

Elections of 1970, its Campaign and Results: A Case Study of West Pakistan

Kanwal Noreen¹, Riffat Naseer², Farhat Nasim³

¹Lecturer, Department of Pakistan Studies, National University of Modern Languages (NUML), Islamabad

²Lecturer, Department of Pakistan Studies, University of Wah, Wah Cantt.

³Lecturer, Department of Pakistan Studies, National University of Modern Languages (NUML), Islamabad

Correspondence: fnaseem@numl.edu.pk³

ABSTRACT

Aim of the Study: This research seeks to provide a detailed and analytical view of the elections of 1970s in terms of electoral campaign. It also aims to critically evaluate the party manifestos and results of smaller and larger political parties.

Methodology: This research is descriptive and analytical in nature. The data has been collected, analysed and narrated in a chronological order to conclude about the Elections of 1970 and more particularly about the electoral campaign of several left and right wing political parties. Both, primary and secondary sources including Legal Framework Order, Parties' manifestos, their electoral activities, their election strategies and campaigns, election results and parties' positions, Election Commission's Reports, clippings of the contemporary newspapers etc. have been utilized in this research.

Findings: The study led to some interesting findings. The PPP which led a rigorous election campaign in two major provinces (Punjab, Sindh) won more than 80 seats from these provinces. The CML did not succeeded in getting as many seats as expected because it was lacking strong leadership and an attractive political program. ConML also tribally lost in polls because of its negative image as Kings party during Ayub's Era. NAP as a leading left wing political party of West Pakistan based in NWFP relatively performed well in the provincial election held in NWFP. However, there was not a single political party who won majority seats from West Pakistan which ultimately led to the breakup of Pakistan.

Conclusion: The study concluded that that the PPP focused only on West Pakistan with its slogans of Socialism Other parties like JI, NAP, ConML, CML, JUP ran their campaign in both of the wings. Results showed that no Political party succeeded in securing two third majority with in the polls. A politically polarized Pakistan with a difficult task of transfer of power was waiting for the then political leaders. The postelection scenario also did not show any positive sign and Pakistan was disintegrated on 16 December, 1971.

Keywords: Elections, Manifesto, Campaigning, Voters, Political Parties, Franchise.

Article History

Received:
September 21, 2023

Revised:
December 12, 2023

Accepted:
December 20, 2023

Published:
December 30, 2023

Introduction

The election campaign was started from January 1, 1970. After that, twenty four political parties emerged on the political scene, which started their political campaign. The geographical separation of the two wings of Pakistan complicated the task of interest aggregation for the political parties. That is why the overall politics was provincialized and the leaders emerged were of a regional status (Shah, 1996). The campaign for these first general election was the longest almost a year long, from January 1970 to December 1970 (Afzal, 1998).

Methodology

This research is descriptive and analytical in nature. The data has been collected, analysed and narrated in a chronological order to conclude about the Elections of 1970 and more particularly about the electoral campaign of several left and right wing political parties. Both, primary and secondary sources including Legal Framework Order, Parties' manifestos, their electoral activities, their election strategies and campaigns, election results and parties' positions, Election Commission's Reports, clippings of the contemporary newspapers etc. have been utilized in this research.

Results & Discussion

Pakistan People's Party (PPP) Manifesto

The manifesto of PPP was issued in early 1970. The socialist vocabulary was extensively used in this document. The manifesto asked for a socialist economy and a classless society, where all the resources are in the hands of the state. The party promised that in its regime, 80 per cent of the economy would be nationalized and the remaining 20 per cent would comprise small industry and retail trade. (Syed, 1992) It criticized the capitalists and the landlords and named them as "functional superfluities" it propagated that all the wealth was the result of human labour but that labour was exploited by the landlords and capitalists. The manifesto further criticized the land reforms of the Ayub regime and alleged that the land was granted to the privileged groups which further strengthened the landlordism. The party promised that it would introduce new land reforms to protect the interests of the peasantry according to the principle of socialism. Poor peasants and tenants would not pay any land revenues (Syed, 1992) also defended the freedom of speech and expression. Moreover, it was like a plan, which had the qualities of detail and specificity. PPP's manifesto was a very comprehensive document, which addressed almost every element of social and economic life of the people. The other thing about which the manifesto talked about were children's mental development, forest and woodlands, training and diplomas for artisans; trash collection; the brain drain; revocations of civil awards; tax evasion; water rates; truth in advertising; elements of fats and protein in the Pakistani diet; comparative life expectancy statistics; poultry farms and cattle ranches etc. This document provided the dimensions of social change and certainly they were revolutionary in character. According to the manifesto, the existing system plundered the rights of the people and became rotten in its self. So the party decided to abolish the system. The manifesto also promised that it would eradicate corruption, inflation and problems of economic development in rural areas and it would also introduce new educational reforms (Hayes, 1986).

