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Political Shift or Electoral Drift: A Study of Winners and Runners in 1970 Elections

ABSTRACT

On December 07, 1970, first general elections were held in Pakistan. It took long 23 years that the government of Pakistan could manage to hold general elections, earlier (first phase—1947-1958) the legislative/constituent assembly was composed of members elected through an indirect election system. The electoral college during this phase was based on the members of provincial assemblies; initially elected in the elections of 1945-46 under the British and later provincial assembly elections which were held in 1951 in the Punjab and KP and after some time in Baluchistan and Sindh. Provincial elections in the East Pakistan were held in 1954. During the Ayub regime, Basic Democracies System provided electoral college for the national/constituent assembly of Pakistan. It was for the first time in the history of Pakistan that after 23 years of its inception, general elections were announced for the election of the members of national assembly under General Yahya Khan. For these elections a huge political activity was done. Political parties had chance for their election campaign for almost one year. Elections based on adult franchise, allowing political parties to run a campaign among the common people and election commission's assurances to hold free and fair elections raised hopes of people about its results and change in the regime or the ruling elite. The present paper is an effort to analyse this change to understand either the election outcome was a political shift in true sense or was only an electoral drift.

Key Words: Elections, Parliament, Political Parties, Political Shift, Winners

Introduction:

The general elections of 1970 constituted one of the most fascinating phenomena in the history of Pakistan. The people of Pakistan got a chance to elect their representatives after waiting for almost 23 years, with no pre-conditions on political activity of election campaign for participants imposed by the then Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Muhammad Agha Yahya Khan. He had taken the reigns of the government to control the deteriorating political condition of the country and holding elections to hand over the government to the representatives of the people. The whole electoral activity ended up with a crisis of forming the government and ended at the separation of East Pakistan from the West Pakistan. The remaining Pakistan was faced with many problems. The new realities were more critical. What remained of Pakistan had to be saved from further disintegration. Along with other problems, the issue of the Constitution to govern the state had to be solved. For the solution of this problem, the then government of Pakistan had two options; first, to continue with the already elected members for National Assembly from the western wing of the country; and secondly, to conduct fresh elections. The majority party and the then government reached at an agreement to formulate a government with already elected members. This assembly constituted first directly elected national assembly about which was generally considered as induction of fresh politicians. There was an impression that these MNAs were more educated than the members of previous assemblies and generally did not belong to the political families who had been ruling the country since 1947. The present paper is an effort to analyze the quantum of change in the national assembly of 1970.

General Elections of 1970

Conducting first general elections was a task that had to be done by the then Martial Law administrator, General Yahya Khan who issued a Legal Framework Order (LFO) containing all the rules and laws regarding elections.

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According to the LFO an Election Commission was constituted¹ which prepared new electoral rolls for a country with a population of about 115,000,000 (1961 census)² followed by de-limitation of constituencies and fixed number of seats for the National Assembly. According to it, 162 members from the East Pakistan, and 138 members had to be elected from the West Pakistan. Seven seats for women of both the wings were also reserved. The work of Election Commission in preparing electoral rolls and of delimitation of the constituencies was well received in the country. On November 28, 1969, elections' date was announced as October 5, 1970.³

At that time, the then administration faced three primary issues; the question of one unit, the issue of one man one vote, and the relationship between centre and the provinces.⁴ Since, first two issues were connected with holding elections these were resolved as the One Unit in the western wing of the country was dissolved and was announced that every citizen who has reached the age of 21 can vote for a single chamber of National Assembly.⁵

The most disquieting feature of the 1970 elections was that the political atmosphere was marked with regionalism, and a national political party (one representing both the wings) was non-existent.⁶ Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman (Mujeeb) (Leader of Awami League) channelized the Bengali emotions to his advantage and accused the central government of apathy and neglect of the eastern wing of the country.⁷ The right wing parties had been raising slogans demanding an Islamic political system, Islamic economic system, and more precisely Islamic rule of law for the governance of the polity. The religio-political parties stressed that Islam

itself provided solutions to the problems confronted to the country and propagated that socialist programme of the PPP and that of the AL is against the teachings of Islam.⁸ Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Bhutto) (First Chairman of PPP) had selected a very limited area for his election campaign. He did not make efforts to win the support of the eastern wing of the country and concentrated on the western wing. He also initiated negative propaganda against the then government, which increased the graph of his popularity.⁹ The focal point of manifesto of Bhutto's political party was Islamic Socialism, and its slogans were bread, clothing and shelter for all. In other words, slogans of equal distribution of wealth among the people was salient feature of his election platform.¹⁰ Bhutto's main stress was on the economic change, and it accommodated Islam too by calling his programme as Islamic Socialism.

