

Election 2013

A Comparative Analysis of Election Manifestoes of Major Political Parties

What do the Political
Parties PROMISE?

Where do they stand on
ISSUES?

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PILDAT is an independent, non-partisan and not-for-profit indigenous research and training institution with the mission to strengthen democracy and democratic institutions in Pakistan.

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CONTENTS

Preface

Introduction	07
Purpose and Scope of the Study	07
Party Position Chart Political Parties Position on Key Issues – Elections 2013	09
Political Parties included in the Study	10
Election 2013 - Major Issues	11
Party Position on Important Issues	13

Preface ^e

Party manifestos are central to a competitive electoral process as well as the larger civic engagement process. PILDAT analysed election manifestoes of major political parties ahead of 2002 and 2008 General Election. This is the third analysis of its kind to chart a broader view of the election manifestos presented by the major political parties contesting the upcoming General Election, scheduled for May 11, 2013.

Understandably, and true to the South Asian political tradition, manifestos employ political rhetoric as well as sloganeering to attract the voters. Consequently the full implementation of manifestos becomes a tall order. Whilst there is some movement forward on this process since 2002 and 2008, there is a continuing need for the parties to create permanent think tanks within to work on critical policy issues. These internal institutions should also track the implementation of the party manifestos.

The purpose of this report is to provide the potential voter with a bird's eye view of the manifestos of the major political parties contesting General Election 2013, to help them make an informed decision for casting of their votes.

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

Islamabad
April 2013

Introduction

The Analysis of the Election 2013 Manifestoes of major Political Parties of Pakistan is an attempt by PILDAT to highlight, for the benefit of the Pakistani electorate, how each of the major political parties plans to address key national issues confronting Pakistani State and society today. The comparative analysis of election manifestoes of major political parties aims to provide a tool whereby the general public becomes more aware of the alternative choices available to them in the form of different political parties.

The report analyses the manifestoes of major political parties that are contesting the General Election 2013. The manifestos covered in this report include seven major political parties that are, in the alphabetical order: Awami National Party (**ANP**), Jamiat-e-Ulema Pakistan-Fazal Ur Rehman (**JUI-F**), Muttahida Quami Movement (**MQM**), Pakistan Muslim League (**PML**), Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (**PML-N**), Pakistan Peoples Party (**PPP**) and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (**PTI**).

Instead of analysing the manifesto of each political party separately, the paper analyses the position of each of the parties, included in the study, on a list of issues. The list of issues analysed in the study have been either derived from the result public opinion polls in which people have ordered issues of importance or PILDAT has picked them as issues that dominate the 2013 Election debate.

For the purpose of analysis, parties' positions have been defined as **General, Detailed, Extensive** or **No Stance**.

Purpose and Scope of the Study

The pre-election atmosphere of the 2013 General Election is different from the previous General Election held in 2008. The 2013 Election appear to have created a lot of fanfare and enthusiasm in the general masses. However, the peculiar law and order situation prevailing in the country, especially in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sindh and Balochistan have limited the political campaigning to just one province i.e. Punjab. The major political parties that were a part of the out-going coalition government are under threat from the extremist groups and their leaders and their election campaigns are being regularly targeted by the terrorists. The election campaigns of these parties have been restricted to advertisements in print and electronic media. Thanks to the mushrooming of independent electronic

news media, social media the civil society movements on the rule of law, and an independent judiciary, successive public opinion polls point towards the new trend of increased public awareness and expression to this awareness in the people.

But at the key policy level, can the people differentiate between what various political parties promise to deliver? In a voter's mind, which party has offered the most concrete policies on the three major issues facing the country including economy, extremism and energy? How do political parties plan to tackle the issues of unemployment, inflation, and poverty?

The analysis of the election manifestoes of major political parties is an attempt by PILDAT to provide some of these answers to the people by highlighting how each of the major political parties plans to address key national issues.

The comparative analysis of election manifestoes of major political parties simply aims to provide a tool whereby the general public becomes more aware of the alternative choices available to them in the form of different political parties. It is because of this reason that the study does not attempt to carry out a detailed analysis of the manifestos of each and every political party.

Recognizing that a study of manifestos of all political parties and electoral alliances contesting the forthcoming election would have rather complicated this study hurting the very aim of simplifying the choices for our readers, PILDAT's team of analysts have only selected a total of seven (7) political parties to comparatively analyse their manifestoes.

The selection of issues analysed in the study stems from a variety of sources including various public opinion polls conducted recently in which people picked bread and butter issues as well as extremism and energy shortage as issues most important to them in determining which party they vote for.

Party Position Chart
Political Parties Position on Key Issues – Elections 2013

No	Issues	ANP	JUI (F)	MQM	PML	PML-N	PPPP	PTI
1. Economic Issues								
I	Unemployment	■	■	■■	■■	■■	■■	■
II	Poverty Alleviation	■	■	■■	■	■■	■■■	■
III	Agriculture Development and Water Resources	■■	■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■	■■■
IV	Energy	■	×	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■	■
2. Political Issues								
I	Civil Military Relations	■	■	■	■■	■■	■■	■■
II	Devolution and Local Government System	■	×	■■■	■	■■	■■	■■■
III	Status of FATA	■■	×	×	■■	■■	■	■■
IV	Policy on Counter Terrorism	■■■	×	■■	■■	■■	■■	■■
V	Independence of Media	■	■	■■	■■	■	■	■■
VI	Corruption and Accountability	■■	■	■	■■■	■■	■	■■■
3. Social Issues								
I	Education	■■■	■■	■■	■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
II	Health	■■	■■	■■■	■■	■■■	■■	■■■
III	Labour Issues	■	■	■■	■	■	■■	■■
IV	Women Development	■	×	■■	■■■	■	■■	■■
V	Rights of Non-Muslim Communities	■	■	■■	■■	■■	■■	■■
VI	Youth	■	×	■■	■■	■■	■■	■■■
VII	Environment Issues	■	×	■■	■■■	■	■	■■
4. Nuclear Policy and Foreign Relations								
I	Nuclear Policy	×	×	×	■	■	■	■
II	Kashmir Dispute and Relations with India	■	■	■	■■	■■	■■	■
III	Relations with Afghanistan	■	■	■	■	■	■■	■
IV	Relations with China	■	×	×	■	■	■■	■
V	Relations with Western Powers (Special Focus on USA)	■■■	■	■	■	■	■■	■■
VI	Relation with Islamic Countries	■	■	×	■	■	■■	■

No Stance ×

General ■

Detailed ■■

Extensive ■■■

Political Parties included in the Study

(In Alphabetical Order)

1	Awami National Party	ANP
2	Jamiat-e-Ulema Islam (Fazal ur Rehman)	JUI (F)
3	Muttahida Quami Movement	MQM
4	Pakistan Muslim League	PML
5	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)	PML-N
6	Pakistan Peoples Party	PPPP
7	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	PTI

Election 2013 - Major Issues

A recent poll conducted by Gallup Pakistan indicates that bread and butter issues remain on top in the minds of the Pakistani Voters. 40% of the people indicated economy as the single most important factor in determining which party they would vote for. A 26% of the people voted terrorism. 23 % considered unemployment, 5% said foreign threats, 3% said education and a 1% expressed Kashmir issue will determine their voting preferences.

The issues, therefore, have been organised in the following manner for the purpose of this study:

1. Economic Issues

- I. Unemployment
- II. Poverty Alleviation
- III. Agricultural Development and Water Resources
- IV. Energy

2. Political Issues

- I. Civil-Military Relations and National Security
- II. Devolution and the Local Government System
- III. Status of FATA
- IV. Policy to Counter Terrorism
- V. Independence of the Media
- VI. Corruption and Accountability

3. Social Issues

- I. Education
- II. Health
- III. Labour Issues
- IV. Women Development
- V. Rights of Non-Muslim Communities
- VI. Youth
- VII. Environmental Issues

4. Nuclear Policy and Foreign Relations

- I. Nuclear Policy
- II. Foreign Relations
- III. Kashmir Dispute and Relations with India
- IV. Relations with Afghanistan
- V. Relations with China
- VI. Relations with Western Powers (Special Focus on USA)
- VII. Relations with the Islamic countries

Party Positions on Important Issues

1. Economic Issues

Rising inflation, cost of living and increasing unemployment contribute to the major concerns of the voters. In their Election 2013 manifestoes, political parties have focused on the economic issues. The issues clubbed-together under the economic issues include Unemployment, Poverty Alleviation, Agricultural Development, Water Resources and Energy.

