken after a meeting of the Central Working Committee. It was based on the fact that the ANP supports the government of the PML-N as it is constitutionally correct and that democracy must be defended in the larger interest of the country.

Participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the Party

Question 12: How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? - 5 Marks

Nothing is mentioned in the constitution regarding women, youth and minorities. However, media reports show that wings for women and youth were reorganized in 2013.

76. <http://tribune.com.pk/story/526757/internal-dissent-former-anp-minister-to-contest-as-independent-candidate/>

77. Meeting with Ex-Secretary General, Mr. Ehsan Wyne on November 13, 2014

Party Website

Question 13: How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? - 5 Marks

The website for ANP is .

The status of availability of basic information on the website, when accessed during July to December 2014, was as follows:

The Available Information:

- i. Party Constitution
- ii. 2013 Election Manifesto
- iii. Names of Central, provincial and lower tiers office bearers – mostly given
- iv. Names of the members of the Central Council are given
- v. Names of the members of the Central Executive Committee are given
- vi. Policy Statements issued by the party president and other party Officials are available
- vii. Press Releases

The information not available:

- i. Current Party Structure
- ii. Names of Central, provincial and lower tiers office bearers are not found on the website
- iii. Names of the members of the Central Council are not available
- iv. Names of the members of the Central Working Committee are not available
- v. A record of the meetings of various bodies within the party, at least at the national level including those of the Parliamentary Party meetings in the Senate, NA and Provincial Assemblies are not available
- vi. Party's annual audited accounts statements, including the ones submitted to the ECP – are not given

Scoring & Analysis

Background:

A set of 13 criteria was devised to assess the internal democratic procedures of major political parties in Pakistan. 5 of these criteria carry equal weightage of 10 marks each; the remaining 8 of them carry 5 marks each. Each political party has been assigned scores against these 13 criteria; 1 indicating the lowest mark and 5 or 10 indicating the maximum marks.

A Steering Committee of thirteen (13) knowledgeable persons was constituted by PILDAT to guide and oversee the assessment of internal democracy of political parties. The purpose of the Steering committee is to (a) Review and approve the framework of assessment of the internal democracy of political parties; (b) Guide the process of assessment. Finally the Steering Committee has been briefed on the factual data compiled by PILDAT on each of the 13 indicators for the eight political parties and the steering committee members, based on the data shared with them and on the basis of their own knowledge and insight, have (c) Assigned scores to each of the 13 indicators of 8 political parties. Scores so assigned by the steering committee are presented in the Score Card placed as Appendix A of this report.

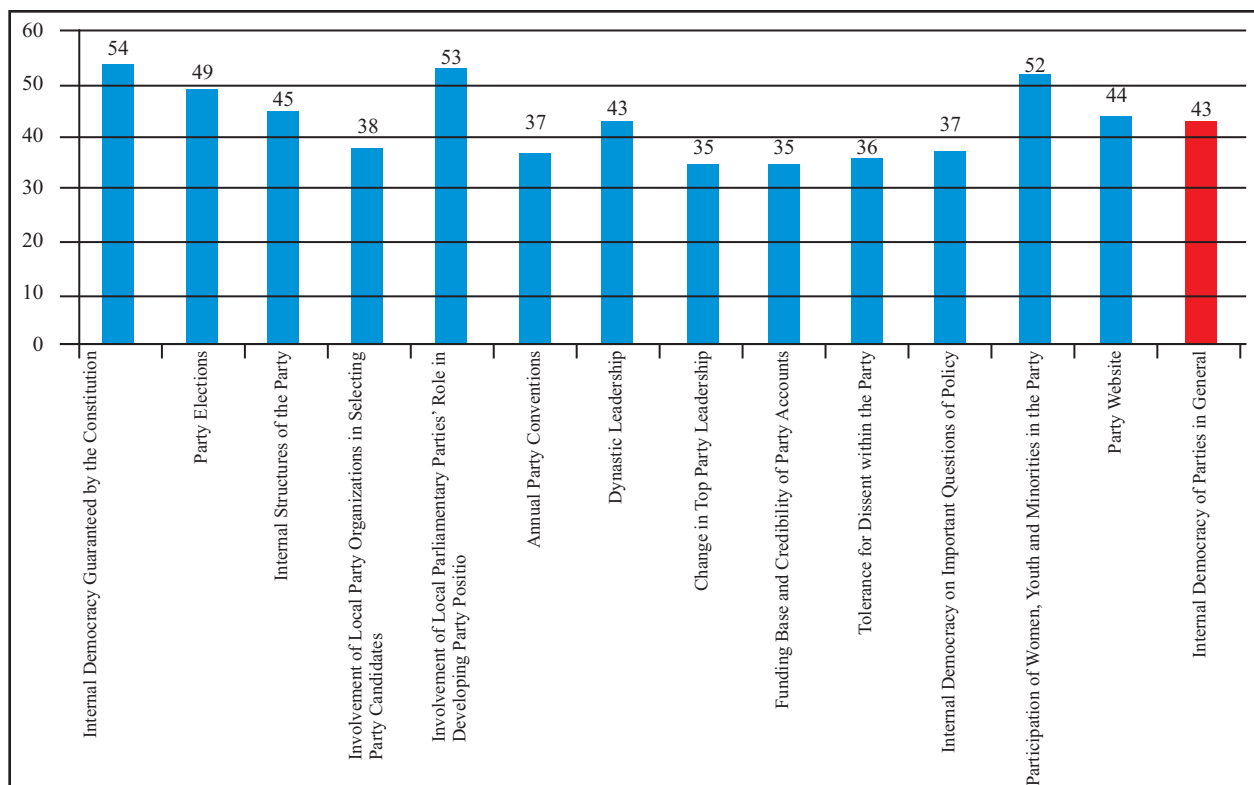
Analysis of the Overall Score:

On the average, the internal democracy in the selected eight political parties received an overall score of 43 out of 100 indicating that the state of internal democracy of political parties in Pakistan is not good and has serious gaps.

Within this overall score, the highest score is assigned to the Constitutions of the political parties. The internal democracy guaranteed by the party constitution has received 54 % score.

Regularity of Parliamentary Parties meetings has received a score of 53% which is the second highest among the thirteen indicators.

Figure 1: Comparative Score for Individual Indicators



Active participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the parties' affairs has been given a score of 52 %, which is the third highest score.

Democratic change in the top leadership of political parties has received the least scores i.e 35 % indicating that seldom do political parties allow democratic change of their top leaders unless it is forced by the circumstances such as death or, in some cases, exile. Credibility of political parties' statements of accounts and their funding base has also been a matter of concern for the assessors and has received the same score i.e 35 %. In the same context, the tradition of dynastic leadership has also found disapproval with the assessors and the question of how far is this practice discouraged in parties received a score of 43 %.

The second lowest score is granted to the Tolerance of dissent within political parties which receives 36 % score.

Internal Party Election, an important indicator of democracy within the parties, has received 49 % score, which is the fourth highest score among the 13 indicators.

The following paragraphs and figures indicate how eight political parties have scored in each of the thirteen indicators.

Internal Democracy guaranteed by the Party Constitution

The first indicator of the framework is based on the question 'How much democracy does the party constitution guarantee within the party?'

The pie chart in Figure 2 shows the results of scores obtained by the eight selected political parties on the first indicator. The highest score is gained by the constitution of PTI, that is, 62%. The second highest score is gained by JUI-F, that is, 59 %. The third highest score – 57 % - goes to JI. The party that received the lowest score on this count - 45 % - is MQM followed by PPP and NP both of which received equal score of 50 %. The third lowest score, 53%, has gone to PML-N.

Party Elections

The second component is based on the question 'How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections?'

Figure 2: Internal Democracy Guaranteed by the Constitution

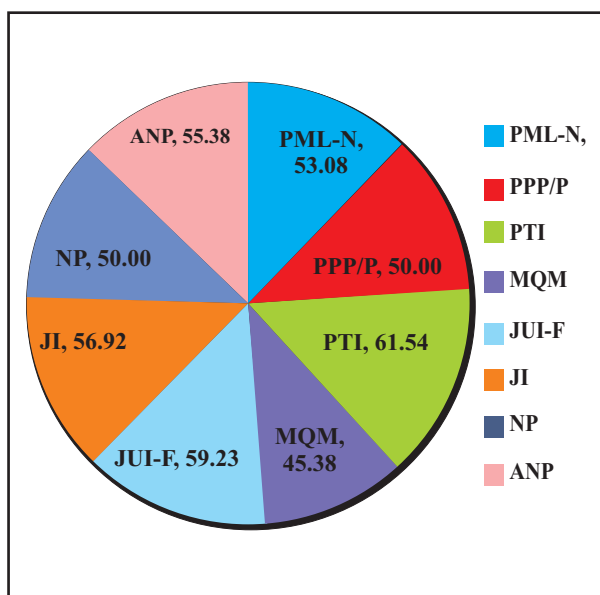
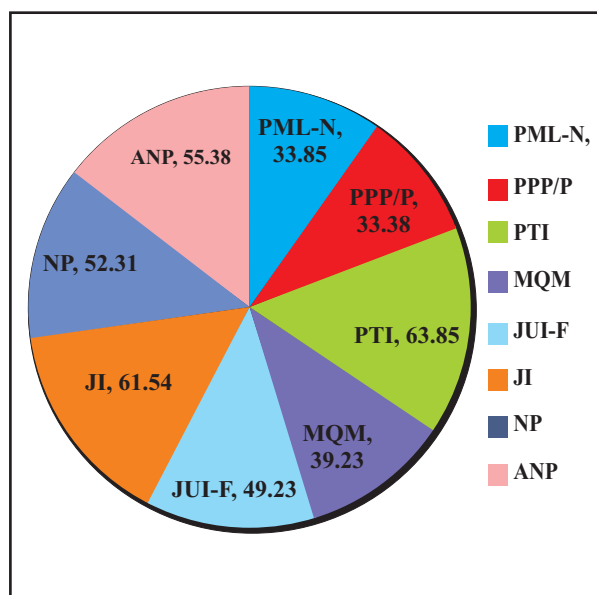


Figure 3: Party Elections



The pie chart in Figure 3 shows the results of scores obtained by the eight selected political parties on the second indicator. The highest score is gained by the PTI, that is, 64 %. The second and third highest score is gained by JI and ANP, that is, 62 % and 55 % respectively. PML-N received the lowest score – 34 % - on this count followed by PPP (35 %) and MQM (39 %).