¹ *White Paper on the Crisis of East Pakistan*, (1971), p.7. Election Commission was headed by Justice Abdul Sattar, a Bengali judge of Supreme Court of Pakistan.

² G. W. Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1974), p.109. The Election Commission did the job with commendable speed and with as much care as possible to avoid any possible weakness. All possible precautions were taken and an elaborate machinery consisting of 285 registration officers, 14,121 supervisors and 45,766 enumerators were set up to carry out the gigantic task of enumerating 56,421,198 voters throughout the country.

³ Complete version of Legal Framework Order is Available in the Election Commission of Pakistan, *Report on General Elections Pakistan: 1970-71*, Vol. I (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, n.d.), pp. 3-15. See Also *White Paper on the Crisis of East Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, August 5, 1971), pp.12-13 and Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 385-87 & 421-22.

⁴ Hasan Zaheer, *The Separation of East Pakistan: The Rise and Realization of Bengali Muslim Nationalism* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.117.

⁵ *White Paper on the Crisis of East Pakistan*. p.15.

⁶ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Divided* (Lahore: Ferozsons Publishers, 1984), p87.

⁷ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan* p.85. See Also Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Washington: 2005), pp. 51-70.

⁸ Asaf Hussain, *Elite Politics in an Ideological State: The Case of Pakistan* (Dawson and Sons Ltd., 1979), p.88.

⁹ Khurshed Ahmad, "Qaumi Intikhabat Aur Jamat-i-Islami" in *Weekly Zindagi* (Lahore: March 22-28, 1971), p.38.

¹⁰ Ahmad Akbar, "Kooe Siyasat" in *Chattan* (January 11, 1971), p.10. For details of the election manifestos of political parties see appendix of the Mushtaq Ahmad's a *Politics Without Social Change* (Karachi: Space Publishers, 1971), pp.225-275.

Elections were held on December 7, 1970, under Yahya's Legal Framework Order using adult franchise and abolishing principle of parity between the two wings.¹¹ These elections were considered free and fair by the observers. The 1970 elections were a clear reflection of the public opinion particularly about economic disparity among different sectors of society.¹² The election results showed that people were no more ready to accept Islamic jargons for the solution of their problems which was proved by the performance of religio-political parties in the elections. People wanted solution of their economic and social problems for which they considered the PPP the most appropriate in the Western Wing of Pakistan while Awami League received vote of confidence from the people of the Eastern Wing of Pakistan. The major reason for the success of these parties was their election manifestoes which seemed capable of solving the problems of common people.

AL won a landslide victory in East Pakistan (160 out of 162 seats along with seats reserved for women) and a comfortable majority in the National Assembly (167 out of 313 seats). The Peoples Party became the second largest party in the National Assembly with 81 seats, won mostly from the Punjab and Sindh.¹³ The remaining 57 seats were shared by seven parties, none of which could get even ten seats in the National Assembly. According to the announcement of the Election Commission, 57% of the total enrolled voters participated in the polls. It was 60% in Sindh, 68.7% in Punjab, 57.6% in East Pakistan, 48.1% in NWFP, and 40.5% in Baluchistan.¹⁴ AL did not receive any support in West Pakistan, and all other parties were rejected by the people of East Pakistan.

