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# **Preface**

This White Paper has been compiled from the huge amount of data sent to PTI and still being sent, as well as from actual petitions that have been filed in the ECP, the Election Tribunals and the Courts. In fact, because of time constraints, we still have abundant data which hasn't been collated in this Paper so we may be compelled to bring out another volume – or expand this Paper at a future date.

The White Paper was necessitated by the widespread national feeling of systematic rigging across the country. Almost every political party has claimed rigging somewhere or the other and yet the ECP has neither acknowledged its shortcomings across the board not been responsive to complaints and petitions. PTI felt it had an obligation to its supporters who braved all manner of adversities, in some areas like Karachi, to come out and vote, to ascertain the truth of what happened to cast a dark shadow over the credibility of the whole electoral process and the institution conducting the election.

The style of the case studies may be unfamiliar to people since these case studies are derived from legal petitions by and large and the language has more or less been retained. The Case Examples are all direct citations from petitions filed by candidates and the language of these petitions has been more or less retained as is.

The White Paper could not have been materialized without the support of many PTI workers, especially Farrukh Dall and Syed Qaiser Abbas who spent day and night not only to collate all the documents but to actually pursue people to send forward their petitions and rigging evidence. Faisal Javed gave his time to produce the CD, and Naveeda for designing the jacket cover.

The dedication and commitment of the PTI workers remains as steadfast as ever.

The Massive 2 volumes of Annexures are as follows: Vol 1 contains Annexures A -Q; Vol II contains Annexures R - AX.

For any shortcomings in the paper I apologise in advance.

Shireen M Mazari

Central Information Secretary Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf

# Introduction

Elections have become a major factor in the stabilization and strengthening of emerging democracies. Elections thus provide a means for stimulating the development of democratic politics; for choosing representatives; for forming governments; and for conferring legitimacy on the political order. Elections also reduce the risk of political conflict and in fact lead to stability, democracy, peace and development. In the democratization process, elections play a central role in enhancing societal stability. However, the real challenge is not simply to hold elections but to ensure that these elections are free, fair, credible and transparent.

Free and fair elections can be held only where there exists an environment which seeks to provide popular participation, promotes human rights and guarantees fundamental freedoms, ensures accountability of the government, freedom of the judiciary, freedom of the press, and protects and respects political pluralism. In a country, where these conditions do not exist and where electoral corruption prevails, the operating environment becomes one of suspicion and distrust, both at the governmental level and among the masses. At the governmental level, there is a general lack of a sense of state accountability (as well as the lack of individual accountability) in an environment where political violence, high levels of intimidation and bias are endemic.

A renowned American researcher and scholar Norman D. Palmer, who has undertaken research on South Asian politics, concluded that 'the never ending political crisis in Pakistan is the product of electoral corruption'. In addition, there is widespread suspicion and little or no confidence in the governmental system. Such perceptions also stem from previous election experiences that were marred by violence and serious electoral irregularities, as well as the exclusion of marginalized groups. This absence of an underlying democratic culture poses a serious problem and underscores the need for an inclusive electoral process, voter education and measures to build confidence in the electoral system and most of all an independent, impartial and an effective Election Commission.

Unfortunately, as the electoral history of Pakistan demonstrates, we are unable to classify Pakistan as a consolidated democracy as firstly, an insufficient number of elections were permitted in the country to pass Samuel Huntington's "Two Turn Over Test" and, secondly, the entire electoral history of Pakistan is marred by malpractices, rigging and electoral frauds with elections widely viewed as having been rigged, tainted, flawed and engineered, whether conducted by Bonapartist generals or by civilians. Pakistan has had 10 general elections (1970-2013). These were held in December 1970, March 1977, February 1985, November 1988, November 1990, October 1993, February 1997, October 2002, February 2008 and May 2013. All sorts of fraud, deceit, and hooliganism were alleged to have been employed during these elections. PILDAT, published a report on General Elections in Pakistan titled "First 10 general elections of Pakistan" in which they stated:

"A few years ago, we published a paper on the subject of rigging and stealing of election. This study had demonstrated that eight elections in Pakistan beginning with the first one in 1970 and the eighth election in 2008 were flawed by one or more of three forms of rigging: pre-poll, polling day and post-poll. Our conclusion was that the problem of corruption in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In "Electoral malpractices during the 2008 elections in Pakistan" (Oxford).

See more at: http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2013/04/05/city/karachi/intelligentsia-smells-pre-poll-rigging-in-sindh/#sthash.7wF1WinY.dpuf

democracy goes beyond election. It is instead rooted in the acceptability of democracy without rule of law.  $^3$ 

It is also pertinent to mention here that the comic terminology of "jhurloo" (massive rigging) was popularized during the first provincial elections in Punjab (1951) and which has now been alleged again in the 2013 General Election.

Article 218(3) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan placed responsibility on the Election Commission not only for conducting the election itself, but also for making all necessary arrangements for the said purpose, prior to the Election Day. The Constitution conferred this responsibility on the Election Commission and ensured that all activities both prior, on and subsequent to Election Day, that were carried out in anticipation thereof, adhered to standards of justness and fairness, were honest, in accordance with law and were free from corrupt and/or illegal practices. The Election Commission may also exercise its powers in anticipation of an ill that might have the effect of rendering the election unfair – where a violation of the standards mentioned in Art.218(3) of the Constitution of Pakistan had not as yet taken place, the Election Commission was legally empowered under Art.218(3) to exercise its powers pre-emotively in order to avoid a violation of these standards. The Election Commission was fully empowered by Art.218(3) of the Constitution of Pakistan to make such orders as in its opinion were necessary for ensuring that the Election was fair, honest etc. The ECP enjoyed broad powers not only to take pre-emptive action but also to pass any and all orders necessary to ensure that the standards of 'honesty, justness and fairness' mentioned in Art.218 (3) of the Constitution of Pakistan were met, but, unfortunately, ECP failed to perform its legal obligations and the whole electoral process was marred by being seen as non-transparent, fraudulent, unjust and not in accordance with law. As a result, for the first time in the electoral history of Pakistan, more than 3,000 voters of Punjab province signed a petition expressing no-confidence in the Election Commission. (Copy of the petition is annexed as **Annex-A**)

This White Paper attempts to trace the malpractices and widespread rigging in General Election 2013 and also emphasises upon the nature of malpractices and the techniques of rigging applied in this Election.

Rigging is a reference to all activities relating to the holding of elections that violate the laws of the country and constitutional provisions. Such rigging relates to *pre-poll*, *polling day and post-poll* phases of the election. In the May 11, 2013 General Election, rigging took place in all three categories, as we show in this White Paper. The Code of Conduct laid out by the ECP was never observed and violators were never penalized, despite some very covert violations in terms of use of public offices and resources to influence the outcome of elections. In addition, open violence against party workers as happened in NA 56 Rawalpindi when the PMLN's workers attacked and killed a PTI worker during the election campaign. Similar violence took place in other constituencies across the country in the lead up to the Election Day, including deliberate attacks on PTI offices and destruction of election material such as banners, posters and so on.

The extensive documentary and visual evidence collected by PTI made it necessary to cite samplings of different types of rigging – but additional evidence is also available with PTI to be shared on demand.

 $<sup>^{3} \</sup>hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{See www.pildat.org/publications/publication/elections/First10GeneralElectionsofPakistan.pdf} \\$ 

# **CHAPTER ONE**

# **Pre-Poll Rigging**

This is in the context of selectively tilting the rules so that there is no level playing field. *How was this reflected before the May 11 elections?* Measures in this regard include:

# Questionable neutrality of caretaker government

The caretaker set up

In Punjab transfers and postings took place on a large scale just before the Caretaker Government was in place and the Caretaker CM seemed part of the pre-rigging game plan, at least tacitly, as he was "rewarded" soon after with a lucrative position.

A few of the key caretaker federal ministers themselves expressed concern over the illegal appointment and transfers of high officials. Caretaker Law Minister Ahmer Bilal Soofi had cautioned the caretaker government against overstepping its mandate by making long-term deals, appointments/postings and transfers at key positions. The Law and Justice Ministry had warned the caretaker government not to exceed its mandate by making undue transfers and postings in important departments.<sup>4</sup> However the Caretaker set up failed to maintain neutrality and became extremely controversial.

In Sindh, the caretaker government was effectively a watered down version of the previous government. Most of the ministers and advisors were known loyalists of the Pakistan People's Party and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). Such a caretaker government was bound to and did influence the general elections in favor of their parties. Transparency of electoral process was destroyed with "key ministers and assembly members of previous government are openly using government vehicles, security and protocols. They (were) flouting all basic laws, rules of business and code of conduct set by the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). This flagrant misuse of state resources and government facilities clearly indicates that the political parties that have been ruling Sindh for the last five years will influence the election process, thus stigmatizing the ECP."<sup>5</sup>

# Doubts over independence of ECP and ROs

Changing of Polling Stations on Election Day, almost 7 %, without the permission of the EC was in contravention of Section 8 of the Representation of the People Act (ROPA) 1976. Similarly, non-finalization of polling schemes before 15 days of the Election Day, was also in violation of Section 8 of the ROPA.

Appointment of election officials in a non-transparent manner and non-deployment of trained officials, along with last minute changes in election officials, were yet more irregularities. For instance, to cite just one example that was repeated across the country, from NA-47 Kohat, Abid-ur-Rahman, an independent candidate, had asked the Election Commission of Pakistan

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;Caretakers fail to take care"

http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2013%5C05%5C25%5Cstory\_25-5-2013\_pg1\_4

See more at: http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2013/04/05/city/karachi/intelligentsia-smells-pre-poll-rigging-in-sindh/#sthash.7wF1WinY.dpuf

to take notice of the issue and ensure free, fair and transparent elections after the ECP had revised the polling staffs list against the original one issued earlier. He had also alleged that former provincial minister Sher Azam Khan Wazir was openly being supported by Election Commission officials and in the revised list, he said that the polling staffs in their respective constituencies were serving in private educational institutions in other districts like Bannu and D.I Khan.<sup>6</sup>

# Lack of neutrality of election administrative staff

In Punjab, *patwaris* and police, especially, were found campaigning for one political party before the elections, while Dak Bungalows were used by the district administration to hold meetings with *patwaris* and "advise" them on how to aid and assist a particular party in the elections.

# Biased media coverage

Geo TV had the highest percentage of reporting on Nawaz Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League (N) than any other channel even as almost all channels seemed fixated on Mr. Sharif's party. Express News, Dawn News and PTV were the others to spend a major portion of their election coverage focused on PML (N).

MQM and not PTI or PPPP, as most imagined, got the second highest share of overall TV coverage during this duration with Geo once gain leading, Express News and Dawn News following. Less than one third of the overall coverage highlighted Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf Party (PTI). Strangely enough more than 60 per cent of ATV's coverage of the election seemed to focus only on PPPP.

# Use of public resources

Use of public resources for the benefit of some contestants was blatantly obvious – including partisan use of public funds, especially development funds. Vast amounts of public money from development projects were redirected to key constituencies especially those belonging to the outgoing PM's constituency and other major PPP leaders. The record of all this diversion of public money is well recorded in the media and also in cases before the Supreme Court.

# Case example: Pre poll rigging in Constituency NA-125 (Lahore)

That prior to giving details of the grave illegalities, illegal practices, violations of the provisions of the ROPA 1976 and the rules, massive election rigging and corrupt practices, it is brought to notice and record that the PTI Candidate moved an application before the Returning Officer on 06-05-2013 stating therein specifically that on account of the undue influence of the rival candidates the PTI Candidate apprehends that the Presiding Officers would not be able to conduct the poll fairly and justly, being employees of the Provincial

Ex-minister accused of pre-poll rigging in NA-47 http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/national/02-May-2013/ex-minister-accused-of-pre-poll-rigging-in-na-47.

News channels focused on analysis and discussions rather than facts during elections.

Government. In view thereof, officer(s) of the Federal Government may kindly be deputed. However, a verbal order was passed thereon dated 07.05.2013. In this respect it is submitted that the 47 officers changed by the Returning Officer were also connected with the Provincial Government. The list of Presiding Officer corroborates the submission made herein and clearly reflects that the direction of the Supreme Court of Pakistan at paragraph no. 81(h) (reproduced below) in case titled Workers Party Pakistan and Others Versus Federation of Pakistan and 2 Others reported at PLD 2012 SC 681 was not complied with.

"To ensure fair and transparent election, if need be, instead of involving the employees of the Provincial Governments, the employees of Federal Government/autonomous organizations/agencies, including the armed and paraarmed forces may be instructed to carry out stipulated functions at the polling stations."

That it is also pertinent to note that, while most of the Provincial Secretaries were changed in the Province of Punjab by the Election Commission of Pakistan / Interim Punjab Government, the Punjab Secretary (Schools), Mr. Aslam Kamboh and the Home Secretary, Mr. Shahid Khan, who had been appointed by the previous Punjab Government were not changed. No reason has been given as to why the Punjab Secretary (Schools) and Home Secretary were not changed when almost all other Secretaries were changed. It is evident from the above list that a large majority of the Presiding Officers were employees of the Punjab Education Department and were under the direct supervision, control and instructions of, inter alia, the Secretary (Schools), who clearly owed his appointment and loyalty to the PML-N government. Similarly, Punjab Police was deputed at all polling stations and was under administrative control of Home Secretary. This was an instrumental factor in the large scale rigging that was seen in NA 125 before, during and after the polling, as detailed below.

That, in addition to the above, it is also brought to notice that the polling scheme was also not finalized till 10-05-2013 and in fact during the last night prior to the polling, certain polling station were added which were not part of the subject constituency, i.e., NA 125. This is also despite the fact that the Returning Officer is required, under Section 8 (2) of ROPA 1976, to at publish, at least fifteen days before the polling day, in the official Gazette the final list of polling stations specifying the electoral area the elector will be entitled to vote in. This alone is an act of grave illegality and violation of the provisions of ROPA 1976 and the rules rendering the poll void.

## Case example: Pre poll rigging in Constituency NA 46, FATA (Khyber Agency)

Disenfranchisement by preparation of Confused Voters List

- 1. That on polling day, the whole election process was disturbed; voters faced difficulties and remained unable to cast their votes because of improper and incomplete voters' list issued by Election Commission of Pakistan and due to segregation of voters' list into internally displaced persons (IDPs) and non-IDPs. Different census blocks were sublet into many parts thereby creating utter confusion among the voters.
- 2. The voters' lists prepared by Election Commission of Pakistan were confusing and the apprehension of the ordinary voters due to break up of the blocks in so many different

parts meant voters had to move from one place to another to find out the place/booth of voting and in end many could not cast their votes. Moreover the voters' lists so prepared were not provided on time to the contesting candidates so that they could educate their voters well in time, which further aggravated the situation and led to confusion. It is pertinent to mention here that the voters' lists provided to contesting candidate were different from the voters' list provided to election staff.

- 3. That Disenfranchisement is one of the known electoral frauds committed by the election administration through different techniques i.e. by devising registration methods, identification requirements, voting procedures, by manipulating the voter rolls, illicitly adding or deleting names or barring voters from polling stations on trumped up legal or technical grounds etc. It is pertinent to mention here that out of a total 19171 voters registered at Jalozai camp, 18351 voters were disfranchised through the pre poll rigging of preparation of confusing voter lists.
- 4. That the polling staff was physically engaged by "unknown" workers of the opponent candidates. Polling boxes, voters' lists' brass seals and ballot papers were damaged.
- 5. That, resultantly, at the polling stations No.11,12,13,14,15,16,17,and 18 placed at Jalozai camp where the registered tented internally displaced persons(IDPs) votes were 19,171, which were adjusted in one area but the result of Jalozai camp remained only 4.27%.

Table of the votes polled is mentioned below;

Polling Station no.	Total votes as per Polling Scheme	Polled votes as per Form XVI	Votes not polled	Percentage of polled votes
11	2167	94	2073	4.33%
12	2015	96	1919	4.76%
13	2188	67	2121	3.06%
14	2617	151	2466	5.76%
15	2393	113	2280	4.70%
16	2315	97	2218	4.19%
17	2938	93	2845	3.16%
18	2538	109	2429	4.29%
Total	19171	820	18351	4.27%

Disenfranchisement by recommending selective re-poll at Shah Kas only

6. That the electoral fraud in shape of pre-poll rigging of re-poll, dated 05.06.2013, committed in the constituency was that re-poll at only 21 polling stations was recommended by the Returning Officer and was ordered accordingly and Jalozai Camp was completely ignored. Letter of District Returning Officer (DRO)/Political Agent to Provincial Election Commissioner dated 15.0502013 is annexed as Annex-B.

- 7. That the Honorable Peshawar High Court Peshawar through its order in WP No.1080/P-12 directed the respondents to ensure the protection of right of vote of the internally displaced persons (IDPs). Copy of the order is annex as **Annex-C.**
- 8. That the main reason behind the fraud of not recommending re-polls at Jalozai camp was that PTI Candidate was the most popular candidate there and if a free and free election was conducted there were absolute chances of the PTI Candidate to win the election with a heavy margin.
- 9. That a total of 820 votes were cast in the polling stations at Jalozai camp as mentioned above out of which PTI Candidate secured 349 votes and the returned candidate secured 49 votes only which shows the popularity of the PTI Candidate in the said constituency. Table of the votes polled in favor PTI Candidate and returned candidate in Jalozai Camp is given below:

Polling Station no.	Votes secured by the	Votes secured by
	PTI Candidate	Returned Candidate
11	53	12
12	55	03
13	23	08
14	93	08
15	29	05
16	32	08
17	28	03
18	36	02
Total	349	49

# Pre poll rigging in Constituency NA 54 (Rawalpindi)

- 1. That the returning officer prepared and issued the scheme of polling/election. The same was not circulated and the PTI Candidate was not served with any notice thereof so as to enable her to file objection thereof, if any.
- 2. The learned Returning officer proceeded to shift a number of polling stations without adopting the due process of law, without issuing any notice to the contesting candidate and proceeded to pass orders illegally and without any justification.
- 3. That the Returning officer did not perform his duties in accordance with law and proceeded to appoint the election staff for the constituency at the asking and for the benefit of PMLN Candidate. Despite objections, he did not rectify the situation and the process continued. The whole election process was polluted by corrupt practices by and on behalf of the PMLN Candidate duly supported by the local administration with the connivance/overlooking by the Returning Officer and the malpractices of the election staff resulted into very unfair, unjust, non transparent and rigged election. The instances of the corrupt practices by the PMLN Candidate and the malpractices of the election staff, maladministration of the staff appointed to conduct the election are given below:

- a. PMLN Candidate Malik Ibrar Ahmed in his home town area Naseerabad / Kohinoor Mills / Chistiabad, with the help of returning officer managed to have 16 polling stations with half km distance. (Copy of Polling Scheme is attached as **Annex-D**)
- b. During election campaign PTI was not allowed to hang posters or banners in Mohallah Naseerabad, Chistiabad and its surrounding areas.
- c. In entire constituency all PTI posters and banners were removed during night.
- d. April 27, during mid night Mr. Malik Iftikhar (Now MPA PP-10, cousin of Returned Candidate) victimized PTI worker Malik Kabeer on Choohr Chowk (a written application was submitted to SHO Westridge police station).
- e. On May 10, Local Police stopped PTI Candidate from establishing polling camps outside the distance of 400 yards of polling stations. An application was given to RO requesting permission to install camps at 11:00 pm the same night, but Returning Officer refused to entertain said application with the remarks that Camps are legally allowed and police cannot stop.
- f. May 11, in the morning PMLN Candidate had posted all its camps even within 400 yards' and in front of polling stations.
- g. That the Returning Officer transferred/changed/appointed the Presiding Officers after the required time period.
- 4. That the said act of the Returning Officer resulted in depriving the genuine voters from casting their votes thereby facilitating the Respondent No.1 to get the Elections rigged by getting fake votes polled.
  - a. That the polling staff of NA 54 Rawalpindi was appointed according to the wish and will of the PMLN Candidate.
  - b. That the close relatives of the supporters of the PMLN Candidate were appointed as the Presiding, Assistant Presiding and Polling Staff just to support and favour the PMLN Candidate on polling day.
  - c. That the shifting/changing of polling stations from one place to the other played a havoc to the PTI's voters and supporters as they could not manage to go to poll their votes at a distance of 15 to 20 KM.
- 5. The three books issued to all Presiding Officers during their course of training:
  - a. It came to the knowledge of PTI Candidate that a handbook 'The Handbook on General Elections 2013, Volume V of VII: NA 54' was issued to all presiding officers. The book describes how NA 54 was divided into 15 sectors and each sector allotted to a Patwari having 15 20 polling stations each. Among its duties was to make sure that result reaches the Returning Officer in time. PTI has always raised objection on Patwari system, and NA 54 entire election was given in their hands. (Copy of Handbook is attached as **Annex-E**)
  - b. Another handbook in Urdu was also issued. It has a page that says there were Tamper Evident Bags with secret code. No such codes were issued to the polling agents of the PTI Candidate. (Copy of handbook is attached as **Annex-F**)
  - c. The third book 'Zilla Rawalpindi' that was issued raises serious concerns, as to why it was given to presiding officers, that has no mention of PTI in it and says that PMLN had always been a strong hold on NA 54. (Copy of book is attached as **Annex-G**)

# Pre poll rigging in Constituency NA-255 (Karachi)

That before the general election 2013 there was apprehension of unfair, corrupt and unjust election in the constituency for which the PTI Candidate had moved an application before the Returning Officer On 10-05-2010 for granting security according to the order of Election Commission of Pakistan but in vain. (Copy of the petition is annexed as **Annex-H**).

# Pre poll rigging in Constituency PP-171 (Nankana Sahib)

The Returning officer did not perform his duties in accordance with law and proceeded to appoint the PMLN Candidate's favorites as the polling/election staff for the constituency in violation of the direction issued by the Supreme Court of Pakistan.

# Pre poll rigging in Constituency PP-14 (Rawalpindi)

That the returning officer prepared and issued the scheme of polling/election. The same was not circulated and the PTI Candidate was not served with any notice thereof so as to enable her to file objection thereof, if any.

The learned Returning officer proceeded to shift a number of polling stations without adopting the due process of law, without issuing any notice to the contesting candidate and proceeded to pass orders illegally and without any justification.

On May 10, local police stopped PTI Candidate from establishing polling camps outside the distance of 400 yards of polling stations.

That the Returning Officer transferred/changed/appointed the Presiding Officers on and before within 15 days of the Election Day but the R.O transferred the Presiding Officers and Polling Staff after the mandated 15 days before Election Day, even doing so on polling day.

# Pre poll rigging in Constituency PP-10 (Rawalpindi) [The evidence for this is the same as its larger NA54]

- 1. That the returning officer prepared and issued the scheme of polling/election. The same was not circulated and the PTI Candidate was not served with any notice thereof so as to enable her to file objection thereof, if any.
- 2. The learned Returning officer proceeded to shift a number of polling stations without adopting the due process of law, without issuing any notice to the contesting candidate and proceeded to pass orders illegally and without any justification.
- 3. That the Returning officer did not perform his duties in accordance with law and proceeded to appoint the election staff for the constituency at the asking and for the benefit of PMLN Candidate. Despite objections, he did not rectify the situation and the process continued. The whole election process was polluted by corrupt practices by and on behalf of the PMLN Candidate duly supported by the local administration connived/overlooked by the Returning Officer and the malpractices of the election staff resulted into very unfair, unjust, non transparent and rigged election. The

process adopted and the steps taken do vitiate the whole election process being fraudulent, unfair, unjust, non-transparent and replete with the corrupt practices committed by the PMLN Candidate and his aides in collaboration with the election staff. The instances of the corrupt practices by the PMLN Candidate and the malpractices of the election staff, maladministration of the staff appointed to conduct the election are as under:-

- a. PMLN Candidate Malik Iftikhar Ahmed in his home town area Naseerabad / Kohinoor Mills / Chistiabad, with the help of returning officer managed to have 16 polling stations with half km distance. (Copy of Polling Scheme is attached as **Annex-D**)
- b. During election campaign PTI was not allowed to hang posters or banners in Mohallah Naseerabad, Chistiabad and its surrounding areas.
- c. In entire constituency all our posters and banners were removed during night.
- d. April 27, during mid night Mr. Malik Iftikhar (Now MPA PP-10, cousin of Malik Ibrar Ahmed MNA NA-54) victimized PTI worker Malik Kabeer on Choohr Chowk, a written application was submitted to SHO Westridge police station.
- e. On May 10, Local Police stopped PTI Candidate from establishing polling camps outside the distance of 400 yards of polling stations. An application by PTI Candidate of NA54 was given to RO requesting permission to install camps at 11:00 pm the same night, but Returning Officer refused to entertain said application with the remarks that Camps are legally allowed and police cannot stop.
- f. May 11, in the morning PMLN Candidate had posted all its camps even within 400 yards' and in front of polling stations.
- g. That the Returning Officer transferred/changed/appointed the Presiding Officers on and before within 15 days of the Election Day.
- 4. That the said act of the Returning Officer resulted into depriving the genuine voters from casting their votes thereby facilitating the PMLN Candidate to get the Elections rigged by getting fake votes polled.
- 5. That the polling staff of NA 54 Rawalpindi was appointed according to the wish and will of the PMLN Candidate.
- 6. That the close relatives of the supporters of the PMLN Candidate were appointed as the Presiding, Assistant Presiding and Polling Staff just to support and favour the PMLN Candidate on polling day.
- 7. That the shifting/changing of polling stations from one place to the other played a havor to the PTI's voters and supporters as they could not manage to go to poll their votes at a distance of 15 to 20 KM.
- 8. The three books issued to all Presiding Officers during their course of training:
  - a. It came to the knowledge of PTI Candidate that a handbook 'The Handbook on General Elections 2013, Volume V of VII: NA 54/PP-10' was issued to all presiding officers. The book describes how NA 54 (including PP-10) was divided into 15 sectors and each sector allotted to a Patwari having 15 20 polling stations each. Among its duties was to make sure that result reaches the Returning Officer in time. PTI has always raised objection on Patwari system, and NA 54 (including PP-10) entire election was given in their hands. (Copy of Handbook is attached as **Annex-E**)

- b. Another handbook in Urdu was also issued. It has a page that says there were Tamper Evident Bags with secret code. No such codes were issued to the polling agents of the PTI Candidate. (Copy of Handbook is attached as **Annex-F**)
- c. The third book 'Zilla Rawalpindi' that was issued raises serious concerns, as to why it was given to presiding officers, that has no mention of PTI in it and says that PMLN had always had a strong hold on NA 54/PP-10. (Copy of Handbook is attached as **Annex-G**)

# Pre poll rigging in Constituency No. PP-114 (Gujrat)

The returning officer did not perform his duties in accordance with law and proceeded to appoint Returned Candidate's favorites as the polling/election staff for the constituency.