PPP's Campaign

Bhutto launched his election campaign from Karachi on January 4, 1970 in a public speech at Nishtar Park (Bhutto, 1971) He criticized Ayub Khan for his policies and discussed the principles of his party. He explained that if democracy was not against Islam then the principles of equality were also not against Islam. He also included that the economy of our country should be based upon socialism (Bhutto, 1971) Bhutto addressed the people of Rawalpindi on January 17, 1970 in Liaquat Bagh. He spoke about religion by saying, Islam is our religion. We are Muslims and we are proud of that". He said that he also worked for the cause of Islam in the Middle East (Wolpert 2007) He further explained that his party would bring socio-economic equality or *Musawat* to the people and no power on earth could stop them. He criticized

the system of capitalism and the “22 families” in Pakistan who created their monopoly over the whole wealth of the country. He also made it clear that Islamic socialism is not against Islam (Bhutto, 1971). He also took a very clear stance towards the Kashmir issue.

Moreover, the party was stuck to its slogan of, “Islam is our faith”, democracy is our polity, and socialism is our economy, and all power to people Shah, *Religion and Politics* (1972-88), p. 94. The party also used the slogan of “*Roti, Kapra, aur Makan*” (bread, clothing and shelter) for all the Pakistanis if the PPP came to power. (Bhutto, 1971)

Bhutto started using the term Islamic socialism within a few days of launching his campaign in January 1970. (Barnds, et al” 1977). The term *Musawat-i-Muhammadi* was used by Bhutto in order to get rid of the propaganda by the religious parties against his stance over socialism (Dawn, August 2, 1970). The term Islamic socialism was extensively used by Bhutto during his campaign. The religious parties severely criticized his slogan of Islamic socialism and a *fatwa* was issued by 113 *ulema* considering socialism as a curse. On the other hand, Bhutto considered Islam as similar to socialism. He often used the terms of “Socialism”, “Islamic Socialism”, “*Musawat*” (Equality). “*Islamic Musawat*” (Islamic equality), “*Musawat-i-Muhammadi*” (the egalitarianism of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (Ralph, 1977). He used all these terms to answer his opponents, who criticized his slogans of socialism and claimed that ‘Islam is in danger’. Bhutto, throughout his election campaign, mentioned that he gave more importance to Islam over socialism and he was not against Islam (Bhutto, 1971).

Bhutto, while defending his concept of socialism claimed that he was following the footsteps of the founding fathers of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan. He questioned several religious leaders who were against the creation of Pakistan. He mentioned in one of his speech at Mardan on April 30, 1970 that there was no danger to Islam as majority of the population was Muslim. He also criticized his opponents for creating propaganda against his socialist program (Bhutto, 1971).

In these elections, PPP was the youngest organization and possessed a young leadership. It had a huge youth following, who were still below the voting age. That’s why Bhutto agitated for the reduction of the ballot age to 18 from 21 which was mentioned in LFO. At the same time, Bhutto also knew that in order to get a sizeable support, the older generation must be included in his party’s fold, because they had an impact on the country’s politics. Bhutto in his home province condemned the *waderas* and the “One Unit” (Ahmad, 1971). He also condemned the fighting between the Sindhis and Muhajirs. Several diverse groups from West Pakistan were attracted toward his style of politics. Some landlords from Sind joined his party either they were progressive or consider his socialist program as merely a campaign rhetoric.