Internal Structures of the Party

The third indicator is based on the following question 'How effective are the various bodies of the party and how frequently do they meet?'

The pie chart in Figure 4 shows the results of scores obtained by the eight selected political parties in the third indicator. The highest score is gained by the JI, that is, 64 %. Followed by MQM (49 %) and JUI-F and ANP (Both 48 %). PML-N has received the lowest score (25 %) followed by PPP (35 %) and PTI (45 %).

Involvement of Local Party Organizations in Selecting Party Candidates for the National and Provincial Legislatures

The fourth indicator is based on the following question 'How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past National and Provincial Assembly elections?'

Figure 5 shows the results of scores obtained by the eight selected political parties on the fourth indicator. The highest score, 44 %, is secured by three parties: JI, JUI-F and ANP. The second and the third highest score is received by PTI (42 %) and MQM (40 %). The lowest score is received by PML-N (24 %) followed by PPP (25 %) and NP (38 %).

Figure 4: Internal Structures of the Party

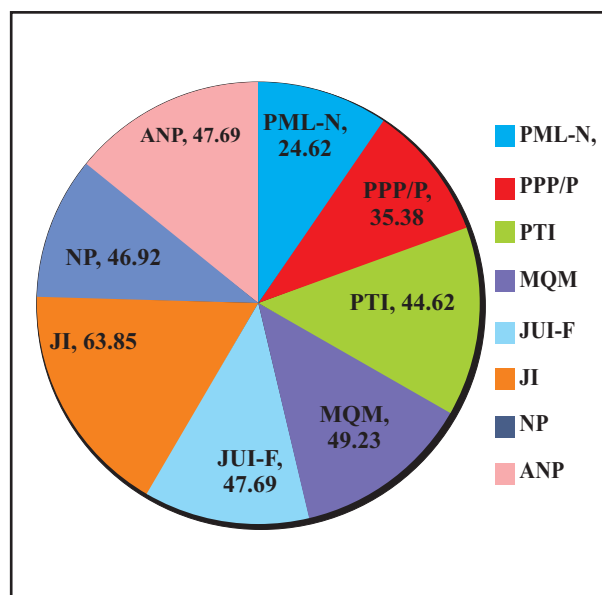
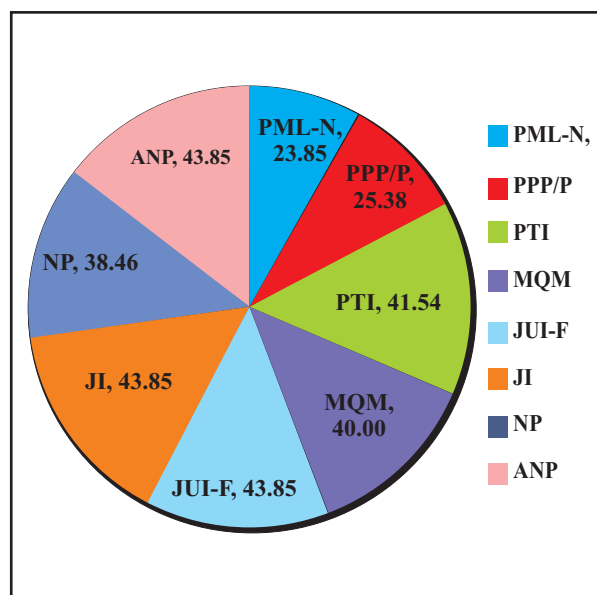


Figure 5: Involvement of Local Party Organizations in Selecting Party Candidates for National and Provincial Legislatures



Parliamentary Parties' Role in Developing Party Position and Agenda for Parliamentary Sessions

The fifth indicator is based on the following question 'How regularly the parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies?' Figure 6 depicts the scores obtained by each party.

The highest score of 63 % is shared by two parties: JI and MQM. The second and third highest score is received by JUI-F (58 %) and PTI (56 %) respectively. The three lowest scores are received by PML-N (37 %), PPP (45 %) and NP (48 %).

Annual Party Conventions

The sixth indicator is based on the following question 'How regularly does the party hold its annual convention?' The scores by eight political parties are shown in Figure 7.

The three highest scores are achieved by the JI (52 %), JUI-F (43 %), ANP and NP (Both 40 %). Three lowest scores go to PML-N (20 %), PPP (25 %) and PTI (34 %).