# **CHAPTER TWO**

# **Polling Day Rigging**

Polling day rigging primarily refers to violation of the integrity of the ballot box, and includes, inter alia,

- Tampering through stuffing of ballot boxes
- Impersonation and multiple votes being cast
- Preventing people from voting through coercion
- Deliberate incorrect counting of votes
- Deliberate tampering with tabulation of results

# May 11 rigging details as per the evidence including visual evidence

- There were multiple instances of rigging as defined above on all counts on May 11. For instance, in many polling stations voters were told no stamping on candidate of their choice was needed and all they had to do was sign on the reverse side of the ballot paper thereby destroying the ballot paper. In polling booths where voters refused to follow these mala fide instructions, stamps were eventually produced but after much delay.
- No proper envelopes to put the ballots in after counting. They were put in regular brown envelopes and then merely taped rather than sealed.
- The polling staff was not present at many polling stations, especially in Karachi, and to date no report has been released as to why they were missing. Was it coercion, or was it voluntary as they were supporting a certain party?
- Again, especially in Karachi, the polling material was not provided on time and in the right quantity.
- The standard procedures to maintain the sanctity of the ballot were not observed.
- The proper time of polling was not observed. The extended time given by the CEC was done very late in the polling process and not conveyed in a proper manner- so it was not implemented uniformly. In fact some results were tabulated and declared even before the extended time was over.
- The rigging of elections was rampant as evident from attached FIRs, cases submitted before SC (examples of some cases attached as appendices and videos attached as appendices.)
- The rigging was reported both by the rangers and police; their section commanders should be asked to testify under oath.
- Then there is evidence of burnt ballot papers, papers found in the garbage etc.

- The high number of rejected ballot papers due to double stamping was yet another form of rigging.
- Then there were large numbers of counterfoils of ballot papers without the stamp or signature of the presiding officer. For instance in NA 154, 39000 such counterfoils led to annulment of 39000 votes. Given the margins of victories in some constituencies, even a smaller amount of rejected votes made the difference in the results.
- Great variance in the casting of votes as shown between polling stations and individual polling booths in the same station were found.
- The serial number of the ballot meant for one polling station being found at another polling station of the same constituency.
- In some constituencies, especially of Karachi, polling agents were beaten up and threatened to stay inside so they personally witnessed the stamping of ballot papers.
- Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, (PILDAT) has noted with concern that Polling Staff, especially ladies, were handed over polling material without any transportation or security arrangements. Vulnerability of polling staff and the influence of local powerful elements on this staff proved to be one of the weakest links in the chain of election arrangements made by the ECP.<sup>8</sup>
- In Karachi, the entire polling staff was listed and arranged by the MQM with the criminal involvement of the officials of the ECP. The result was that on polling day, these staff members:
  - 1. Withdrew their services in some areas deliberately creating delays and confusion;
  - 2. Were themselves involved in allowing stamping of ballot papers;
  - 3. Threatened PTI polling agents to stay quiet or leave.
  - 4. Stuffed already stamped ballot papers into ballot boxes.
  - 5. Female polling agents were harassed, abused and pushed, to muffle them into submission or to leave.
  - 6. Voters were given pre-stamped ballot papers to put into the ballot boxes.
  - 7. Official statement of voter count was not given at closure of counting, or if a statement was given it was not signed or given on a blank sheet of paper allowing for changing of the entire results later on the way to the ECP office.
  - 8. The thumb impression on the counter foil was made in mass stamping by prefabricated rubber thumb seals. (picture below)
  - 9. The seal of the presiding officer was not put on the back of the ballot paper of the opposing parties allowing for later rejection at the time of counting.
  - 10. Ballot boxes did not arrive on time and in places the polling time was not extended. In some places they did not arrive at all.
  - 11. The seals were not available therefore the ballot boxes were not sealed.
- Some of the same practices that were found in Karachi happened across Punjab also in a systematic manner:

<sup>8</sup> http://www.pildat.org/eventsdel.asp?detid=625

- Official statement of voter count was not given at closure of counting, or if a statement was given it was not signed or was given on a blank sheet of paper allowing for changing of the entire results later on the way to the ECP office. In other words, results were not declared on Form XIV and Form XV but issued on ordinary parchments of paper Delay of results from many stations
- The thumb impression on the counter foil was made in mass stamping by prefabricated rubber thumb seals.
- The seal of the presiding officer was not put on the back of the ballot paper of the opposing parties allowing for later rejection at the time of counting.
- The seals were not available therefore the ballot boxes were not sealed.
- Election posters and canvassing of a particular candidate was allowed within polling station premises.
- ECP staff itself facilitated, and in some polling stations actually itself cast votes and stuffed the ballot boxes, in favour of one particular candidate.
- Voters in many polling stations were not asked to thumb-stamp the electoral rolls as required by the ECP procedure.
- There was a deliberate go-slow at numerous polling stations in Punjab, especially as witnessed in Lahore and reported widely in the electronic media from actual locations where this was happening.

The polling staff was drawn from the provincial education department and presiding officers were from the lower judiciary. A look at the massive postings and transfers that took place before the Punjab Caretakers were in place will be a good indicator as to what actually happened on Election Day in Punjab. Additionally, as one observer remarked: "If one follows the career path of promotions of the presiding officers in Punjab one will understand the elections results of the Province!"

# Some visual samples of irregularities during polling day

Destroyed sanctity of ballot boxes and voting procedures







Fake rubber thumb stamps





گوجرانوالہ پی ٹی آئی کے امیدوارعلی اشرف مغل اور جوادحسن منج کی گاڑی جس پر حملہ کیا گیا

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# کراچی میں ایم کیوایم کی دھاندلی کا ایک منظر



A page from the FER-2012 where voters from totally random places being marked to vote in Mohd Ali Society Block code

The marked voters on this page reside in the following areas which are DEFINITELY NOT in the Mohd Ali Society Area

4	1	قوى شاختى كاردا فبر	والدكانام .	Ct.	گھرانہ قبر	طله فيو
مكان فير 278 ل محلي P.C S.I. R ميادنزي بتنظر 23. قرايي بخصيل اضلح لير	27	42501-4847884-9	وی	رحم الله	42	51
گر فل پادشگ موما کل طاہراہ فیصل مکان فیر A/17/3 کراچی، بختسیل/مثل کراچی پڑ	81	42201-6898738-3	مسلم جمدی	رحیم اللہ خیم محری	13	52
مكان أبر 286 - 7. كلنا كار كال يكل 8-48 و كوايتي التنسل الشام كراتي شرق	57	42201-9349435-3	مسلم محمدي شخ محراثر ف	شميم محمدي شخ قالمد محمود	_14	53
3 7 3 5 18 48 FE 112 2 8 18 287 120 0	32	13101-6243433-7	شیخ محمد اشرف شخ خالد محمود	شیخ خالد محمود محمر قرم شتراد	14	54
مكان قبر 286-287. لله توركى 2-1/2. ينكر 1448 فاكنة طائد توركى. ترايى. التحصيل اطلع توافق شرق	28	42201-1706061-3	شیخ خالد محمود عقد فالد محمود ق فالد محمود	محمد خرم شهزاد فیمل حسین	14	55
مكان قبر 87287, مخد كالمبيادة سوسا كآنا وم في محرر كزاجي شرق	23	42201-6110566-3	شيخ خالد محمود گيرائيس	فیصل حسین محداسامدائیس	15	56
مكان قبر B/287, مخذ كالفيادة سوسا كآناً وم قام حجر. قزاجي شرق	20	42201-4236815-5	محمد انیس محمد انیس محمد انیس	محمد اصامہ انیس کل محر	15	57
مكان ثبر 81287, مُقَدِّ المنيادار سوسا كَانَّا وَفَيْ تَكْرِ، كُوا بِيَّا شِيْ	19	42201-6121111-3	محمد انیس محمد انیس محمد انیس	کل محمد	15	58
مكان فبر 271-4 . <del>قراء عله باك 3 كشن</del> اقبل، محليقا، فضيل، عشل كوري شرقى	32	42201-6141920-5	محمد اليس علام کی الدرن	منعد ريحان محي الدين	16	59
مكان كبر 471. ٨- على العله بلك 2 محتق اقبال. مجراجي، محصل ما حلو محواجي شرقي	30	42201-4793255-7	علام محي الدين سيد غلام محى الدين	ريحان محي الدين سيد فرحان کی الدين	16	60
ريكان لير A-471, مخر محشن اقبل، جاك 1. كُلْبِيِّه، فَتَعَمِّلُ السَّلِّ مُرَابِيَّ شِنْ	23	42201-4364190-9	سيد علام محي الدين غلام كي الدين	سيد فرحان محي الدين سيد شايان گي الدين	16	61
عالشيرروفا مكان فبر 81 ، مُعلَّه شرف ما يادر بلاك 3 . كرانيا ، فصل اصلح كراتي شرقً	62	42201-5573485-5	علام محي الدين ولي تحر	سيد شايان محي الدين محمر اقبال	17	62
يات ۸-46. قليف قبر 7. فلم سعيد تنّى رودُ قد طلى سوسا بَنْ. كرابِيّ. بخصيل اعشام كرابيّ شرقيّ	46	42201-7717863-9	ولي محمد تاراحم	محمد اقبال اثجم ثار	17	63
مكان غير 81 ، محلّه شرف بادعالكيرروذ , باك 3 . ترابي، تفصيل اطلع ترابي شرق	32	42201-6846542-9	نشار احمد محراقیال محمد اقبال	انجم نشار عميراقبال دورو	17	64
ظیت فبر A 3/69 مِنْ شَرِّ عَن استحادُ شِين العَدَارِ عَن العَدَارِ عَن العَدِينِ عَنْ المُعَلِّمُ وَا	62	42201-0786565-3	دين قد څخ	عمير اقبال متقور على څخ منظور علي شبيخ	18	65
ريكان فير <mark>1257، قيما على</mark> وأكسه ووفي بزار وقاك خانه وُرك دوفه واليقاء الصيل المثل توبي هرق	58	42201-0645496-7	دین محمد شیخ عبدالر یم عبدالر جدم	7-115	18	66
ر الله الله الله الله الله الله الله الل	45	42201-9263398-5	عبدالرحيم اشيم احمد قريق نسيم احمد قريشي	سروو رحیم ماجد تیم ساجد نصیم	18	67
ئىر ئىنا مىجىلىرىتىن يەغەر ئىلىدە ، مىكان نېر A-3/69 ، كىلىقى، خىسىلىدا مىلا كىلىقى عرق	38	42201-9933568-9	متقور على منظور على	نظیر احمد ظیر احمد	18	68

FIR Registered by Returning Officer of NA-176

(1) 5-24 20 5		
پیس قارم بر 5-24 (۱) اندازی پولیس ر پورٹ شده زیر دفعہ <b>154</b> مجموعہ ضابط فو جداری ماندازی پولیس ر پورٹ شدہ زیر دفعہ 1 <b>54</b> مجموعہ ضابط فو جداری	ای بی رو نسب مرح مرقابل دست	61.71 -
منع د ماه کم لود از این	15 - 332	232
خ الدرية في المحل الله الله الله الله الله الله الله ال	2/38/ 5:1.5	
ورورط و تبع مل فرفل ومن السيكر ملاي كل فروا ادو	المالات المال	20 1
7000 -100 148 435 101	اد مراب ارمدوند )ومال اگر کھھویا کیا ہے	2
$7ATA = 188 \frac{148}{149} \frac{435}{511} \frac{136}{427} \frac{324}{353} = 126$		3
وروعن يرهار رقرق داند هؤر فرر تواصل هؤلانگ در فر 1		
وروج يرهار ري هام يوي رود ما المار و ادو تننه مام مناب ته مامي كوف ادو		2 4
1 -	ا، والى بتعلقه تفتيش اگراطلاع درج كرنے ش پروق قف ہوا ہوتو اس كى وجه بيان كى جاوے	5
عبده خرارتی آقیب (ابتدائی اطلاع نیجدری کرو) نقل رادر	Si ol श्री श्री श्री हैं।	
مونا جا المرافر تركي كنده (ابتدان اطلاع) كه وتخط الطور تصديق بون في مي مي مي المرافق وي مي المرافق وي مي المرفق ووز من توثير طاحت ولمق المراح 171 م 171 م 12 هـ 3 مدر طافق من محرم مع حدروان تمان من احدرا كالمعلى المرفق الم	ع کے پنچے اطلاع وہندہ کا دشخط یامہر یا نشان انگوٹھا	الله الله
1 1003 Child Single Single Single Single	فارس لدار هام و من الد علام زول أو الما	EU(2) 5
ر علم معمان () مدل معلی دارهای علام قصطی فور کار موجع موروی کار میران ای حدیث موروی کار میران کار حدیث موروی ک اوران ارسی حلق دار در میران در در میروز که دو قع بدی وستران دال (ع) موافق من کار در میران میران کار در در میران کار در در میران کار در در میران کار	ين قوم ريزسا، دوه له ييل اسردار ما	ولا والمراقبة
الله ورسدان والرئيس الم و محمد و مع بست و منا الله و الله و مناه في مناه في مناه في مناه في مناه في مناه في المواد غلم الله و مناه و مناه و و مناه و و مناه و المنه و المراه و المنه و المراه و المنه و المره و المنه و مناه و مناه و مناه و مناه و مناه و مناه و المناه و المنه و مناه و منا	علام دهای حاصری و این الم	دهمه والد ولدالي وري
على قد الراش ماة دو فع سرهار تشري (العادل الاولاملام جداهم ورياسة وارد مرا الدون ماية ورد مروا توفي الدون ماهد الال دارور الدل هو الأس ما وارد مرايا	ي من وها وها من الله الله الله الله الله الله الله الل	مروروم الم
ر میں اسے ندی ورش آن و کردد (ف) شکا دی خدوران کا علام سو الکھاں کا ایک است سود کی اسان کے ندی ورش کردی کے ندری درگی کوشا در (ف) اسن دی کے وار ڈو کورن الرعامی اق کورند کورن کے ندری درگی کوشا در (ف) اسن دی کے وار ڈو	ی ایسری می انفیدولارد و عمل می آج ورعملی وارصادی فسن قرم دی آق بند دو ارد (ها مله دارا قرم انوارد (آق) بند	الوب الحوال كوالادوال
دی دار 3 ما مرف وی دارد امال کارمره باتیسان کار در داندهاد ادر اسران مراس احراق در دارد. وی دارد کان میروند و در از افرار اند که در داندهاد ادر اسران مراس احرام در دارد دارد در در در داندهاد در از در	رو (() اخترعرف عضا قدم اوران ساخ الم و مالاماری کم وارد نفرها کوت اد در (ق) موران	وارد مرج المرك اد
رسرور كميران غلام سرور الدوم وقد (فئ علام على والرو الكرب في بالرف م وقد معالى النه ما من ميران لده ، ما وكارت موت وقد رفته زنك أو فيت مين كفت مر آ	ر رز ناه ق فرشهراد في فررساء و آم هارش سانمان و فع الح الدرد كا	وقام طائرة
روای کی حاج ۱۸۴ - ۱۲۶ اور قواتش روز امدوار دلیه ۱۸ و کام خار ایر دلیه ایر	ا في دوايا كه جام اوروار ولا علام	الله والم
ر در مقراد سرما رشورع مردها - بیمداد سیدات با خدیدان نظافی تعاور تداریخه می بردرگرد. اور مقراد شده و در دند رمید رک به دندر را است سیر ایند میراد و در در افزاد می س	وروران عدما قد جدام آ در سوكردها ميمل ايد دار مر فارز كر مدريم ماري فاتور	Lower Lower Land
رور دور قبر الديدوم هذه اور درامام منه التي لويسل فات مي توليل مارور ور در در القداري من موسة دردارور كي اورث في ادر التي طان بواتي مورده المنادون	ر در النواراندر وسن روطانی تور شورازر در در النواز در در در در در الروز در	الدارا هد
The state of the s		
30000 018 0 0000000000000000000000000000	ي تسير در در اور او رول الما الا العقا	73/30
، عالون کو است. مرح صف استونیس کا سائل کی چوری کا دکاری محرف کا محال کی جوری عورت د هر در ارت کار بیش که کوانها نام محرف کو سرک کار در ایک در انداد سرک کا به حدول معالم است. را مدر بان به از کار کار در کار کار کار کار کار کار کار کار کار در در کار کار در در کار کار در در کار موالم ب	رونیور ایم مزیدتعدل روتر عرالت احالموس د	
وروسی معظم مع موقع پر برامتریت جیب بر دوده منده کا شیخه می ترک ا لوره سور رول مدروان- انهران کوجان سواره کی کاطر سروی کا مرزک	مع دارن ماول توسیم را در فارک رکھا ہے۔ حورت عالی اور نیز دارد فارک رکھا ہے۔	لفالمراق
دورد الباس مي ميشوس كوابليات كالمحيث من تر دريگر اندوادس كوني هورس با مدرمان مي باک آرفتی سے والوں نے ميوانی عالم ترک چوں برشر كا بر جورس بوالت پيتوال كا وجه سے موج بر برامتورد جورب مير 2020 مندود كا تشف ميں تورف كا لور 0 ميرر يوك ولدرمان - انسراق كوجان سام درجے كى عاطر سروح كا مركز كرك	ع حلات فالول والسيد وارد فارك ركفا من من	الزيام الم وات وال

## More Evidence:



Jaag Pakistan was one effort to make a free and fair election reality.

SMS Received on rigging incidents: 5777

Samples of SMS received:

Phone Number: Constituency: Rigging Information:

923214989864	NA127	ID card being grabbed forcefully at township
923216172345	NA 110	NA 110 Rs 2000 being distributed by PML N
923333455448	NA245	NA245 Ball ot boxes were replaced with pre-cast votes in favour of MQM.
923343008775	NA244	NA244 ballot papers being taken without any presence of police by political people for fake vote casting
923315751364	NA121	NA121 PMLN people threatening voters with armed weapons
923335691990	NA 125	NA 125 Saad Rafique trying to stop people because majority vote is for PTI
923333145261	NA252	NA252 Full rigging & bogus voting at St. Lawrence's Polling Station. Ballet boxes are not sealed, presiding officers are not available
923458503501	NA125	NA125 police helping people in rigging
923224200007	NA125	NA125 women not allowed to vote. Ballot papers not given.

# **Election Day Media coverage on rigging**

- i. Dr Alvi was called live on Election Day by Hamid Mir where he explained the level of rigging in his contested area. 9
- ii. Mubashir Luqman caught rigging red handedly 10
- iii. Hamid Mir Exposing Rigging and showing burnt and dumped Ballot Papers<sup>11</sup>
- iv. Most watched Rigging Video by Dawn covering almost every area 12

## **Chief Justice Addresses ROs:**

"As judicial officers, you are required to stand as a shield against all unjust or unfair means," the CJP told his audience. In Lahore, Chief Justice of Lahore High Court Justice Umar Atta Bandial also addressed the gathering. He asked the judicial officers to strictly follow the law and conduct the election in a free, fair and impartial manner.

He said the judiciary is on their back and they should perform their duties without any fear or favour. Earlier, the judicial officers shared the experience and the problems faced by them.

SC Registrar Dr Faqir Hussain explained the background of the decision of the National Judicial Policy Making Committee (NJPMC) to involve the judiciary in the conduct of general elections 2013. He said there were requests received from the ECP to allow the judges of district judiciary to conduct elections as District Returning officers/ returning officers. He said it was a difficult decision by the NJPMC but after consideration, the requests were granted.<sup>13</sup>

# Some examples of polling day rigging:

#### 1 - Excess votes casted

There are many discrepancies found in polling stations as number of votes polled were 100 percent or more of the registered voters. Most astonishing is polling station number 246 of NA 68 where, as per the consolidated statement of the results of the count furnished by the presiding officers, issued by the returning officer shows that total number of casted vote is 540 percent.

## NA 68 - Sargodha

PTI Candidate - Noor Hayat Kalyar
Polling Station Number - 246
Total Registered voters - 1510
Total casted votes - 8167
Votes casted to PMLN - 7829
Votes casted to PTI - 235

PMLN Candidate - Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif

http://www.zemtv.com/2013/05/12/arif-alvi-vs-babar-ghauri-on-karachi-rigging/

http://www.baaghi.tv/baaghi web tv news.php?id=40&sub id=&news id=1279

www.zemtv.com/2013/05/22/hamid-mir-exposing-ppp-election-rigging/

http://x.dawn.com/2013/05/11/watch-rigging-exposed/

www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-22131-ROs-hold-key-to-free-fair-elections-says-chiefiustice

# NA 54 Rawalpindi

PTI Candidate - Hina Manzoor Polling Station Number - 197 Total Registered voters - 521 Total casted votes - 901 Votes casted to PMLN - 405 Votes casted to PTI - 310

# PP 244 DG Khan

PTI Candidate - Akhund Humayun Raza Polling Station Number - 81 Total Registered voters - 425 Total casted votes - 908 Votes casted to PMLN - 405 Votes casted to PTI - 310

# NA 125 - Lahore

(as per Mr Hamid Khan's petition to the Election Commission of Pakistan)

Polling Station 124 - 100% Polling Station 23 - 100% Polling Station 2 - 100% Polling Station 57 - 100% Polling Station 7 - 100%

Polling Station 7 - 100%
Polling Station 253 - 100%

Polling Station 85 - 100%

Polling Station 255 - 100%

Polling Station 233 - 100%
Polling Station 171 100%

Polling Station 171 - 100% Polling Station 163 - 100%

Polling Station 288 - 100%

Polling Station 261 - 100%

Polling Station 230 - 100%

Polling Station 172 - 100%

# 2 - Discrepancy between statement of the count and consolidated result

In majority cases results of mandatory Form XIV were not issued by the presiding officers. Instead, results were either not given, or were given on plain white paper, out of which most were not signed by the presiding officer. Out of those few results, which were given on the official form XIV and signed by the presiding officer, number of discrepancies were found as results were changed by the returning officer as results on the Form XIV were different from the consolidated result provided by the RO.

Fear is that since candidates were not allowed to sit in for the consolidation of the final result in RO office, results were changed there. Had all results been provided by the presiding officers, this would not have been possible. At most of the places POs did not allow the agents to sit in for the counting of ballots and refused to provide official result on the Form XIV. Polling agents were told by the Presiding officer that Form XIV was not available. There is hardly any constituency where this discrepancy has not occurred, despite insistence from the agents.

Few examples are as under: (proofs available)

## PP 117 - Mandi Bahauddin

PTI Candidate - Shakeel Gulzar

Polling Station Number - 278

Votes as per Statement of the count on Form XIV - 246

Votes as per the Consolidated Statement of Result - 178

# NA 107 - Gujrat

# PTI Candidate - Ch. Muhammad Ilyas

Polling Station Number - 55

Votes as per Statement of the count on Form XIV - 596

Votes as per the Consolidated Statement of Result - 188

# Polling Station Number - 42

Votes as per Statement of the count on Form XIV - 597

Votes as per the Consolidated Statement of Result - 0

# Polling Station Number - 84

Votes as per Statement of the count on Form XIV - 490

Votes as per the Consolidated Statement of Result - 238

# NA 93 - TT Singh

# PTI Candidate - Ch. Mohammad Ashfaq

Polling Station Number - 264

Votes as per Statement of the count on Form XIV - 569

Votes as per the Consolidated Statement of Result - 522

# 3 - Easy Access To Ballot Papers to PMLN Candidates

It is feared that ballot papers were made available to the PMLN candidate to rig the elections. PMLN candidates used these extra ballot papers in their favor, and in few instances, such ballot papers were caught by the PTI candidates before they could be used.

For example; in **PP 68** - **Faisalabad**, PTI candidate Mr Latif Nazar caught several unused ballot papers from ballot books numbered 407, 408, 409 and 412 outside polling station number 183 after the polling was over. Several other such cases where ballot papers were found outside the polling stations, or elsewhere, were shown on almost all leading news channels and different social media websites.

Another interesting angle to this form of rigging is that during recount in several constituencies, thousands of such ballot papers were found which did not have signature and stamp of the presiding officer. For example, in the recount of **PP 184** - **Kasur**, a huge number of ballot papers were found not signed by the concerned APOs. A great number of ballot papers were found not stamped at all or were either stamped with the stamps not relating to the relevant polling stations. Thumb impression of the voters, in a huge number of votes, was not taken on the counter foil.

This proves that massive rigging was done under the very watch of the ROs where those

ballot papers which were made available for rigging were used after the polling to change the results in favor of PMLN. If such analysis of other constituencies is conducted, we are bound of find several other similar cases too.