Punjab swung to the left by electing the PPP and National Awami Party (Wali group) emerged as the largest single party in Balochistan, was yet another indicator showing that the voters were equally interested in social and economic changes. The right-wing parties were not expecting such a drastic defeat. The JUI and JUP captured between them only 14 seats. The Jamat-i-Islami won only 4 seats. Other ulema groups were eliminated from the scene including Markazi Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam (MJUI), and Nizam-i-Islam (NI), and Markazi Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadees Pakistan (MJAHP).¹⁵

The sweeping victory of AL and PPP had manifold reasons. Young candidates of both the parties were returned with landslide victories, while many famous political personalities of the other parties could not reach the national assembly. Their defeat, however, could not be attributed to the personal shortcomings of the candidates.¹⁶ The elections had been widely viewed as fair and free, with relatively few irregularities.¹⁷ However, the defeated parties did point out some irregularities. They alleged that the administration in the East Pakistan had been partial towards the AL.¹⁸

The general elections of 1970 ended up at a national disaster as the two winning parties could not agree upon a formulation of the government and the conflict ended up at the separation of Eastern wing of the country and

¹¹ Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, p.127.

¹² Mohammad Waseem, *The 1993 Elections in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd., 1994), p.1. See Also Mohammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Islamabad; National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, R.P. 2007), pp. 243-54.

¹³ Rounaq Jehan, *Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues* (Dacca: University Press Bangladesh, 1980), p.36. See also Craig Baxter, "Political Developments in Pakistan" in *Pakistan: Founders' Aspirations and Today's Realities* (ed.) Hafeez Malik, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). p. 132 and Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Pakistan the Garrison State: Origins, Evolution, Consequences, 1947-2011* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.171.

¹⁴ *Report on General Elections of Pakistan, 1970-71*, vol-1 (Election Commission of Pakistan), pp. 201-203 & 214-5. Also See Church World Service, *The Pakistan Election Compendium*, Vol. I (Lahore: Church World Service, 2012).

¹⁵ Hussain, *Elite Politics in an Ideological State*, p.88. See Also Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan: 1948-1979* (Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993), pp. 70-73.

¹⁶ M. Nazir Muslim, "Jamat-i-Islami Ki Nakami Kay Asbbab" in *Weekly Zindagi* (Lahore: March 1-7, 1971), pp. 35-39.

¹⁷ Norman D. Palmer, *Elections and Political Developments: The South Asian Experience* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.188.

¹⁸ Jehan, *Bangladesh Politics, Problems and Issues*, pp.32-34.

emergence of Bangladesh.¹⁹ At that time, there were two options first to form a constituent assembly with the members elected in the general elections of 1970 from the western wing of the country and the second option was to conduct fresh elections to form government.

Bhutto, who was the leader of the majority party, favoured the first option and criticized the other one. The critics of the second option argued that the economy of the country may not be able to bear the cost of fresh elections.²⁰ Keeping in view these problems, it was decided to continue with the members elected from the western wing of the country. In the present study, an effort has been made to study the quality of leadership Pakistan had after the first elections held on the basis of adult franchise. Some facts and brief political profiles of the members of the National Assembly of Pakistan are provided.

The composition of the Assembly of 1970 shows a correspondingly different outlook and approach from the previous one. It was a product of its period like the previous ones had been. During the Ayub era, the politicians were contained, and their powers were curbed through EBDO and PODO, but it proved counter-productive, as they became more aggressive, more direct, more aware, and less inhibited as a reaction to the repressive measures. "Some of the new breed is products of the very system they claim to be fighting. At the time of Elections in 1970, political game had moved to fields and factories from drawing rooms, but the irony was that some of the people were from the same class against whom they were fighting".²¹ Hardly any member of the rural elite could find much pleasure in the results of the 1970 elections. Individuals like Daultana and Sardar Shaukat could save themselves, but a majority of the rural elite was badly beaten. The list of the fallen "Old Guard" included the names of many who were prominent in the fifties, while the names of winners were often unfamiliar to those who listened to the continual outpouring of the election data.²²

There exist many different views about the change in the leadership; many people believed this election brought very significant changes in the political arena. How far this statement is correct can be assessed through a detailed study of the previous role of the successful members of the National Assembly in the politics of the country.