I. Unemployment

In the 2013 electoral campaign, how do the major Political Parties pledge to tackle the issue of unemployment in the country? The following table outlines the key proposals and promises of the political parties on their strategies to manage unemployment:

Unemployment

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a ANP is committed to youth development and creation of suitable employment opportunities. b ANP shall focus on skills development and vocational training at an early stage. c ANP will also give special emphasis to providing opportunities for creative learning, art and culture, recreation and sports. d Special attention will be paid to addressing the problem of the educated unemployed. Facilities like internship, placement bureaus and advisory organizations will be provided to help find jobs. e Comprehensive projects for self-employment would also be given a priority.
JUI-F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Commitment to meet the challenge of unemployment b To provide employment to beggars and allowances to unemployed people Encouragement of industrialisation, promotion of cottage industries, establishment of vocational institutions and incentives for agro-based industries in rural areas to control unemployment
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Narrowing of gap between wage rise and inflation. Both public and private sector wage rises must be directly proportional to inflation. b Control food price inflation by stabilizing and / or subsidising the prices of wheat, rice, sugar and oil. c Greater public investment in agriculture, including agro-industry, agri-business and live stock; greater incentives for cooperative farming and cooperative marketing in rural areas and housing and construction in urban areas. d Reduction of taxes on low income and poor people. e Introduction of social security schemes for all adult population. f Bringing down unemployment by encouraging industrialization throughout the country, promoting cottage industries, establishing vocational institutions, and providing incentives to agro-based industries in rural areas. g Provision of more incentive for labour intensive industries. Promotion of education and training is vital for poverty alleviation.
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a To develop enterprise culture which develops skills, supports workers and creates jobs b To establish a state-sponsored Skills Promotion Trust to generate easily available small loans for self-employment c To enhance teaching of communication skills including computer and Information Technology
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a A National Manpower Plan to be prepared to match the demand and supply of manpower and to provide a basis for periodical adjustments in the programmes of education and training b New employment opportunities to be provided to over three million persons in the public and private sectors c A programme of industrialisation and small and medium enterprises to be undertaken in the urban and rural

	<p>areas to absorb unemployed labour</p> <p>d Emphasis to be placed on the programmes of rural development to provide gainful opportunities for income and employment within the rural areas and prevent the tendency of migration from urban to rural areas</p> <p>e The taxation system to be modified to encourage rapid growth in investment particularly in employment intensive activities.</p> <p>f Employment opportunities for qualified doctors will be provided by constructing more hospitals, extending soft term easy instalment loans to doctors to establish them in private practice and giving tax concessions for establishment and expansion of private hospitals.</p> <p>g A programme for the development of technical skills to produce technically trained and employable manpower will be implemented. For this purpose, the intake of polytechnics and vocational schools will be expanded partly by introducing double shifts in the existing institutions and facilities for vocational training and computer literacy created in all high schools and colleges.</p> <p>h Para-medical training institutions for females will be attached to each district and tehsil hospital and facilities for the training of female teachers will be expanded in all districts to meet the large demand for these personnel, particularly in rural areas.</p> <p>i In the longer run, the employment challenge is closely linked to the rate at which the country's population is growing. The annual average growth rate has slowed from 2.6 per cent in the 1990s to about 2.0% in the past decade which is the highest in South Asia. PML-N will strengthen the policy and advocacy components of the Population Welfare Programme and support Provincial efforts to integrate service delivery with the health infrastructure in the public and private sectors.</p>
PPPP	<p>a Aim to provide jobs to more than 1 million Pakistanis each year for the next five years by improving productive capacity.</p> <p>b Incentivize new business by making available the required funding assistance.</p> <p>c Provide tax break to young entrepreneurs.</p> <p>d Creation of new jobs for semi skilled labour in foreign countries</p> <p>e Invest further in vocational training.</p> <p>f Improve the standard of higher education so that our graduates are competitive in the global market and are able to provide world class services.</p>
PTI	<p>a Social safety net will be provided for the unemployed.</p> <p>b An investment friendly economic policy will be followed to promote fast paced industrial growth to ensure job creation.</p> <p>c Focus on employable skills and placement services to match students and jobs Develop Manpower skills for exports</p>

II. Poverty Alleviation

With an official unemployment rate of 6%¹, a rising cost of living and an inflation rate of 11.3%², the figures of a reduced poverty level from 34 %³ of the total population to the present 22.3%⁴ are rendered questionable when the increasing income levels are at least partially offset by the excessive price hikes. The masses of Pakistan continue to bemoan the struggle it takes to make their ends meet.

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

Poverty Alleviation

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a ANP is committed to rationalizing of defence expenditures to the levels which do not jeopardize economic and social welfare of the people of Pakistan. b Efforts will be made to narrow the difference in salaries between the highest and the lowest paid government employees so as to reach an optimal ration of 5:1. Salaries, benefits and minimum wage shall be indexed to the cost of living.
JUI-F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Bringing in practice the early Islamic social welfare systems, allowances to be provided to the unemployed, handicapped, widows and senior citizens. Special homes to be created for the same b Low income people to be given easy loans free of interest for the education of children as well as to be provided with travel and residential facilities c Assistance to be provided to the needy through Bait-ul-Maal
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a A comprehensive policy outlining specific aims to curb poverty to be developed with a focus on increasing educational attainment, health facilities, fair distribution of assets and employment opportunities b Mapping of poverty will be a priority c Gap between wage increase and inflation to be narrowed. Public sector wage raises must be directly proportional to inflation d Control of food inflation by stabilising and / or subsidising the prices of Wheat, Rice, Sugar and Oil e Burden of taxes on the poor to be minimised such as reduction of taxes on utility bills f Social Security Schemes to be introduced and enforced to cover all adult population g Bringing down unemployment by encouraging industrialization throughout the country, promoting cottage industry, establishing vocational training institutes and providing incentives to agro-based industries in the rural areas.
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a A National Commission on Poverty to be established through legislation.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a All infrastructure projects to entail compulsory job creation. b Institutions like Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund, Micro Financing Institutions and National and Provincial rural support programmes to play a major role in creating jobs and alleviating poverty. c Incentive programmes for the private sector to be launched to create maximum employments. d A special programme designed to generate jobs at the community and neighbourhood level will be launched.
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Benazir Income support Programme will continue and be enhanced. b With increased documentation health security will also be added into the programme. c Benazir Income support Programmes monthly payments will be increased to Rs 2000 per month and will be pegged to inflation annually.

1. The Economic Survey of Pakistan 2011-2012
2. The Economic Survey of Pakistan 2011-2012
3. World Bank report http://data.worldbank.org/country/pakistan#cp_wdi
4. World Bank report http://data.worldbank.org/country/pakistan#cp_wdi

PTI	a	Enable professionals to work in the government.
	b	Direct funding for villages and municipalities to generate local economic activity across Pakistan.
	c	Decentralizing governance and empower communities for generating economic activity at grass roots level.