\* Proofs of above mentioned cases are available.

## 4 - Burnt, Wasted Ballot papers of PTI Candidates

A few candidates have reported that their wasted, torn and burnt ballot papers with stamp on 'Bat' were found from the waste dumps and drains in the area after the elections. Several television shows have covered such reports too. Photos of burnt or destroyed ballot papers with stamp on bat went viral on social media, and can still be found on internet. Most famous of such cases was a ballot paper shown by Sardar Akhtar Mengal in his press conference, which was found at a local 'pakora' stall. That ballot paper also had a stamp on bat. It seems that either during counting, or while the ballot papers were being transferred from polling stations to the returning officers' office, those ballots with a stamp on 'bat' were willfully destroyed. And to complete the tally of votes, new, bogus votes were added in place of PTI's votes.

# 5 - How the results were changed

In NA 156, Syed Fakhar Imam's team made a video of the gross misconduct of the POs and ROs, where unsealed, open ballot bags were carried to the RO, or were left lying in the court yard of the RO's office. Also shown in the video that POs were changing results, and when asked why were they doing so, the told that they were doing so on RO's instructions. Video also shows how the RO, along with the police officer and Pos was misusing his powers and was sitting in his office with unsealed, open ballot bags. This video explains how the results were engineered.

\*. Video and the transcript of the conversation are available.

In NA 57 Attock, 5466 votes were rejected. When rechecked, first two bags discrepancies were found. In PS 172, 29 votes were written as rejected in statement of the account, whereas upon checking the bag, actually rejected votes were 21. In PS 173, statement of the account showed 51 rejected votes, but none found in the bag during rechecking. After the above irregularities came to light, PTI representative demanded for the consolidation exercise to halt until these illegalities were explained, but the RO plainly refused. Election was approached by the candidate and ECP ordered for total recount on urgent basis. RO, however, took more than 16 hours after receiving the order of the ECP to begin the recount. By then a stay order of the recount had been given by the high court on the request of PMLN candidate. Later that stay order was extended by the high court, and later ordered the candidates to appear before ECP. Amazingly same ECP judges who had earlier ordered the recount, disallowed it.

\*. All the relevant ECP and court orders available

# Case example: Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-122 (Lahore)

- 1. The extent and scope of this conspiracy extends to the entire constituency, as is evident from the statement of numerous independent witnesses from the Constituency. Some of the affidavits are appended herewith as **Annex-I**. In particular, the following serious violations and contraventions have surfaced, which materially affect the result of this election:
  - a. The Presiding Officer and Polling Officers have actively aided and abetted the Respondent No. 1 in manipulating the results of the election, in blatant contravention of Section 90, 91 and 92 of ROPA 1976;
  - b. Bogus/unverified votes have been cast, without complying with the mandatory requirements of Sections 32(2) and (3) of ROPA 1976;
  - c. The results given by the Presiding Officers do not reflect the actual votes cast and do not tally the actual record available with such Presiding Officers;
  - d. The undersigned's polling agents have been physically threatened and removed from the polling stations and restrained from attending counting of votes by Presiding Officers, which have been counted in contravention of Section 3(1), (11) and (13) of ROPA 1976. Consequently, the results provided by the Presiding Officers are fabricated and bogus;
  - e. Ballot boxes and papers have been tampered with in contravention of section 87;
  - f. The Respondent No. 1 and his agents/supporters have harassed the voters during polling process and interrupted the voting process, in blatant contravention of Section 82A, 85 and 86 of ROPA 1976;
- 2. The illegalities and violations outlined above were widespread throughout the entire constituency. However, the following specific instances are also narrated below to evidence the above:
  - a. In polling Station No. 82, when the following voters went to cast their vote, the Polling Officers informed them that they had already cast their ballot (when in fact that was not the case):

Block Code: 186790306

S.No	House	Name	Father's Name	CNIC No.
	Hold			
	No.			
26	8	Khurram Shehzad	Syed Mohabbat	35202-6233869-7
		Shah	Shah	
485	260	Ahsan Ahmed Malik	Irshad Ahmed	35202-8257023-3
486	260	Malik Ali Ahmed	Irshad Ahmed	35202-0308858-1

The voters protested vehemently, but to no avail and were turned away from the polling station. Such complaints had been received from several other polling stations as well, and this leads to the inescapable conclusion that false and fake ballots were being cast in the name of these people with the aid and abetting of the polling staff. Therefore, the verification of the finger prints on the ballots as well as the

identification sheets are sought from the ECP as that will establish that the ballots that were cast were fake.

- b. In several polling stations the ballot papers were missing from the booklet of ballot papers. This fact was brought to the attention of the Presiding Officers, however, to no avail.
- c. No polling agent of the undersigned was provided with the number of the ECP stamp for verification purposes.
- d. Several polling stations for women, the polling staff obtained the fingerprints of women voters on the counter-foil of the ballot paper, and then forced them out of the polling station after saying that their votes had already been cast (without allowing them to actually cast their vote).
- e. In the polling station No. 8 and 9, workers, agents and supporters of PML(N) were forcibly putting stamps on ballot papers, proof of which is in the fact that some supporters of the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf were able to take away a few ballot papers from the supporters of PML(N). Therefore, blatant rigging was underway.
- f. In polling Stations No. 24 and 25, the workers, agents and supporters of PML(N) forcibly put stamps on the ballot papers and used fake finger prints.
- g. In Polling Station No. 9 and 11, when additional hour of voting commenced at 5 pm, the polling agents of the undersigned were forcibly evicted from the Polling Station with the help of the Police and fake and bogus ballot papers and votes were cast in that time period of the entire hour. Only after the entire hour passed were the polling agents of the undersigned allowed back in the station.
- h. No signatures of polling agents were obtained on the count of ballot paper envelops and those envelops were not sealed in the presence of the polling agents to make it impossible for the polling agents to verify the count.
- i. Nor were any signatures of the polling agents obtained on the sealed bags containing the ballot papers even through the Presiding Officers are bound by law to obtain signatures of all the polling agents on the seal.
- j. In several polling stations fake ballots and votes were cast and these can be verified through the support of NADRA by checking fingerprints available in the identification sheets to ensure whether these fingerprints are of the persons that actually cast the ballots or not.
- k. Complaints regarding the fake and bogus casting of ballots in the aforementioned Polling Stations 6, 9, 20, 21, 59 and 60 were made to the District Election Commissioner Lahore on his mobile phone number (0321-7432331) and the Returning Officer on his mobile number (0345-7910230), however no action was taken.
- 1. That it may further be noticed that the total tally of voted secured by the Respondent No. 1 is significantly higher than the total tally of votes received by the two provincial Assembly candidates falling under the same constituency who were contesting election on the same ticket. While the Respondent No. 1 secured 93,389 votes, the combined total of the Provincial Assembly votes for the two candidates contesting on the PML(N) ticket was 86,565. This amounts to a difference of .3%. On the other hand, the difference between the petitioner's votes and the two provincial assembly candidates in the same constituency contesting on the PTI ticket is 550 (the Petitioner received 550 less voters). It is strange and highly suspicious that in several Lahore constituencies including NA-122, the PML(N) ticket has received significantly higher votes in the national assembly than in the provincial assembly and the phenomenon is not replicated for other parties. This renders the result liable to be declared void. A

- summary of the comparison between votes received by NA candidates and PA candidates in some Lahore constituencies are placed herewith as **Annex J**.
- m. In addition, it may also be noted that according to the polling station wise data made available, there are several constituencies where the total number of ballots cast in the polling station (including rejected ballots) is different for the national assembly and the provincial assembly. Given that each voter is given two ballot papers (one national and one provincial assembly) the total number or ballots used in any given polling station for the national assembly and the provincial Assembly should be equal (after accounting for any rejected ballots), however this is not the case .This again points to the fact the election in the constituency was tainted by corrupt practices and the results are liable to be declared void. A summary of the difference s in the total number of provincial and national assembly ballots cast in each constituency is also placed herewith as **Annex-K**.

That furthermore, the Respondent No.20, Returning Officer was required, under Section 39 of ROPA 1976, to undertake the consolidation of counts furnished by Presiding Officers. In this respect, it is pertinent to note that, in terms of Section 39(1) of ROPA 1976, the Returning Officer is required to give the contesting candidates and their election agents a notice in writing of the day, time and place fixed for the consolidation of the results. Furthermore, the consolidation is to take place in the presence of the contesting candidates and their election agents. However, no such notice of consolidation was received by the undersigned candidates or his election agent. Therefore, the consolidation of ballot papers carried out by the Returning Officer without any notice to the undersigned is illegal and against the mandatory provisions of Section 39(1). It is also against the well established principals of natural justice.

# Case example: Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-125 (Lahore)

That it is specifically averred that through a systematic, deliberate and pre-planned scheme, Khwaja Saad Rafique, Mian Naseer and Yasin Sohail and their agents/supporters, with the active connivance and support of the Presiding Officers / Polling Officers and police, have violated numerous provisions of the ROPA 1976 and applicable rules, both during and after the polling, with the intent and purpose to fraudulently and illegally manipulate the poll to their benefit. The extent and scope of this conspiracy extends to the entire constituency, as is evident from the statements and videos of numerous witnesses, which have been provided to PTI Candidate and are also available in the media and the internet. This massive rigging has resulted in illegal reduction in votes of the PTI Candidates, while at the same time showing a massive lead in favour of the Returned Candidate on account of massive number of bogus and illegal votes cast in his name.

1. That in particular, and by way of illustration, the following grave illegalities and material irregularities of the ROPA and the rules, serious violations and contraventions, which materially affected the result of the poll on this constituency, i.e., NA 125 during the poll are as stated below. For the purposes of clarity, it is submitted that the following incidents are by way of illustration only, and further details and incidents are also specified in the statements of the Election Agent and Polling Agents:

- a. Khwaja Saad Rafique, Mian Naseer and Yasin Sohail and their agents/supporters, with the active connivance and support of the Presiding Officers / Polling Officers and police have contravened the provisions of Sections 78, 79, 80, 81 and 83 of ROPA, as more particularly detailed below;
- In majority of the polling stations, particularly polling stations for women, the Presiding Officers adopted the policy of 'Go Slow' so as to ensure that minimum number of ballot are cast within the allotted time and citizens may leave without casting ballot on account of frustration. In addition thereto, intentionally, the electors were being provided with misleading and incorrect information that their vote did not exist in the polling booth so as to frustrate them and avoid balloting by them. Furthermore, since in this election on account of the efforts of the candidate as well as Party, i.e., Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf majority of the citizens were casting vote for the first time, such citizens were misled by placing indelible ink on their thumb and then informing them that the ballot paper would be provided by some other officer and they have to queue again. Such innocent electors did as they were informed and when they came around again they were informed that they have already voted. It is pointed out that all the aforesaid incidences as well as grave illegalities were directly informed to and also observed by the learned member of the Election Commission Justice (Retd) Riaz Kiyani in the presence of the PTI Candidate. Some of the polling stations where such practices were adopted for reference are pointed out, namely; (i) Polling Station Nos. 93 to 100 at Defence Public School for Girls at S Block, DHA, Lahore; (ii) Polling Station Nos. 58 to 62 at Defence Degree College, R Block, DHA, Lahore; Polling Station Nos. 43 and 44 at Defence Public School, Z Block, DHA, Lahore; Polling Station Nos. 45, 46, 50 and 51 at DPS Boys Junior School, Z Block, DHA, Lahore; Polling Stations Nos. 104 and 105, DPS Senior Public School, Phase 5, DHA, Lahore.
- c. At various polling stations the polling process did not start at the time for the reasons stated above. In fact for Polling Station Nos. 145 and 146 at Government Primary School, Chachoowali Ring Road Lahore Cantt., Lahore the polling process did not start till 4:00 p.m. on the pretext that no material is available.
- d. Polling Stations located in suburbs and villages of the said constituency remained in the possession and control of the Khwaja Saad Rafique, Mian Naseer and Yasin Sohail, the candidates from Pakistan Muslim League (N) for NA 125, PP 155 and PP 156 respectively. As an illustration it is pointed out that this grave illegality and irregularity was committed for P.S. Nos. 29 to 42 and 120 and 121, all located Chungi Amersado and P.S. Nos. 259 and 260 at Nishat Colony, Rabbani Road;
- e. Bogus / unverified votes have been cast, without complying with the mandatory requirements of Sections 32 (2) and (3) of ROPA 1976. As an illustration, reference is made to P.S. Nos. 162 and 163 at Cantt. Board Model School located at Sarwar Road, and P.S. No. 179 at Saint Joseph High School located at Sarfraz Rafique Road, Lahore Cantt., Lahore where the son of the Presiding Officer was placing stamps on his own;
- f. Ballot boxes and papers have been tampered with in contravention of Section 87. As an illustration, reference is made to Annexure C and Annexure D (as discussed below);
- g. the mandatory provisions of Sections 38 and 39 of ROPA have been contravened by the Returning Officer and the Presiding Officers; and
- h. Khwaja Saad Rafique, Mian Naseer and Yasin Sohail and their agents/supporters have harassed and assaulted the voters during polling process and interrupted the

voting process in addition to commission of illegal acts specified in sub-paragraph (c) and (d) above, in blatant contravention of Sections 81 (4), 82A, 85 and 86 of ROPA 1976. It is evident that contrary to all rules and regulations Khawaja Saad Rafique is visible inside the Female Polling Station next to ballot boxes under the protection of local police and administration. In this regard it is specifically submitted that the same was undertaken at Polling Stations located at S Block and Z Block of DHA, Lahore. Furthermore, for UC 10 it is pointed out that the said acts were committed by Major Faisal who is brother-in-law of Mian Naseer, candidate of PML (N) for Provincial Constituency;

- i. the Presiding Officers submitted the official results along with the ballot boxes and all polling material on May 12, 2013, between the hours of 9 a.m. and 4 p.m., during which time there was ample opportunity to tamper with the ballots / results;
- j. in Polling Station No. 102 situated at Choong Khurd Boys High School, the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent informed the PTI Candidate of the following material irregularities / contraventions of law:
  - i. the police and the staff provided to this Polling Station by the Election Commission of Pakistan was requesting voters to vote for Pakistan Muslim League-N;
  - ii. at 5 p.m. the Presiding Officer showed his mobile phone to the Polling Agent representing Pakistan Muslim League-N, and said that polling time had been extended till 6 p.m. At this time the Pakistan Muslim League-N Polling Agent said that polling needed to stop immediately;
  - iii. the Presiding Officer stopped polling at 5 p.m., only to restart it at 5:30 for 10 minutes and finally closed the doors at 5:40 p.m. In the ten minutes that polling had been restarted, only five Pakistan Muslim League-N supporters voted and a queue of approximately 15 voters still waited outside to vote, but were not allowed to do so.
  - iv. the polling staff, with the assistance of the police, placed the ballot boxes along with all the ballot papers in a black Corolla car, which had stickers of Pakistan Muslim League-N candidate, Mr. Saad Rafique, on all its windows.
  - k. in Polling Station No. 190 situated at Nosegay Kids Care School, Street 2, Mian Meer Colony, the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent informed the PTI Candidate of the following material irregularities / contraventions of law:
    - i. despite the announcement from the Election Commission of Pakistan that polling time would be extended by one hour, i.e. till 6 p.m., polling at the Polling Station stopped at 5 p.m.;
    - ii. the Polling Officers took the ballots into another room, where no Polling Agents were allowed to enter. No such ballots were counted in the presence of the Polling Agents;
    - iii. the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent was made to sign a blank Form XIV, and the result of the count was announced orally.
  - 1. in Polling Station No. 5 situated at American Lycetuff School, Near Masjid Chowk, Defence, Lahore Cantt., the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent informed

the PTI Candidate of the following material irregularities / contraventions of law:

- i. the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent was physically attacked.
- ii. the ballot papers were counted in a separate room where the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent was not given access but representatives of PML-N had access;
- m. in Polling Station No. 191 situated at Nosegay Kids Care School, Street 2, Mian Meer Colony, the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent informed the PTI Candidate of the following material irregularities / contraventions of law:
  - i. the ballot papers were counted in such a manner that the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent could not observe whether the same were being counted properly;
  - ii. the result of the count was orally announced and the Statement of the Count (Form XIV) was not issued to the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent;
- n. in Polling Station No. 6 situated at American Lycetuff School, Near Masjid Chowk, Defense, Lahore Cantt., the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent informed the PTI Candidate of the following material irregularities / contraventions of law:
  - i. Khwaja Saad Rafique came into the women's polling booth numerous times:
  - ii. The wife of Khwaja Saad Rafique was also near the ballot boxes for a significant period of time;
- o. in Polling Station No. 98 situated at DPS School for Girls, Sector S, Defence, Lahore Cantt., the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent informed the PTI Candidate of the following material irregularities / contraventions of law:
  - i. Khawaja Saad Rafique and Mian Naseer, candidates of Pakistan Muslim League N, kept showing up at the Polling Stations and disrupting the polling process by fighting with Polling Agents as well as voters. Therefore, everyone demanded them to leave the premises;
  - ii. at around 11.00 am, Khawaja Saad Rafique and Mian Naseer came into the Polling Station with about ten/fifteen men and would not leave and were intimidating the voters. Upon seeing this, the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent called the Police and Army personnel to escort the men out of the Polling Station;
  - iii. That the Presiding Officer turned away a number of electors on the pretext that their vote was not registered at this station, when in fact their names were duly mentioned in the electors list;
  - iv. On the complaint of the PTI Candidate's Polling Agents, the team of Express News showed up and taped all of this including statements of voters present at the Polling Station, however, none of this was ever aired;
  - v. The Polling Staff purposely made the process of voting slow, giving each voter just the green ballot paper, and once the same was cast, asking them to re-queue in order to cast their vote on the white ballot paper. That this

- process not only made the voting procedure slow, it additionally dissuaded many voters from returning to vote all together.
- vi. At one time the Polling Staff was only taking the thumb impression of the voters and putting indelible ink on their thumbs to complete their verification, but not issuing them the ballot papers or allowing them to place the stamp on their ballot and was misguiding the voters by telling them to go home as their vote has been casted;
- vii. In light of all these illegalities, the PTI Candidate was informed and upon his request the Returning Officer, Mr. Khalid Mahmood Bhatti along with Mr. Mehboob visited this Polling Station to witness the material irregularities and illegalities taking place;
- viii. In the afternoon once again Khawaja Saad Rafiq and Mian Naseer brought some fifty/sixty people with them and stood outside the Polling Station to harass the voters and disturb the voting process. At this stage, the PTI Candidate's Polling Agents were forced to call the Army for assistance and requested the Major on duty to place the force both inside and outside the Polling Station so that the election process could continue peacefully;
- ix. When the polling time was extended by the Election Commission of Pakistan, for another hour, Khawaja Saad Rafique and Mian Naseer along with other supporters, forced the gates to the Polling Station shut and were not allowing voters to enter to cast their votes. It took the Army approximately 15 minutes to disburse the supporters accompanying Khawaja Saad Rafique and Mian Naseer, to enable voters to come in to cast their votes:
- p. In Polling Station No. PS 120, the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent informed the PTI Candidate of the following material irregularities / contraventions of law:
  - i. illegal stamping and stuffing of ballots going on in the polling station with active involvement of Mian Naseer and the Presiding Officer;
  - ii. when our supporters tried to take videos of these illegal practices, they were severely beaten by guards of Mian Naseer;
  - iii. the Polling Agent was not allowed to witness the ballot counting and was physically removed from the polling station by the Presiding Officer with the help of the police without being given the official result or Form XIV.
- q. In Polling Station in UC 11 in Chung Khurd at Girls Elementary School, the PTI Candidate's Polling Agent informed the PTI Candidate of the following material irregularities / contraventions of law:
  - i. The Polling Booths were physically taken over by the PML-N workers from 3 PM to 6 PM and during this time numerous bogus votes were cast;
  - ii. The polling staff did not comply with the requirements of ROPA and in fact actively assisted the PML-N supporters in contravention of ROPA;
  - iii. The PTI supporters were physically assaulted and abused by PML-N workers.
- r. Additionally, the PTI Candidates' Election Agent (Mr. Abdul Latif Hanjra) informed the PTI Candidate of the following material irregularities / contraventions of law:

- i. At Polling Stations Nos. 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52, 53, 58 to 62, 93 to 100, 104 and 105, all situated in R, S and Z Block, DHA, the Presiding Officers at the said Polling Stations had adopted the policy of 'Go Slow' so as to ensure that minimum number of ballots/votes are cast within the allotted time and citizens may leave without casting ballot on account of frustration. Moreover, the Presiding Officers and polling station staff/officials were misleading the voters with incorrect information and by placing indelible ink on their thumb and then informing them that the ballot paper would be provided by some other officer and they have to get into separate queues in order to obtain the NA and PP ballot papers.
- ii. At Polling Station 250, Country School Shama Colony, Islam Nagar, Walton Road, Lahore (PS 250), the Presiding Officer and staff were not only preventing the female voters (who were at that stage protesting and chanting PTI slogans) from voting, but were asking them to leave the Polling booth/station;
- iii. At Universal Public School (PS 122-123), polling station were finally opened around 11 AM upon the insistence of hundreds of people waiting to cast their vote. The Election Agent found the polling staff already inside the station and working as if polling had been taking place (while the polling station doors were closed). The ballot boxes were already sealed and there were votes inside the ballot boxes;
- iv. At the Decent Public High School, PS 261-262, voters protested against unlawful stamping of ballots by a member of the polling staff at the polling station;
- v. At Askari Public High School, Nishat Colony (PS 260) the Presiding Officer threatened voters that if they stamp on bat, he will have them arrested and beaten:
- vi. Polling was not commenced in Government Primary School, Chachoo Wali, Ring Road, Lahore (PS 145-146) till 4 PM on the pretext of non availability of lists with the Presiding Officer, however, results show votes polled and counted as if polling had occurred at the Polling Station without any delay or interval;
- vii. Various complaints of misconduct by the Presiding Officers and polling staff at Saint Marry Mission High School (PS 83-84), Mount Pleasant School (PS 66-67), Al Munir School (PS 224-225), Govt. Middle School Gulbahar Colony (PS 219-221), Saint Joseph High School Sarfraz Rafiqui Road (PS 179), Moon Alma School College (PS 107, 110, 111), Iqra Khadija-ut-Atfal School (PS 120-121) and Three Star High School & College (PS 11-12) were received by the Election Agent;

It is also pertinent to note that as and when further information and incidents are brought to the knowledge of the PTI Candidate the same will also be submitted before the Election Commission of Pakistan.

That in addition to the above it is pointed out that the Election Commission of Pakistan specifically announced and directed that the polling time shall be extended to 6 p.m. and all electors available at the polling stations shall be permitted to cast their vote. Notwithstanding such clear direction the polling process was forcibly stopped at 5 p.m. at a majority of the polling stations by the Presiding Officers. Thus, it is evident that such benefit was not

extended in the subject constituency and despite the fact that even Justice Riaz (Retd.) Kiyani had clearly directed the same.