Figure 6: Parliamentary Parties' Role in Developing Party Position and Agenda for Parliamentary Sessions

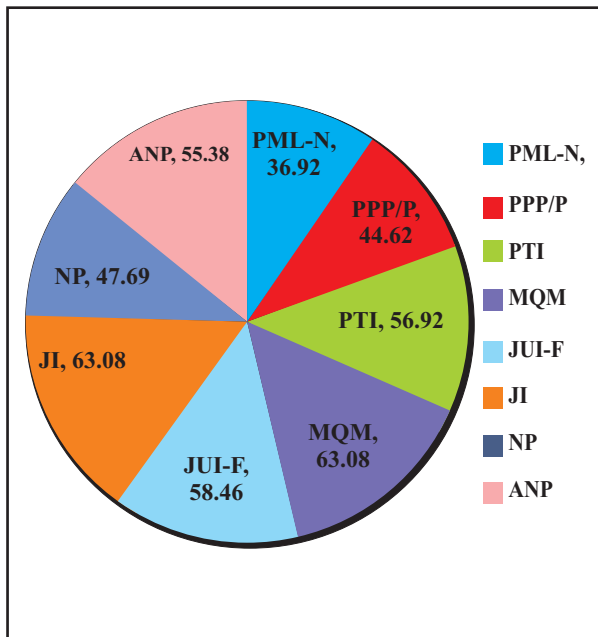
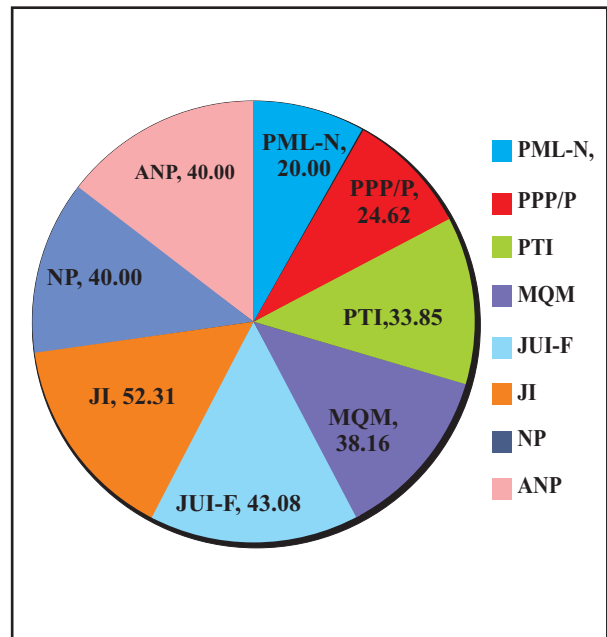


Figure 7: Annual Party Conventions



Discouraging Dynastic Leadership

The seventh indicator is based on the following question 'How far does the party not have a tradition of dynastic leadership?' The party scores for this indicator are shown in Figure 8.

The highest score (86%) is gained by the JI followed by PTI (57%) and NP (51%) whereas the lowest score is shared by PML-N and PPP both of whom scored 14 %. The second and the third lowest scoring parties are JUI-F (35%) and ANP (42%).

Change in Top Party Leadership

The eighth indicator is based on the following question 'How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief?' The scores relating to this indicator are shown in Figure 9.

The highest score is gained by the JI, that is, 80%. The second and third highest scores are gained by the NP (66%) and the ANP (40 %). The three lowest scores are assigned to PML-N (11 %), PPP (12 %) and MQM (18 %).

Figure 8: Dynastic Leadership

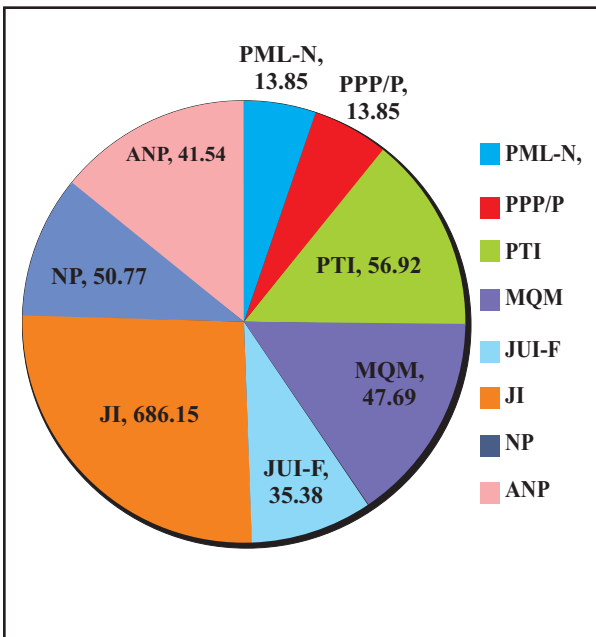
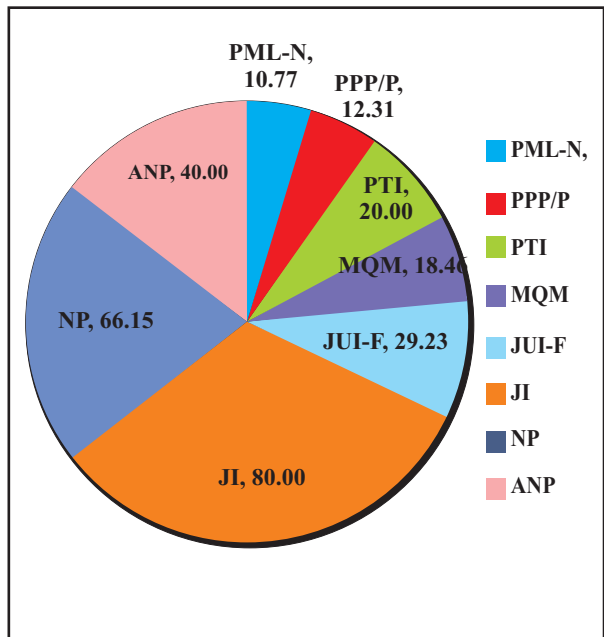


Figure 9: Change in Top Party Leadership



Funding Base and Credibility of Party Accounts

The ninth indicator is based on the following question 'How wide is the funding base and how credible are the audited accounts of the party?' The results of the scoring exercise on this indicator are presented in Figure 10.