Throughout the country, the 'Old Guard' was rejected by the voters as part of an effort to give birth to a younger and a more vigorous leadership. People of West Pakistan perceived that Bhutto possessed the requisite qualities for reaching the highest pinnacle of national leadership. They rejected many claimants for their trusteeship, including those who had worked under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam. The voters had primarily the top leadership in mind and did not hesitate to vote for unfamiliar persons who had no political background and were raw in the field. The *choudhuries*, the peers, the *molvies* and the cast and sect attachments, which influenced the voters in the previous years, could not play a key role in the results of the elections of 1970.²³

None of the women could reach the floor of the House through the process of direct elections as none of the political parties gave tickets to them. Six seats were reserved for women in the national assembly which had to be filled through indirect elections. These six women represented all parts of the country. Four of them were from the PPP, one was affiliated with the PML(Q), and one was from the NAP. Two of the women members were housewives, one was a doctor, and one came from the profession of agriculture, one was a businesswoman, and one was engaged in social work. So, if we look through the professions of these female

¹⁹ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History* (New York; Oxford University Press, RP. 2003), pp. 332-36. See Also G. W. Choudhury, *Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1974).

²⁰ Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, pp. 288-99.

²¹ Razia Bondrey, "The New Breed of Politicians; Face to Face with Three," *The Herald* (Lahore: October-1970), p.4.

²² Craig Baxter, "Pakistan Votes" in *Asian Survey* (vol. 11 No. 6, Regents of the University of California, 1971), p. 210.

²³ Hussain, *Elite Politics in an Ideological State*, p. 88.

members, we come across the fact that these came from different fields of life. However, their number was too small to represent the women of Pakistan.

All these six women members were educated, as the minimum level of education among them was matriculation. Although most of these were new to politics at the national level, politics had been in their families. Begum Nasim Jahan was the daughter of Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, and Mrs. Jennifer Jahanzeba Qazi Musa was sister-in-law of Qazi Isa. Her husband was also in politics. Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi was a doctor and a social worker.²⁴ She had no direct link with politics but had been playing her role in politics indirectly. Mrs Zahida Sultana had no strong political background, but she had been active as the editor of the quarterly, *The Inspiration*. These women actively participated in the proceedings of the National Assembly, and one of them served as its Deputy Speaker.

As for the representation of the tribal area in the Assembly, there was little change, if any, from previous Constituent Assemblies. One or two seats were won by people having no strong political background. Educational level of its representatives seemed to be low, as compared to other constituencies in other parts of the country. Four out of seven members had not even passed the matriculation examination. Only two members from the Tribal Area were graduates, and one was qualified in religious education.

Professionally, six out of seven members named Akbar Khan, Haji Saleh Khan, Naimatullah Khan Shinwari, Jahangir Khan, Muhammad Abdul Mailk and Abdul Subhan Khan were involved in agriculture and farming. The successful MNAs from tribal areas had participated in the elections as independent candidates. Many of the runner-up had affiliations with political parties. The successful MNAs had a strong political background. They had participated in the Pakistan Movement, or they had been active in the political sphere after the inception of Pakistan. Some of them had even remained MNAs or MPAs. Most of them were also Tribal heads or the tribal leaders, or they were supported by the tribal leaders. In simple words, in the tribal area the elite class won the elections without any party affiliation. Consequently, little change was evident in the representation of the tribal area in the National Assembly.

Only four seats were reserved for the representatives of Balochistan. All of them were educated and came from different professions, like one was a medical practitioner, one had devoted his life to politics, one was associated with the agricultural profession, and the last was engaged in teaching and *tableegh* (propagation of Islam). Their party affiliations were also different, as two were from the NAP, one from Pakistan Peoples Party, and one was from the Jamaat-i-Islami (Hazarvi group).

Two of the four members elected from Balochistan were landlords, and their families had been playing an important role in provincial politics. Father of one of them, Taj Muhammad Khan Jamali, had been a member of the Legislative Assembly from 1946 to 1955. Mir Ghouse Baksh Khan Bizenjo was also a landlord. Although the NAP(W) won two of the four national seats in Balochistan, the traditional leadership in Balochistan was rejected by most of the voters, for the other two members were new entrants in politics.