- 2. That in particular, the following grave illegalities and material irregularities of the ROPA and the rules, serious violations and contraventions, which materially affect the result of the poll on this constituency, i.e., NA 125 during the counting stage are as follows:
  - a. It is pointed out that initially the results from some of the Polling Stations were being made available till approximately 9:00 pm or 9:30 pm. It is evident from the same that the PTI Candidate was ahead of the Returned Candidate by a margin of 6935 votes. Thereafter, no further results were provided and in fact our polling agents were physically threatened and removed from the polling stations and restrained from attending the counting of votes by Presiding Officers acting in collusion with Khwaja Saad Rafique, Mian Naseer and Yasin Sohail and their agents/supporters. All such results were subsequently counted in contravention of Sections 38 (1), (11) and (13) of ROPA 1976. Consequently, the results provided by the Presiding Officers are fabricated and bogus;
  - b. It is specifically brought to the notice that after the purported and self-claimed victorious speech of the leader of Pakistan Muslim League (N), Mian Nawaz Sharif, in Geo Network on the basis of results of small percentage of constituencies the entire polling stations were under siege of Khwaja Saad Rafique, Mian Naseer and Yasin Sohail and their agents/supporters and the polling agents of the PTI Candidate were thrown out so as to manipulate and fabricate the poll. It is specifically pointed out that our supporters visited various such polling stations between 12:00 am to 1 am of May 12, 2013. However, they were astonished to notice the aforesaid grave illegality which was being conducted with the connivance of local police and the presiding officers;
  - c. Thereafter, once the said grave irregularities and illegalities were committed the self proclaimed and self prepared Statement of Count were handed over to some of the polling agents of the PTI Candidate, which were prepared in the absence of Polling Agents of the PTI Candidate and are materially deficient, inter alia, in the following respects:
    - i) The same are not in proper form, nor legible nor stamped and without thumb impressions placed thereon;
    - ii) The same are sketchy and overwritten and not even signed.
    - iii) The same also reflect implausible and unrealistic figures of voting.
    - A) Form XIV for Polling Station 129 shows signature of a male Presiding Officer (Tariq Rashid) for a female polling station the actual Presiding Officer was Mrs. Amina Hafeez;
    - B) Form XIV for Polling Station 124 shows 100 % voting;
    - C) Form XIV for Polling Station 23 shows 100 % voting;
    - D) Form XIV for Polling Station 2 shows 100 % voting
    - E) Form XIV for Polling Station 57 shows 100 % voting;
    - F) Form XIV for Polling Station 7 shows 100 % voting , bears no Polling Station No. and provincial assembly result is shown as national assembly;
    - G) Form XIV for Polling Station 253 shows 100 % voting and the signature and thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing;

- H) Form XIV for Polling Station 85 shows 100 % voting and the thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- I) Form XIV for Polling Station 255 shows 100 % voting;
- J) Form XIV for Polling Station 233 shows 100 % voting;
- K) Form XIV for Polling Station 171 shows 100 % voting;
- L) Form XIV for Polling Station 163 shows 100 % voting and signature of Presiding Officer is missing;
- M) Form XIV for Polling Station 288 shows 100 % voting;
- N) Form XIV for Polling Station 261 shows 100 % voting and the thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- O) Form XIV for Polling Station 216 shows Tahira Amin as Presiding Officer whereas as per official list Presiding Officer is Rubeen Azmat. Furthermore, signature of Presiding Officer is missing and number of assigned voters is missing;
- P) Form XIV for Polling Station 257 shows the signature and thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- Q) Form XIV for Polling Station 202 shows the signature of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- R) Form XIV for Polling Station 99 shows the signature and thumb impression of the Presiding Officer are missing. Additionally, number of polled votes is also missing;
- S) Form XIV for Polling Station 47 shows the signature and thumb impression of the Presiding Officer are missing. Additionally, number of polled votes is also missing;
- T) Form XIV for Polling Station at PCH Society, Lahore Cantt. (Moon Almas College) shows the signature and thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of polled votes and polling station no. is also missing;
- U) Form XIV for Polling Station 120 shows the thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of polled votes is also missing;
- V) Form XIV for Polling Station at Faizan-e-Madina G. S. / School shows the thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of assigned votes and polling station no. is also missing;
- W) Form XIV for Polling Station 36 shows the thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- X) Form XIV for Polling Station 30 shows the thumb impression and signature of the Presiding Officer are missing. Additionally, number of assigned votes is also missing;
- Y) Form XIV for Polling Station 26 shows the thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of polled votes is also missing;
- Z) Form XIV for Polling Station 22 shows the thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of polled votes and assigned votes is also missing;
- AA) Form XIV for Polling Station 9 shows the thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- BB) Form XIV for Polling Station 24 shows the name, signature and thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of assigned votes is also missing;

- CC) Form XIV for Polling Station 34 shows the thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of assigned votes is also missing;
- DD) Form XIV for Polling Station 201 shows the signature and thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of assigned votes is also missing;
- EE) Form XIV for Polling Station 53 shows the signature of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of assigned votes is also missing;
- FF) Form XIV for Polling Station 230 shows the name, signature and thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, it shows 100% voting;
- GG) Form XIV for Polling Station 234 shows the name and signature of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of assigned votes is also missing;
- HH) Form XIV for Polling Station 162 shows the thumb impression and signature of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, number of polled votes is also missing;
- II) Form XIV for Polling Station 172 shows the signature of the Presiding Officer is missing. Additionally, it shows 100 % voting;
- KK) Form XIV for Polling Station 168 shows the thumb impression and signature of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- LL) Form XIV for Polling Station 161 shows the signature of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- MM) Form XIV for Polling Station 191 shows the name, thumb impression and signature of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- NN) Form XIV for Polling Station 41 shows the signature of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- OO) Form XIV for Polling Station 14 shows the signature of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- PP) Form XIV for Polling Station 66 shows the thumb impression of the Presiding Officer is missing;
- QQ) Form XIV for Polling Station 53 shows the signature of the Presiding Officer is missing.
- d. It is specifically pointed out that the PTI Candidate had placed vigil so as to ascertain the timing of deposit of ballot bags with the Returning Officer. The same were deposited from 9:00 am to 4:00 pm on May 12, 2013. Therefore, it is evident that within the same time period the entire poll was fabricated and bogus poll has been reflected in the self claimed results in favour of Khwaja Saad Rafique, Mian Naseer and Yasin Sohail and against the candidates of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf. In any case, the Returning Officer, Mr. Khalid Mahmood Bhatti admitted on May 13, 2013, in the presence of the PTI Candidate and a number of advocates accompanying him that Presiding Officers in NA 125 submitted results, election bags and election materials on May 12, 2013 between 9 AM and 4 PM.
- e. The aforesaid is also evident from the fact that the difference between the self claimed votes in favour of Khawaja Saad Rafique and the two provincial candidates for the same constituency is approximately 13,000 votes, which defeats all logic and reason. The same corroborates the fact that Khawaja Saad Rafique and his agents/supporters have contravened Sections 78 and 83 of ROPA 1976.

- f. The Returning Officer of the said constituency, i.e., NA 125 during this period remained unavailable and had also switched off his mobile phone. The PTI Candidate in view thereof called the District Returning Officer on May 11, 2013 around 11:30 PM / 12:00 AM on May 12, 2013 and informed him that for the previous two hours no results had been received. In view of the same and under instructions of the DRO, the Returning Officer called the PTI Candidate but was least helpful.
- g. At this stage, the PTI Candidate also telephonically spoke with the Mr. Ishtiaq Ahmed Khan, Secretary, Election Commission of Pakistan, and informed him of the complete cessation of issuance of results from Polling Stations. He informed the PTI Candidate that Election Commission of Pakistan did not stop the Presiding Officers in NA 125 from issuing results. However, the issuance of results did not re-commence. It is evident that during this inexplicable delay, the ballot boxes / papers were tampered with, since the complete trend of results was thereafter reversed to the detriment of the PTI Candidate.
- h. The Returning Officer has failed to comply with the provisions of Section 40 of ROPA.

## Case example: Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-154 (Lodhran)

- 1. According to the reports widely broadcast on several television channels soon after the close of the poll and repeated thereafter as stated below, the PTI Candidate won the election from the Constituency. At 2217 hours on 11-5-2013 Dunya (a television news channel) broadcast a live report that the PTI Candidate had won the election from NA-154 (Constituency). Again on 12-5-2013 at 1316 Hours Dunya (the aforesaid news Channel ) broadcast a live report based on 100% of the result from all the polling stations, the candidate of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf for NA-154 (Lodhran-1) (i.e. the PTI Candidate ) had secured the highest number of votes. This report was repeated on the same channel at 1611 Hours. The success of the PTI Candidate as the returned candidate from NA-154 was, therefore, widely reported and seen and heard across the entire Country. However, that mandate of the PTI Candidate freely and readily given to him by the electorate has been stolen by the illegal and corrupt practices and numerous illegalities committed by and or at the behest of Khan Muhammad Siddique Khan Baloch (Returned Candidate) in connivance and collusion with the District Returning Officer, Returning Officer, Presiding Officers of numerous Polling Stations and other subordinate officers and polling staff along with the agents, nominees, supporters and representatives of the Returned Candidate who have all acted under a preconceived, calculated and systematic plan, strategy and scheme so as to provide undue and unlawful help and assistance to the Returned Candidate and thereby manipulate the results of the election and actual votes cast with the sole aim and object to deprive the PTI Candidate of his lawfully given mandated by the electorate of the constituency.
- 2. The act and omissions of the respondents averred in this Petition prove beyond any doubt that the PTI Candidate is entitled to a declaration that the election of the

Returned Candidate is void and that the PTI Candidate is the returned candidate from the Constituency. Accordingly, through this Election Petition, the PTI Candidate seeks a declaration to that effect pursuant to, inter alia, Sections 67(c), 68, 69 and 76A of the Representation of the People Act, 1976 ("1976 Act") on the facts and grounds set out hereinafter.

Photograph of the screen shots of news channel reporting the PTI Candidate as the winner of election from NA-154 are appended in above chapter.

- 3. The Returned Candidate was declared (albeit, unlawfully, erroneously and as a result of the manipulated election results obtained on accounts of the illegalities, corrupt and illegal practices identified herein) as the returned candidate from the Constituency vide notification bearing No. F.2(40)/2013-Cord and dated 22-5-2013 issued by the Election Commission of Pakistan ("Commission"). According to the (Revised) Form XVI (without conceding or admitting), the Returned Candidate has been shown (albeit falsely, unlawfully and incorrectly) to have secured 86,629 votes and the PTI Candidate is stated to have received 75,738 votes (being the second highest number of votes obtained by any of the contesting candidates in the Constituency during the elections conducted on 11-5-2013.
- 4. As the Returned Candidate was notified by the Commission as the returned candidate from the Constituency on 22-5-2013, this Election Petition is being filed within the limitation period stipulated in Section 52(2) of the 1976 Act. More ever in Compliance with the requirements of Section 52(2) of the 1976 Act, the PTI Candidate has deposited in favour of the Commission the prescribed amount as security for the cost of this Election Petition. Additionally, in compliance with the requirements of Section 54 of the 1976, the PTI Candidate has joined as respondents to this Election Petition all contesting candidates and has served by registered post on each such respondent a copy of this Election Petition. This Election Petition has been presented on behalf of the PTI Candidate in accordance with Section 53 of the 1976 Act and this Election Petition and every annex hereto has been duly signed by the PTI Candidate and duly verified in the manner laid down in the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 for verification of pleadings. Accordingly, this Election Petition is fully complaint, in substance and in from, with the requirements prescribed in Chapter VII of the 1976 Act.

Copy of the Notification dated 22-5-2013 issued by the Commission notifying the Returned Candidate as returned candidate from NA-154 is appended herewith a marked Annexure "L". Copy of the Revised Form XVI dated 23-5-2013 is appended herewith and marked Annexure "M". Copy of the initial Form XVI dated 13-5-2013 is appended herewith and marked Annexure "N".

5. That it is respectfully submitted that the election of the Returned Candidate is liable to be declared void and the PTI Candidate (Qua contesting candidate) is entitled to be duly elected from the Constituency, inter alia, in view and on the basis of the following illegalities as well as corrupt and illegal practices committed against the PTI Candidate by the Respondents including, specifically, the Returned Candidate and or his agents, supporters or representatives with his /their connivance and or at his/their behest and also by several government officials with the connivance and or active cooperation of the Returned Candidate. Moreover, in spite of being well aware

- of the corrupt and illegal practices committed by and on his behalf across the Constituency, the Returned Candidate failed to take any steps or action to prevent the commission of the same.
- That the corrupt and illegal practices at the behest, for the benefit and on behalf, of the Returned Candidate commenced even prior to the polling day in the form of pre-poll rigging mechanism as attempts were made to nominate and appoint individuals favoring the Returned Candidate as Presiding Officers and Polling Officers at certain Polling Stations in the Constituency. This is established by the sworn affidavit of Dr. Muhammad Haroon who was initially informed on 21-4-2013 that he was being appointed as the Presiding Officer for Polling Station No. 208 at a particular location within the Constituency. Thereafter, shortly prior to the election date, Dr Muhammad Haroon was called by the Returning Officer, NA-154 (hereafter "RO") to his office and informed that his Polling Station was being transferred and was to act as the Presiding Officer elsewhere instead. This last minute transfer of the Polling Station betrays the intent and motive of the RO acting for the benefit of the Returned Candidate to manipulate the results of the elections held on 11-05-2013. Moreover, such action on part of the RO is also a blatant violation and breach of the mandatory requirements of, inter alia, Section 9 of the 1976 Act. Dr. Muhammad Haroon further states in his affidavit that on the morning after the Election Day, i.e. 12-05-2013, he was summoned to the office of the RO where he was shown a bag packed with ballots bearing his Polling Station Number and was told that this bag was found on the road. Dr. Haroon, who was shocked to see this, categorically denied that this bag came from his Polling Station and stated that he had sealed and submitted all bags containing ballots from his Polling Station in the office of the RO as was required of him the night before. Despite this, the Ro continued to pressurize Dr. Haroon to accept and acknowledge that the bag allegedly found on the road had come from hi s Polling Station which Dr. Haroon denied. During this time, the RO called for the person who had reported the unexplained bag and upon inquiry this person stated that he had found the bag in the cupboard of the RO as opposed to on the road as was initially alleged. When the storage room at the office of the RO was inspected, the sealed bags submitted by Dr. Haroon from his Polling Station were found intact after which the RO had no option but to cease to insist that Dr. Haroon accept that the unexplained bag came from his Polling Station
  - Copy of affidavit of Dr. Muhammad Haroon deposing in relation to the abovementioned facts is attached herewith and marked Annexure "O" Copies of the Office Memorandums issued to Dr. Muhammad Haroon are appended herewith and marked Annexure "P".
- 7. The Returned Candidate, his supporters, the DRO (Javed Iqbal) and RO (Mian Faiz Muhammad) and their respective subordinate officials (including inter alia Amjad Raheem Sadal (Assistant Returning Officer) and Shoaib Bosan (Tehsildar Lodhran)), in collusion with each other had a preconceived strategy and plan to manipulate the results of the election in the Constituency. This is established from the fact that, prior to the Polling day, the District Returning Officer requisitioned a total of 385,400 ballot papers from the Commission when the total number of registered voters in the Constituency is 370,150. In other words, with prior intent to stuff bogus votes in favour of the Returned Candidate, the District Returning Officer obtained 15,250 extra ballot papers ( over and above the number of all the registered voters in the

Constituency). Since it is impossible to even have 100% voter turnout in any constituency, there was obviously no need to procure an extra 15,250 ballot papers unless there was an ulterior and unlawful motive and object for the same. The ballot paper account required to be maintained under the 1976 Act and 1977 Rules is also either not available or has been the subject of manipulation or is otherwise irregular.

Copy of table showing number of ballot papers requisitioned by the District Returning Officer for NA-154 is appended herewith and marked Annexure "Q".

It is respectfully submitted that the election of Respondent No. as the returned candidate from the Constituency is, in any event void, since, inter alia, the nomination of the Returned Candidate was void and the Returned Candidate was not, on the nomination day, qualified for (or, alternatively, was disqualified from) being elected as a member since the Returned Candidate has suppressed and concealed material facts in his nomination form and made false statements therein with regard to: (a) his immoveable property and assets; and (b) his educational qualifications. It is a matter of record that previously the Returned Candidate had also concealed ownership of a Flour Mill currently criminal proceedings under Section 94 of the 1976 Act for corrupt and illegal practices are pending before the learned Additional Sessions Judge, Lodhran in this regard against the Returned Candidate. The Returned Candidate has clearly mis-declared and c concealed his immoveable property (land holding) as on the date of nomination he was the recorded co-owner of a plot of land measuring 5 Kanals located at Village Anaari (D G. Khan) but he intentionally and willfully omitted to disclose the same in his nomination from (Form) in violation of, inter alia, Section 12 and 76A of the 1976 Act and of the declaration and oath signed by the Returned Candidate as part of his nomination form (Form I) in terms of which he has, inter alia, declared on solemn affirmation that no immoveable property other than that disclosed in the nomination form is held by himself or his spouse or dependants. Additionally, it is submitted that the educational qualifications claimed and mentioned by the Returned Candidate in his nomination form (form I) in respect of (a) the Secondary School Certificate 2002/2003; (b) Higher Secondary Certificate of 2004 from the Board of Intermediate Education Karachi, and (c) Bachelor of Arts degree certificate ostensibly from the University of Balochistan are all fake, fabricated and bogus and the Returned Candidate has filed the same with his nomination form knowing the same to be false, fabricated and bogus. It is common perception and notoriously known that the Returned Candidate is illiterate and has never completed even his secondary education and no question arise of his possessing an undergraduate degree. The falsity of the claimed educational qualifications is also ex facie established from the material on record. The Returned Candidate claim to have obtained the Secondary School Certificate Examination (SSC) in 2002 in general group under roll number 386146 from the Board of Secondary Education Karachi but Curiously, he appeared in SSC Part II Annual examination in 2003 under roll number 150294 before the Board of Intermediate & Secondary Education Hyderabad Sindh. The record shows that the Returned Candidate only appeared in two papers (English Part I and II) and remained absent in all other subjects. However, this begs the question if the Returned Candidate was already qualified in 2002 what was the reason for reappearing again in Secondary School Certificate Examinations. It is, therefore, respectfully prayed that the Honourable Election Tribunal verify the status of these claimed educational qualifications directly from Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education Karachi and the University of Balochistan and specifically call for the underlying record behind the certificates appended with the Form-1 of the Returned Candidate. In this connection, it is underscored that, under Section 76A of the 1976 Act, if an Election Tribunal on the basis of any material coming to its knowledge from any source or information laid before it, is of the

opinion that the returned candidate has submitted a false statement of assets of his own, his spouse or dependents under Section 12 of the 1976 Act, the Election Tribunal may declare the election of the returned candidate to be void and declare any other candidate to have been duly elected. It is submitted that in view of the evidently false declaration of the Returned Candidate as is established, inter alia, by the attached document(s), the PTI Candidate is entitled to and order in terms of Section 76A(1)(a) and 76(A)(1)(b) of the 1976 Act and on this ground alone this Election Petition deserves to allowed. All of the foregoing also establish and prove that the Returned Candidate is not qualified to be a candidate for election to the Constituency as he clearly does not qualify under Article 62 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973("Constitution") read with Section 99 of the 1976 Act and that Returned Candidate was evidently disqualified from being a candidate for election to the Constituency under Article 63 of the Constitution read with Section 99 of the Act.

# Case example: Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-140 (Kasur)

That there is a clear difference between the results issued by Presiding officer on Form XIV and consolidated statement issued by the Returning officer on Form XVI (Photocopies of result mentioned on both the documents of polling station no. 35 is given below):

That there is again clear difference between the result issued by the Returning officer on form XVII and result published by ECP on website. (copies of both results is given below):

### "Form XIV [See rule 24]

		[See II	•		
	THES	TATEMENT	OF THE C	OUNT	
	on to the:	,			
	National Assembly				
	Provincial Assembly:   F				Balochistan
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	NA 14 0 12001				
	f voters assigned to the pollii			ile Total	
SI.	Name of the	Number of votes	Number of	Total votes polled	Remarks
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		candidate	contesting candidate	candidate cols (3) + (4)	
<i>†</i> 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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	gregate of (i) and (ii):				
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	mber of votes polled: Male	-/	lie Tota	al	W M
Place:			_		gnature of the siding Officer
Date:	GG.PS Sanac	Kala.	Name:		siding Officer
	11/05/13			ation:	
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				Thumb Impi	The state of the s
DUDDI TU	PPFC-26.03.2013 (12.56.079 Nos.)	*		the Presidin	g Officer"

# "Form XIV [See rule 24]

	rovincial Assembly:   For and name of the polling s	7		/1	Balochistan
	NA 140 Kasus				
	voters assigned to the polli			le Total	9
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3.	: U 15 M W	05	-	05	4
4.	UGART	_		_	
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6.	12/16300				
7.	التيا المؤلس	05		. 65	11-
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9.	( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )			195	
10.	81 K2-C 145	223		223	
ii. To	tal number of votes polled to add the condition of the condition of the count (including the doubt gregate of (i) and (ii):	ged votes):s s excluded from ful challenged vote	es):	*	
	umber of votes polled: Mal	eFem	naleTot		ignature of the
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			Desig	nation:	
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23         73         74         75<
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6         44         0         2         0         1         92         1         0         227         0         1         88         0         41         0           71         47         0         2         1         0         2         1         0         45         0         41         0         41         0         41         0         41         0         41         0         41         0         42         1         0         42         1         0         42         1         0         42         1         0         42         1         0         42         1         0         42         0         0         42         1         0         0         42         1         0         0         0         0         42         1         0         0         0         0         42         1         0         0         0         0         42         1         0
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1         7.6         1         2.6         1         2.6         2.6         2.7         3.8         0.0         2.4         2.0         0.0
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208         0
92         C         3         C         1         1         C         1         C         302         C         1         2         C         1         2         C         1         2         C         1         2         C         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         2         2         4
164         O         6         O         5         39         O         O         379         O         3         217         3         884         15           188         0         0         10         0         3         398         0         0         44         25           188         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         182         0
158         0         4         0         7         14         0         0         183         0         0         115         0         414         25           128         0         0         0         183         0         0         11         0         23         0         0         11         0         25         2         69         20           72         0         1         0         1         0         1         0         238         0         0         111         0         623         39           80         2         1         3         473         1         0         15         3         168         0         0         111         0         628         39           17         0         0         0         1         0         15         3         168         0         0         111         0         25         3
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0         17         0         2         0         0         0         0         10         0         110         0         151         4           1         559         0         1         1         0         161         0         0         0         10         0         0         119         0         182         0         1         182         0         1         18         0         1         18         0         18         0
0         59         0         0         161         0         0         2         0         72         0         197         0         493         15           4         246         0         0         161         0         0         0         0         0         197         0         493         15           4         246         0         1         1         1         1         1         0         1         1         0         1         0
1         306         0         2         2         1         105         2         0         1         109         1         889         9           0         98         0         2         0         3         0         124         0         7         0         0         16         16         16         16         16         16         16         16         16         16         16         16         16         16         16         17         16         17         16         17         16         16         17         16         16         17         16         16         17         16         17 <td< td=""></td<>
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PUNIVIAVI

RESU	LT OF THE	COUNT		Page (1)
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Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pal	khtunkhwa	Balochista
		Section Supplies		
			Co	nstituency
	16833	30	123271	291601
tituency:	Male	Female	To	otal
esting Candi	date(s)	Num	ber of valid vot	es polled
				2029
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				3868
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	esting Candi  ogar	tituency: Male	168330  Etituency: Male Female- esting Candidate(s)  Num  Digar	tituency: Male————————————————————————————————————

Returning Officer

#### Detailed Result

Contesting Candidates	Party Affiliation	Votes Polled
SARDAR MUSHTAQ AHMAD	Independent	7
SARDAR MUHAMMAD SARWAR DOGAR	Independent	105
Rai Muhammad Younas	Muttahidda Qaumi Movement	463
Muhammad Ali Javed	Independent	659
Amjad Iqbal	Independent	3269
Rai Ishtiaq Ahmad	Muttahidda Qaumi Movement	389
Rasheed Ahmad Khan	Pakistan Muslim League (N)	68460
Azeem u Deen Zahid	Pakistan Muslim League	49435
Muhammad Ayub Khan	Independent	64
Mian Mukhtar Ahmad	Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	1861
Rana Muhammad Ali	All Pakistan Bayrozgar Party	88
Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali	Independent	19268
Khursheed Mehmood Kasuri	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	30414
Malak Mazhar Rasheed	Independent	137
Bakhtiar Mehmood Kasuri	Independent	3426 🗸
Zaeem u Deen Aabid	Independent	743
Ibtsaam Illahi Zahir	Qaumi Tahaffaz Party of Pakistan	2012
Mujahid Muhammad Yaqoob	Independent	145

So ... you want to search result?

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-46(Khyber Agency)

The instances of corrupt practices by Returned Candidate and malpractices of election staff, maladministration of the staff appointed to conduct the election are as under;

1. The glaring irregularities being committed at the polling stations, across the constituency which have materially resulted in a changed result rendering interference by the ECP necessary to rectify the harm done, a summary of irregularities, also detailed hereinabove, is reproduced;

#### **Illegalities during Polling:**

- a. Bogus Stamping on ballot papers
- b. Premature stoppage of polling where the Complainant was leading
- c. Polling agents threatened at gun point
- d. Election posters and canvassing of a particular candidate allowed within polling station premises
- e. ECP staff itself facilitated, and in some polling stations actually itself casted votes and stuffed the ballot boxes, in favor of one particular candidate
- f. ECP staff allowed the supporters of one particular candidate to openly display and carry arms within polling stations.
- g. Various other irregularities

#### Illegalities after Polling;

- a. Results not declared on Form XIV and Form XV
- b. Results issued on parchments of paper
- c. Delay of results from many stations
- d. Various other irregularities
- 2. There is a glaring difference of votes as mentioned in Form XIV and Form XVI. Form XIV is annexed as **Annex-R**.
- 3. The polling staff was scuffled with by the unknown workers of the opponent candidates. Polling boxes, voters' lists' brass seals and ballot papers were being damaged.
- 4. Form XVII issued on dated 13.05.2013 by Returning Officer also shows low turn-out of 3.66% of 35 polling stations **Annex-S.**
- 5. That women were not allowed to cast their vote. The matter was agitated before ECP and despite the observation of Supreme Court in Worker's Party case "(ii) Women turnout in each constituency must not be less than 25% of total votes cast otherwise results may be declared void and re-poll ordered" the ECP declared the winning candidate as a returned candidate. On the other hand, dismissed the petition of PTI candidate filed under section 103 AA of ROPA,1973 on technical grounds without touching merits of the case.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-54 (Rawalpindi)

The instances of corrupt practices by Returned Candidate and malpractices of election staff, maladministration of the staff appointed to conduct the election are as under;

- 1. The elections were massively rigged at the instance and behest of the PMLN Candidate being the main beneficiary of the whole polluted process. Certain instances as to corrupt practices as on the date of election are:
  - a. On Election Day, the supporters of Returned Candidate were distributing 'shair perchee' to voters, and canvassed to vote for him inside the polling station. Returning Officer had communicated and recorded protest against this illegal practice of PMLN Candidate Malik Ibrar Ahmed but Returning Officer did not take pain of it. (Telephone record may also be produced if court desire so)
  - b. On the day of polling, the location of certain polling stations was changed. For example PS (Dhoke Banaras-Female) shifted and merged in P.S (Government Girls College, Peshawar Road) on the Election Day at about 1030 am.
  - c. Most of the polling stations had posters and banners of PML N displayed inside. Naseerabad area Polling Station No. 104 (Shahid Public School) had huge bill board of PMLN on it as the owner of the school belongs to PML N and Polling Station (Watan Textile Mills) was full of posters and banners of PMLN.
  - d. In Naseerabad most of the polling stations were made in private schools belonging to the owners who are voters / supporters of PMLN.
  - e. The pace of polling process was deliberately kept slow in polling stations number: 203, 204, 205, 01, 02, 03, 04, 112, 113, 114, 115, as the area had all PTI vote bank and was having huge number of voters coming to poll.
  - f. The polling process was stopped at 04:45 on polling station number 113. Mr. Malik Abrar entered the polling station himself and forced the gates to be closed.
  - g. The lingering and delaying tactics of polling staff forced many PTI voters to leave without polling on stations in Gulistan Colony, New Lalazar, Westridge, Beaconhouse, lane 3 7, PIA Colony, Friends Colony, British Homes, Fauji Colony, Quaid e Azam Colony, Ahmed Abad, Seham, and were sent back to bring 'shair perchee' and only then they would be allowed to enter.
  - h. The stationery was mostly insufficient in most of the polling stations. The same reason was given to close some of the polling early saying that they are short of ballot papers and for not handing over the result.
  - i. The polling staff at different ladies polling stations was not marking the thumbs of the voters with official black ink.
  - j. That some ladies use to come time and again and casted fake/bogus votes at different polling stations.
  - k. The polling staff of many a polling station has hidden the electoral rolls provided and started returning the voters of the PTI Candidate on the pretext that their votes were not registered there.
  - 1. In polling station No. 140 Wapda Colony rigging was openly in process and many ballots had already been stamped on lion. The complaint was made to returning officer but no action was taken.
  - m. In polling station (Fauji Foundation College), men forced and harassed women to stamp on tiger.
  - n. In polling station number 137 Watan Mills, the gate was forced open by the public at 11 am, although many votes had already been polled.