The highest score is shared by the JI and the PTI both of whom scored 48 % followed by MQM (33%) and NP (32%). The least score is achieved by the PML-N (28 %) followed by ANP (30%), JUI-F and PPP both of whom scored 31%.

Tolerance for Dissent within the Party

The tenth indicator is based on the following question 'How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against dissenting party officials?' The scores assigned to eight political parties under this indicator are presented in the Figure 11.

The highest score in this indicator is shared by the JI and the ANP both of whom have scored 48% followed by JUI-F (42%) and NP (40%). The lowest scores go to MQM (12 %), followed, by a big margin, by PTI (26 %) and PMLN and PPP (Both 37%).

Figure 10: Funding Base and Credibility of Party Accounts

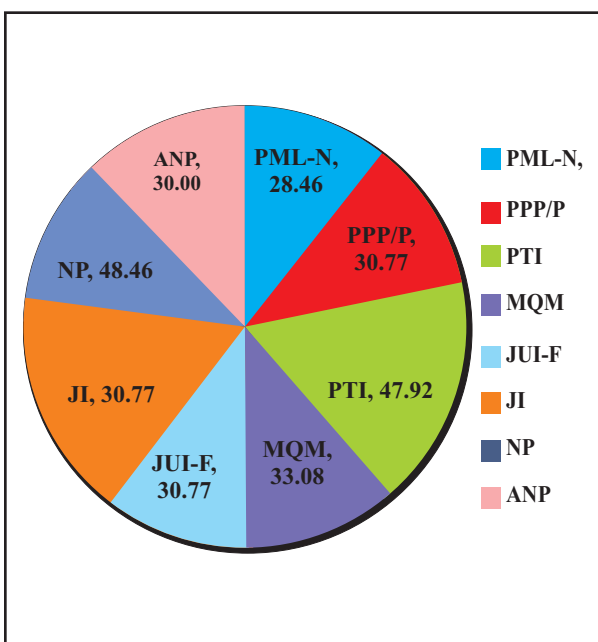
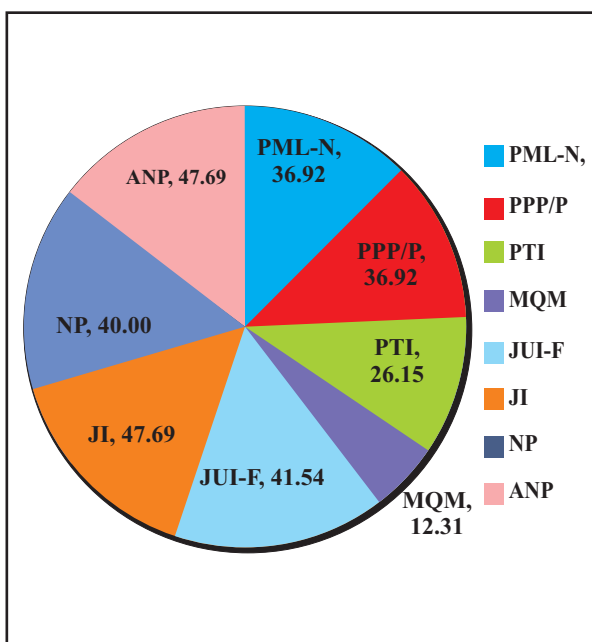


Figure 11: Tolerance for Dissent within the Party



Internal Democracy on Important Questions of Policy

The eleventh indicator is based on the following question 'How democratic is the decision making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year?' The scores on this indicator are shown in Figure 12.

The highest score is gained by the JI (48 %) followed by ANP (46 %) and JUI-F (45 %). The lowest scores go to PML-N (26%), MQM (28 %) and PPP (32 %).

Participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the Party

The twelfth indicator is based on the following question 'How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party?' The result of scoring is presented in Figure 13.

The three highest scores go to the PTI (77 %), MQM (69 %) and PPP (66 %). The parties scoring the lowest on this indicator are NP (29 %), JI (37 %), JUI-F and ANP (Both 46 %).