Bhutto was primarily interested in increasing support in Sind and Punjab. Therefore, he used appealing slogans in order to attract the people of these two provinces. In Punjab, he used the anti-India slogan by promising “A thousand year war with India”. He also promised that he would restore the “national honour” (Ahmad, 1971). In Sind, he focused on the economic aspect of his manifesto. He promised that if his party came in government then it will provide better economic standards and the exploitation of the lower classes would be eradicated. When he visited NWFP, he praised the valour of the *Pathans*. In Balochistan the party allocated a very small amount of resources for the campaign (Syed, 1992). Bhutto did not field any candidate in East Pakistan as he was very much aware of the popularity of AL, so he did not run any campaign in that province of the country (Syed, 1992). He knew that he could not defeat AL in a nationwide universal franchise election. Once G.W Chaudhary met Bhutto and advised him to visit East Pakistan in order to tell the people about the danger to national integrity and foreign influences. However, Bhutto preferred to spend his energies in attracting West Pakistani voter. This shows that he deliberately avoided a direct confrontation with AL before the election (Choudhury, 1974).

Convention Muslim League (ConML)

The Muslim League (ML) was the oldest party in the country. It worked for the creation of Pakistan so it enjoyed a vast popularity during the initial years after the creation of Pakistan. Later on, it faced

unpopularity because of its poor organisation and lack of interest in the public matters. It had lost its leadership because of the mutual jealousies among its leaders and the quest to gain extraordinary power in the party affairs. The party was banned in 1958, when Ayub Khan banned all other political parties (Ahmad, 1971).

Ayub Khan thought that those parties were evil for the state of Pakistan and it was better to ban them for a long time. But when the new constitution was introduced, in 1962, he realised that the legislature could not work in the absence of the political parties. He introduced the Political Party Act of 1962 and allowed political parties to be revived under that Act. During its process of revival under the said Act, the ML divided into Convention Muslim League (ConML), Council Muslim League (CML) and Qayyum Muslim League. ConML became the 'King's Party' and Ayub Khan became its president (Ahmad, 1971). Its manifesto mentioned that the centre would have five subjects namely foreign affair, currency, inter-wing communication, foreign trade, and central taxation. Pakistan would be an ideological state with as a *sine qua non*, Navel headquarter would be shifted to East Pakistan and the establishment of headquarters of Deputy Commander of Chief of Land and Air force in East Pakistan. The party also promised for the nationalization of the cotton, jute, tobacco and sugarcane; representation in services on the basis of population: free education up to secondary level; and independent foreign policy (Ahmad, 1971).

The party criticized AL's Six Points and declared its slogan of "*Joi Bangla*" as a conspiracy to undo Pakistan. For the national assembly, it put up 31 candidates from West Pakistan (24 from Punjab, 6 from Sind, 1 from NWFP) and 93 from East Pakistan. For the provincial assemblies, it put up 208 candidates for East Pakistan, 50 for Punjab, 9 for Sind and 7 for NWFP (Afzal, 1998).

Council Muslim League (CML)

Council Muslim League was one of the leading opposition parties during the Ayub regime. Mian Mumtaz Daultana revived the party in 1962 as he did not join the ConML (Ahmad, 1971). It worked with the National Democratic Front in order to remove Ayub Khan's dictatorial rule. It faced severe setbacks during the Ayub regime, but at the same time, it also possessed the potential to enlarge its political base (Afzal, 1998). It had an East Pakistan branch and Abdul Qasim Khan was its General Secretary (Afzal, 1998). Mumtaz Daultana successfully managed to sustain its independent character and did not merge it with the other parties of West or East Pakistan (Ahmad, 1971). Even he was against the efforts for the merger of the three Muslim Leagues (Dawn, 1970). He was aware of the injustices done to East Pakistan and considered it as a national issue and not a provincial one (Ahmad, 1971).