- o. In Polling Station No 137 Watan Mills, Ghundas posted in this P.S by PMLN had tortured the Polling Agent of PTI NA-54 severely. A report has been lodged with concern police station.
- p. In women polling station Kamal Abad women not having shair perchee were not allowed to vote.
- q. In Polling Station (Aziz National School, Tahli Mohri), Malik Ibrar's polling agent along with others companion with the help of Police Official hijacked whole polling station whole day, tortured the polling agent of PTI NA-54. Police himself forced people to bring "Sher Parchi".
- r. In Polling station No. 104 Naseerabad, PTI woman polling agent was not allowed to sit. When she managed to get in the room she was sent out stating that counting will start after an hour, which was done in her absence.
- s. In some polling stations two lists, were being maintained by the presiding staff one with picture and one without picture. Resulting in zero votes for PTI.
- t. The women in Kohinoor Mills were asked to use thumb impression instead of stamp and they were told that stamp was not available, resulting in rejection of so many votes.
- u. One hour extended time was not allowed in many polling stations, presiding officers said they had not received any official letter. (Especially polling station numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 136, 203, 204, 205, 206, 209,)
- v. Fake votes were polled openly/boldly in Naseerabad, Haji Camp and Qasim abad, which was only possible with the cooperation of polling officer. Seeing less turn out for PML N voters, men came with women and stood there while they kept on stamping on many ballot papers repeatedly for lion. The same areas have reports of PTI ballot papers torn and thrown away.
- w. The thrown ballot papers of PTI symbol bat were found thrown near Watan Mill Polling Station.
- x. PMLN Candidate reached F G Boys (Female) Polling station at 5.00 pm and forced the gates to be closed. PMLN Candidate was given full protocol inside as the leader of Presiding Staff. Presiding staff left their work and ran to receive him, which annoyed many of the voters standing there. The remaining voters were not allowed to vote. In other polling stations also Respondent had direct contact with Presiding staff.
- 2. The results were not compiled in accordance with law. The corrupt practices were adopted at the time of the counting of votes, preparation of result counts, the transmission thereof to the Returning Officer and the consolidation of result by the Returning Officer. Certain instances are detailed hereunder.
  - a. The Presiding Officers refused to provide the PTI Candidate and his representatives with the result counts at different polling stations and when insisted, only 127 out of 321 was issued, that too after eight hours waiting time.
  - b. On May 11, the Election Day evening, PTI candidates and staff were busy collecting result from all polling stations, while PML N candidate was sitting in the office of NA 54 Returning Office from 5:30 till morning 8:00.
  - c. The result was not sealed in polling stations but was taken open to district courts and later sealed there after so many hours.
  - d. There was hours delay in results coming to court.

- e. The results of 64 polling stations were not received till 6 o'clock in the morning next day, giving ten hours extra time to bring the calculation according to result sheets. Whereas the district court is located on the road of same constituency.
- f. Returning Officer concluded results next day by saying that 14 polling stations result is lost.

#### 3. The result count was not as per facts.

- a. Number of votes polled exceeded the registered numbers:
  - I. No. 197 the registered voters 521 polled votes 905.
- b. Two results missing in consolidated result; while present in statement of the count. P.S No. 19 (SLS School Tulsa Road) Hina Manzoor 458 in CR, 0. P.S No. 208 (Federal Islamabad College) Hina Manzoor 278 in CR, 0.
- c. The difference of votes polled for NA candidate from that of PP candidate is more than 3500 votes.
- d. The figures had been changed, e.g. 127 made 427. Details attached.
- e. Complete pages of statement of the count replaced to change results.
- f. More than 70 pages of statement of the count contain fake signatures. Detail is mentioned in Election Petition filed before the Election Tribunal / Election Commission of Pakistan.
- g. 15 pages found with same handwriting.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-135 (Nankana Sahib)

That the instances of corrupt practices by Returned Candidate and malpractices of election staff, maladministration of the staff appointed to conduct the election are as under;

- 1. The rigging has been committed in most of the polling stations and the shocking fact is that polling officers are fully involved in these rigging practices, the PTI Candidate has obtained three videos of the said fact.
- 2. In polling station no. 64, Basic Health Unit Mohallah Ahmedabad female, rigging was committed, video CD is available which shows the lady presiding officer caught rigging by casting votes in an illegal manner.
- 3. That in polling station number 91 rigging was committed (video is available) which shows a person rigging in the polling booth.
- 4. That in polling station no.143 (Govt. GMS chak number 88 RB) rigging was committed, which shows the rigging by the presiding staff and also opened ballot papers in a separate room (video is available).
- 5. That the PTI Candidate aggrieved by the high rated rigging in the constituency, as a proof the PTI Candidate has annexed an affidavit of a voter namely Qasim Mehmood s/o Muhammad Sadiq r/o muhallah shanawa town, Shah Kot road, Sangla Hill, Tehsil Safdarabad, District Sheikhupura with the vote number 76, block code number 202010201, falling in the polling station of Kotla Khurd went to cast his vote but was astonished to know that his vote was already been casted.(Annex-T).
- 6. That the copy of Form XV (Ballot papers count) were also not handed over to the polling agents by the polling officer, which they were duty bound to do so.

#### Public protest:

- 7. Due to the extreme rigging committed in almost all the polling stations of NA-135, protests were lodged all around the constituency which was reported by different sectors of the media, report clipping of newspaper NAWA-E-WAQT is attached.(Annex-U).
- 8. The rigging in the constituency was highlighted and mentioned in many national newspapers, a news story published in "Daily Times" dated 15.05.2013 also listed NA-135 as a constituency where rigging was taken place. (Annex-V)

# Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PP-10 (Rawalpindi)[Similar to NA54]

The instances of corrupt practices by Returned Candidate and malpractices of election staff, maladministration of the staff appointed to conduct the election are as under;

The elections were massively rigged at the instance and behest of the PMLN Candidate being the main beneficiary of the whole polluted process. Certain instances as to corrupt practices as on the date of election are:-

- a. On Election Day, the supporters of Returned Candidate were distributing 'shair perchee' to voters, and canvassed to vote for him inside the polling station. Returning Officer had communicated and recorded protest against this illegal practice of PMLN Candidate Malik Ifikhar Ahmed but Returning Officer did not take pain of it. (Telephone record may also be produced if court desire so)
- b. That on the day of polling, the location of certain polling stations were changed. For example PS of Dhoke Banaras-Female) shifted and merged in P.S (Government Girls College, Peshawar Road) on the election day at about 1030 am.
- c. Most of the polling stations had posters and banners of PML N displayed inside. Naseerabad area Polling Station No. 104 (Shahid Public School) had huge bill board of PMLN on it as the owner of the school belongs to PML N and Polling Station (Watan Textile Mills) was full of posters and banners of PMLN.
- d. In Naseerabad most of the polling stations were made in private schools belonging to the owners who are voters / supporters of PMLN.
- e. The pace of polling process was deliberately kept slow in polling stations number: 113, 114, 115, 22, 23, 24, 25, as the area had all PTI vote bank and was having huge number of voters coming to poll.
- f. The polling process was stopped at 04:45 on polling station number 23. Mr. Malik Ibrar Ahmad MNA NA54 (PMLN) entered the polling station himself and forced the gates to be closed.
- g. The lingering and delaying tactics of polling staff forced many PTI voters to leave without polling on stations in Gulistan Colony, New Lalazar, Westridge, Beaconhouse, lane 3 7, PIA Colony, Friends Colony, British Homes, Fauji Colony, Quaid e Azam Colony, Ahmed Abad, Seham, and were sent back to bring 'shair perchee' and only then they would be allowed to enter.
- h. The stationery was mostly insufficient in most of the polling stations. The same reason was given to close some of the polling early saying that they are short of ballot papers and for not handing over the result.
- i. The polling staff at different ladies polling stations was not marking the thumbs of the voters with official black ink.

- j. That some ladies use to come time and again and casted fake/bogus votes at different polling stations.
- k. The polling staff of many a polling station has hidden the electoral rolls provided and started returning the voters of the PTI Candidate on the pretext that their votes were not registered there.
- 1. In polling station No. 50 Wapda Colony rigging was openly in process and many ballots had already been stamped on lion. The complaint was made to returning officer but no action was taken.
- m. In polling station number 47 Watan Mills, the gate was forced open by the public at 11 am, although many votes had already been polled.
- n. In Polling Station No 47 Watan Mills, Ghundas posted in this P.S by PMLN had tortured the Polling Agent of PTI NA-54 severely. A report has been lodged with concern police station.
- o. In women polling station Kamal Abad women not having shair perchee were not allowed to vote.
- p. In Polling Station Aziz National School, Tahli Mohri), Malik Ibrar's polling agent along with others companion with the help of Police Official hijacked whole polling station whole day, tortured the polling agent of PTI PP-10. Police himself forced people to bring "Sher Parchi".
- q. In Polling station No. 14 Naseerabad, PTI woman polling agent was not allowed to sit. When she managed to get in the room she was sent out stating that counting will start after an hour, which was done in her absence.
- r. In some polling stations two lists, were being maintained by the presiding staff one with picture and one without picture. Resulting in zero votes for PTI.
- s. The women in Kohinoor Mills were asked to use thumb impression instead of stamp and they were told that stamp was not available, resulting in rejection of so many votes.
- t. In Beacon House polling station (the result missing) PTI had a lead of 600 700 lead. According to PTI polling agent. The result was sealed in front of many, later misplaced.
- u. Fake votes were polled openly/boldly in Naseerabad, Haji Camp and Qasim abad, which was only possible with the cooperation of polling officer. Seeing less turn out for PML N voters, men came with women and stood there while they kept on stamping on many ballot papers repeatedly for lion. The same areas have reports of PTI ballot papers torn and thrown away.
- v. The thrown ballot papers of PTI symbol bat were found thrown near Watan Mill Polling Station.
- w. PMLN Candidate Malik Ibrar Ahmed NA-54 reached F G Boys (Female) Polling station, Westridge at 5.00 pm and forced the gates to be closed. PMLN Candidate Malik Ibrar Ahmed NA-54 was given full protocol inside as the leader of Presiding Staff. Presiding staff left their work and ran to receive him, which annoyed many of the voters standing there. The remaining voters were not allowed to vote. In other polling stations also PMLN Candidate had direct contact with Presiding staff.

The results were not compiled in accordance with law. The corrupt practices were adopted at the time of the counting of votes, preparation of result counts, the transmission thereof to the Returning Officer and the consolidation of result by the Returning Officer. Certain instances are detailed hereunder.

- a. The Presiding Officers refused to provide the PTI Candidate and his representatives with the result counts at different polling stations and when insisted.
- b. On May 11, the Election Day evening, PTI candidates and staff were busy collecting result from all polling stations, while PML N candidate was sitting in the office of PP-10 Returning Office from 5:30 till morning 8:00.
- c. The result was not sealed in polling stations but was taken open to district courts and later sealed there after so many hours.
- d. There was hours delay in results coming to court.
- e. The results of 64 polling stations were not received till 6 o'clock in the morning next day, giving ten hours extra time to bring the calculation according to result sheets. Whereas the district court is located on the road of same constituency.
- f. Returning Officer concluded results next day by saying that 14 polling stations result is lost.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PS-117 (Karachi)

The instances of corrupt practices by Returned Candidate and malpractices of election staff, maladministration of the staff appointed to conduct the election are as under;

- 1. The Presiding Officers did not complied results as required by the law, nor issued the results at the polling station, nor even complied the results lawfully at polling stations, later on results of number of polling stations were handed over to PTI Candidate's polling agents on simple papers while hand written, casting serious with regard to authenticity of the result complied by the Presiding Officers.
- 2. Copies of FORM XV (Ballot Paper Account) were also not handed over to the polling agents of PTI Candidate by the polling officers, which they were duty bound to do so.
- 3. That despite of receiving the authority letter from the polling agent the presiding officer did not allow the polling agents of the PTI Candidate to sit in the polling booth, moreover after the announcement of the increase in the polling time to one hour i.e. 5 pm to 6 pm the presiding officers, the police officials in connivance with the returned candidate closed the doors of the polling stations depriving hundred of voters to use their right of casting votes and violating the order of the election commission. Thus, committing some serious illegalities, violations and this act of the Presiding Officers made serious dents in the validity of the election results.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-255 (Karachi)

The instances of corrupt practices by Respondent and malpractices of election staff, maladministration of the staff appointed to conduct the election are as under;

1. The whole election process was polluted by corrupt practices by and on behalf of Respondent duly supported by the local administration connived by the learned Returning Officer and the malpractices of the Presiding Officers resulted into very unfair, unjust, non-transparent and rigged election. The results of the constituencies are totally different from one another as given below:

P.S No.	Number of	Number of	Number of	Number of	Difference
	votes polled	votes polled	votes polled	votes polled	
	in NA-255	in PS-122	in PS-123	in PS-128	
	727	-	-	720	07
	776	-		783	07
	822	-	-	912	90
	882	-	-	901	19
	333	-	=	333	0
	820	-	-	787	33
	1206	•	-	1206	0
	643	-	-	647	4
	544	-	-	533	11
	567	-	=	579	12
	686	-	-	752	66
	513	-	<u></u>	505	08
	564	-	-	558	06
	854	-	_	866	12
	1093	-	_	1126	33
	889	_	_	889	0
	716	-	-	618	98
	689	_	_	676	13
	1044	-	_	1067	23
	1751	<u>-</u>	_	1795	44
	1700	-		1793	0
	767				460
	1990,00 80	-	-	1227	1200000000
	622	-	-	644	22
	815	-	-	1228	413
	915	-	-	908	07
	1246	-	-	1255	09
	1954	-	=	1939	15
	1882	-	-	1894	12
	2061	-		2071	10
	1061	-	-	1063	02
	604	602	-	-	02
	998	950	=	÷	48
	1502	1500	-	-	02
	916	915	-	-	01
	918	822	-	-	96
	1295	1296	-	-	01
	1062	982	-	-	80
	1240	1173	-	-	67
	988	1002	-	-	14
	946	950	-	-	04
	1408	1404	2000 2000	-	04
	1474	1459	-	-	15
	951	871	-	-	80
	1150	1152	_	-	02
	875	874	_	-	01
	1355	1360	_	-	05
	1242	1246	_	-	04
	1201	1202	-	-	01

Form XVI of NA-255 is annexed here as **Annex-W**, Form XVI of PS-122 as **Annex-X**, and of **PS-123** as **Annex-Y** and FORM XVII is annexed as **Annex-Z**.

- 2. From the outset of process of casting of votes, almost on every polling station of the constituency, the polling agents of the PTI Candidate were ousted out forcibly from the polling stations by local police, presiding officers, polling staff with mala fide intention and ulterior motive.
- 3. Despite of receiving the authority letter from the polling agent the presiding officer did not allow the polling agents of the PTI Candidate to sit in the polling booth, moreover after the announcement of the increase in the polling time to one hour i.e. 5 pm to 6 pm the presiding officers, the police officials in connivance with the Returned Candidate closed the doors of the polling stations depriving hundred of voters to use their right of casting votes and violating the order of the election commission thus committing some serious illegalities, violations and this act of the presiding officers made serious dents in the validity of the election results. The time which had been increased from 5 pm to 6 pm was also not given. (Copy of official order of R.O is annexed as **Annex-AA**)

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PP-68 (Faisalabad)

- 1. The Presiding Officers did not complied results as required by the law, nor issued the results at the polling station, nor even complied the results lawfully at polling stations, later on results of number of polling stations were handed over to PTI Candidate's polling agents on simple papers while hand written, casting serious with regard to authenticity of the result complied by the Presiding Officers.
- 2. Many ballot papers were found in the premises of the different polling stations which were collected by people and demonstration was also arranged by the different conscious segments of society. (News clipping of the demonstration dated 14.05.13 is annexed as **Annex-BB**).
- 3. The PTI Candidate collected many signed, stamped, burned and also empty ballot papers from the premises of different polling stations of constituency (Copies of the ballot papers are annexed as **Annex-CC**).
- 4. In many polling stations the results were not handed over to PTI polling agents nor their signatures obtained on finalizing results, the result was not displayed on doors for public and media; saying they were short of stationery, especially in women polling stations, where women agents left after waiting for hours.
- 5. Few results issued to PTI polling agents had no signs or signatures raising serious concerns later as the witness polling agents were not agreeing to the given figures.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PP-244 (D.G.Khan)

- 1. The whole election process was polluted by corrupt practices by and on behalf of the Returned Candidate duly supported by the local administration connived by the learned Returning Officer and the malpractices of the presiding officers resulted into very unfair, unjust, non transparent and rigged election.
- 2. From the outset of process of casting of votes, almost on every polling station of the constituency, the polling agents of PTI Candidate were ousted out forcibly from the polling stations by local police, Presiding officers, polling staff with mala fide intentions & ulterior motives.
- 3. Total number of valid votes casted in PP-244 is 74530, the PTI Candidate secured 21,478 votes while the Returned Candidate secured 22213, therefore the total difference between the votes is just 735 votes. Furthermore, interesting aspect of the result is that 2130 votes were rejected, which is quite alarming and shows doubt on the credibility of the result.( supporting document i.e RESULT OF THE COUNT is attached at **Annex-DD**) this difference depicts the mala fide on the part of Returned Candidate and failure on the part of Presiding Officer to conduct elections in a fair and just way, thus, destroys the credibility of the electoral process in the whole constituency.
- 4. That affidavits of ten among all the polling agents appointed by the PTI Candidate are annexed, with the contentions that despite of receiving the authority letter from the polling agent the presiding officer didn't allow the polling agent of the PTI Candidate to sit in the polling booth, Moreover, the presiding officer and the duty police officials were inquiring the voters regarding their candidate for casting vote and on replying about PTI Candidate they said officials were returning them out of the polling station stating them that their vote isn't in the polling station and the said officials were forcing those voters to caste vote in favor of IND candidate with the mark "GHARA" i.e Returned Candidate. Similarly, after the announcement of the increase in polling time to one hour i.e 5pm to 6 pm the presiding officer, police officials in connivance with the respondent closed the doors of the polling stations depriving hundreds of voters to use their right of casting votes and violating the order of the election commission. Thus, committing some very serious illegalities, violations and this act of the presiding officers made serious dents in the validity of the election results on PP-244. (Ten supporting affidavits are annexed as Annex-EE)
- 5. It is worth mentioning that the total area of the PP-244 consists of 5 km radius only, it's a divisional head quarter and consists of urban population in majority having 123 polling stations but it is astonishing fact that the returning officer concerned after taking possession of the election results announced the election result after about 36 hours, which shows dishonesty and mala fide on his parts other then presiding officers in connivance with the Returned Candidate just to gave him favor. The said act is highly objectionable.
- 6. It is worth mentioning here that there is a glaring difference between PP-244 and NA-172 i.e in polling station no.3 votes casted for Provincial assembly are 514 while in the same polling station votes casted for National Assembly are 477. similarly in polling station no.48 votes casted for Provincial assembly are 707 and of National Assembly are 668 (Copies of Form XVI of PP-244 as (Annex-FF) and of NA-172 are annexed as (Annex-GG).
- 7. In polling station No.81 of PP-244D.G. Khan-V, there are two polling booths mention in the polling scheme. These are women polling stations and the total registered

- female voters are 425 but it is very strange that the total number of votes is mentioned as 908. The difference of 483 votes is very vital under the circumstances when the PTI Candidate is already facing a very marginal difference. (Copy of Poling Scheme of PP-244 is attached as (Annex-HH).
- 8. The entire result sheets are rigged, rest misplaced deliberately prepared as the desired numbers of Returned Candidate. Cutting on Statement of Counts is visible and thumb impression of Presiding Officers is missing. Copies attached (Annex-II) and the final result not acceptable.
- 9. Form XV was not returned by the Presiding Officers to the polling agents as required under the governing rules.
- 10. Ballot papers, books and other relevant material was handed over to unauthorized persons instead of concerned Presiding Officers against which PTI Candidate submitted an application before Returning Officer on dated 10.05.2013 which was not responded (Annex-JJ).

### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-172 (D.G.Khan)

- Returned Candidate was carrying ballot papers in his hands which shows highhandedness on the part of the Returned Candidate, and the source through which the Returned Candidate received those ballot papers is a misery but it apparently reflects mala fide, dishonesty on his part with ill-designs of proving himself innocent. (Video of the press conference by Returned Candidate is available).
- 2. Mandatory provision of delivering FORM XV after filling it completely and signing the same to the polling agents was violated by the presiding officers and the said forms were not given to the polling agents of the PTI Candidate by the presiding officers of all the polling stations which indicates dishonestly and mala fide on the part of the presiding officers and is itself a speaking proof of rigging.
- 3. That the affidavits of ten among all the polling agents appointed by the PTI Candidate are annexed with the contention that receiving the authority letter from the polling agent the presiding officer did not allow the polling agents of the PTI Candidate to sit in the polling booth. Moreover the presiding officers and the duty police officials were inquiring the voters regarding their candidate for casting vote and on replying about PTI candidates said officials were returning them out of the polling station stating them that their vote is not in the polling station and the said officials were forcing those voters to cast vote in favour of Returned Candidate no.1 with the mark of LOIN. Similarly, after the announcement of the increase in polling time to one hour i.e. 5pm to 6pm the presiding officers, police officials in connivance with the Returned Candidate closed the doors of the polling stations depriving hundred of voters to use their right of casting votes and violating the order of Election Commission. Thus, committing some very serious illegalities, violations and this act of presiding officers made serious dents in the validity of the election results on NA-172 and PP-244. (Copies of Ten supporting Affidavits are annexed as Annex-EE).
- 4. In many polling stations the result was not handed over to PTI. Neither polling agents nor their signatures were obtained on finalizing results, the results were not displayed on doors for public and media saying these were short of stationery, especially in women polling stations, where women agents left after waiting for hours.
- 5. The few results issued to PTI polling agents had no signs or signatures raising serious concerns later as the witness polling agents were not agreeing to the given figures.

- 6. The results were not sealed on polling stations but were taken open to District courts and later sealed thereafter so many hours. Moreover the polling boxes were not opened in front of the polling agents of the PTI Candidate which throws serious doubts on the validity of election results.
- 7. It is worth mentioning that most of the area of the constituency of NA-172 consists of urban population in majority having 280 polling stations but it is astonishing fact that the returning officer concerned after taking possession of the election results announced the election result after about 36 hours, which shows dishonesty and mala fide on his part other then presiding officer in connivance with the Returned Candidate no.1 just to give him favour. The said act is highly objectionable.
- 8. It is worth mentioning here that there is a glaring difference between PP-244 and NA-172 i.e. in polling station no.3 votes casted for Provincial Assembly is 514 while in the same polling station votes casted for National Assembly are 477 similarly in polling station no.4 votes casted for Provincial Assembly are 384 and of National Assembly are 835. (Results of the account of National Assembly is Annex-FF and Provincial Assembly as Annex-GG)

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PP-171 (Nankana Sahib)

- 1. From the outset of process of casting of votes, almost on every polling station of the constituency, the polling agents of PTI Candidate were ousted out forcibly from the polling stations by local police, Presiding officers, polling staff with mala fide intentions & ulterior motives.
- 2. The Presiding Officer proceeded to reject the valid votes casted in the favor of the PTI Candidate and illegally accepted the invalid votes by counting the same to the credit of the PMLN Candidate.
- 3. In many polling stations the results were not handed over to PTI polling agents nor their signatures obtained on finalizing results, the result was not displayed on doors for public and media; saying they were short of stationary.
- 4. There is a glaring difference between results of Presiding officers and the Returning Officer.
- 5. In polling station no.89, votes casted in favor of the PTI Candidate are 588 according to the result issued by the polling officer but returning officer while preparing FORM XVI number of votes is mentioned as 76 only.
- 6. Similarly in polling station no.120 total votes secured by the PTI Candidate are 499 while in the results furnished by the returning officer the votes secured by the PTI Candidate are mentioned as 138 (copy of Form XIV is annexed as **Annexure-KK** and copy of Form XVI as **Annex-LL**).
- 7. In Polling Station no.91 rigging was committed which shows a person rigging inside the polling station at a polling booth.
- 8. In polling station no.143 rigging was committed, which shows the rigging by presiding staff and also shows opened ballot papers in a separate room.