Figure 12: Internal Democracy on Important Questions of Policy

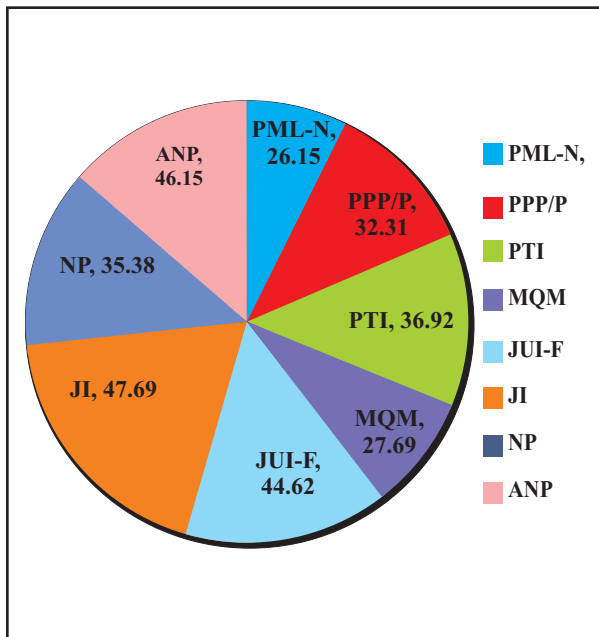
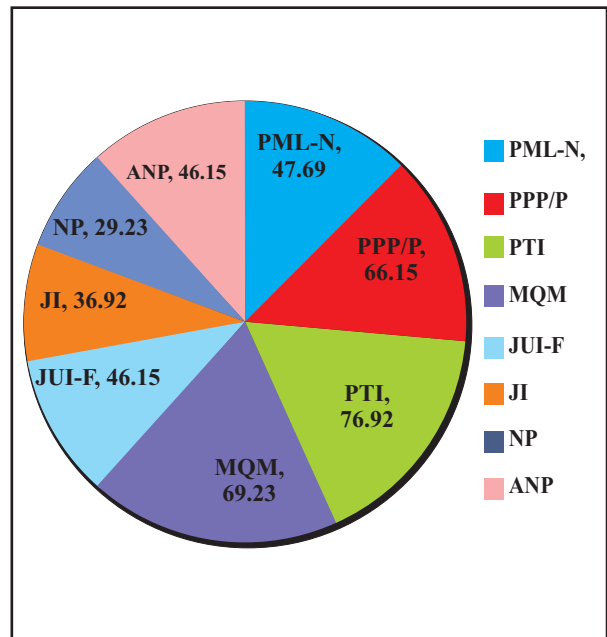


Figure 13: Participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the Party

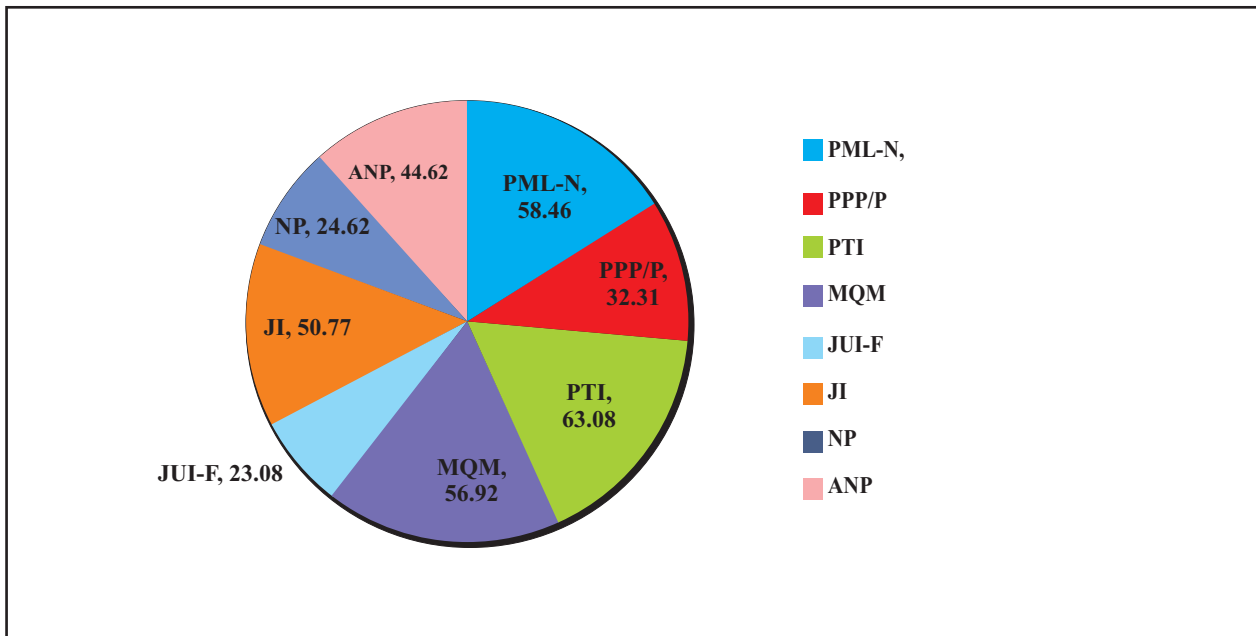


Party Website

The thirteenth indicator is based on the following question 'How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated?' The scores for this indicator are shown in Figure 14.

On this indicator, the three highest scores go to PTI (63%), PML-N (58%) and MQM (57%). The three lowest scores go to JUI-F (23%), NP (25 %) and PPP (32%).