The Party issued its manifesto in October 1970. It supported a weak centre with sufficient provincial autonomy; no law against the teachings of Quran and Sunnah; nationalization of banks and insurance companies; free health and educational facilities for the citizens of Pakistan. It also called for removal of economic disparity between the two wings; Navel Headquarters to be shifted to East Pakistan; equal opportunities for women; introduction of Urdu and Bengali as a medium of instruction; and non-aligned and independent foreign policy (Ahmad, 1971). The CML was originally a Punjab based party. In Sind, it was relying on Ayub Khoro. In East Pakistan, it did not enjoy the support of the local leaders. Moreover, Daultana had not any popularity in East Pakistan (Ahmad, 1971). In NWFP and Baluchistan, it barely existed (Khan, 2000). It put up 69 candidates for National Assembly including 50 from Punjab; 12 from Sind; 5 from NWFP; 2 from Baluchistan and 50 from East Pakistan. It also nominated 110 candidates for the Punjab Assembly; 116 for the East Pakistan Assembly; 14 for NWFP and 10 for Baluchistan Assembly (Afzal, 1998).

Qayyum Muslim League

Qayyum Khan formed the Quaid-i-Azam Muslim League on March 19, 1969. He considered it as a genuine Muslim League, which was once led by the founder of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Qayyum Khan was a well-known and experienced politician. He served as Chief Minister of NWFP (1947-53), minister in Bogra cabinet and as the president of Muslim League (Afzal, 1998). During

his tenure as a Chief Minister of NWFP, he used several kinds of repressive measures to demolish the existence of his oppositional parties, most prominently against the Khudai Khidmatgars (Afzal, 1998). QML was opposed to both the ConML and CML. But the Aslam Jiwana group of the ConML was merged into the Qayyum League (Ahmad, 1971). During his election campaign, Qayyum severely criticized AL's Six Point and considered it as a programme of succession. He also criticized the West Pakistani party leaders like G.M Sayed, Wali Khan, Daultana, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai etc., for their demand of Provincial autonomy with weak centre (*Jang*, February 18, 1970).

He also criticized the socialist programme introduced by Bhutto and called him as "Zulfikar Lenin" and "Zulfikar Marx" because of his socialist ideas (Afzal, 1998). The party put up 133 candidates for the national assembly seats(68 were from West Pakistan and 65 were from East Pakistan). Its 128 candidates were contesting for the East Pakistan provincial assembly, 77 for Punjab, 34 for Sind, 39 for NWFP, and 14 for the Baluchistan assembly (Afzal, 1998).

Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP)

Four political parties merged and formed a new party called as the Pakistan Democratic Party. The names of these four parties were: the Nizam-e-Islam Party, the NDF of Nurul Amin and the Justice Party (Ahmad, 1978). According to the leaders of the party, if a new assembly was elected in that intense political environment then it would be dangerous for the integrity of the country (*Pakistan Observer*, 26 October 1969).

The party was in favour of the revival of the 1956 Constitution, a centre with the subjects of finance, defence, foreign affairs, currency and inter-wing trade and communications. The party was also in favour of the removal of regional disparity between East and West Pakistan (Afzal, 1998). The party also promised that free and compulsory education would be provided up to middle standard, full employment and necessary facilities will be given to the citizens of Pakistan. The party was aware of the problems of East Pakistan so it promised in its manifesto that equal representation in the services will be given to the East Pakistani people, a permanent bench of Supreme Court would be established in Dacca and, within 10 years, the regional disparity will be removed (Ahmad, 1971).

The party was much critical of AL's Six Points and it also criticized the socialist programme of PPP in West Pakistan. It launched a vigorous electoral campaign but failed to attract the masses. It put up 78 candidates from East Pakistan and 27 from West Pakistan for the national assembly. For provincial assemblies, it put up 144 candidates for East Pakistan, 52 for Punjab, 18 for Sind, and 4 for NWFP (Afzal, 1998).

Jami'at al-Ulema-i Islam Pakistan (JUP)

Jami'at al-Ulema-i Islam Pakistan was basically a religious organization affiliated with Brelvi school of thought. Since 1948 the party demanded for the implementation of Islamic Sharia in Pakistan.