III. Agricultural Development and Water Resources

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

Agricultural Development and Water Resources

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Special attention will be given to the Livestock sector. b Special efforts will be made to promote and build on the positive gains of poultry farming. c Potential of pasture lands will be explored and exploited for the benefits of the farmers. d Incentives will be given to grow value cash crops. e Modern farming techniques will be introduced. f To work for water irrigation projects at Federal and Provincial levels to ensure utilization of water available under Indus Water Distribution Accord (2MAF) to KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA. g ANP to continue opposition to any projects that do not benefit the people of the KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA province or that affecting the employment level, land belonging to people or environment of the province
JUI-F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Non-irrigated government land to be distributed amongst farmers. b Landholdings in possession of feudal lords on nominal lease to be distributed amongst farmers. c Feudalism to be abolished. d Farmers and workers on government land to be given ownership rights according to Islamic laws. e Free electricity for agricultural tube wells f Government subsidies to be provided for seeds, urea, agricultural machinery and tractors, etc g Loans on soft conditions to farmers h Official farms that are not in use will be provided to landless farmers i More and more big and small Water reservoirs to be built
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Abolishment of prevailing feudal system from the country b Passage of Redistributive Land reforms Bill 2010 from the Parliament. c Amendment to constitution to impose tax on agriculture will be pursued. d Computerization of land record e Establishment of Hari Courts under Sindh Tenancy Act of 1950. f Increase share of cultivators (Harris / Muzareh) from 50% to 60% g District level micro finance credit on <i>Grameen</i> Bank pattern; Tractor and small agriculture machinery on subsidized prices; Cooperative farming and more importance to be attached to direct marketing to eliminate the role of middle-men h Allocation of State land to landless cultivators followed by the cooperative farming, cooperative marketing and easy credit for the inputs i Peasants (Harris/Muzarehs) to be declared as labour and legislation on the pattern of Labour Laws for them j Promotion and incentives for agro-based industries in rural areas k Greater incentives to land holders for live stock breeding and farming l Intensive development of inland and marine fisheries at a controlled pace m Lining of water channels and re-modelling of the system. Innovative devices to conserve irrigation water n New water reservoirs in the country with the consensus of all federating units.

PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Timely supply of crucial inputs will be ensured through establishment of private sector service centres at union council level similar to the utility stores network. b Subsidy scheme on tunnel farming to continue. c 15% capital disbursement will be ensured to the agriculture sector. d Livestock sector will be given special attention. e 50% of the crop insurance premium will be picked up by the government on behalf of the farmer. f Agriculture research will be encouraged and given a special focus. g Farmer organizations will be strengthened. h Solar energy systems for the tube wells will be provided at a subsidised cost to the farmers. i A Provincial Horticulture Export Board will be established.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a To turn agriculture into a fully viable economic industry by changing the policy framework and terms of trade in favour of agriculture b Focus to be on small farmers as the real back bone of the rural economy by providing access to knowledge, inputs and markets c Priority to be given to the development of livestock sector d Cooperative movement to be revitalised to meet the real needs of the rural population by setting up agri-service corporations with majority equity of the poor and managed by professional managers e To reform the agricultural credit system to ensure that at least 50% of the total is provided to the small farmers, and land owners are able to obtain credit on the basis of the market value of the land rather than outdated produce index units. f Pakistan to be converted into a large net exporter of food and high-value crops. Removal of restrictions on agricultural exports g Building consensus on the basis of the 1991 Water Accord on the distribution of Indus River Water to allow new water projects to be undertaken and extension of irrigation facilities to additional areas h To ensure full utilisation of available water resources by expanding the on-farm water management programme i To initiate schemes for crop insurance through private insurance companies to protect the farmer against the vagaries of weather j To encourage ecologically sound development policies to preserve and develop the country's natural and forest resources to counteract the impact of global warming k To provide incentives for farmers to adopt social forestry on a commercial scale rather than depend on restrictive laws for this purpose particularly in border areas l To expand the programme to fight the cancer of water-logging and salinity m A major programme of aquifer recharge in arid and semi arid areas of Cholistan, Thar and Balochistan to ensure that water flow from tube wells installed in these areas can be sustained n Immediate updating of the revenue and property records using Information Technology to be undertaken. Based on the information so generated 'benamis' can be done away with property rights of female members protected and access to credit by the poor assured o Policy shift in agriculture from commodity based agriculture to product based agriculture. As an example 22 products can be produced from corn. p All agricultural research organizations to be completely revamped to ensure that the benefits of research actually reach the farmers. q Agricultural education in general and curriculum of agriculture universities in particular to be modernized r Mafias and monopolies in case of major agriculture products to be done away with by putting in place appropriate agricultural marketing strategies
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Establish cluster or cooperatives of farmers that will be run by farmers. These cooperatives will cover up to 500 acres and will provide tractors, laser levellers and other implements on rent. b Introduce a flat rate of electricity for tube wells. c Build farm to market roads.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Local manufacturing of the drip irrigation system will be encouraged. b Pilot projects to control water distribution to tail end growers will be started. c Agriculture policy will be announced at the beginning of every year. d Agriculture subsidies at par with other countries will be provided. e New laws will be introduced for providing an effective machinery and strict penalties to check the spread of contaminated crucial inputs. f Address as a priority the issue of property rights over military farmland in towns. g Ensure increased allocation of credit from Zarai Taraqati Bank.
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Agriculture will be treated as an industry with the same amenities and taxes. b The existing law on Agriculture Tax will be fully enforced. c All land record will be computerized. d Minimum period of tenancy will be set by the government and the tiller will not be evicted from the land he has been farming. e Efficiency of on farm use of water and energy will be increased. f Farm to market roads and other infrastructure will be improved. g Use and development of good seed will be encouraged.

IV. Energy

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

Energy

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Alternate sources of energy including coal, run of the river, solar and wind shall be explored. b Large scale investment in energy sector in collaboration with the Provincial governments will be encouraged to kick-start the development of the hydel power, gas and oil and other sources of energy in the country.
JUI-F	<i>No specific reference is made to the subject in the manifesto</i>
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> c Management of power, oil and gas sector will be improved by inducting professionals on merit as head of the organizations working in these sectors. d Re-prioritize the use of Natural gas. e Immediately under take the projects of cheap and abundant supply of gas from Iran, Qatar and Central Asian States. f Import of LNG to be facilitated. g Renovating and desilting of Tarbela and Mangla Dams. h Upgrade the existing thermal power generation units to increase there efficiency and generation.
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Emergency measures will be taken to curtail load shedding. b A Ministry of Energy will be created. c With the Public Private partnership hydro power generation plants will be established. d Solar and wind energy solutions will be introduced. e Merit based appointments will be made in power distribution companies. f Line losses will be controlled. g WAPDA will be restructured. h Nuclear Power programme will be extended.

PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Ministry of Energy will be created through the merger of Ministries of Water and Power and Petroleum and Natural Resources. b NEPRA will be reformed. c Distribution Companies will be reformed. d Reforms will be introduced in the companies producing electricity. e Circular debt will be permanently abolished. f Energy tariffs will be rationalized in line with the International prices across all fuel. g Consensus will be developed among the various stake holders to facilitate setting up of hydropower projects. h Alternate renewable energy sources will be developed.
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Encourage foreign investment by establishing policies, procedures and tax and pricing regimes with respect to petroleum exploration and production and provide an impetus by modifying current contracting terms. b Incentive to the private sector to build run of the river hydro power generation plants. c Staff NEPRA and OGRA with professionals. d Reduce power tariff by increasing the use of hydropower e Increase the supply of gas by exploring new areas f Transmission losses to be brought down to 15%.
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Resolve circular debt b Divert all resources to maximising energy production c Bring Load shedding to manageable proportions urgently c Initiate a medium term energy plan to reduce cost of generation and line losses.

2. Political Issues

Parties' positions on key political issues facing the country are described below: election

I. Civil-Military Relations

The Civil-Military relations that were at their lowest ebb at the time of 2008 election have slightly improved. Some improvement has been seen in an endeavour to balance civil-military relations. The Military leadership has shown its commitment and support to the democratic process. The Parliament has also begun exercising some role in oversight of defence and national security issues. How do political parties aim to fix the balance in civil-military relations – the table below depicts their pledges:

Civil Military Relations & National Security

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Security and foreign policies are the primary responsibility of the public representatives. b Non-interference of the Military in politics to be guaranteed by appropriate legislative and administrative measures c Defence expenditures to be reduced to the extent that they do not hamper people's economic and social welfare d Armed forces personnel including doctors, teachers, engineers, skilled and semi-skilled individuals to provide their services in times of need, on a non-profit basis e Interference of the Armed Forces and the civil bureaucracy in politics to be dealt with legal and administrative actions f The privacy of the citizens in domestic matters and in communications shall be ensured. Wire tapping, censorship and entry into private premises without legal authority shall be prohibited.
JUI-F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a All state institutions to perform their role within the constitutional parameters prescribed in the 1973 Constitution b The political role of intelligence agencies to be abolished c No institution and no holder of high office will be exempted from accountability including the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, Governors, Public Representatives, Judiciary and the Military, etc.
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Audit of all secret funds through Public Accounts Committee. b Immediate development of a National Counter Terrorism Policy in consultation with the elected representatives, police, bureaucracy and the unified command of the armed forces.
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Curtail the role of army and para-military forces in Balochistan only to the extent of National Security and defence purposes. b Give top priority to the issue of missing persons and engage all government agencies responsible to ensure safety of the people. c National Security to be redefined and revised to include key civilian components like respect for the rule of law and human rights, political parties with a national vision, provincial autonomy, a strong economy and education, an independent media and judiciary, a robust civil society as well as sovereign parliament. d A National Security Council will be constituted that will be headed by the Prime Minister. e Defence Budget will be in the purview of the National Assembly.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a It will accord the highest priority to strengthening the nation's defences. For this purpose, the needs and requirements of our Armed Forces would be met, under all circumstances. b Pakistan's strategic assets, acquired with the nation's blood and sweat and in the face of grave international threats and pressures, would be protected and improved to ensure strategic parity in the region.