Figure 14: Party Website



Overall Analysis

Comparative Scores:

Figure 15 shows the overall consolidated score of 13 indicators for the selected eight political parties. Based on this computation, JI receives the highest score which is 56 % followed by PTI which scores 49 %. In case we disregard JI because of its peculiar, unique and somewhat restricted system of membership, candidature for internal election and election campaign for party office and restrict our comparison and analysis to the remaining seven political parties, PTI emerges as the party with the best internal democracy, in a relative sense followed by ANP (46 %) and NP & JUI-F (Both 43%). But we should not lose sight of the closeness of the scores secured by these three parties. There is only a difference three percentage points between No. 2 (ANP) and No. 3 (NP & JUI-F) and the same case between No. 1 (PTI) and No. 2 (ANP).

A review of the Score Card placed at Appendix A shows that JI has scored No. 1 in nine (9) indicators out of a total of thirteen (13). PTI has scored No. 1 in five (5) out of thirteen (13) indicators whereas ANP has scored No. 1 on two (2) out of thirteen (13) indicators and JUI-F and MQM have scored No. 1 in one indicator each.

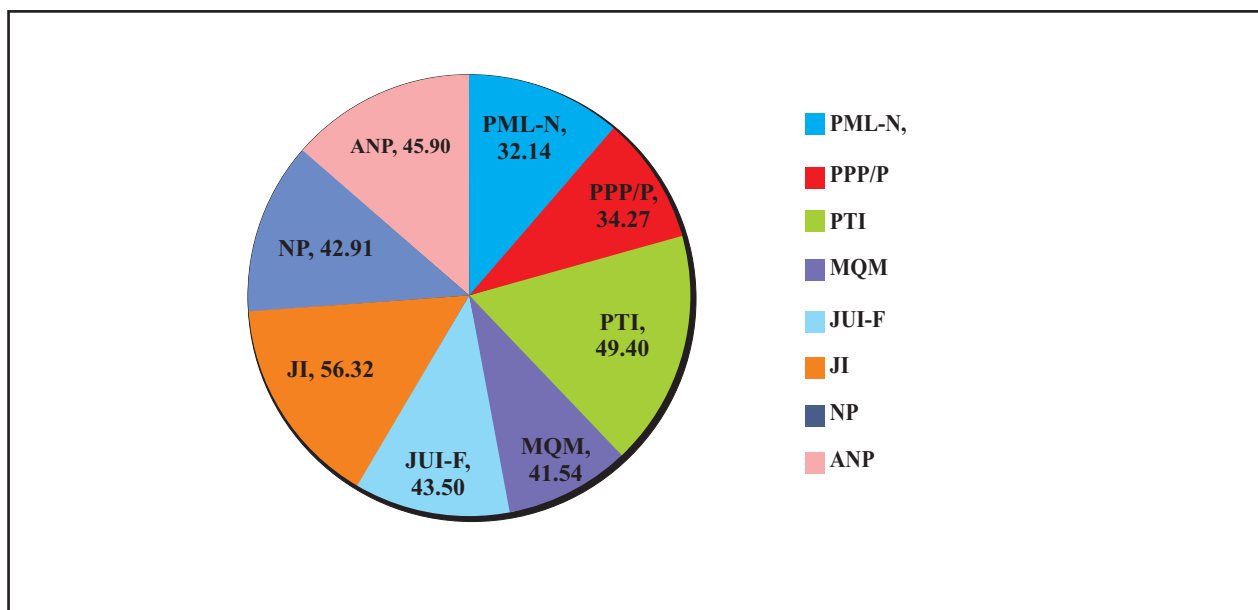
Party-wise review of strong and weak scores

A review of the strong and weak areas of the parties as reflected in the score is given below:

PML-N

Strongest point of PML-N has perceived to be the comprehensive and up-to-date party website that received 58% which is followed by its elaborate democratic arrangement provided for in its constitution that received 53 % score. Role and participation by Women, Youth and Minorities on the party also received a relatively better score of 48 % among the thirteen indicators. Continuation of a single leader since the founding of the party (PML-N) and strong indications of dynastic leadership have been perceived as the two greatest weaknesses in the democratic character of the party as these received a score of 11 % and 14 % on these two counts respectively. Relative inactivity of the internal organizations of the party such as the Central Working Committee and National Council were also noted and this particular aspect received a

Figure 15: Overall Party Scores



score of just 25 %. The decision making process in the party has also not been perceived as very democratic as it received 26 % score.

PPP

Active participation of women and minorities in the party's affairs has been perceived as the strongest point of PPP for which it scored 66 %. Continuation of a single family in party leadership and the tradition of dynastic leadership in the party has been perceived as a weak point for democracy as these two areas received 12 % and 14 % score respectively. However, many within the party would argue that these are the strongest points for the party's popularity.

PTI

Active participation of Women and Youth in party activities has been identified as the strongest point of PTI in the context of internal democracy and has received a score of 77 % for this indicator. Intra-Party election of PTI has also received a high score of 64 % which is the highest for this indicator among eight parties and so is the Party Constitution which received 62 % score. PTI website was also rated 63 % indicating greater transparency in the party affairs. Intolerance to dissent has been perceived as the weakest area of PTI among the 13 indicators for which it has received 26 % score. Continuation of the same leader, the strongest point for the party, has been perceived as a weak point for the internal democracy of the party and has been assigned a score of 20 %.