Eighteen seats were reserved for the members of North West Frontier Province (Presently named as Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa). The members who succeeded in the elections belonged to PML(Q), NAP, JI, PPP, JUI and JI (Hazarvi).²⁵ Members who belonged to the religious parties were mainly educated in *madrassas*, while the others had formal education. Retired General Umara Khan, who won the elections from the Mardan district, also joined the jamaat after winning his seat.²⁶ Overall, it was the success of educated politicians like Muhammad Youssuf Khattak, Muhammad Hanif Khan, Abdul Khaliq Khan and Abdul Hafeez Pirzada. They were either in the legal profession, agriculture, and some were engaged in *tableegh* (propagation of Islam).

24 Nabila Afzal, Women in Parliament (M.Phil Thesis, Department of History, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, 1996), pp. 102-109.

25 Syed Manzural Hasan, *Pakistan politics in Mirror of History* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2009), p. 162.

26 Asian Survey, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), pp.197-218.

Most of the successful members of the Qaiyum League were landlords and had a political background. They had been playing an active role in politics from the pre-partition era like, Muhammad Yusuf Khattak, Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Khan Muhammad Hanif and Jaffar Shah. Mian Gul Aurangzaib and Rahim Shah Lala were active in politics from the early 1950s. The NAP had Abdul Wali Khan, who was the son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who had played a key role in the politics of NWFP. In Balochistan Dr. Khan Sahib won over some former Muslim Leaguers to their side and thus enjoyed power in that province. In the Frontier, he attempted to reconstruct the local party structure and served as Chief Minister.²⁷ The real strength of NAP(W) lay in Peshawar, plain of the Frontier, which was the heart of the struggle of the *Khudaai Khidmatgars* during the pre-independence era.²⁸ In NWFP, Ghulam Farooque, who was also a minister in Ayub Khan's cabinet, won as a NAP(W) candidate. The only other seat won by NAP(W) was at the expense of the Hoti family in the Mardan district.²⁹

Candidates of PPP were mainly young radicals, but some of the landlords of the Punjab were also its members, while others were of a medium status. Because of giving party tickets to some landlords, Bhutto faced resistance against the socialist sections of his programme. Bhutto won three NA seats one in Sindh and two in the Punjab. He decided to retain his seat of Sindh choosing experienced politicians like Mahmood Ali Qasuri in Lahore, perhaps to offset his advantage.³⁰

In the Punjab, the traditional leadership received a real set back, winning only 9 of the 82 seats, the elite slumped to an all-time low performance. The Council Muslim League could win only seven (7) seats, although it was the second largest party in the province. Eighty members were elected from the province of the Punjab, who had their political affiliations with PPP, PML (Q), Council Muslim League, Convention Muslim League, Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan, Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, and some independents. Most of the successful members of the Punjab were affiliated with the PPP, which helped it to win a majority in the House of 144. Most of the successful members of the Punjab were highly qualified such as lawyers. One thing which distinguishes this part of the country from the others is, that in Punjab a prominent number of successful candidates was new to politics. Having no political background; they just propagated change in the political and economic scenario of Pakistan.

In the Punjab, PML (Q) brought together several important families of conservative political background, such as Noons of Sargodah, Gilanis of Multan and Hassan Mahmood of Bahawalpur.³¹ Only six members of Council Muslim League returned successful in the House of 144, and all of them were from the province of Punjab. Most of them were from political families and had served as members of National or Provincial assembly after winning elections from those constituencies because of their hold over those areas, being big landowners. Interestingly, all the successful members of the Council Muslim League were educated, and successful businessmen. A closer look at the seats won by the religious parties shows, that even if they had united in support of a single candidate for a constituency, results would have been no different. A few more seats might have been won by them, but probably not to the extent of denying the PPP a majority at the national or provincial level, especially in Sindh and Punjab.³² Six members from the religious parties were returned successful in the Punjab. Most of them were agriculturists. A substantial number of the members of these parties were educated in *Madrasahs*.³³

27 Asian Survey, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), pp.197-218. also see Charles Lindholm "Contemporary Politics in a Tribal Society: NWFP, Pakistan" in Asian Survey (vol. xix, no. 5, Regents of the University of California, 1979), pp.497-98.