	<p>c It would be ensured that the formulation and determination of the nation's foreign policy remains the sole preserve of its elected representatives, while the implementation and execution shall be assigned to relevant departments and agencies by the Federal Cabinet.</p> <p>d For purposes of regular and systematic coordination and consideration of all matters related to national security, a Cabinet Committee on Defence and National Security, to be headed by the Prime Minister and assisted by a Permanent Secretariat, will be established to maintain democratic oversight of all aspects of foreign, defence and national security policies.</p> <p>e The PML (N) will ensure that all institutions, whether civil or military, including those dealing with security and/or intelligence matters, act in accordance with the law, and under the instructions and directives of the Federal Cabinet</p> <p>f The PML (N) will make full use of the country's think tanks, which will be strengthened and improved, while instituting regular consultations with elected representatives, defence analysts, media personalities and retired diplomats, to take advantage of their experiences and understanding of national security issues. Modernise the security sector in order to establish democratic and parliamentary oversight on the intelligence services</p>
PPP	<p>a Ensure that our armed forces maintain the highest professional standards so that they earn the love and respect of the nation.</p> <p>b Encourage closer working relationships between defence and parliamentary institutions for cooperation as well as oversight.</p> <p>c Make Military budgets accountable to Parliament and institutionalize better oversight of defence expenditure.</p>
PTI	<p>a A balance to be maintained between all state institutions and supremacy of civilian authority.</p> <p>b Balochistan requires a political solution and not a military solution.</p> <p>c Pakistan will extricate from the US-led war on terror policy.</p> <p>d National Counter Terrorism Authority will be made effective as a single authority with high level representation from the armed forces, para military and police as well as civilian experts and intelligence agencies. The authority will be under the direct control of the Prime Minister.</p> <p>e Defence spending will be rationalized and the defence budget will be debated in the parliament.</p>

In 5 years of democratic governments in the centre and provinces, all provinces have failed to install the system of local governments as an important third tier of democratic governance. What do parties pledge for the future? – the table below indicates:

II. Devolution and the Local Government System

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<p>a Local Government election to be held</p> <p>b Women representation to be ensured in the local government.</p> <p>c Center to retain control of defence, foreign affairs, currency, communications and such other subjects that the federating units agree to in the Council of Common Interests.</p> <p>d Implementation of 18th Constitutional amendment to be ensured particularly with regard to oil, gas, water and power, energy, health and education.</p>
JUI-F	<p>a <i>No specific reference is made to the subject in the manifesto</i></p>
MQM	<p>a The devolved local government system will provide ways for Urban-Rural integration.</p> <p>b The local government system will help to further devolve power, authority and resources from District Level to the Taluka/Tehsil/Town and further down to UC and ward levels.</p> <p>c Election for the local government will be held within 3 months of the general election.</p>

PML	a	<i>No specific reference is made to the subject in the manifesto</i>
PML-N	a	Local body election to be held within six months of the general election.
	b	Under Article 140-A of the constitution, every effort will be made to secure a certain degree of uniformity in the local government system within and among the provinces.
	c	New laws providing for a new local bodies system in replacement of the 2002 system are to be adopted by consensus for optimum devolution.
	d	Women will be given representation in the local government system.
PPP	a	Each province shall by law establish a local government system and devolve political, administrative and financial responsibility and authority to the elected representatives of the local government, Article 140-A of the constitution.
	b	The election commission of Pakistan will oversee the local body election.
PTI	a	An effective, efficient and representative local government system will be established.
	b	Authorities, responsibilities and resources will be devolved
	c	Peoples participation in the local government will be ensured
	d	A bottom up system will be introduced
	e	Each village will be governed by Village Council
	f	All governance functions in the cities and towns will go to the municipality and the city government will raise independent revenue for city development.

III. Status of FATA

The status of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the inability of the Government of Pakistan to mainstream the population of these areas with the rest of the country has been a major issue of concern. The stances of major political parties are listed below:

FATA Status

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	a To settle the administrative status of FATA in accordance with the wishes of the people of FATA.
	b FATA to be represented in Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly with proportionate representation on reserved seats.
	c Constitutional amendment will be made to bring FATA in the mainstream and bring it under the Parliament's ambit and ensure equal rights and opportunities of the people of FATA.
	d FCR will be amended on a priority basis to protect human rights as enshrined in the Constitution of Pakistan
	e Fully empowered local bodies will be instituted with adequate representation of the women.
	f Dignified return of the FATA IDPs will be ensured.
	g Comprehensive packages will be instituted for the families who have lost their homes or loved ones in the war on terror.
	h Right of vote will be ensured for the tribal population.
	i States writ will be implemented in FATA and all sorts of terror networks will be abolished.
	j ANP will ensure that state implements its writ in FATA and purge it from all sorts of terror networks.
MMA	a <i>No specific reference is made to the subject in the manifesto</i>
MQM	a <i>No specific reference is made to the subject in the manifesto</i>

PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Party based democratic political system to be initiated in FATA. b FCR to be abolished c Educational reforms will be introduced in FATA d Health sector reforms will be introduced e Dialogue will be initiated with the local militant groups and Taliban's to bring peace in the area. f Existing Political Agent system will be changed.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a FATA to be brought into the mainstream of the country's political, economic and cultural life b Schools and technical centres will be established to create a pool of skilled manpower not only for local enterprise but for export also. c Free health programme will be extended to the Population d A crash programme to establish small and medium size industrial enterprises in the tribal areas that could provide gainful employment to the youth, making them stake holders in peace and security of these areas. d Education reforms will be introduced.
PPPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Constitutional clause defining FATA separately from the rest of the country should be removed. b FATA to be brought into mainstream. c Legislation to protect FATA's natural resources will be brought in the parliament.
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a FATA will be brought into the mainstream of Pakistan. b FCR will be abolished c No drones policy will be implemented d Political grievances of the people of FATA will be addressed. e Infrastructure development will be initiated in FATA.

IV. Policy to Counter Terrorism

Even though Pakistan has been at the forefront of, and the victim of fight against terrorism, leading political opinion is divided whether the fight against terrorism is Pakistan's own war or it is one being fought on behest of the US. Parties' position on countering terrorism and extremism in the country follows:

Policy to Counter Terrorism

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a ANP will seek negotiations with all those who recognise the writ of the state and renounce violence. b ANP will continue its efforts to establish the strengthening of the rule of law and justice for all.
JUI-F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a <i>No specific reference is made to the subject in the manifesto</i>
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Immediate development of a National Counter Terrorism Policy in consultation with elected representatives, police, bureaucracy and the unified command of armed forces. b Meaningful changes in the judicial and prosecution system to ensure that people involved in violation of laws are brought to justice. c Law enforcement authorities should be de-politized. d Problems like poverty, religious extremism, unjust policies will be addressed. e Pakistan will be deweaponized. MQM has already presented a bill to this effect and will pursue it.
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Counter Terrorism Strategy to be put in place through a lead organization based in the Prime Minister's secretariat.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a A witness protection programme to be established. b Media amongst others to mobilize youth and religious scholars to advocate against extremism. c Efficient judicial system will be put in place
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Anti terrorism laws to be amended and strengthened. b Efficient prosecution and protection of judges and witnesses will be ensured. c Taking steps to mainstream the tribal areas into the political, economic and cultural activities of the country and accelerating the pace of economic and social development in these areas d Strive for better surveillance, improved coordination among the intelligence agencies and enhanced capacity for counter insurgency forces at different levels.
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Development of a National Security plan with the overarching goal of providing safety and security to all citizens. National Counter Terrorism authority act 2012 has been passed by the cabinet. It will be further pursued. b Coordination and information sharing mechanism will be established between local, provincial and federal governments. c Utilization of strategic communications as a tool to counter fundamentalism and militant rhetoric. d Devise a comprehensive security strategy to prevent attacks on major urban centres e Undertake targeted military operations f Capacity of the intelligence agencies will be improved g Develop a comprehensive witness protection programme
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Provide security for ordinary citizens so that terrorists are unable to melt into the population and find shelter there. b To convince the militants to lay down their arms and come to the dialogue table. c Extricate from the US led war on terror d Deweaponization across the country e National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) will be made effective as a single authority with high level representation from the armed forces, paramilitary and police as well as civilian experts and intelligence agencies. NACTA will be under the direct control of the Prime Minister. f Major improvement of the Criminal Justice system and improvement of the anti-terrorism legislation will be under taken. g A witness protection and Judges Protection act will be enacted. h Source of funding for all groups/organizations will be made transparent.