- 9. In polling station no.64 (basic health unit mohalla ahmedabad female ) rigging was committed. Video is annexed which shows a lady presiding officer caught rigging by casting votes in an illegal manner.
- 10. The rigging in the whole constituency was highlighted and reported in many newspapers, a news story published in daily Times dated 15.05.2013 also listed NA 135 as a constituency where rigging was taken place. (Annex-U)
- 11. Due to extreme rigging committed in almost all the polling stations of PP 171, protests were lodged by general public all around the constituency which was reported by different sectors of media. News clipping of newspaper daily Nawa-e-Waqt is attached as (Annexure-V).
- 12. The few results issued to PTI polling agents had no signs or signatures raising serious concerns later as the witness polling agents were not agreeing to the given figures.
- 13. It is worth mentioning here that at about 5pm most of the polling agents of the PTI Candidate were ousted out of the polling station by the polling officers and local police revealing mala fide intent with ulterior motives on the parts of polling officers and police and after the protest of the said polling agents they were given permission to re-enter into the concerned polling stations but the polling agents were shocked to see that all the polling boxes were open/unsealed and the ballot papers were placed on floors, although they were supposed to open the polling boxes in front of polling agents.
- 14. The result was not sealed in polling stations but was taken open to district courts and later sealed there after so many hours.
- 15. The copy of Form XV (BALLOT PAPERS ACCOUNT) were also not handed over to the polling agents by the polling officer, which they were duty bound to do so.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PK-98 (Malakand)

- 1. From the outset of process of casting of votes, almost on every polling station of the constituency, the polling agents of PTI Candidate were ousted out forcibly from the polling stations by local police, Presiding officers, polling staff with mala fide intentions & ulterior motives.
- 2. The Returned Candidate being belonging to a ruling party used his influence to appoint returning officers at his will and consent at his desired polling stations to fulfill his nefarious and ill-designs. And then later on, the said polling staff used their undue influence on the illiterate and simple people on casting votes to him (the Returned Candidate).
- 3. The presiding officers didn't handover FORM XIV to the polling agents of the PTI Candidates and even on many polling stations the presiding officers constitute the results on simple plane papers which is illegal, unauthorized manner with mala fide and dishonesty and can be termed as rigging.

- 4. In Polling Station of Govt. girls primary school Gul zaday kalay, the presiding officer and other govt. staff in connivance with the Returned Candidate were casting illegal votes. And even one of the staff was caught polling illegal vote.
- 5. The polling station constituted in bagh deen kalay was fully occupied by the respondent and his influenced polling staff who even turned out polling agents namely saleema bibi, zenab bibi and mariam bibi.
- 6. The respondent used his undue influence in the polling station numbers i.e 29, 30, 31, 95, 96, 99, 104, 107, 108, 115, 109, 110, 111, 112, 121 and casted illegal votes with the help of polling staff.
- 7. The PTI Candidate also produced a video footage before Returning Officer of a polling station which shows a Senator (present) Nisar Malakand (PML N) agitating and having ballot papers in his hands.
- 8. It is also pertinent to mention here that at polling station no.95, votes of voters at Silsila no.471, 472, 473, 972 were casted but the voters against these silsila numbers are living abroad. Similarly votes of Silsila nos 1172 and 1188 at the same polling station were casted two times.
- 9. That at polling station no.30 badragga, the number of rejected votes is 47 which also needs to be rechecked.
- 10. That at polling station no. 95, the casting of fake votes is also mentioned. (copy of TENDERED VOTES LIST is annexed for the kind perusal.
- 11. In many polling stations the results were not handed over to PTI polling agents nor their signatures obtained on finalizing results, the result was not displayed on doors for public and media; saying they were short of stationery, especially in women polling stations, where women agents left after waiting for hours.
- 12. The few results issued to PTI polling agents had no signs or signatures raising serious concerns later as the witness polling agents were not agreeing to the given figures.
- 13. The result was not sealed in polling stations but was taken open to district courts and later sealed there after so many hours. Moreover, the polling boxes were not opened in front of the polling agents of the PTI Candidate which throws serious doubts on the validity of the election results.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PP-184 (Kasur)

1. From the outset of process of casting of votes, almost on every polling station of the constituency, the polling agents of PTI Candidate were ousted out forcibly from the polling stations by local police, Presiding officers, polling staff with mala fide intentions & ulterior motives.

- 2. Most of the Presiding Officers did not perform their duties in accordance with law. The corrupt practices were adopted at the time of the counting of votes, preparation of result counts, the transmission thereafter the returning officer and the consolidation of the returning officer as well.
- 3. The presiding officers didn't handover FORM XIV to the polling agents of the PTI Candidates and even on many polling stations the presiding officers constitute the results on simple plane papers which is illegal, unauthorized manner with mala fide and dishonesty and can be termed as rigging. It is also pertinent to mention here that the total number of polling stations in the constituency was 128 while result of only 12 polling stations were handed over to polling agents of the PTI Candidate.
- 4. Many polling stations were fully occupied by the respondent and his influenced polling staff who even turned out polling agents of the PTI Candidate from polling place.
- 5. In more than 116 polling stations the results were not handed over to PTI polling agents nor their signatures obtained on finalizing results, the result was not displayed on doors for public and media; saying they were short of stationery, especially in women polling stations, where women agents left after waiting for hours. The Statement of the Count given to PTI polling agents was incomplete, without signature/thumb impressions of the Presiding Officer. Astonishing fact is that 5 of 12 given Statement of the Count were issued in an improper, unauthorized and in illegal way raising serious concerns about the credibility of Presiding/Polling Staff. (Annex-MM).
- 6. Astonishing fact is that the result sheet issued by Returning Officer with his stamp and signatures on dated 12.05.2013 shows different number of votes than the result issued by ECP on its website. The Voting Statistics of Constituency given by both the authorities doesn't match with each other (Annex-NN). Copies of FORM XVI of PP-184 are annexed as (Annex-OO) and of NA-142 as (Annex-PP) for kind perusal of this Honorable Commission.
- 7. Moreover, the polling boxes were not opened in front of the polling agents of the PTI Candidate which throws serious doubts on the validity of the election results.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PP-14 (Rawalpindi)

1. The Returning officer did not perform his duties in accordance with law and proceeded to appoint the election staff for the constituency at the asking and for the benefit of PMLN Candidate. Despite objections, he did not rectify the situation and the process continued. The whole election process was polluted by corrupt practices by and on behalf of the PMLN Candidate duly supported by the local administration connived/overlooked by the Returning Officer and the malpractices of the election staff resulted into very unfair, unjust, non transparent and rigged election. The process adopted and the steps taken do vitiate the whole election process being fraudulent, unfair, unjust, non-transparent and replete with the corrupt practices committed by the PMLN Candidate and his aides in collaboration with the election staff.

- 2. May 11, in the morning PMLN Candidate had posted all its camps even within 400 yards' and in front of polling stations.
- 3. On Election Day, the supporters of Returned Candidate were distributing 'shair perchee' to voters, and canvassed to vote for him inside the polling station.
- 4. Most of the polling stations had posters and banners of PML N displayed inside.
- 5. Some ladies use to come time and again and casted fake/bogus votes at different polling stations.
- 6. The polling staff of many a polling station has hidden the electoral rolls provided and started returning the voters of the PTI Candidate on the pretext that their votes were not registered there.
- 7. The Presiding Officers refused to provide PTI Candidate and his representatives with the result counts at different polling stations.
- 8. That different of 3000 votes polled to NA constituency more than PA constituency. Particularly result of Polling Station No. 16 and 67 shows ZERO votes which is not possible because in same polling stations Candidate of NA constituency Mr. Imran Khan Niazi got votes (**Annex QQ**).
- 9. Figures in statement of counts has been changed (Annex RR).

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PP-122 (Sialkot)

- 1. That the PTI Candidate had deputed his polling agents with appropriate authority on all 115 polling stations.
- 2. That on the Election day, all the PTI Candidate's agents furnished to him numerous (statement of count) but on plain papers only few were supplied on Form XIV. Even though the result was not supplied, as envisaged under the law but still it was favourable to the PTI Candidate.
- 3. That in Sialkot at Polling station No. 3, 11, 12, 29, 30, 32, 36, 39, 45, 60, 78, 79, 81, 93, and 95 the polling agents of the PTI Candidate were kicked out form the polling stations after being tortured and the voters who affixed the PTI Candidate's stickers outside the polling station were tortured and they were sent to their homes without casting their votes, the PTI Candidate made his complaint before the concerned Returning Officer and the Police officer but both the authorities did not any action upon the complaint of the PTI Candidate.(Copies of the affidavits of the polling agents are attached herewith as ANNEX-SS)
- 4. It is worth mentioning here that most of the ballet papers were different in size.
- 5. That most of the polling staff affixed stamps on the ballet papers by their own especially on women polling stations.
- 6. That serial numbers of the remaining ballet papers were not told to my polling agents.

- 7. That final result and ballet papers were not sealed in bags which was necessary according to law.
- 8. That the discrepancies in the Consolidated statement of count and the statement of count provided to the PTI Candidate are too well obvious and the same are being described herein below:-

Sr. NO.	Polling Station Name	Polling Station No.	Chaudhary Muhammad Ikram		Omer Farooq Meyer	
			Counted by Presiding Officer Form XIV	Consolidated. By R.O. From XVI	Counted by Presiding Officer	Consolidated by R.O From XVI
1.	Govt. Girls Primary School Nazampur Ghalian (Female)	2	256	319	234	158
2.	Govt. Jinnah Islamia College Sialkot (Male)	42	459	593	444	405
3.	Govt. Lady Underson Girls Higher Secondary School Sialkot (P)	86	96	340	115	282
4.	Govt. Boys Higher Secondary School No. 2, Zafarwal Road (Female)	96	340	289	192	183
5.	Govt. Girls High School Habibpura Aimnabad Road (Male)	99	664	396	440	247
6.	Govt. Girls Higher Secondary School Sialkot Cantt. (Male)	101	N/A	453	321	321
7.	Govt. Girls Higher Secondary School Sialkot Cantt (Female) Cantt	104	429	352	299	235
8.	Govt. Jinnah Efficiency High School Cantt(Female)	106	01	282	346	346

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PS-89 (Karachi)

- 1. That the Mama School Kemari Pidar Ground Pooling Station was illegally taken over by the PML (N) candidate and his workers and supporters for full hours who were illegally stamping on the election symbol of the PML (N) viz 'sher' (tiger) on the ballot papers and stuffing these in the boxes of the Polling station, but when complaint was lodged with the Presiding Officer Of MAMA School Pildar Ground Polling Station they were helpless, where after the PTI Candidate complaint with one captain Asad of the Pakistan Army who responded, but by the time the Jawans of the army raided, the said Polling Station the PML (N) candidate and his workers and supporters from the premises along with 2 ballot papers books.
- 2. That the PML (N) workers with the consent and connivance of PML (N) candidate of PS-89, Karachi West-1, also illegally occupied Habib Public School Polling Station, as well and during their illegal occupation they continuously stamped on the symbol of Sher on the ballot papers and stuffed them in the ballot boxes or the respective polling station in similar manner (Annex TT).
- 3. That the PTI Candidate also complained to the Presiding officer of Jackson Public School Pooling Stations and Habib Public School Polling Stations, Sultanabad but the Presiding Officer of the respective polling stations remained helpless.
- 4. That in other polling stations of PS-89, Karachi wast-1, polling agents were forcefully removed for time being from the polling stations and PML (N) candidate workers with the consent and connivance of the PML-N candidate forcefully and illegally stamped on the symbol "sher" on the Ballot papers and suffed the ballot boxes of the respective polling stations with illegal and untendered fake ballots papers and threatened the electors present at the polling stations to depart without voting.
- 5. That the Presiding officers of the 50% polling Stations of PS-89, Karachi West-1 failed to comply with Section 38(11) of the Representation of People Act, 1976, to give certified copy of the Statement of the voting counts of their polling Stations to the candidate/PTI Candidate, or his polling agents in PS-89, Karachi, West-1., and thereby committed grave violation of Section 38(11) of the representation of People Act, 1976.
- 6. That the Presiding Officers committed a grave material violation of the Provisions of the Representation of People Act, 1976, by failing to prepare a statement of the count showing the ballot papers excluded from the count u/s 38(9) of the Act, 1976, as the said ballot papers and books were removed from the polling stations of PS-89, Karachi West/1.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-09 (Mardan)

1. That the PTI Candidate was leading the election from the very beginning and after compilation of results of various polling station, the PTI Candidate won the election with high margin.

- 2. That the same result was also announced by electronic media including PTV News, Geo News, Aaj News, Sama News and Express News etc. By 12:00 to 1:00am. And similarly Amir Haider Khan Hoti was declared a runner up candidate.
- 3. That a letter No.2750 Dc (M/PS/GA) was communicated by the Deputy Commissioner Mardan to the Commissioner Mardan wherein the PTI Candidate was shown as winner along with other retuned candidates of District Mardan and a copy of the same letter was also sent to PS to chief secretary KPK and PS to Home secretary Government of KPK. The Same letter/result was based on the data collected by the revenue field staff from different authentic sources and same election letter was signed by D.C Mardan.
- 4. That the whole constituency comprising upon 238 polling stations is spread over hardly less than 10sq.kms mainly comprising city area with easy access of transportation etc and the late official compilation of result speaks of manipulation and collusion of the losing candidate Amir Haider Khan Hoti(ex. Chief Minister) with other concerned person/ Election officials and cast serious doubt.
- 5. That there are difference between the results obtained/ conveyed by p0olling agents/election agents of the PTI Candidate and official result.
- 6. That the Presiding officers/Assistant Presiding officers have not obtained the signature of agents of PTI Candidate and other candidates on the result sheet of the concerned polling stations, which amounts to illegality and material irregularity with the collusion and manipulation of Amir Haider Khan Hoti and the concerned election Staff.
- 7. That the polling agents of the PTI Candidate were refused written results despite their repeated demands from the c concerned Presiding officers. That on the polling day many voters were refused from casting their votes at various polling station on the pretext that their votes had already been cast/polled. In this regard complaints were made to the concerned presiding officers and other election staff but their complaints were ignored and turned down. Such like complaint was also made by one Syed Afzal but in vain. Moreover the presiding officer ignored the tender ballot papers. That some results were handed over by the presiding officers to the agents of PTI Candidate but were not duly signed.
- 8. That in most cases impersonation was the order of the day and in this connection complaints were made to the presiding officer and deputy presiding but these complaints was ignored. Therefore verification of thumb impression on voter lists and counter foil of ballot papers being necessary, important and essential, it is humbly prayed that the verification of thumb impression on voter list, counter foil and any other place where thumb impression has been obtained may please ordered through NADRA.
- 9. That the votes/ ballots etc. were not sealed in parcels in the presence of PTI Candidate's polling agents and neither were the parcels attested, if at all in presence of the concerned agents.
- 10. That result was complied in the absence of polling agents of the PTI Candidate.

- 11. That similarly the bag which is supposed to contain all material agent nor brought to the returning officer in the presences of the polling agent.
- 12. That the copy of the result was not pasted on the gate of polling station.
- 13. That the agent and or the candidate were not allowed at the office of the returning officer and as such the bags were supplied to the returning officer after complete manipulation in favor of the runner up candidate, Amir Haider Khan Hoti.
- 14. That the result was not legally consolidated by the returning officer no written notice to the PTI Candidate or his agent was ever issued and the result was illegally consolidated in the absence of the PTI Candidate or his agent.
- 15. That the bags of votes pertaining to NA-09 were delivered to the treasury, Mardan, with unexplained delay of days after so called consolidation of result and through authentic sources it has come to the knowledge of PTI Candidate that at least one bag was returned to the treasury after more than one month on 19<sup>th</sup> June,2013.
- 16. That the official result is silent regarding challenged votes, tender votes and spoiled votes.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PP-114 (Gujrat)

- 1. That the outset of process of casting of votes, almost on every polling station of the constituency, the polling agents of the PTI Candidate were ousted out forcibly from the polling stations by local police, presiding officers, polling staff with mala fide intentions and ulterior motives.
- 2. That the presiding officers of most of the polling stations did not allow polling agents of the PTI Candidate to in the polling booths. Therefore, the votes are not counted in the presence of the polling agents, which creates serious doubts on the genuineness of the election process and it is a violation of election rules.
- 3. That the respondent no.1 being belonging to the ruling party used his influence to appoint returning officers at his will and consent at his desired polling stations to fulfill his nefarious and ill-designs. And then later on the said polling staff used their undue influence on the illiterate and simple people on casting votes to him (Returned Candidate).
- 4. That the most of the presiding officers did not handed over FORM XIV to the polling agents of the PTI Candidates and on some polling stations the presiding officer constitute the results on simple plain papers which is illegal, unauthorized manner with mala fide and dishonesty and can be termed as rigging.
- 5. That despite of receiving the authority letter from the polling agent the presiding officer did not allow the polling agent of the PTI Candidate to sit in the polling booth, moreover after the announcement of the increase in polling time to one hour i.e. 5 pm to 6 pm the presiding officer, police officials in connivance with the respondent

- closed the doors of the polling stations depriving hundred of voters to use their right of casting votes and violating the order of the Election Commissioner. Thus committing some very serious illegalities, violations and this act of the presiding officers made serious dents in the validity of the election results on PP-114.
- 6. That in most of the polling stations the presiding officer issued FORM XIV which are incomplete, without signatures of polling agents, not thumb impression of presiding officers, which are clear violation of election rules and the presiding officers are responsible for such act on their parts which is highly objectionable and creates serious doubts on the validity of the results issued. i.e. FORM XIV of the polling stations no.55,146,90,48,76.( copies of FORM XIV are annexed as **Annex-UU**).
- 7. That in the results of polling station no.123 votes secured by the PTI Candidate are not mentioned.
- 8. That the results issued by the presiding officer of the polling station no 77 has mentioned total number of votes polled as 863 and 873. Which is quite astonishing and illegal act on the part of the presiding officer.
- 9. That it is worth mentioning here that there is a glaring difference between of casted votes in PP-114 and NA-107 i.e. in polling station no.84 votes casted for Provincial Assembly is 932 while in the same polling station votes casted for National Assembly are 455 hence the total difference is of 477 which is not plausible to belief and shows dishonesty on the part of the presiding officer similarly in polling station no.145 votes casted for Provincial Assembly are 598 and of National Assembly are 709 and in polling station no. 132 votes casted for Provincial Assembly are 755 and of National Assembly are 769, polling station no. 139 votes casted for Provincial Assembly are 722 and of National Assembly are 734. (Results of the count of National Assembly is Annex-VV and Provincial Assembly as Annex-WW).
- 10. That in many polling stations the result was not handed over to PTI. Neither polling agents nor their signatures were obtained on finalizing results, the results were not displayed on doors for public and media saying these were short of stationery, especially in women polling stations, where women agents left after waiting for hours.
- 11. That the few results issued to PTI polling agents had no signs or signatures raising serious concerns later as the witness polling agents were not agreeing to the given figures.
- 12. That the results were not sealed on polling stations but were taken open to District courts and later sealed thereafter so many hours. Moreover the polling boxes were not opened in front of the polling agents of the PTI Candidate which throws serious doubts on the validity of election results.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. NA-127 (Lahore)

1. That from the outset of process of casting of votes, almost on every polling station of the constituency, the polling agents of petitioner were ousted out forcibly from the polling stations by local police, Presiding officers, polling staff with mala fide intentions & ulterior motives.

- 2. That it is also pertinent to mention here that due to absence of returned candidate's voters, his supports started violence on the petitioner's voters in different polling stations.
- 3. That the Presiding Officer proceeded to rejects the valid votes casted in the favour of the petitioner and illegally accepted the invalid votes by counting the same to the credit of the returned candidate.
- 4. In many polling stations the results were not handed over to PTI polling agents nor their signatures obtained on finalizing results, the result was not displayed on doors for public and media; saying they were short of stationery, especially in women polling stations, where women agents left after waiting for hours.
- 5. The few results issued to PTI polling agents had no signs or signatures raising serious concerns later as the witness polling agents were not agreeing to the given figures (Annex XX).
- 6. That it is worth mentioning here that at about 5pm most of the polling agents of the petitioner were ousted out of the polling station by the polling officers and local police mala fide with ulterior motives on the parts of polling officers and police and after the protest of the said polling agents they were given permission to re-enter into the concerned polling stations but the polling agents were shocked to see that all the polling boxes were open/unsealed and the ballot papers were placed on floors, Although they were suppose to open the polling boxes in front of polling agents.
- 7. That the copy of Form XV (BALLOT PAPERS ACCOUNT) were also not handed over to the polling agents by the polling officer, which they were duty bound to do so.
- 8. The result was not sealed in polling stations but was taken open to district courts and later sealed there after so many hours.

#### Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency No. PP-115 (Gujrat)

- 1. From the outset of process of casting of votes, almost on every polling station of the constituency, the polling agents of PTI Candidate were ousted out forcibly from the polling stations by local police, Presiding officers, polling staff with mala fide intentions, ulterior motives and with the connivance of returned candidate.
- 2. That most of the Presiding Officers did not perform their duties in accordance with law. The corrupt practices were adopted at the time of the counting of votes, preparation of result counts, the transmission thereafter the returning officer and the consolidation of the returning officer as well.

- 3. That the presiding officers of most of the polling stations did not allowed the polling agents of the PTI Candidate to enter into the polling agents which creates serious doubts on the genuineness of the election process and it is a violation of election rules.
- 4. That most of the P.O did not handed over FORM XIV to the polling agents of the PTI Candidates and even on some polling stations the presiding officers constitute the results on simple plain papers which is illegal, unauthorized manner with mala fide and dishonesty and can be termed as rigging.
- 5. That the Presiding Officer proceeded to rejects the valid votes casted in the favor of the PTI Candidate and illegally accepted the invalid votes by counting the same to the credit of the returned candidate.
- 6. That In polling station no.89, votes casted in favor of the PTI Candidate are 588 according to the result issued by the polling officer but returning officer while preparing FORM XVI number of votes is mentioned as 76 only.
- 7. That Similarly in polling station no.120 total votes secured by the PTI Candidate are 499 while in the results furnished by the returning officer the votes secured by the PTI Candidate are mentioned as 138 (copy of Form XIV is annexed as **Annexure-YY** and copy of Form XVI as **Annex-ZZ**).
- 8. That in Polling Station no.91 rigging was committed which shows a person rigging inside the polling station at a polling booth.
- 9. That in polling station no.143 rigging was committed, which shows the rigging by presiding staff and also shows opened ballot papers in a separate room. (Video available).
- 10. That in polling station no.64 (basic health unit mohalla ahmedabad female) rigging was committed. Video is annexed which shows a lady presiding officer caught rigging by casting votes in an illegal manner. (Video available)
- 11. That rigging in the whole constituency was highlighted and reported in many newspapers, a news story published in daily Times dated 15.05.2013 also listed NA 135 as a constituency where rigging was taken place. (Annex-AB)
- 12. That due to extreme rigging committed in almost all the polling stations of PP 171, protests were lodged by general public all around the constituency which was reported by different sectors of media. News clipping of newspaper daily Nawa e Waqt is attached as (Annexure-AC).
- 13. The few results issued to PTI polling agents had no signs or signatures raising serious concerns later as the witness polling agents were not agreeing to the given figures.
- 14. That it is worth mentioning here that at about 5pm most of the polling agents of the PTI Candidate were ousted out of the polling station by the polling officers and local police with ulterior motives on the parts of polling officers and police and after the protest of the said polling agents they were given permission to re-enter into the concerned polling stations but the polling agents were shocked to see that all the

- polling boxes were open/unsealed and the ballot papers were placed on floors, Although they were suppose to open the polling boxes in front of polling agents.
- 15. That the copy of Form XV (BALLOT PAPERS ACCOUNT) were also not handed over to the polling agents by the polling officer, which they were duty bound to do so.

# Case example: Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency NA-57 (Attock-1)

- The constituency has a 60-40 urban-rural population composition and in the 2008 elections the PTI candidate Malik Amin Aslam Khan ran as an independent candidate and, after securing 38000 votes, was the runners-up with one of the lowest margins in Pakistan only 299 votes.
- In the 2013 elections, NA57 was marked as one of the "sure-win" constituencies for PTI and continued to remain so till the end of campaign under all surveys and polls. This, however, may have been the reason for it being targeted for the surgical rigging that occurred, leading to an overnight change of results making the PTI candidate a runners-up with a margin of 3900 votes.

Polling day "technical" rigging:

Being a "marked" constituency, the designs of the election results manipulation was quite evident throughout the polling day. In this regards, the following elements of the technically maneuvered rigging were evident:

- During the polling process there was a deliberate attempt to "go slow" and delay the polling at various polling stations especially targeted at urban women polling stations thought to be PTI voters. In this regards, the official complaints were raised with the district administration for Attock city (Peoples colony, Veterinary School, Dispensary polling stations) as well as for villages Formali and Haji Shah (Ladies). Voters, who had come out in record turnout were forced by design to stand for hours in humidity and heat and deliberately dissuaded from polling. A number of complaints were made at the spot but no remedial action was taken by the Returning Officer nor the district administration.
- At the end of counting of results, the Presiding Officers at most polling stations refused to provide PTI polling agents the official certified result copy (the elusive Form XIV) but rather provided the same on blank pieces of paper (See Figure-1). Upon insistence by the polling agents, the Presiding Officers blatantly refused to give the results on signed Form XIV's. This systematic denial *left the eventual count open for direct manipulation* by the Presiding officers.