The Party announced its manifesto in June 1970. Its manifesto gave an outline of an Islamic society in which, praying five times a day was necessary for even the higher officials of the government, separate department of internal and external preaching should be organized. The manifesto further stated that the JUP will repeal all the Laws which are against the values of Quran and Sharia (Mujeeb Ahmad, 1993). The party was against the socialist agenda of Z.A Bhutto. It did not have experienced leaders in its fold, and due to insufficient sources it was not able to launch a vigorous electoral campaign (Afzal, 1998). An effort was made to make an alliance of the rightist parties consisting of MJUI, JI, PDP and JUI, but the efforts were failed (*The Pakistan Times*, May 14, 1970). The Party put up 50 candidates for the West Pakistan National Assembly and not a single candidate for the East Pakistan National Assembly. On provincial level it put up 73 candidates for Punjab Assembly and 15 for Sind Assembly (Afzal, 1998).

Jami'at al' Ulama-I Islam (Hazarvi Group) [JUI (H)]

The JUI (H) was basically a West Pakistan based party which had no existence in East Pakistan. Maulana ‘Abd Allah Darkhwasti was its all Pakistan President (Afzal, 1998). The party was much critical towards the JIP and its president because of their writings on Islamic History. On the other hand, the party had close relations with PPP. These relations were strongly effected by PPP decision of giving ticket to an Ahmadi Candidate (Afzal, 1998). The JUI (H), in its manifesto, demanded for the nationalization of key industries; separation of judiciary from the executive; free education up to matriculation; repeal of the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance; withdrawal from the defence pacts and an Independent foreign policy (*Dawn*, March 9, 1970).

The JUI (H) put up 90 candidates for the National Assembly seats in West Pakistan and 15 candidates in East Pakistan. For the provincial Assemblies, it nominated 23 candidates in East Pakistan; 72 in Punjab; 23 in Sind; 35 in NWFP; and 14 in Baluchistan (Afzal, 1998).

Jama’at-i Islami Pakistan (JIP)

Jama’at-i Islami was one of the most organized religious political parties after the creation of Pakistan. The party played a strong opposition against the Ayub regime. In 1969, when the political parties were re-organizing themselves, the Jama’at organized its self in almost every city of both, East and West Pakistan (Afzal, 1998).

The JIP issued its manifesto in July 1970. It advocated autonomy for the provinces leaving federal finance, currency, defence, external and inter-province trade and communication with the centre, educational reforms, Islamization of laws, withdrawal from the military pacts of SEATO and CENTO, and the settlement of Kashmir Issue (Afzal, 1998).

In West Pakistan, the JIP launched an anti-Bhutto campaign due to his socialist ideas. In East Pakistan, it tried to persuade the masses that, first, they should identify themselves with Islam and Pakistan and not with their cultural, linguistic and provincial affiliations (Nasr, 1994).

The JIP was much critical of the AL’s Six Points and considered them as a programme for separating the country. Syed, *Religion and Politics*, p. 106. During the election campaign, the JIP workers clashed with the AL workers in East Pakistan and disrupted the meetings of each other. Same thing happened in West Pakistan between PPP workers and JIP workers (Syed, 1996). The JIP organized *Shaukat-i-Islam* conference in order to counter the leftist ideology (*Dawn*, June 1, 1970). The JIP put up 84 candidates from West Pakistan and 71 from East Pakistan for the National Assembly. At provincial assembly level, it put up 174 candidates from East Pakistan, Punjab; 80, Sind; 37, NWFP; 28 and 12 for Baluchistan (Afzal, 1998).

National Awami Party –Wali Group [NAP (W)]

The NAP was one of the leading leftist political party before the martial law of Ayub Khan. The party split into two separate political parties in 1967. Bhashani headed one and Wali Khan headed the other, which was named as NAP (Wali) (Afzal, 1998). The NAP (W) had established its branches in East Pakistan, Baluchistan, Punjab and NWFP (Ahmad, 1971).

The party presented its manifesto on September 25, 1970, in which it demanded for maximum provincial autonomy for all provinces and a centre retaining only three subjects namely defence, currency and foreign affairs (*New Times*, September 26, 1970). It advocated for the fundamental rights of the working classes, freedom of speech and freedom of press (*New Times*, September 26, 1970). In West Pakistan, the party was strong in NWFP and Baluchistan. In East Pakistan it tried to forge an alliance with the AL but failed to do so because the AL was not interested in any of such a deal (*Pakistan Observers*, February 25, 1970).