V. Independence of the Media

As an institution, the independent News Media has gained tremendous popularity in the public. How political parties pledge to ensure media freedom in the future, the table below reveals:

Independence of the Media

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Freedom of media to be ensured b Transparency in blocking and censorship policies will be ensured. c Legislation to right to information and communication will be brought d Provincial Governments will be facilitated to set up and run provincial television channels and radio stations independently.

JUI-F	a Media to be given freedom b The Media to be stopped from airing immoral programmes
MQM	a The media emancipation to be non partisan, impartial and responsible. MQM fully supports media's freedom of expression. Under no circumstances, media's independence to be curbed and public to be deprived of their valuable service b The media regulatory authorities to be completely independent and mandated with sensible rules and fair regulation that cannot be used as a political tool c Legislation to be done to ensure the security of media personnel.
PML	a Protection of Journalists Bill will be presented b A comprehensive insurance policy for journalists will be launched
PML-N	a Law to curb harassment of media shall be enacted b Comprehensive insurance scheme for the journalists will be started c Fund for training of journalists shall be established d PTV/PBC shall be made autonomous bodies.
PPPP	a Freedom of Information law will be enacted b Endeavours to implement the Wage Board Award for the newspaper workers will be made. c A media city and a university to train the journalists will be established in Islamabad. d Pakistan Press Council legislation will be done to hold the media accountable.
PTI	a Information Ministry shall be abolished b PTV and PBC would be autonomous c Government advertisement will not be used as a tool to harass the independent media d Press information department will be used to disseminate information about Pakistan, not as a tool for government propaganda. e Right to information law will be enacted.

VI. Corruption and Accountability

Corruption and Accountability remain serious challenges in Pakistan. Parties' position on corruption and accountability are as follows:

Corruption and Accountability

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	a Will ensure Parliament and Parliamentary Committees role in stringent accountability of the executive and in nominations and endorsements of senior level positions especially ambassadors, judges of the superior judiciary, chairperson and members of commissions and boards of public corporations.
JUI-F	a Those who indulge in corruption to be held accountable
MQM	a Strict adherence to the principle of merit to be ensured b Transparency and merit to be ensured in all Governmental actions including contracts, awarding of work and recruitment etc. c Secret Funds placed at the disposal of the Prime Minister or Chief Minister to be subjected to independent audit and public scrutiny

	<p>a Federal and Provincial Ombudsman and Accountant General Offices, Anti-Corruption Departments, Public Accounts Committees, Prime Minister's and Chief Minister's monitoring Committees to be headed by senior and dedicated government officers and public representatives to make these institutions more efficient and effective</p>
PML	<p>a Services of experts shall be engaged to identify loopholes in the systems and put in place strict controls and monitoring systems in state owned organizations and institutions.</p> <p>b An anti corruption task force will be put in place both at federal and provincial levels. The task force will work independently.</p> <p>c Periodical and random third party audits will be ensured</p> <p>- Public procurement and bidding processes of government projects shall be open and accessible for public verification.</p> <p>d Offering or receiving of bribery or any gratitude shall be declared a cognizable offence.</p> <p>e A central vigilance commission will be established to create more awareness among the people regarding consequences of giving and taking bribes.</p> <p>f An anti-corruption hotline in cooperation with the media will be established in the secretariats of the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers to report, expose and document cases of corruption.</p>
PML-N	<p>a To reduce opportunities for corruption and also to ensure decisions on merit, existing laws and rules will be amended to withdraw all discretionary powers wherever possible / practical and instead provide for exercise of powers in a fair, transparent and equitable manner.</p> <p>b Freedom of information act will be passed in consultation with media and other stake holders.</p> <p>c To promote a culture of accountability, integrity and transparency, whistle-blower protection law (public interest disclosure) will be enacted.</p> <p>d Procure rules and laws will be strengthened.</p> <p>e In order to arrest and reverse rising trend of land grabbing and encroachments and deter / punish kabza mafia, existing laws will be strengthened and strictly enforced.</p>
PPP	<p>a Further Governance and transparency reforms in the areas of taxation and public management including civil services, government procurements and decentralization will be introduced.</p> <p>b A culture of accountability in the delivery of public services by setting metrics of performance will be introduced.</p> <p>c The ombudsman office will be further strengthened.</p>
PTI	<p>a NAB to have its own investigative and prosecution arm outside the purview of the Executive</p> <p>b Create teams of motivated and empowered investigators for each mega scandal</p> <p>c Special Task Force to recover looted national wealth stashed outside the country</p> <p>d All recovered assets of corruption to be used for educating youth of Pakistan</p>

3. Social Issues

I. Education

Pakistan's adult literacy rate at nearly 58%⁵ is among the lowest in the world and second lowest amongst its South Asian neighbours. The state of education sector on the whole and in particular the existing condition of educational institutions in rural areas results in a high drop-out at the primary level each year. Low adult literacy level at 58% (69% for men and 46% for women) remains one of the biggest obstacles in achievement of universal literacy and better educational standards. Following table depicts the stance of the parties for improving the state of education in the country:

Education

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a 6% of the GDP will be directed to education sector. b Provision of free education up to the primary level and affordable education for higher levels c To work for abolition of the existing parallel education systems that breeds class differences and protects the feudal interests in the country. The ANP to create an internationally compatible uniform education system d Build a monitored and accountable network of primary and secondary schools in areas that are easily accessible to children especially girls. e Ensure basic facilities in existing schools f Remain committed to rebuilding the schools destroyed by terrorists g Work towards eliminating political interference and corruption in education sector. h Class room and teacher student ratio will be rationalized i Establish education task force to provide oversight both in terms of access and governance j All high schools will be upgraded to higher secondary schools k Merit and need based scholarships will be provided l Each district will have at least one college with degree awarding status m Basic education to be given in the mother tongue of the students
JUI-F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Islamic Education System will be adopted b Education will be imparted on the principles of Islam and in the mother tongue c Education will be free from Middle to secondary and attempts will be made to make education totally free at all levels. d Vocational training Institutes will be set up e Emphasis will be laid on adult education.
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a To make education compulsory for each and every child and education to be made available free up to Matriculation or its equivalent level b To increase present allocation from 2.2% to 5% of the GDP c Minimum 20% of Provincial and District Government's revenue to be allocated to education d Syllabus to be amended according to national requirements and needs of the modern age e Dual systems of education to be abolished by improving Urdu medium schools f Educational institutes to have Management Boards/Committees and their performance to be monitored regularly g Female teachers to be preferred for primary education h <i>Madrassahs</i> need to be provided all out incentives to bring their syllabus and standard of teaching in conformity with the mainstream education.