MQM

Active participation of Women, Youth and Minorities in the party affairs was seen to be the strongest point of the party in the context of internal democracy for which it received 69 % score. Regular meetings of Parliamentary Parties has been perceived as the second strongest point of MQM for which it has secured 63 % score. MQM website has also been found to be very comprehensive and has received 57 % score. Continuation of the same top leadership in the party for a long time has been perceived to be the weakest point of the party from the standpoint of internal democracy and it has received 18 % score on this count. Most certainly views from within the party will be strongly opposed to this. Perceived lack of tolerance for dissent has been identified as its weakest point of the party with 12 % score.

JUI-F

Party constitution of JUI-F has been perceived to be its greatest strength with a score of 59 %. The Party has no website and continuation of its top leadership for a long time is also regarded as a weakness in terms of internal democracy and therefore this indicator received a score of 29 %.

JI

Strongest Point of JI has turned out to be its total disregard for the dynastic leadership as it scored 86 % on this count. Regular change in the top leadership of JI has also scored high (80 %) in the assessment. Apparent lack of involvement and an important role for Women, Minorities and Youth in mainstream activities and top leadership of the party has been perceived as its weakest point which received 37 % score.

NP

The strong points of the NP include its regular change in leadership that received 66% score and its regular intra-party election that received 52%. Its greatest weakness has been perceived to be lack of active role of women in its party affairs for which it received 29 % score and inability to build a comprehensive and updated website that received 25%. NP has not been regular in submitting its audited statements of account and therefore it has received a low score of 32 % on this count.

ANP

A democratic constitution and regular election are the two strong points of ANP for both of which it received 55 % score. Regularity of its parliamentary parties meetings also received a favourable score of 55 %.

APPENDICES

REPORT

Assessing Internal Democracy of Major Political Parties of Pakistan

APPENDIX A: SCORE CARD

Indicator		Percentage Score (%)								
		PML-N	PPP/P	PTI	MQM	JUI-F	JI	NP	ANP	Average
1.	How much democracy does the constitution guarantee within the party? (10 Marks)	53	50	62	45	59	57	50	55	54
2.	How regularly and competitively does the party hold intra-party elections? (10 Marks)	34	35	64	39	49	62	52	55	49
3.	How effective are the various bodies of the party and how frequently do they meet? (10 Marks)	25	35	45	49	48	64	47	48	45
4.	How far were local party organizations involved in deciding the party candidates for the past National and Provincial Assembly elections? (10 Marks)	24	25	42	40	44	44	38	44	38
5.	How regularly the parliamentary party meetings take place during the sessions of the Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies? (5 Marks)	37	45	57	63	58	63	48	55	53
6.	How regularly does the party hold its annual convention? (5 Marks)	20	25	34	38	43	52	40	40	37
7.	How far does the party discourage the tradition of dynastic leadership? (5 Marks)	14	14	57	48	35	86	51	42	43
8.	How often has the top-most party leadership changed during the past 10 years without the death of the party chief? (5 Marks)	11	12	20	18	29	80	66	40	35
9.	How wide is the funding base and how credible are the audited accounts of the party? (10 Marks)	28	31	48	33	31	48	32	30	35
10.	How far is dissent tolerated within the party? How democratic was the procedure of disciplinary action, if any, against dissenting party officials? (5 Marks)	37	37	26	12	42	48	40	48	36
11.	How democratic is the decision-making process on important questions of policy? How democratic was the decision-making on the three most important decisions taken by the party during the past one year? (5 Marks)	26	32	37	28	45	48	35	46	37
12.	How active is the role and participation of women, youth and minorities in the party? (5 Marks)	48	66	77	69	46	37	29	46	52
13.	How comprehensive and up-to-date is the party website? How frequently is it updated? (5 Marks)	58	32	63	57	23	51	25	45	44
Overall Percentage Score (%)		32	34	49	42	43	56	43	46	43

**APPENDIX B: Assessing Internal Democracy of Political Parties
Steering Committee Members**

No.	Name
1.	Mr. Ali Zafar Advocate Supreme Court; Senior Partner, Mandviwalla and Zafar
2.	Mr. Arif Nizami Editor, Pakistan Today
3.	Mr. Ghazi Salahuddin Columnist, The News
4.	Dr. Huma Baqai Associate Professor, Department of Social Sciences, IBA Karachi
5.	Prof. Muhammad Waseem Department of Political Science, LUMS
6.	Mr. Mujib-ur-Rehman Shami Editor in Chief, Daily Pakistan
7.	Dr. Parvez Hassan Senior Advocate Supreme Court of Pakistan
8.	Mr. Shahid Hamid Senior Advocate Supreme Court of Pakistan; Former Governor Punjab
9.	Mr. Suhail Warraich Columnist, Daily Jang and Anchor, Geo TV
10.	Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmed Director, Pakistan Study Centre, Karachi University
11.	Prof. Dr. Tahir Amin Director, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, QAU
12.	Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob President, PILDAT
13.	Ms. Aasiya Riaz Joint Director, PILDAT



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