28 Lindholm "Contemporary Politics in a Tribal Society: NWFP, Pakistan," p.497-98.

29 Asian Survey, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), pp.197-218.

30 Asian Survey, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), p. 210.

31 Asian Survey, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), pp.197-218.

32 Asian Survey, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), p.214.

33 Shahid Javaid Burki, *State and Society in Pakistan: 1971-77* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1980), p.30.

In 1953, when a powerful section of the landed aristocracy had been excluded from the political and economic arenas, they returned to challenge the monopoly of the urban professionals.³⁴ Malik Khuda Bux Bucha was a member of the landed aristocracy. The groups that came together under the PPP umbrella included the traditional left, which recognized persons like Faiz Ahmad Faiz (the poet-painter-publisher), Muhammad Hanif Ramay and Khurshid Hassan Meer (the lawyer-poet) as leaders; the rural left under the leadership of Sheikh Muhammad Rasheed, following the aim of ultimate collectivism of all rural property; 'socialist industrial labour' with Mirza Ibrahim and Mairaj Muhammad Khan as their main spokesman who aimed to bring control of the country's industrial wealth under the workers, with Mubashir Hassan as their principle leader who aimed at complete restructuring of both political and economic system and institutions. The traditional left, the rural socialists and the ultra left, all had their base in central Punjab, mainly in the cities of Lahore and the country around it.³⁵ At the beginning of the campaign, Bhutto was keen to have support of his old constituency, the landed aristocracy.³⁶ Ghazanfar Ali Khan of Jehlum, Feroze Khan Noon of Sargodha, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani of Bahawalpur, Mian Mumtaz Daultana of Multan, belonged to the rural society. They enjoyed support of an important middle section consisting of rural merchants, artisans and money lenders. In addition to playing a crucial economic role, these groups also served as social and political intermediaries between the landlords at the top and the cultivators at the bottom of the village hierarchy.³⁷

In the Punjab, the traditional leadership received a set back. Noted clans such as Qizilbash, Shah Jiwana (Abid Hussain), Leghari, and Mazaris, avoided party affiliation and majority of them lost the elections.³⁸ The Noons and Tiwanas of Sargodha District might more correctly be called a 'family group' as they generally work in political harmony and had numerous inter connections through marriage.³⁹ The *Noons* alone had been representing the legislative bodies continuously since 1921, with an interruption of only four years during Ayub's Martial Law, from 1958 to 1962. One or more *Tiwanas* occupied seats in Lahore, New Delhi, and London (as members of the Council of Secretary of State for India), with only brief gaps from 1934 to 1937, the Ayub's Martial Law period and from 1962 to 1965. In the elections of 1970, they were not as successful as in the past.⁴⁰ In the rural areas, Bhutto attracted some of the smaller *zamindars*, and as the campaign wore on, some of the larger *zamindars* were attracted as well, such as the *Qureshis* and the *Khakwanis* of Multan, and a branch of the *Noons* of Sargodha. "The PPP performed better in the advanced districts than it did in the intermediate areas, both for the National and the Provincial Assemblies. The Party won 92% of the National Assembly seats in the more developed districts, and only 25% in the intermediate districts. The vote for the three Muslim Leagues (Convention Muslim League, Council Muslim League, and Pakistan Muslim League (Qaiyyum group) tended to be higher in the intermediate districts".⁴¹ JUP enjoyed the support of the *Pirs* and *Mashaikh*, a section of the religious groups and some members of the landed elites.⁴² A huge number of independents contested elections, but most of them lost.