The NAP (W) put up 16 candidates from NWFP, 6 from Sind, 3 from Baluchistan and 39 from East Pakistan for the National Assembly. At provincial level it put up 107, 4, 6, 38, 13 candidates for East Pakistan, Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan respectively (Ahmad, 1971).

Other Parties

In East Pakistan, AL was the most popular political party. Mujib was the central figure of this party. In 1966, he presented his Six Points programme (Ahmad, 1971). Later on, Mujib's Six Points caught popularity in East Pakistan during Election campaign. He did not organize his party in West Pakistan and concentrated only on East Pakistan, where he campaigned on his Six Points (Ahmad, 1971). Apart from that, there were several minor political parties contesting the 1970 election. They put up a very small number of candidates for election. Some of them were minority parties, others were regional and linguistic based parties. Among them, there were the Masihi League, Jatiya Gonatantari Dal, Krishak Sramic Party (KSP), Sind United Front (SUF), Sind-Karachi Muhajir- Punjabi- Pathan Mutahidda Mahaz (SKMPPMM), and Bahawalpur United Front (BUF) (Ahmad, 1971).

Election Results

The elections were held on December 7, 1970 and considered as the free and fair in the history of Pakistan (Choudhury, 1974). The results of West Pakistan were quite surprising, as the most established rightist and orthodox political parties faced a complete defeat. The newest political party of Bhutto, the PPP emerged as the leading seats' winner in West Pakistan. The result of this election represented Pakistan as a politically split country and the phenomenon of regional polarization became more evident (Choudhury, 1974). In East Pakistan, the AL emerged as a leading political force by winning 160 out of 162 seats of the national assembly. It secured 74.9 per cent of votes polled for national assembly in East Pakistan. But on contrary, it did not win a single seat of national assembly from West Pakistan (Choudhury, 1974).

In the same way, the PPP won 81 out of 138 seats in West Pakistan. In East Pakistan it did not set up a single candidate. The remaining 57 seats were shared by seven political parties and 15 independent candidates. Even the other West Pakistan based political parties failed to win a single seat from East Pakistan (Choudhury, 1974).

The numbers of seats won by different political parties for the National Assembly are given below:

Table 1: *Pakistan National Assembly Elections Results of 1970*

Party	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan	West Pakistan	East Pakistan	Total
AL	---	---	---	---	---	160	160
PPP	62	18	1	---	---	---	81
PML (Q)	1	1	7	---	9	---	9
CML	7	---	---	---	7	---	7
JUI (H)	---	---	6	1	7	---	7
MJUI	4	3	---	---	7	---	7
NAP(W)	---	---	3	3	6	---	6
JI	1	2	1	---	4	---	4
ConML	2	---	---	---	2	---	2
PDP	---	---	---	---	---	1	1
Ind	5	3	7	---	15	1	16
Total	82	27	25	4	138	162	300

Source: G.W.Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: C.Hurst& Company, 1974), p. 128.

The elections for the provincial assemblies were held on December 17, 1970 (Hamid, 2007). The numbers of seats won by different political parties at provincial assembly level were as under:

Table 2: *Pakistan Provincial Assemblies Elections Results of 1970*

Party	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan	West Pakistan	East Pakistan	Total
AL	---	---	---	---	---	288	288
PPP	113	28	3	---	144	---	144
PML(Q)	6	5	10	2	23	---	24

NAP(W)	---	---	13	8	22	1	22
CML	16	4	1	---	21	---	20
JUP	4	7	---	---	11	---	11
JUI(H)	2	---	4	2	9	---	9
ConML	5	---	2	---	7	---	7
PDP	4	---	---	---	4	2	6
JI	1	1	1	---	3	1	4
Others	1	1	---	2	4	1	5
Ind	28	14	6	5	53	7	60
Total	180	60	40	20	300	300	600

Source: G.W.Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: C.Hurst& Company, 1974), p. 128.

In West Pakistan, the total number of registered voters were 2,56,23,226 and the polled votes were 1,49,23,285 which shows that a large number of voters used their right to vote. The percentage of valid votes polled in Pakistan was 59.87 percent (*Report of the General Elections 1970-71, vol. I, 1972*).