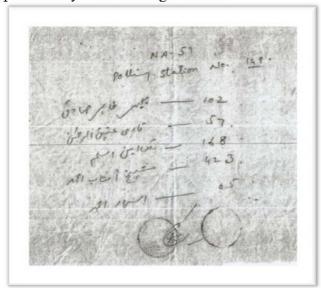


Figure-1: One of many "illegally" provided result sheets by PO's in NA57

• This particular illegality was raised with the Returning Officer of NA57 through letter dated 14-5-2013 to which the RO brazenly admitted to this grave illegality stating that even if "the result count was not issued on printed form it will not cause any doubt on the proceedings of the Presiding Officers" (See Figure-2). In a fair electoral process, this admission by the responsible RO of not complying with strict orders of the electoral rules would result in a cancellation of the whole election.

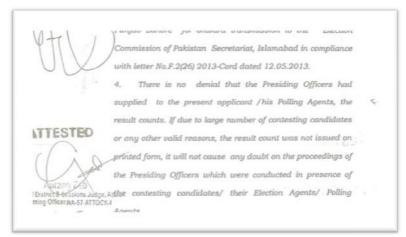


Figure-2 – RO admitting to an illegal practice (Para 4 of his own decision)

• The above illegalities were, however, laying the grounds for a massive technical manipulation of the results after the end of polling on May 11<sup>th</sup> 2013.

## Post Polling "Results Manipulation":

The PTI, believing in fair play and a level playing field by the ECP, motivated millions of voters to stand in long queues and cast their votes. They believed that from there onwards, the sanctity and security of their ballot would be ensured by the State. However this is exactly where they were wrong. The post voting manipulation and management was what the PTI was not prepared for. Under the protective and collaborative umbrella of pliant ROs and a biased district administration the compilation of results was a totally pre-managed exercise designed to produce pre-decided results.

• In the past five national elections, the results of NA57 have always been announced on the night of the polling day, as this is one of the most geographically compact constituencies of Pakistan.

However, on May 11<sup>th</sup> 2013, the compilation of results was inordinately held back and delayed for more than 18 hours, especially after the ominous speech claiming victory was made by Mian Nawaz Sharif with the ballot count still open.

In hindsight, this seems to have been the *signal for the manufactured mandate*. After that speech the lull occurred. The declaration of results froze. The last remaining polling stations of NA57 with pending result counts, remained blocked for the whole night. All went quiet on the compilation front being overseen by the Returning Officer.

The compilation room in Attock, like many others, was converted into a closed-door bunker where the candidates themselves were barred from entering while their fate was being manufactured. This was the first time in the five previous elections that candidates were forced to be out of the "secret" compilation rooms. Many verbal and written complaints were made to the RO but without any relief or response.

- After leading the polls all night and with all TV channels (ARY, GEO, PTV)
  consistently reporting victory for PTI, the delayed result in NA57 came out after 18
  unexplained hours, changed in favor of PML-N through manipulation of the Presiding
  officer result slips
- The mandatory recounting of rejected votes, occurring the next day, provided a
  glimpse into the machinations that had occurred. Exactly 5466 rejected votes were to
  be counted but the very first two bags showed huge discrepancies between what was
  recorded on the Presiding officer's official count slips and what came out of the
  sealed polling bags.
  - In the first votes bag for polling station number 172 (Formali) the rejected votes written in the Presiding officer count sheet were 29 whereas upon checking in the bag the actual rejected votes were 21.
  - In the second votes bag for polling station number 173 (Formali) the rejected votes written in the Presiding officer count sheet were 51 whereas upon checking in the bag the actual rejected votes were 0.
- After the above gross irregularities came to light, the PTI representative protested and demanded for the *consolidation exercise to be halted until these grave illegalities were explained.* This is what the electoral laws state that if such illegalities occur the consolidation has to first sort them out before proceeding ahead. A written protest was registered with the RO who refused to address the illegality. Upon this the PTI representative protested and boycotted the consolidation as the Presiding officer count sheets were totally wrong and did not reflect the actual vote count. The RO ignored the legal and genuine protests and bulldozed through the consolidation exercise, illegally and without the presence of the PTI representative.

The ECP bias – a tool to shield, rather than expose, rigging:

An overnight shifting of the victory stand, refusal to provide official result copies as well as glaring irregularities in the rejected vote examination had laid solid grounds to demand a recount of total votes.

• The ECP full bench of four judges examined the request for recount and passed a judgment for total recount of votes and *urgent implementation*(Figure-3) on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May (Order No F-2/Na57/2013-Elec-1 dated 15-5-2013).

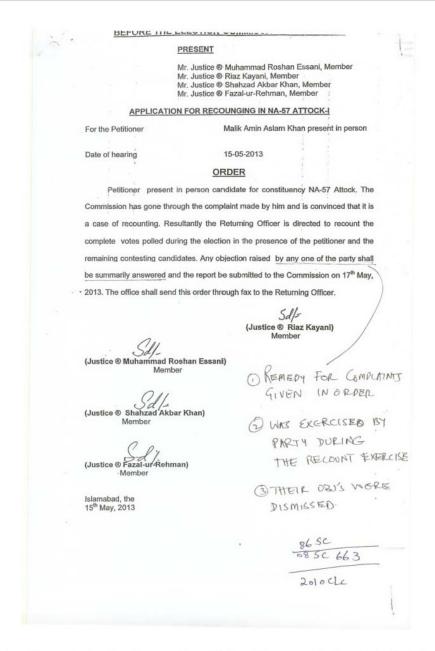


Figure-3: ECP Order for Immediate Voter Recount delayed by RO in Attock

- The biased Returning officer, however, illicitly procrastinated the recount for more than 16 hours till a, seemingly expected, stay order came from the High Court (W.P 1217 of 2013). Against legal norms, this stay order was extended Ex-Party without presence of PTI representative. Subsequently, the next morning, the High Court annulled the original ECP order and directed to reappear before the ECP.
- This was where the real shocking revelation came. The same ECP judges while reexamining the same facts applying the same law appallingly decided to overturn their own decision and disallow the recount on the 17<sup>th</sup> of May (Order dated 18-5-2013).
  - No understandable justification was provided for this shocking turnaround. The only additional piece of information provided was a RO decision against recounting in which he blatantly admits to an illegality and justifies that results

were provide on plain pieces of paper instead of the Form XIV. Also, the ECP had given its original decision on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May after the consolidation of votes had already occurred (13<sup>th</sup> of May). All this seethes with the smell of an unfair and pre-decided judicial bias against PTI.

• With a high degree of doubt created about the transparency of the vote count exercise the benign recounting of votes should have been a non-contestable right offered to the PTI candidate by the ECP. However, justice had not only been delayed in this case but also unjustifiably reversed to its own detriment.

The only consolation of this whole nightmarish episode is that Attock NA57 was not alone in this managed quagmire. The PTI has been calling for a recount with thumb impression verification in, at least, 4 constituencies (including NA57). The streets of Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad and other cities including Attock registered strong street protests and sit-ins (Figure-4). The ECP response has been one of denial. The Chief Justice of the High Court, against judicial decorum, is on record issuing public statements in defense of the dubious role of the Returning Officers. All this while, the highest judicial forum, the Supreme Court, remains silent pondering over whether a national stolen mandate deserves a suo-moto action or not.



Figure-4: Public protests fall on "deaf" airs

## Case example: Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency NA-256 (Karachi)

The whole administration, all the managements and staff of the ECP, R.O/ARO worked at the disposal and influence of Returned Candidate and with connivance of Election Staff converted his results in his favor by manipulating form-XIV which is self explanatory and clearly manifesting that the high range rigging was committed. Each and every form-XIV of all 227 polling stations is clearly reflecting several discrepancies, mis-calculations and over writing. Thump impressions and signatures of each and every Presiding Officer on the said forms are also self explanatory. (Copies of form-XIV are attached as **Annex-AD**)

# Case example: Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency NA-42 (South Waziristan)

- 1. The final voter list that was issued to candidates on the 6<sup>th</sup> of May were not to be found on the election day when the voters went to cast their votes, but new voter list was given to single political party (JUI) which took advantage out of this & that was also conveyed to Returning Officer in presence of other contestants.
- 2. Certain female PTI polling agents of different polling stations were not provided with the form XIV (Statement of accounts) in spite of their repeated requests & were sent empty handedly, which is blatant violation of all rules of ECP & is considered clear cut cheating/rigging.
- 3. Certain Presiding officers on official duty were changed / relocated in the middle of the day due to unknown reasons.
- 4. Candidate names were missing in form XIV (Statement of accounts) in the time of handing over the results to polling agents.
- 5. IDP/NON IDP Lists were all wrong & full of errors, which played a vital role in confusing the voters by not casting their votes, which is evident by the turn out of the voters on the Election Day which is merely 6 % of the total registered votes for NA 42.
- 6. The voting book available with the presiding officers were containing photographs of the voters but if the voter was not from JUI, the officer straight away refused the poor voters (since most of them were illiterates) & advised them that their votes are missing from the list, therefore causing utter confusion amongst the voters & eventually the voters were denied their constitutional right to vote as a citizen of Pakistan.
- 7. On the Election Day, some of the polling stations were intrude & polling was stopped indefinitely for hours & the presiding officers were allowing certain voters carrying JUI voter slips.

#### Case example: Polling Day / After Poll Closure Rigging in Constituency NA-110 (Sialkot)

- 1. Returned Candidate, his election agent, polling agents and supporters with active connivance of inter se, used official influence and governmental patronage in order to induce and compel voters to vote in favour of the Returned Candidate and to restrain them from voting in favour of the PTI Candidate.
- 2. Returned Candidate, his election agent, polling agents and supporters with active connivance of inter se, used vehicles for conveying electors to and from the polling stations on the day of the election in order to support Returned Candidate and oppose the PTI Candidate.

- 3. Returned Candidate, his election agent, polling agents and supporters with active connivance of inter se as well as with the officials at several Polling Stations, applied for ballot papers and voted in more than one Polling Stations in this election illegally, mala fide and fraudulently in favour of the Returned Candidate.
- 4. Returned Candidate, his election agent, polling agents and supporters with active connivance of Election Staff, most of the polling agents of the PTI Candidate were forcibly turned out of the polling stations and in the absence thereof fabricated results of Form-XIV.
- 5. Presiding Officers of the mostly Polling Stations did not allowed polling agents of the PTI Candidate to sign on the Form-XIV rather in most of the cases fabricated signatures of polling agents were shown on Form-XIV.

#### CHAPTER THREE

# **Post Poll Rigging**

This generally refers to the absence of fair play in the declaration of results and non-responsiveness to allegations of rigging as well as demands for recounts and re-election.

## Post-May 11 rigging

A vast number of rigging complaints were filed, according to the website of ECP<sup>14</sup> a total of 402 petitions were filed before the Election Commission out of which a total 61 petitions were filed by PTI candidates. It is pertinent to mention here that approximately 59 out of 61 petitions were dismissed by ECP on technical grounds, and the ECP deliberately went into a go-slow mode, even on the ordering of recounts in specific constituencies. However, in other constituencies, where PMLN candidates had lost, multiple recounts kept happening despite no alteration in the result. One such example of the latter instance was NA 19 Haripur where multiple counts were ordered despite the result coming out the same!

After delays, when recounts were ordered by the ECP, a vast array of irregularities including the manner of the recount, were discovered. One sample is NA 154 where the following was observed and reported to the ECP by PTI candidate Jehangir Tareen:

# Major Discrepancies found during recounting process of NA-154 out of 220 (Total 304) polling stations after two days of recounting

- 1. Record of polling bags NA-154 were lying in the office of returning officer after consolidation of result which should be in the double lock of the treasury.
- 2. Seals of 170 polling bags out of 220 were broken.
- 3. Envelopes containing used ballot papers in favour of candidates were also in damaged condition/without any seal of presiding officer.
- 4. 265 counter foils of ballot papers are without signature/seal of the APO.
- 5. Marked copies of Electoral rolls of 5 polling stations are missing in the polling bags.
- 6. 934 unused ballot papers are missing in the polling bags.
- 7. 691 counter foils of used ballot papers are missing in polling bags.
- 8. Ten tampered evident bags containing ballot paper count and statement account were missing. Furthermore there tampered evident bags were in custody of presiding officer instead of returning officer.
- 9. There was marked difference (3 000 plus) between available valid votes and attendance of voters duly reflected through voter list thumbs marks of attending voters.
- 10. 335 counterfoils were found without CNIC number on them.
- 11. Signature of polling agents is missing on many result sheets.

Despite all this, the ECP did nothing to rectify the flagrant violation of electoral norms and procedures. Nor was all this tampering considered in the final result declaration.

It is also relevant to mention here that the principle of Responsiveness was also violated and it has become a continuous practice of this incredible institution not to respond properly to the complaints filed against the winning party i.e 'Section 67(1A) of ROPA mandates that a

<sup>(</sup>http://ecp.gov.pk/Party%20Wise%20Summary%20of%20Election%20Petitions.pdf)

Tribunal must adjudicate a petition within 3 months. Unfortunately this provision is violated more often than not. For instance, a report by European Union 2008 EOM on the 2008 Election, found that 39 out of 221 petitions from 2002 elections remained unresolved after the Parliament's five-year term had expired. <sup>15</sup>

Before the elections NADRA had given out that it could verify electoral results by verifying thumbprint impressions through technology it had acquired. Yet when that request was made after the elections by candidates alleging rigging, the ECP refused to forward the cases to NADRA for thumbprint verifications. To date, the ECP has not moved in that direction despite NADRA now stating that it had built up its capacity to verify thumbprint impressions. The question mark therefore becomes more deeply imprinted on the ECP's neutrality and credibility.

Also the ECP member from Punjab was actively seen going around the polling stations on Election Day and turning a blind eye to complaints being received on the spot, thereby showing a clear bias in favour of N.

In Karachi, despite massive evidence, including electronic media exposes from the spot, the ECP refused to order reelection for the city as a whole and only ordered the same for NA 250 which had become the symbol of rigging on May 11 – partially because of extensive media coverage of this constituency. However, across Karachi, terrorized rigging took place especially in "no-go" areas controlled by the MQM. So the question remains as to why the ECP refused to hold reelections in all Karachi constituencies?

Another common complaint of rigging in the post-poll-result declaration was the discrepancies between the number of voters on the voter list and the number of votes shown in the final result. One such example is given below From NA 54 Rawalpindi.

See Worker's Party Case.

	2450	NA-54 R	awalpindi-\	1		SPECIE	6.00	STATE OF		
SI.N o	Name & Location of the Polling Stations.	Name of Electroal Area assigned to the Polling Station	Census Block Code Number	Serial Number of Voters on the Electoral Roll in case of Bifurecation of E/Area	ass	ber of Vo igned to Iling Stat	Nun	nber of Pe Booths		
					Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Tota
1	2	3.	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
		Mchallah Zameendaran Chor Harpal	111070301		402		402			0
	224	Mohallah Zameendaran Misreal road	111070302		431	373	804			0
196	FG Boys higher Secondary School	Mohallah Zameendaran Misreal road	111070303		174		174			0
100	Peshawar Road (Nale)(P)	Mohallah Zameendaran Chor Harpal Street No 5to9	111070304		1,071	892	1963			0
	The state of the s				2,078		2,078	4	2	6
	5 4 7 50 Bit Will	Mohaliah Zameendaran Chor Harpal	111070301			346	346			0
197	Govt, Zia Girls High School Chur Harpal	Mohallah Zameendaran Misreal road	111070303			175	175			0
197	Kashmir Line (Female)(P)					521	521		1	1
- 0		Mohallah Zameendaran Kashmir line	111070305	and the second second	579		579		-	0
	Liagat Degree	Mohallah Kashmirian	111070306		358		358	84		0
198	College, Peshwar Road, Rwp (M)				937	0	937	2		2
1		Mohallah Zameendaran Kashmir lane	111070305			479	479			0
	Govt. Zia Girls High	Mohallah Kashmirian	111070306			316	316			0
199	Model School Chour	Mohellah Kashmirian Chor Harpal	111070307	Y		390	390			0
	Harpat Kashmir Line (Female)(P)	Kashmir lane Peshawer road	111070308			229	229			0
	(			8		1,414	1,414		3	3
7	Liagat Degree	Mohsilah Kashmirian Chor Harpal	111070307		473		473			0
200	College, Peshwar Road,	Kashmir lane Peshawer road	111070308		277		277			0
	Rwp (M)				750		750	1		1
		Misreal road Street 20 Chor Harpal	111070401		114	S H	114			0
		Misreal road Street 2to6 Chor Harpal	111070402		344		344			0
	FG Girls High School	Peshawer road Lane No 7	111070403		172		172			0
201	Misrial Road chour	Peshawer road Lane No 7	111070404		377		377			0
	Harpal (Male);P)	Ghousia Colony	111070405		288		288			0
		Peshawer road Lane No 7	111070406		358		358			0
					1,653		1,653	3		3
	37-2-37-3-5-	Misreal road Street 20 Chor Harpal	111070401			116	-		-	0
		Misreal road Street 2to6 Chor Harpal	111070402			290	-			0
	FG Girls High School	Peshawer road Lane No 7	111070403			158				0
202	Misrial Road chour	Peshawer road Lane No 7	111070404			386	386			0
	Harpal (Female)(P)	Ghousia Colony	111070405			253	253	-		0
	1	Peshawer road Lane No 7	111070400			334	-	-	-	0
						1,537	1,537	-	3	3
	Bicon House School	Peshawer road Lane No 6,7	111070407		347		347	-		0
203	Boys Campas Peshawar Road Cantt (M)(T).	Peshawer road Lane No 5	111070408		924		924	-	-	2
	Road Cantt (Mi(1).				1,271	200	1,271	2	-	0
	Bicon House School	Peshawer road Lane No 6,7	111070407		-	333		-	-	0
204	Girls Campas Peshawar Road Cantt (Female)(T).	Peshawer road Lane No 5	111070408		-	850	1,193	-	2	2
	road Game (camale)(1).		1		-62	1,193		-	-	1
	Orintial Grammer	Peshawer road Lane No 4	111070501		456		456			0
	School, Near Jamile Masjid Lane No 5	Peshawer road Lane No 4	111070502		671		671			0
205	Peshawar Road (Male)(T)( New building 166) Peshawar Road rwp.				1,127		1,127	2		2
	CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE	Rockneyer coad Lane No.4	111070501			415	415	1		0
200	Bicon house School Peshawar road Cantt	Peshawer road Lane No 4 Peshawer road Lane No 4	111070501			620	-	1		0
200	(Female)(P)	I COMMINICATION CONTRACTOR AND A				1,035	1,035		2	2
		PIA colony Misreal road	111070504		519		519	1		0
207	Quaid School System	PIA colony Misreal road	111070505		406		406			0
	Range Road (Male)(T)				925		925	2		2
	Islamabad Fedral	PIA colony Misreal road	111070504			463	463			0
	Collage PIA Colony	PIA colony Misreal road	111070505			349	349			0
208	Misrial Road (Girls Section) Street No-					812	812		2	2
	12,Rwp (Female)(T)		111070500		1.077		1977	-	-	0
1000	Rawalpindi College Of	Lane 1,4 Peshawer road, Askari XI	111070506		1,977		127		-	0
209	Commerce Main	Lane No 3 Peshawer road Radio Station								

1	Gout Girls Primary 191 School, Supreem Bresd Road, Rwp (PM)	2	3	2	113	A.	0		1	1	51	2	0	2	10	0	0	0	918	2	1	- 2	- 1	0	510	12	522	0
2	Rehman Ardent Eductional System, 192 Street No-6 Willat Abad, Ohoke Bannars (Male) (T)	0	5	0	492	0	6		0	57	60	2	G	12	3	0	1	1	632	15	1	0	1	0	1283	11	1294	C
3	Juhar Public School Dhoke Choudharian/ 193 Ohoke Banaras Near Afshan Colony	3	2	S	380	q	6		2	44	29	o	0	0	1	0	0	0	455	1	0	0	c	1	933	18	951	(
4	(Female)(T) F.G School, Dhoke Gujran, Rwo (M)	0	0	5	270	0	2		0	6	251	С	6	2	0	0	0	0	845	21	4	.0	C	0	1406	2	1408	
5	Cresent House School (80y & Girls) Amir Hamza Colony St#1, Rwp (Female)(T)	3	o	1	213	C.			5	5	157	0	12	0	1	. 1	(10	0	589	7	2	*		0	99.	**.5	1029	
6	FG Boys higher Secondary School Peshawar Road	56	2	. 2	349		į		0	13	195	0	-1	4	1	0	.0	0	.586	12	0	D		2	1224	22	- 1	
7	Govt. Zia Girls High 197 School Chur Harpal Kashmir Line (Female)(P)	31	3	1	310	0	(	2	0	9	119	0	0	,1	0	1	0	0	405	1	0	0	(	0	881		901	)
8	Liaqat Degree 198 Gollege,Peshwar Road, Rwp (M)	10	0	1	153	0		1	0	4	77	0	0	6	2	0	1	0	307	2	1	.0		0	566	6	572	
9	Govt. Zia Girls High Model School Chour Harpal Kashmir Line (Female)(P)	9	4	0	269	0		0	0	6	69	0	0	1	3	0	0	C	358	0	0	0		1 0	720	15	735	
10	Liaqat Degree 200 College,Peshwar Road, Rwp (M)	3	11	0	162	0		0	0	6	67	0	0	1	0	C	0		205	2	1	-0		0 0	458	3	461	
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#### Case Example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. NA-125 (Lahore)

- 1. It was specifically pointed out that Presiding Officers were to conduct the poll in accordance with the provisions of ROPA 1976 and the rules laid out, and would be responsible for maintaining order at the polling station and would report to the Returning Officer any fact or incident which may, in their respective opinion, affect the fairness of the poll. Furthermore, the Returning Officer is under legal obligation and duty to do all such acts and things as may be necessary for effectively conducting an election in accordance with the provisions of ROPA 1976 and the rules. It is evident from the above that the provisions of the ROPA 1976 and the rules have been grossly violated. Not only have the Presiding Officers / Returning Officer failed in their respective duties to ensure fair elections, they have in fact actively aided and abetted one candidate in manipulating the results of the election, in blatant contravention of Sections 90, 91 and 92 of ROPA 1976, which have clearly been violated. Resultantly, an application dated May 13, 2013 was also moved to the Returning Officer (with a copy to the Election Commission of Pakistan), which was dismissed vide order dated May 14, 2013. The Returning Officer has not given any cogent reason for dismissing the application, save for the large difference in votes polled. It is pertinent to note in this regard that even prior to the polls the Returned Candidate met the Returning Officer. This meeting, at such a crucial time, reflects the illegal designs of the Returned Candidate to influence and manipulate the outcome of the election. The PTI Candidate apprehends that the Returned Candidate was successful in his illegal designs. Press clipping dated May 8, 2013 is available.
- 2. A large portion of the civil society as well as voters also voluntarily staged various sit-ins at various places to protest against the aforesaid grave illegalities, which is evident from the press reports in various newspapers on May 13 and 14, 2013, who along with the party workers and supporters have asked the PTI Candidate to pursue the legal remedies so as to protect their legal rights.
- 3. That in any case the Election Commission is responsible for validity of each vote cast and each ballot paper issued and counted by the election staff, which exercise can and should be verified through the record of National Data Base and Registration Authority (NADRA). This responsibility has also been re-affirmed by the Election Commission in the recent statement of the Secretary, Election Commission of Pakistan issued on May 12, 2013. Newspaper article published in Dawn. Verification of fingerprints has also been carried out in the past in similar proceeding by Election Commission of Pakistan, e.g. in the case reported as PLD 1977 Journal 164 (In Re: Complaint of Malpractices in Constituency No. N.A. 57 Sargodha). Even the Respondent has conceded in a televised interview with the PTI Candidate that the fingerprints should be verified from NADRA.
- 4. That the PTI Candidate filed a petition under Section 103 AA of ROPA, along with an application under Section 103 (b) seeking review against the Returning Officer's order dated May 14, 2013 rejecting the request for recount. However, both petitions / applications were not allowed by the Election Commission of Pakistan (order dated May 22, 2013 of Election Commission of Pakistan. The PTI Candidate has filed a review application against the aforementioned order of the Election Commission of Pakistan.

- 5. That on May 17, 2013, Mr. Imtiaz Wattanwal, a voter, also filed a petition before the Election Commission of Pakistan seeking a declaration that poll in NA 125 was void and seeking fresh polls. This was decided by the Election Commission of Pakistan on May 27, 2013 with a direction to the Election Tribunal to redress all grievances if the matters are referred to it.
- 6. That on May 22, 2013, the Election Commission of Pakistan declared Returned Candidate as the returned candidate for NA 125 by notification in the official gazette. It is evident from the foregoing that the election of Khwaja Saad Rafique as returned candidate has been procured or induced by corrupt and illegal practices within the meaning of Sections 78, 79, 80, 81 and 83 of ROPA; and such corrupt and illegal practices have been committed by Khwaja Saad Rafique, his election agent and other supporters with the connivance and consent of Khwaja Saad Rafique. It is also evident that the elections has been materially affected by the failure of the polling staff to comply with the provisions of ROPA and related rules, and the prevalence of extensive corrupt or illegal practice at the election.

## Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. NA-46 (Khyber Agency)

- 1. That being aggrieved by the disenfranchisement of voters of Jalozai camp, many voters filed an application before Honorable Chief Justice Peshawar High Court on dated (Annex-AE) which was disposed off on dated 01.06.2013 with the order "shall approach the election tribunal for Peshawar with copy of order of this court". (Annex-AF)
- 2. That PTI Candidate filed an application before Election Commission Khyber agency for recounting dated 06.05.2013 (Annex-AG) which was dismissed. (Annex-AH)
- 3. That it is also pertinent to mention here that the Respondents/Election administration/government officials also misguided and misinformed Honorable Peshawar High Court in W.P.No.1080-P/2012 which was disposed off on 14.05.2013 by stating that "full opportunity was given to the IDPs of Jalozai camp and other displaced persons from Khyber Agency and were facilitated to pole their votes which they did successfully".
- 4. That The PTI Candidate presented applications on the date of hearing dated 22-7-2013 in Petition No. 471 before the ECP along-with signatures of almost 1500 voters in which it was stated that they were deprived of casting their votes on the polling days dated 11.5.2013 because of confusing voters list, which were not taken into consideration by ECP. (Copies of applications signed by the voters are annexed as **Annex-AI**)

## Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. NA-54 (Rawalpindi)

1. That The PTI Candidate raised certain specific objections before the Returning Officer. The said objection filed were primarily based on facts easily ascertainable by the Returning Officer sufficient to declare that the whole process of Election is massively rigged, suffers from grave illegalities and stands in violation of the provisions of the Representation of People Act, 1976 and the Rules applicable. The applications filed by the PTI Candidate sufficiently describe the illegalities

committed with particular reference to the polling stations. The Returning Officer did not attend to the same.

- 2. The PTI Candidate emailed Election Commission on 13-05-13 at 5:13 pm about the delay in result and that it was still not displayed for public even on the third day; and the PTI Candidate not formally informed about the result and remaining missing polling stations (attached).
- 3. The PTI Candidate gave applications to Returning Officer requesting ballot recount and informing about rigging and delays, which were not received by the Returning Officer. Three times they were requested to receive the applications but it was refused and PTI Candidate told to send these after the announcement of result. When application was given after result, the Returning Officer told the PTI Candidate that the time is up for the order of re-count and should contact Election Commission. PTI Candidate filed an application in Election Commission and was first given date of June 4, and then 10<sup>th</sup>. ECP told PTI Candidate that the time for them to order for recount has ended and Tribunal should be contacted. It was pledged to ECP Panel that ever since May 11<sup>th</sup> the PTI Candidate is requesting for justice but no action has been taken (see Annex reference earlier for this constituency).
- 4. To prepare the case for Tribunal, the PTI Candidate sent applications for the supply of certified copies of documents to Returning Officer and District Returning Officer, out of 12 requests; was provided only The Statement of The Count and Consolidated result (see Annex reference earlier for this constituency).
- 5. The whole process as aforesaid does vitiate the election of the PMLN Candidate being based on practice non-transparent, fraudulent, unjust and not in accordance with law, hence unwarranted.

#### Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. NA-135 (Nankana Sahib)

- 1. Five applications by different contesting candidates of this constituency were submitted to the concerned Returning officer regarding re-counting of the of the votes which was received on 12-05-2013 but Returning Officer didn't responded to that despite of the fact that the said applications were received by him.(Receiving is annexed as **Annexure AJ**).
- 2. The PTI Candidate submitted an application before R.O on dated 15-7-2013 for production of the relevant documents in the light of the directions of ECP vide Notification Dated 11-6-2013 under which he was bound to provide the documents but reflecting mala fide intent he didn't perform his functions which were assigned to him under the law.

#### Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. PS-117 (Karachi)

The PTI Candidate submitted an application before R.O for production of the relevant documents in the light of the directions of ECP vide Notification Dated 11-6-2013 under

which he was bound to provide the documents but with mala fide intent he didn't perform his functions which were assigned to him under the law.

### Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. NA-255 (Karachi)

- 1. The presiding officers of most of the polling stations did not allowed the polling agents of the PTI Candidate to enter into the polling stations, which creates serious doubts on the genuineness of the election process and it is a violation of election rules. In the light of the grievances the PTI Candidate moved an application before the Chief Election Commissioner through its Karachi office to stop issuance of notification of results of NA-255 and to issue the order of re-polling in the constituency. (Copy of petition is annexed as **Annex-AK**)
- 2. An application for issuance of certified copies of documents was submitted to R.O but in vain. (Application before R.O regarding providing certified copies for the evidence dated 02.07.2013 which was not responded to is annexed as **Annex-AL**)

#### Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. PP-68 (Faisalabad)

- 1. The PTI Candidate submitted an application before R.O for production of the relevant documents in the light of the directions of ECP vide Notification Dated 11-6-2013 under which he was bound to provide the documents but with mala fide intent, he didn't perform his functions which were assigned to him under the law.
- 2. The PTI Candidate lodged a report before the police station Madina Town dated 13.05.2013 for taking legal action against the polling officers for their corrupt practices (Annex-AM).
- 3. The PTI Candidate also filed an application before Returning Officer (R.O) dated 14.05.2013 (Annex-AN) which was dismissed on 15.05.2013 (Annex-AO).

#### Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. PP-244 (D.G.Khan)

- 1. The PTI Candidate submitted an application before R.O for production of the relevant documents in the light of the directions of ECP vide Notification Dated 11-6-2013 under which he was bound to provide the documents but with mala fide intent he didn't perform his functions which were assigned to him under the law.
- 2. PTI Candidate also submitted an application before District Returning Officer Returning Officer on dated 13.05.2013, which was dismissed by order dated 17.05.2013.
- 3. The PTI Candidate submitted an application to the ECP which was dismissed.
- 4. PTI Candidate filed Election Petition before the Tribunal which is pending adjudication and on last date of hearing, Tribunal asked R.O / D.R.O to provide attested copies of Form-XV (Statement of Ballot Papers Account) but R.O / D.R.O

replied that they have not found these forms in Ballot Bags and also admitted that they have not received these forms from the Presiding Officers. (Copy of complete order sheet, tribunal court file and last orders are attached as **Annex-AP**)

## Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. NA-172 (D.G.Khan)

- 1. PTI Candidate submitted an application before R.O for production of the relevant documents in the light of the directions of ECP vide Notification Dated 11-6-2013 under which he was bound to provide the documents but with mala fide intent he didn't perform his functions which were assigned to him under the law.
- 2. PTI Candidate submitted an application to the ECP which was dismissed.
- 3. PTI Candidate filed Election Petition before the Tribunal which is pending adjudication and on last date of hearing, Tribunal asked R.O / D.R.O to provide attested copies of Form-XV (Statement of Ballot Papers Account) but R.O / D.R.O replied that they have not found these forms in Ballot Bags and also admitted that they have not received these forms from the Presiding Officers. (Copy of complete order sheet, tribunal court file and last orders are attached).

#### Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. PP-171 (Nankana Sahib)

- 1. Five applications were submitted to the Returning Officer (R.O) regarding recounting of the votes which were received in R.O office on 12.05.2013 but the said R.O didn't respond despite of the fact the said applications were received by him.
- 2. PTI Candidate also submitted an application before R.O on dated 15.07.2013 for production of the relevant documents in light of the directions of Honorable Election Commission of Pakistan vide notification dated 11.06.2013 but the R.O, again, failed to perform his functions which were assigned to him under the Law, by making lame excuses.

#### Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. PK-98 (Malakand)

- 1. That for redress of his grievances, the PTI Candidate filed application before the Retuning officer which was dismissed vide order dated 16-05-2013.
- 2. A joint application was submitted before Returning officer of PP-98 by the PTI Candidate along with other candidates which wasn't responded by the said returning officer.
- 3. PTI Candidate submitted an application regarding recounting of the votes but the returning officer didn't put an eye on that.

### Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. PP-184 (Kasur)

- 1. That for redress of his grievances, the PTI Candidate submitted an application before Returning officer of PP-184 dated 14.05.2013 which wasn't responded by the said returning officer.
- 2. PTI Candidate also submitted an application regarding recounting of the votes but the returning officer didn't put an eye on that. (copy of application is **Annex-AR**).

## Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. PP-122 (Sialkot)

- 1. That it is pertinent to mention here that no notice was given to the PTI Candidate regarding Consolidation of result, for the reason best known to Returned Candidate. It was prepared in absence of the PTI Candidate.
- 2. That on observing discrepancies in the results provided to the polling agents of PTI Candidate by the Presiding Officer and the consolidated statement of the results of the count furnished by the Presiding Officer, as required under Form XVI. The PTI Candidate promptly moved Returned Candidate for recounting of votes on 14.05.2013.
- 3. That respondent No. 1 dismissed the application of the PTI Candidate vide order dated 16.05.2013. (The copy of the application along with the order of Returned Candidate is placed as **Annex-AS**)

#### Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. PS-89 (Karachi)

- 1. That the Petitioner filed complaint dated 15.05.2013 to provisional election commissioner Sindh Karachi, narrating the apparent and grave facts of rigging of elections of PS-89, Karachi, West-1. (copy of the Complaint dt.15.52013. is appended herewith and marked as **Annex AT**)
- 2. That the PTI Candidate further filed a complaint with Election Commission of Pakistan on 18.05.2013 for recounting of votes in PS-89, Karachi, after Matching/verifying the votes with the finger prints of the voters on the ballot books in order to identify Fake votes and rigging of Election 2013 in PS-89, Karachi West-1. (copy of the complaint dt.18.05.2013 to Election Commission of Pakistan is annexed and marked as **Annex**–**AU**)
- 3. That by order dated 24.05.2013, the Sindh High Court ruled that the taking over of polling stations by rival candidate are disputed which cannot be decided in constitutional Jurisdiction, and in such case the PTI Candidate has been allowed to seek remedy before the Election Commission of Pakistan. (Copy of the memo of Petition in CP.No/D-2283/13 along with its annexure, order dated 24.05.2013. passed hereon are appended herewith and marked as **Annex AV** and **AW** respectively).
- 4. That the PTI Candidate or his polling agents was entitled to notice in writing by the learned returning Officer of PS-89, Karachi-West-1, before the consolidation of

results of PS-89, Karachi-West-1, but on the back of the PTI Candidate and without the PTI Candidate's presence and knowledge the result of PS-89, Karachi, West-1, have been consolidated by the learned Retuning Officer with the Name of Candidate of PML (N) Officer with the name of candidate of PML (N) namely Humayun Muhammad Khan placed last in the list of candidates and on a separate sheet to manipulate the election result of PS-89, Karachi, West-1. (Photocopy of the Consolidated result by the Retuning Officer of PS-89, Karachi, West-1, is appended and marked as **Annex AX**).

5. That the Retuning Officer violated Section 39 of the Representation of the People Act, by failing to give the PTI Candidate date, time and place for the consolidation of the results of PS-89, Karachi, West-1.

# Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. NA-09 (Mardan)

- 1. That on May 12, 2013 the result was changed surprisingly and Amir Haider Khan Hoti was declared as winner/returned candidate on Geo News at about 2:00pm.
- 2. That the PTI Candidate along with other candidates of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf had made an application to Chief Election Commissioner about pre polled rigging but in vain.

# Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. PP-115 (Gujrat)

- 1. That five applications were submitted to the Returning Officer (R.O) regarding recounting of the votes which were received in R.O office on 12.05.2013 but the said R.O didn't respond despite the fact that the said applications were received by him.
- 2. That the PTI Candidate also submitted an application before R.O on dated 15.07.2013 for production of the relevant documents in light of the directions of Honorable Election Commission of Pakistan vide notification dated 11.06.2013 but the R.O, again, failed to perform his functions which were assigned to him under the Law, by making lame excuses. (Application is annexed in earlier reference to this case).

#### Case example: Post Poll Rigging in Constituency No. NA-256 (Karachi)

The PTI Candidate moved application to ECP on 15-5-13 with the prayer to allow the examination of original documents but the ECP dismissed the application on technical ground. The discrimination against the PTI Candidate was that ECP entertained the applications of the same nature of other candidates. (Copy of applications attached in earlier reference to same case)

## CHAPTER FOUR

# Electoral system, Laws and Electoral Corruption

Major laws for the conduct of elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies in Pakistan are to be found in the Representation of the People Act, 1976 and the Representation of the People (Conduct of Election) Rules, 1977. The Representation of the People Act, 1976 is the most important and comprehensive code which provides laws and procedures for the whole election process from the holding of elections to the methodology for the resolution of disputes.

In addition, what is relevant here in the context of elections is the judgment of the Supreme Court of Pakistan in the Worker's Party case reported as *PLD 2012 SC 681* in which the Supreme Court gave some cogent observations. The relevant portion of the above mentioned judgment is reproduced here:

- "81. In pursuance of the above, we hold and direct as under
  - (a) All the election laws be strictly implemented by the Election Commission in the discharge of its constitutional mandate under Article 218(3) of the Constitution, Representation of the People Act and other laws/rules;
  - (b) The Election Commission is empowered to check not just illegal actions relating to the election (violating the limits set for campaign finance, etc.) or corrupt practices (bribery, etc.), but is also empowered to review all election activities, including Jalsas, Jaloos, use of loudspeakers, etc. for their effects on the standards of 'fairness, justness and honesty' that elections are expected to meet. The Election Commission is also empowered to take pre-emptive measures to ensure that the spirit of democracy and 'fairness, justness and honesty' of elections is fully observed. The Election Commission is, therefore, directed to take all necessary steps to ensure the same;
  - (c) The Election Commission must undertake monitoring of the election expenses from the day the holding of election is notified. A candidate must account for all the expenses immediately after the election is over. The Declaration Form should include the following further declarations: -

    - (ii) All election expenditure shall be made out of the money already deposited in the aforesaid account.
    - (iii) No transaction towards the election expenses shall be made through an account other than the above account. [Copy of bank statement will be annexed with the Return.];
  - (d) The Election Commission must hold meetings with the candidates and apprise them of the relevant laws/rules, receive from them statements of expenses on weekly basis by engaging election staff and carry out inspection at random at

- different places. All transactions relating to election expenses should be entered into with GST registered firms/persons;
- (e) To facilitate the voters, the number of polling stations may be increased appropriately throughout the country so that the polling stations are not at a distance of more than two kilometres from the place of residence of voters. In this behalf, the Election Commission may take into consideration the suggestions made at the bar, including the provision of official transport to the voters, but in no case, shall it allow the candidates to hire/use private transport on Election Day. Where arrangement for transport is made by the Election Commission, the routes of such transport should be widely advertised in the print and electronic media for information of the general public;
- (f) As regards the handing over of Perchis to the voters at election camps, the Election Commission must take steps to provide the requisite information to the voters by other means as discussed hereinabove. Therefore, to ensure strict compliance with section 84 of Representation of the People Act, 1976 in letter and in spirit, establishing of camps near the polling stations should be banned forthwith. The Election Commission may manage to dispatch extracts from the voters' list in the name of one or more persons living in a house at least 7 days before the polling day by post, or to save the postage by annexing such extracts with any of the utility bill;
- (g) Only such election campaign activities ought to be permitted, which on the one hand fulfill the purpose of the election campaign, and on the other are within the reach of the common man. The petitioners have recommended certain activities, namely, door-to-door campaign, manifesto, canvassing on State television and radio, and candidate voter interaction/debates, etc. ROPA and other relevant laws have held these activities to be permissible in the eyes of the law. These, therefore, ought to be encouraged by Election Commission on the basis of their merit;
- (h) To ensure fair and transparent election, if need be, instead of involving the employees of the Provincial Governments, the employees of Federal Government/autonomous organizations/ agencies, including the armed and paraarmed forces may be instructed to carry out stipulated functions at the polling stations;
- (i) As regards the introduction of computerized balloting, it is informed that the Election Commission has already undertaken work on it. We, therefore, expect that effective steps will be taken in this regard at an appropriate time;
- (j) To achieve the goal of fair, free, honest and just elections, accurate preparation/revision of electoral roll is immediately required to be undertaken by the Election Commission through credible and independent agencies.
  - Accordingly, we direct the Election Commission to undertake door-to-door checking of voters' lists and complete the process of updating/revision of the electoral rolls by engaging Army and the Frontier Corps to ensure transparency, if need be;
- (k) Corrective measures are required to be taken by the Election Commission to ensure that the election disputes are resolved at the earliest. The Election Commission may also consider establishing a panel of lawyers well conversant with election laws at the State expense to provide free legal services to marginalized segments of society;

- (1) The Election Commission is obliged to ensure that all elections witness a substantial participation of the electorate, therefore, all necessary steps must be taken to make voting compulsory in Pakistan as early as possible;
- (m) In the 'First Past the Post' system of election, the winning candidate does not necessarily receive an absolute majority of all votes cast, therefore, such a candidate does not command the majority of the votes polled. As such, the system of 'First Past the Post' violates the principle of majority. The Election Commission may explore ways and means to introduce appropriate system of election including 'run off election' and 'none of the above options', in the light of the discussion made hereinabove, to ensure true representation of the people and rule of the majority; and
- (n) The Election Commission is empowered to frame rules to ensure that the elections are conducted justly, fairly, honestly and in accordance with law and that corrupt practices are guarded against. There is unanimity of views on various suggested courses of action. Therefore, we direct the Election Commission to frame rules and issue instructions to provide legal sanction to these measures and implement the same to achieve the ultimate objective of fair, free, just and honest election."

The writ petition for implementation of the said judgment has been filed before The Islamabad High Court which is pending adjudication (copy of the petition is attached as Annex AX).

#### **System Rigging**

System rigging is one of the four types of election rigging. It is about encompassing all those activities that are in violation of the constitution and the laws governing the electoral process. A political system stands rigged when a government abrogates or suspends the constitutional framework, subordinates the judiciary to its whims, bans or restrains the political parties etc. The strategies of system rigging differ in some respects but yet they reveal some common characteristics. <sup>16</sup>

The Election Commission of Pakistan plays a vital role in the whole electoral process and is one of the main foundations of this aspect of the democratic setup. Thus, it would be relevant to mention here the nature of duties, powers and functions of Election Commission of Pakistan to understand how general elections were rigged systematically. The functions of the Chief Election Commissioner as the Chairman of the Commission is provided in Chapter 1 part VIII of the Constitution as follows:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "Electoral malpractices during the 2008 elections in Pakistan" (Oxford), op cit.

#### "DUTIES, POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER

- (1) To prepare electoral rolls for elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies and revising such rolls annually. [Article 219 (a)];
- (2) To organize and conduct election to the Senate and fill casual vacancies in a House or a Provincial Assembly [Article 219(b) of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973];
- (3) To appoint Election Tribunals. [Article 219 (c)];
- (4) To decide cases of disqualification of members of Parliament and Provincial Assemblies under Article 63(2) and Article 63A of the Constitution on receipt of reference from the Chairman or the Speaker or Head of the political party, as the case may be;
- (5) To hold and conduct election to the office of the President as per Second Schedule to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [Article 41 (3)];
- (6) To hold Referendum as and when ordered by the President. [Article 48 (6)];

To make rules providing for the appointment of officers and servants to be employed in connection with the functions of the Chief Election Commissioner or an Election Commission and for their terms and conditions of employment. Under this power, the Honorable Chief Election Commissioner framed the Election Commission (Officers & Servants) Rules, 1989. [Article 221];

#### DUTIES, POWERS AND POWERS OF THE ELECTION COMMISSION

The Election Commission is charged with the duty to 'organize' and 'conduct the election'. The Election Commission is responsible not only for conducting the election itself, but also for making all necessary arrangements for the said purpose, prior to the Election Day.

The Election Commission may also exercise its powers in anticipation of an ill that may have the effect of rendering the election unfair. In the case filed by Syed Qaim Ali Shah Jellani (PLD 1991 Jour. 41) the Elections Commission exercised its powers under Article 218(3) pre-emotively, by making all necessary arrangements to ensure that a certain class of people would be allowed to vote. This case implies that where a violation of the standards mentioned in Article 218(3) has not as yet taken place, the Election Commission is legally empowered under Article 218(3) to exercise its powers pre-emptively in order to avoid a violation of these standards. Furthermore, Mst. Qamar Sultana v. Public at Large (1989 MLD 360) and In Re: Complaint of Malpractices in Constituency No. NA-57, Sargodha-V both reinforce the argument that the Election Commission is fully empowered by Article 218(3) to make 'such orders as may in its opinion be necessary for ensuring that the election is fair, honest etc'.

These decisions recognize that the Election Commission enjoys broad powers not only to take pre-emptive action but also to pass any and all orders necessary to ensure that the standards of 'honesty, justness and fairness' mentioned in Article 218(3) are met.<sup>17</sup> There is no argument with the proposition that the Election Commission stands as an independent and fully empowered constitutional body, and the 18th and 20th Constitutional Amendments, have substantially enhanced the degree of independence and the scope of powers enjoyed by the Election Commission.<sup>18</sup>

So there is therefore no reason not to believe that without some complicity, tacit or otherwise by the ECP, election rigging in the 11 May 2013 Election could not have taken place and been condoned – directly or indirectly.

#### System rigging in General Election 2013

The ECP with its extensive Constitutional powers fail to improve the electoral system by implementing some critical SC directions in the Workers Party Case, related to the *Electoral System i.e. Compulsory Voting, replacement of First-Past-The Post (FPTP) system etc* were not considered which shows mala fide intent on the part of Election Commission.

Even more critical, the total lack of responsiveness on the part of the Chief Election Commissioner himself as well as the ECP as a whole to complaints both on election day and post the voting result tabulations and result declarations. The CEC and the ECP both failed in their Constitutional duty to hold fair, free and transparent polls and the ECP continues to drag its feet on complaints filed before it, especially for thumb verification from NADRA. The election system's rules and regulations rest on the ECP performing its Constitutional role and that is where the 11 May 2013 Election began falling apart in terms of credibility.

Worker's Party Case. PLD 2012 SC 681

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

#### Conclusion

This White Paper gives an overview of the different types of rigging that dominated the 11 May 2013 General Election. This is not for the first time that rigging has been alleged in elections in Pakistan. However what is different this time is that the public at large recorded the rigging in their different constituencies and demanded to know why they were "robbed" of their votes after these had been cast. Public protest was spontaneous leaving the political parties, including the aggrieved ones like PTI, far behind.

Voters were disenfranchised through incomplete/improper voter lists despite the technology relating to such data being present with NADRA and ECP. The usual rigging practice of last minute polling station location alterations and changes in the polling staff continued to hold sway in this General Election, despite the façade of Caretaker governments in place at provincial and federal levels. In fact the Caretaker façade provided a cover for all manner of pre-poll rigging by the outgoing political governments.

The widespread refusal by ROs to give out official forms XIV, XV, XVI were another major factor aiding rigging and erroneous declaration of results.

PTI's faith in the "independence" of the ECP and the reputation and credibility of the CEC was exposed as being overrated since the ECP failed to assert its independence and to date continues to undermine the credibility of the elections by delaying decisions on petitions, especially relating to demands for thumbprint verifications from NADRA.

In fact, this whole issue of thumbprint verification by NADRA has become mired in controversy because it is being said in various quarters that the ballot papers and special ink which would have made the verification possible has in fact deliberately not been used by the ECP. With no proper clarification coming from the ECP itself but with NADRA stating repeatedly that they have the now-enhanced capacity to verify results effectively, it seems the ECP is admitting it has blundered or deliberately sought not to use the paper and ink required for NADRA verifications.

The PTI's faith in the judiciary being involved as administrative staff under the ECP for the purposes of conducting the elections was also misplaced. In fact, the ECP had wanted to use ROs who were not from the judiciary but during the consultations with political parties, the latter insisted on using ROs from the judiciary as all had confidence in the judiciary and expected it to conduct free and fair elections. Unfortunately it failed to deliver on this count.

The elections took place in a grave national situation especially with looming crises of the economy and terrorism. In addition, this was the first democratic transfer of power from one elected government to another, and PTI did not want to derail the democratic process. These compulsions led PTI to accept the electoral results with reservations but on no count did or will PTI accept the rigging and allow it to go unchallenged. Because PTI seeks to strengthen the institutions of the country it has chosen to exercise its right to seek redress to electoral wrongdoing by approaching the concerned institutions to seek justice to right the wrongs committed against the PTI candidates and the nation as a whole. PTI was in the forefront of the struggle for the Independence of the Judiciary and it legitimately has high expectation of Justice from it also.

By seeking to get a sampling only of thumbprint verifications from NADRA for four constituencies only (PTI Petition for thumbprint verification Annex AY), PTI is wanting to establish the veracity of its claims that massive rigging took place which helped alter the electoral results. This is not to seek to overturn the elections as a whole but to ensure that such malpractices do not occur for the future. This is essential if we are to strengthen the democratic culture in this country.

In this context PTI is also demanding an audit of all the 180 million ballot papers – their distribution, their use and misuse if any.

Since there is a negative legacy of election petitions pending even after the electoral term of a government is over, PTI is seeking an intervention by the Supreme Court to ensure disposal of petitions within 120 days as now required under the law.

For the first time in Pakistan the electorate came out in large numbers, including people who never bothered to vote in elections. This has been a major positive game changer for Pakistan in participatory democracy. For instance, in Karachi the courage of the people in not only coming out to vote, but also in defying bullying by entrenched political interests, has lifted the veil of terrorized submission and altered the political dynamics of the city.

However, if the majority of the people who came out to vote for the first time, including youth and Pakistanis living abroad who flew in especially to cast their vote, feel they were robbed of their vote, they will not come out again to vote and we will never achieve a robust democratic state with a dynamic people all committed to playing their role in sustaining and furthering democratic norms.

If it is proven beyond a shadow of doubt that there was no wrongdoing at any level, all suspicions will be dispelled; however, if any kind of wrongdoing is proven it should be dealt with through a brutal accountability, the kind which has never happened before in this country, so that a deterrent is created for the future.

While looking to the future, PTI also strongly feels that electoral reforms are essential including the move towards usage of electronic voting machines and biometric verification of voters, as well as replacement of the FPTP system - which does not reflect the true choice of the people since it requires no clear majority by the winner – with a system of Proportional Representation. There are many models around the world to choose from and perhaps the National Assembly Committee on electoral rigging could also look at the issue of electoral reforms.

This White Paper is an effort to get the necessary electoral reforms in place for the future so that rigging becomes impossible and the people do not feel their mandate has been thwarted.