Two thirds of the MNAs were members of PPP, with most of the successful independents, who later joined the party. A very few seats went to Pakistan Muslim League (Qaiyum), Jamiaat Ulema-i-Pakistan, Jamaat-i-Islami and independents. The members of the religious parties who returned successful were mainly educated in *Madrasahs* (religious institutions), like Sahibzada Saffiullah, Maulana Abdul Haq, Maulvi Naimatullah, Maulana Ghulam Ghous Hazarvi. Most of the others had received formal education and were highly qualified,

34 Burki, *State and Society in Pakistan: 1971-77*, p.34.

35 Burki, *State and Society in Pakistan: 1971-77*, pp. 50-51.

36 Burki, *State and Society in Pakistan: 1971-77*, p.53.

37 Burki, *State and Society in Pakistan: 1971-77*, p.82.

38 Asian Survey, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), pp.197-218.

39 Lepel H. Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, vol.1 pp.28-29 & 191-223 & 247 & 341. vol.2 (New Delhi: Nirmal Publications, n.d.), p.417.

40 Craig Baxter, "The Peoples Party Vs. the Punjab "Feudalists" in Henry J. Korsen (ed.), *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), p.13.

41 Baxter, "The Peoples Party Vs. the Punjab "Feudalists," p.27.

42 Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development: 1947-1999* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.159.

like Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani Siddiqui, Mahmood Azam Farooqi and Professor Ghafoor Ahmad. Most of the members who returned successful on the ticket of PPP, were also highly educated. Many of them were lawyers by profession and were well-known in their field. The second highest number of successful members were large landowners, who had been affiliated with the profession of agriculture directly or indirectly.

In Sindh, the PPP was enjoyed support of a large number of *waderas* and *pirs*. In some cases, younger and less conservative members of the key families joined PPP. They were, nonetheless, able to draw influence from the *baradari*'s voting pattern of the past. Some of them were attracted to the dynamic Sindhi personality of Bhutto, who had attained popularity in the western wing of Pakistan.⁴³ In Karachi the situation was different, four out of five National Assembly seats in the heart of the city were won by candidates of immigrant origin belonging to the *Islam-pasand* parties, and one by an independent candidate.⁴⁴ In the Sindh Assembly only one Hindu won elections from Tharparker district, although many non-Muslims contested the elections. Karachi, with its greater immigrant population, gave greater support to the religious parties as compared to Lahore. The religious parties won four seats from Karachi although these could not manage to win even a single seat from Lahore. Bhutto moved to fill a near vacuum in Sindh politics and was able to attract large number of winning candidates to the PPP.⁴⁵

The leadership which emerged after the elections of 1970 was achievement oriented. In Sindh and Balochistan, the class character of MNAs remained more or less the same (feudal) as in the previous Assemblies.⁴⁶ Most of the successful members of these two regions belonged to political families. Most of the former MNAs from Sindh joined the PPP. 75 MNAs, including 64 from the Cabinet of former President Ayub Khan's party, and 11 from the Opposition, contested elections, but only 10 of them could win the elections. Amongst them nine (9) succeeded under the banner of the PPP, six (6) of them were from Sindh including Bhutto's cousin, and the other three were from the Punjab, which included the former Deputy Speaker, Chaudhary Fazal Elahi.⁴⁷ Only four politicians who had been put under Elected Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) could reach the National Assembly, Mumtaz Daultana of CML from Punjab, Qayyum Khan from Frontier and Maula Bux Soomro and Ali Hassan Mangi from Sindh.⁴⁸ In the National Assembly religious parties were, to some extent, eliminated from the decision-making process at the national level. The elections also removed from the political scene, most of the generation that had worked against colonial rule in the pre-partition era.⁴⁹

If we look not the election results carefully, it is clear that most of the runners-up candidates for the NA had been part of the previous governments. Although the new elected NA consisted of a huge number of young, educated and supporters of socialist agenda but most of them were young politicians from the old political families. It is true that the capitalists and the landlords could not succeed from the cities, but some of the rural elite and the families who had a monopoly over the politics of their regions succeeded in the elections. It will not be wrong to say that the change on the surface of political arena was mainly an electoral drift which could not bring any major change in the political scenario of the remaining Pakistan.

43 *Asian Survey*, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), p.214.

44 *Asian Survey*, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), p.214.

45 *Asian Survey*, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), pp.197-218.

46 Iftikhar Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970* (Lahore: South Asian Institute, 1976), p.112.

47 *Asian Survey*, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), p.217.

48 *Asian Survey*, (Vol.11 no. 6, 1971), p.217.

49 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections*, p.116.