5. Pakistan Economic Survey 2011-12

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a More professional and vocational training institutes to be established b Private education institutions to be regulated by the government c “Adopt a School” policy to be encouraged to fully utilise the available resources
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Actively engage in closing the education gender gap and through behaviour change b Raise the financial allocation to the level given in the Fiscal Responsibility and debt limitation act. c Develop online learning d Create an enabling environment for private schools e Vocational and Technical education shall be introduced in the technical stream of education from 8th class f Establishment of technical and vocational training institutes at district and tehsil levels. g Improvement in status of teachers would be ensured h Establishment of public libraries at the district and tehsil levels i Revive National teacher's day j Sports, Arts, Music and languages as well as English and Math to be taught in all schools k The Higher Education Commission (HEC) shall be made fully autonomous.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a National Education Emergency will be declared. b National Literacy Movement will be launched c Legislation will be proposed for achieving 100% enrolment upto the middle level and 80% universal literacy and strive to meet the target of Education for All and Millennium Development Goal (MDG) related to Education. d Uniform system of education will be introduced e Dropout rate at the primary level will be reduced by providing missing facilities in schools and free text books, offering incentives especially for girls. f Facilities for teacher training will be extended g Skill based uniform curriculum will be developed h Increased resources will be allocated to education ensuring proper and timely utilization of funds to reach the UNESCO target of 4% of GDP by 2018. i Madrassahs will be provided financial assistance j Education sector monitoring will be strengthened
PPPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Education for all to eliminate class divides, gender disparities, poverty and unemployment. b 4.5% of the GDP will be committed for the Education Sector c Education will be treated as a national emergency d Curricula to be revised e Madrassa reforms will be initiated f A cell within provincial education departments to monitor, coordinate and overview district –wise utilization of the education budget. g Assist the provinces in achieving universal enrolment by 2018 h Intensify efforts to increase school enrolment. l Raise the adult literacy rate from the current 54% to 85%
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Increase spending from 2% of GDP to 5% of GDP in five years b Decentralise service delivery to district c A need based voucher system to fund students to go to private schools to fill gaps where government schools are not enough d Focus on girls education (Double the number of girls high schools in 5 years) e Special programme to modernize and upgrade government sector colleges for near term impact f Involve and empower community to share burden of management g Sports and extracurricular activities like debates to be specially emphasised for developing the potential of youth h PTI will focus on illiterate adults in the 15-30 age brackets and invest resources to provide functional literacy to them.

II. Health

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

Health

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a To work for increased availability of health services to all citizens of Pakistan. Insurance schemes and privatisation options to be considered to achieve this b 6% of GDP allocation on health to be ensured in the annual budget c Decentralization of health services d Emphasis on mother-child health e Emphasis on primary health care (PHC) f Special health care insurance packages and incentives for senior citizens g Focus on upgrading and better equipping BHU, RHC to provide good foundation for the health delivery system h Ensure quality control and stringent regulation of private medical services and institutions. i Fully functional burn and trauma hospitals initially at provincial headquarters and later at each divisional level.
JUI-F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Residents of all cities and villages to be provided with modern medical facilities b Free medical health care facilities for all c Major hospitals to be set up at tehsil level d Nursing colleges to be established e Pharmaceutical industry to be encouraged f More medical colleges to be established at division level and medical university at the provincial level
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Public Expenditure on health to be increased from 0.6 % to 5% of GDP during next five years b Emphasis on population planning c Targeting primary health care. Ensuring full coverage of EPI and working to eradicate polio d Hospitals to be established in every district and health care centers in every village of the country e Establish nursing institutes Take measures to lower the prices of medicines f Ensuring facilities and awareness about the problems faced by disabled people so that they have easy access to health care and quality of life improves. g Establishment of an independent and transparent "Health Services Reform Commission"
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Rescue 1122 network will be extended throughout the country b Every Public and private sector hospital will be required to ensure its waste management system c Efforts will be made for a polio free Pakistan d Facilities for free diabetic, blood pressure and urine test shall be provided at all major government hospitals e Provision of clean drinking water for rural and remote areas f Mother and child healthcare will be prioritized and family planning sections will be established in government hospitals. g Pharmaceutical industry will be encouraged.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a A New National Health Insurance Scheme will be introduced. b Smart cards will be introduced for availing health facilities c Existing BHUs will be strengthened d Every District will have a District Healthcare Authority e Each District will have at least one hospital with complete diagnostic facilities f Medical colleges and teaching hospitals will be made autonomous g Provision of clean drinking water and safe sewerage disposal will be given high priority.

PPPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a 5% increase in the spending on health b Seek better governance and transparent utilization of earmarked allocations by the provinces c Cut maternal and infant mortality rates by 60% d Take measures to stem rapid population growth and bring the population growth down to 1.6% e Create special departments or units to deal with the preventive health care and medicine. f Devise strategies to tackle high level of communicable diseases g Establish special medical care facilities including trauma centres at the local level. h Eradicate Polio by 2015 i Increase the number of educational facilities for medical personnel j Promote degree courses in nursing in private and public sector k PPPP
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Increase spending from .86% of GDP to 2.6% of GDP b Provide primary healthcare to the poor of Pakistan c All DHQ / THQ hospitals to be modernised c Focus on health care delivery in every district d Create jobs in healthcare e Insure free primary health care for the poor f Increase the existing coverage by 100% g Health MDGs will be achieved h Ensure the availability of clean drinking water l National programme on the prevention of blindness, genetic disorders, mental illness and oro-dental diseases will be launched.

III. Labour Issues

On the basis of Pakistani population to be over 180.71 million, the estimated labour force in Pakistan is 57.24 million.⁶ With such a large labour force in Pakistan, the sector bemoans its condition leaves much to be desired. The following table outlines the parties' positions on the issues of Labour force in Pakistan:

Labour Issues

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Continue to support trade unions and review and amend any laws that restrict formation or working of trade unions. b Rights of workers employed in the informal sector will be protected c Workers access to improved healthcare facilities, education skills development and holidays will be ensured d Labour laws will be revised and their implementation will be guaranteed. e Regular review of the minimum wage and workers benefits will be carried out and will be set comparable to the cost of living and inflation rates.
JUI-F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Minimum wage will be equivalent to the price of one Tola Gold b Arrangements will be amend to provide the labourers with housing and education c Free medical facility will be extended d 50% representation will be given to the Labourers in the governing bodies
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Establishment of joint monitoring boards of entrepreneurs and labour within industrial units to ensure respectable wage structure for employees b Ensure meaningful consultation with the trade unions of employees before the privatization of public assets.

6. Economic Survey of Pakistan 2011-12

PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a The industrial relations ordinance 2012 shall be reviewed to bring more clarity with respect to enforcement of workers' rights in conformity with ILO conventions and fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution of Pakistan. b EOBI and other welfare programmes will be improved c Existing occupational health and security laws will be strengthened and implemented d The minimum wage of the worker will be periodically enhanced. e Total prohibition of child labour e Labour laws with respect to individual grievance shall be amended and requirement of serving grievance notice shall be repealed.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a The minimum wage for workers will be gradually increased to Rs. 15,000 per month. b Rights to workers will be ensured and the role of collective bargaining agents will be made more effective keeping in view of the relevant ILO conventions. c Labour laws will be revised to ensure justice to all d Tripartite National and Provincial productivity council and National health and safety council will be set up e Fair wage and safe working conditions will be provided to the workers.
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Through legislation, give labour representatives four seats in the National Assembly, and Two seats in each Provincial Assembly. b Improve coordination at the federal level to address post 18th-amendment issues c Pass the trade union act d Construct a labour housing complex f Enhance shares upto 25% under the Benazir Employees Stock Option Scheme and legislate for the removal of section 27B of the Banking Companies ordinance 1952. g Expand the scope of the labour laws to cover FATA, PATA, Gilgit-Baltistan and AJK. h Further enhance the minimum wage to Rs. 18,000 per month with the wage rate to be adjusted for inflation.
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Minimum wage to commensurate with the inflation level in the country and the real earnings of the poorest workers are protected. b Laws relating to employment of contract labour will be strictly enforced. c Tripartite board consisting of employer, labour and inspectors for each sector will be set up at provincial level to review, formulate and implement policies d Zero tolerance for bonded labour e Labour laws will be adjusted according to the ILO standards f Workers welfare fund and workers profit participation fund will be used for providing maximum benefits to the labour

IV. Women Development

Women form about 66.1 per cent of the population but they have traditionally lacked level-playing field and a strong voice to raise their issues and influence resolving of those issues effectively. What are the specific policies of the political parties to undertake women development in Pakistan:

Women Development

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Women's participation in decision making at all levels will be increased to 33% b Direct election of women to all elected positions

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Provide women with meaningful and requisite technical and financial support b Effective administrative steps to be taken to ensure implementation of existing 10% quota for women. c Will continue efforts for the promulgation of the pending domestic violence legislation and trafficking in women. d Relevant Ministries of women will be strengthened e Will make the existing provincial commission on the status of women (KP) autonomous
JUI-F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a <i>No specific reference is made in the Manifesto</i>
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Effective Legislation and implementation of strict punitive measures against gender discrimination, sexual harassment, discouragement of female education and their full participation in society as equal citizens, domestic violence, rape in vengeance and otherwise, forcing opponents women folk to march naked on public streets, honour killings, karo kari, Vinee and acid victim. b Repealing of all discriminatory laws against women and non muslims. c Representation of women to be gradually increased to 50% in the parliament. d Women shelter homes to be established
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Women participation in politics at the grass root level will be encouraged. b Women specific policies which address concerns such as women in conflict, women headed households, rural women & land rights will be formulated. c Move enactment of all pending legislation to protect women victims d For speedy justice it will prepare a Speedy Justice Action Plan to ensure the phasing out and abolition of long standing litigation, especially, especially cases involving property and family disputes seeking their resolution within a specified time frame. e Bilateral treaties shall be signed to prevent forced and child marriages of overseas Pakistanis. f Women protection centres shall be established for destitute, old aged and displaced women in all major cities.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a To ensure respect, dignity, and protection to women granted by Islam and to protect their property rights. b To promote participation of women in national development and their social, political and economic empowerment c To give preference to women teachers in primary education d To promote female education especially vocational training and health care programmes to overcome gender gaps e Effective representation of women in all key policy/decision making bodies to be ensured f Special legislation on violence against women and child abuse to be enacted g Micro credit for female borrowers to be expanded substantially as a part of the process of their empowerment h Inheritance and property rights of female heirs shall be safe-guarded i Women Entrepreneurship Financing scheme shall be launched.
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Further strengthen the Benazir Income support programme by expanding education, vocational training, health services b Institute quotas in political parties to increase the participation of women. c Announce a Fair Play and Fair Job policy for the women d Increase the job quota for women to 20% backed by mechanism for implementation. e Engage the National Commission for Human Development to target one million women for literacy and education programmes. f A woman's right to life, dignity, and access to resources, employment, inheritance and justice to be guaranteed by law. g Ensure the provision of credit for women entrepreneurs and rural women farmers through commercial banks h Through parliament ensure a quota for women judges

PTI	a	Identification and elimination of all discriminatory articles, laws and provisions in the constitution to ensure equal legal status of women
	b	Restore the Federal and Provincial Ministries of women
	c	Setup Insafgha – One step women centres at UC Level
	d	Provision of training programmes, subsidies and monetary incentives to increase opportunities of self-employment for women.
	e	Government offices to have minimum 20% quota for female staff
	f	Reproductive health programmes including birth spacing
	g	Provision of access, equity and quality in education regardless of gender
	h	Provide incentives for girl education
	i	Revise and improve text books and curricula to remove gender based stereotypes
	j	Zero tolerance for any and all agreements barring women from participation in voting

V. Rights of Non-Muslim Communities

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

Rights of Non-Muslim Communities

Party	Proposed Programme	
ANP	a	Ethnicity, faith and gender-based discrimination to be opposed at all levels
	b	Every Pakistani citizen to enjoy equal political, economic and social rights
	c	Every citizen shall have the right to hold any public office including the offices of the President and Prime Minister.
	d	Amendments made to 1973 constitution relegating religious minorities to a secondary status will be reviewed and removed.
	e	Ethnic and Religious minorities to be protected
JUI-F	a	Rights to the non-muslim as guaranteed by Islam will be ensured.
MQM	a	All the discriminatory laws against women and religious minorities to be repealed
	b	Treating non-muslims as equal citizens of Pakistan and awarding them state protection for their lives, property as well as freedom to practice their religion.
	c	The Term “Minorities” should be abolished
PML	a	All steps will be taken to avoid the misuse of Blasphemy Law
	b	Necessary steps would be taken to stop forced conversions
	c	Religious Minorities Protection Bill will be introduced
	d	Curriculum to be revised
	e	5% quota of government jobs for minorities will be ensured
	f	Along with the reserved seats, the non-muslims will also be given an opportunity to contest election at general seats.
	g	Appoint a non-Muslim chairman of Evacuee Trust Property Board and will also appoint non-muslims as heads of various departments.

PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a National day for minorities to be celebrated b Law to be passed to check forced conversions c Minority representation to be increased in the Evacuee Trust Property Board d Quota to be introduced for minorities in the educational institutions e The development funds earmarked for the minorities will be doubled. f The Hindu Marriage Bill will be accelerated through the National Assembly. g Minorities may be given official leave and advance salary to celebrate their religious festivals.
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Create equal opportunities through progressive legislation and policy reforms b Law to check forced conversions c Curriculum to be revised d Add one more seat for the minorities in the Parliament e Revive and reconstitute the National Commission on Minorities f Seek Parliament's advice through its two standing committees on minorities to review the effects of constitutional clauses that discriminate on the basis of religion.
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Minorities will be given equal opportunity, protection under the law and freedom to practice their religion b There will be zero tolerance for any abuse of or threat to or violence against any minority group c Access to economic opportunity will be equal to all Pakistanis d Hate speeches and literature will be banned.

VI. Youth

Youth is the backbone of a society and plays a major role in shaping up a mature, conscientious society. Youth are an integral part of any society. Participation in civil society activities assures that youth are keenly engaged in shaping their future. How do various political parties plan to harness the potential of youth in the future? The following table highlights the parties' plans:

Youth

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Special Incentives to youth such as academic scholarships, exchange visits and training both nationally and internationally will be provided b Special emphasis will be given to providing opportunities to youth for creative learning, art and culture, recreation and sports. c Skill development will be focused d Special attention will be paid to addressing the problem of educated un-employed
JUI-F	- <i>No specific reference is made in the Manifesto</i>
MQM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Seats in the educational institutes to be increased. b Number of Vocational training centres to be increased c Youth development centres to be set up d Sports grounds, stadiums, schools for performing arts need to be set up e Career Counselling services to be provided f National Library programme for the youth will be launched.
PML	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Vocational and technical education will be integrated into the technical school stream. b Skills supply will be matched with market demand

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Equal employment opportunities will be created b Job related higher education opportunities shall be provided to the youth c Employment procedures in the government departments will be made transparent and only merit based appointments will be made d Self employment schemes on equal opportunity basis be launched. e Ensure posting of foreign scholarships offered to Pakistan immediately of HEC's website f Launch anti addiction campaign for the youth g Declare provision of sports facilities in educational institutions compulsory.
PML-N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Youth training programmes to be started in order to create one million positions for apprenticeship in trade and industry. These opportunities to be created in collaboration with the private sector. b Necessary legislation to make it compulsory for major industries and service providers to ensure proper vocational training c Self-employment loans to be extended to those who complete training/apprenticeship. d Services of youth will be utilised in implementation of national literacy programmes. e To involve youth in governance at all levels. f Inter-provincial visits of youth to be organized. g Youth to be provided special sports facilities in all educational institutions. h Anti-addiction campaign to be launched to stop youth from drug abuse.
PPPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Set up youth councils b Establish a youth parliament at the national level c Emphasise skill development, training and workforce development d Provide legal cover to National Internship programmes e Expand Benazir Bhutto Shaheed Youth Development programme f Motivate the youth to contribute to the national economy by encouraging them to set up small businesses g Create a National Scholarship programme. h Provide 10,000 scholarships for higher education and specialized technical education for students in FATA and Balochistan.
PTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Jawan Markaz will be established in every district/tehsil which will be coordinated by youth foundation. b Scholarships and interest free loans for the deserving students c Merit based job system will be introduced d Healthcare awareness campaigns and drug abuse campaigns for youth to be executed e Local sports leagues to be organised under Jawan Markaz at District / tehsil level f Sports based scholarships to be enhanced

VII. Environmental Issues

Environmental issues figure prominently in the overall governance framework. Environment not only affects productivity, availability of natural resources, but also has an effect on health expenditures, reduced labour productivity, and other areas. Following table outlines the environment-related policies and programmes of various political parties:

Environment

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Special importance to be accorded to protection of environment in the country b Ensure improved access to clean air, drinking water, waste management, sanitation and open spaces.

MMA	a <i>No specific reference made in the Manifesto</i>
MQM	<p>a Improvement of environment by making efficient use of natural resources and energy, respecting the natural world and wild life, utilizing the open spaces, eco-friendly designs and construction methods, recycling waste, plantation on a large scale and creating parks in each locality</p> <p>b Extensive forestation to be undertaken in a most aggressive way</p> <p>c Ensure industrial effluent and untreated sewage are not dumped in to the sea</p> <p>d Environment friendly urban development will be regulated</p> <p>e To combat industrial waste initially the government will facilitate in installation of Combined effluent Treatment plants.</p>
PML	<p>a Set up a National Environment, Climate change and Water Resources Authority</p> <p>b Compliance with all EPA requirements will be ensured</p> <p>c Establish green spaces though public parks</p> <p>d Design national guidelines and modules for the development of towns and cities</p> <p>e Activate the environment protection act 1997</p> <p>f Eliminate the timber mafia</p> <p>g Ban the import of hazardous chemical wastes</p> <p>h Deny exploitation of off shore resources</p> <p>l Waste disposal measures to be put in place</p>
PML-N	a Encourage ecologically sound development policies to preserve and develop the country's natural and forest resources to counteract the impact of global warming
PPPP	<p>a Develop national parks, sanctuaries and reserves and promote ecotourism</p> <p>b Deforestation to be curbed</p> <p>c Curb the trafficking of endangered species</p> <p>d Use the green economy frame work</p> <p>e Strengthen the federal and provincial Institutions engaged in sustainable development activities.</p>
PTI	<p>a Clean air and potable water to all will be the primary focus</p> <p>b The Environmental Impact assessment (EIA) requirements will be enforced for all development projects</p> <p>c Industrial pollution to be tackled through CETPs / clean production promotion EIAS</p> <p>d Rapid deforestation will be halted</p> <p>e Green jobs will be created through environment friendly alternate economic activities</p> <p>f Mass transit system in the most affordable and green manner will be introduced</p> <p>g Policy of Value Nature to Preserve Nature will be followed</p> <p>h Climate change will be addressed</p> <p>l Disaster management will be treated with urgency.</p>

4. Nuclear Policy and Foreign Relations

In the world of today, the security and foreign policy of Pakistan is of crucial importance to the country. Due to the peculiar geo-political and international environment, Pakistan's security policies and its external policy are of significant importance not only to the Pakistani electorate but also to the outside World. Following tables carry the positions of the political parties whose manifestos have been analysed for this study:

I. Nuclear Policy

Party	Proposed Programme
ANP	a <i>The manifesto contains no reference</i>
JUI-F	a <i>The manifesto contains no reference</i>
MQM	a <i>The manifesto contains no reference</i>
PML	a Pakistan not to accept double standards on the nuclear issue nor allow intrusion into its nuclear programme or provide access to any of its nuclear installations and scientists to outsiders. b Pakistan's nuclear programme will be safeguarded to serve both as deterrence against aggression and to preserve and protect our national independence. c There will be no compromise in maintaining a credible nuclear deterrence for the regional balance of power.
PML-N	a No proposal or initiative to ever be considered if it compromises, weakens, reduces or diminishes Pakistan's nuclear and missile capability
PPPP	a Nuclear Command and Control to be placed under the Defence Committee of the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister.
PTI	a Credibility of the strategic nuclear deterrence will be sustained.

II. Foreign Relations

Party	Proposed Programme
III. Kashmir Dispute and Relations with India	
ANP	a Relations with India to be strengthened b All issues including the resolution of the Kashmir dispute to be negotiated with India
JUI-F	a All types of support to be given to Kashmiri people to exercise their right of self determination
MQM	a MQM to solve the Kashmir issue through meaningful, sincere and honourable dialogue according to the wishes of Kashmiri people b To encourage confidence-building measures and dialogue process with India and to work for peace and close cooperation between the countries of South Asia especially in economic fields so as to provide peace
PML	a The PML supports the right of self determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir through implementing UN resolutions. However, in order to break the deadlock on this issue, the PML supports all those initiatives to peacefully resolve the Kashmir question which enjoy the support and backing of the Kashmiri people. PML recognises APHC as the representative of the sentiments and aspirations of the oppressed people of Jammu and Kashmir. b The peace process with India to be pursued with vigour

PML-N	a Every effort to be made to resolve the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, in accordance with the provisions of the relevant UN resolutions and the 1999 Lahore accord and in consonance with the aspirations of the people of the territory for their inherent right of self determination. b A peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues with India, in a spirit of fairness and equity to be accorded special priority by the Party.
PPPP	a Maintain full solidarity with and continued moral, political and diplomatic support of the Kashmiri people for realizing their legitimate aspirations. b PPPP c Dialogue process to be perused with India.
PTI	Progressive detente with India will benefit both countries if cantered on conflict resolution and cooperation especially in the field of energy.

IV. Relations with Afghanistan

ANP	a Relations with Afghanistan to be strengthened.
JUI-F	b Improvement of relations with all neighbouring countries
MQM	a Improvement of relations with all neighbouring countries
PML	a Supports a peaceful solution in Afghanistan by cooperating in the withdrawal of the foreign forces in Afghanistan and facilitating a dialogue with the Taliban. b PML also supports a peace process in Afghanistan that should include all of Afghanistan immediate neighbours including Pakistan.
PML-N	a Special attention to be accorded to strengthening relations with the brotherly Islamic states
PPPP	a Continue to reshape the relationship with Afghanistan based on peace, brotherhood, respect and cooperation. b Encourage the voluntary and safe resettlement of Afghan refugees from Pakistan and enhance the people to people contact between the two countries.
PTI	a Relations with all neighbouring countries will be strengthened.

V. Relations with China

ANP	a The traditional close relations with China will be maintained and further developed.
JUI-F	a Improvement of relations with all neighbouring countries
MQM	a Improvement of relations with all neighbouring countries
PML	a Relations with China to be strengthened.
PML-N	a China has been a time tested friend of Pakistan. Every effort to be made to strengthen and enhance this relationship
PPPP	a Enhance Pakistan's strategic partnership with China.
PTI	a Pakistan will expand its traditional strategic partnership with China at multiple levels, especially in the strategic economic field.

VI. Relations with Western Powers (Special Focus on USA)

ANP	a	Strive for normalcy of relations with the United States based on mutual interests and respect as independent and sovereign states. It will avoid fluctuating policies that border on extreme reactions of either abject surrender or threats of armed conflict.
JUI-F	a	Improvement of relations with all neighbouring countries
MQM	a	Improvement of relations with all neighbouring countries
PML	a	International relations should be governed by the rule of law and the UN charter. Hegemony of any power must be rejected and the principle of Right is Might is up-held.
PML-N	a	To protect its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, Pakistan will strengthen enhance friendly relations and deep rooted economic ties with all countries of the world, as well as with important international economic blocks, such as the EU, ECO, SAARC, ASEAN and SCO.
PPPP	a	The PPPP believes in further strengthening relations with the USA, Canada, European Union, Japan and the Commonwealth
PTI	a	Pakistan will endeavour to have a constructive relationship with the US, based on Pakistan's sovereign national interests and international law, not on aid dependency.

VII. Relations with Islamic countries

ANP	a	Pakistan shall play a leading role in the OIC
JUI-F	a	Strengthening of relations with all Islamic countries
MQM	a	Improvement of relations with all neighbouring countries
PML	a	The PML to support Iran's right to a peaceful nuclear programme under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards and to reject any threat of force or use of force to resolve this issue
	b	PML supports the establishment of an independent, democratic state in Palestine with Jerusalem as its capital and the people of the West Bank and Gaza must have the right to elect any government of their own choice.
PML-N	a	Special attention to be accorded to strengthening relations with brotherly Islamic states
PPPP	a	The PPPP to develop trade and cultural ties with the Gulf States, Iran and Central Asian States
PTI	a	Pakistan will engage positively with the Muslim world.



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