In Punjab, the PPP swept the polls by winning 113 seats out of 180, the CML won 15 seats, PML(Q) won 6 seats, the MJUI won 4 seats, the JUI(H) won 2 seats, the PML(Council) won 6 seats, the PDP won 4 seats, the JI won 1 seat and 28 seats were won by independent candidates (*Dawn*, December 19, 1970).

In Sindh, the PPP performed well by winning 28 seats out of 60, the PML (Q) won 5 seats, the CML won 4 seats, the JUP won 7 seats, the JI won 1 seat and 14 seats were won by independent candidates (*Dawn*, December 19, 1970).

In NWFP, the PPP won only 3 seats out of 40 seats: the NAP (Wali) won the majority of seats in NWFP by winning 13 seats, followed by Qayyum League which acquired 10 seats. The JUI (H) won 4 seats, the CML won 2 seats and 6 seats were won by independent candidates (*Dawn*, December 19, 1970).

In Baluchistan, the NAP won 8 seats out of 20, 2 seats won by PML (Q), 3 seats won by JUI (H), 1 seat won by Baluchistan United Front and 6 won by independent candidates (*Dawn*, December 19, 1970). President Yahya Khan congratulated Bhutto and Mujeeb for their outstanding victory in the elections. He also hoped that they would cooperate in the constitution making process (*Morning News*, December 11, 1970). Now the new elected National Assembly had to do a difficult task of framing a constitution within 120 days.

Findings

This research led to some interesting findings. The 1970s elections were happening after a long period of time and all political parties were relatively enthusiastic in participating in these elections. The PPP which led a rigorous election campaign in two major provinces (Punjab, Sindh) won more than 80 seats from these provinces. It happened because of the efforts of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who was interested in gathering support from these two provinces. It happened because the young voters were swayed by his charismatic appeal and a Leftist-Socialist program. The CML did not succeed in getting as many seats as expected because it was lacking strong leadership and an attractive political program. ConML also tribally lost in polls because of its negative image as Kings party during Ayub's Era. On the other hand, the religio-political parties were not able to grab as much public support in the polls as they were expecting. On the other hand, NAP as a leading left wing political party of West Pakistan based in NWFP relatively performed well in the provincial election held in NWFP. However, there was not a single political party who won majority seats from West Pakistan which ultimately led to the breakup of Pakistan.

Conclusion

Yahya Khan in his first announcement made it clear that he would soon transfer power to the elected representatives. He announced elections to be held in 1970. All the political parties enthusiastically started their election campaign. The PPP focused only on West Pakistan with its slogans of Socialism and

it did not ran any campaign in the eastern Wing. Other parties like JI, NAP, ConML, CML, JUP ran their campaign in both of the wings. These elections are termed as the freest and fair elections till the recent times. However, the Results showed that no Political party succeeded in securing two third majority with in the polls. A politically polarized Pakistan with a difficult task of transfer of Power was waiting for the then political leaders. The postelection scenario also did not show any positive sign and Pakistan was disintegrated on 16 December, 1971.

Acknowledgements

None.

Conflict of Interest


Authors declared NO conflict of interest.

Funding Source

The authors received NO funding to conduct this study.

ORCID iDs

Kanwal Noreen ¹  <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-4380-8026>

Riffat Naseer ²  <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-2789-0373>

Farhat Nasim ³  <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-4875-2076>

References

- Afzal, M, Rafique (1998), *Political Parties in Pakistan 1969-1971, Vol. III* .Islamabad: NIHCR.
- Ahmad, Mujeeb (1993), *Jam'iyat Ulema-i-Pakistan 1948-1979* ,Islamabad: NIHCR.
- Ahmad, Mushtaq ,(1971), *Politics without Social Change* ,Karachi: Space Publishers.
- Barnds, William J,et al", (1977), *Pakistan: A Long View* New York: Duke University Press.
- Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali,(1971), *Marching Towards Democracy; A Collection of Articles, Statements and Speeches 1970-1971* , ed. Hamid Jalal and Khalid Hasan (Lahore: Pakistan Publications.
- Choudhury, G.W, (1974), *The Last Days of United Pakistan* ,London: Hurst Company, 1974.
- Dawn*, August 2, 1970.
- Dawn*, December 19, 1970.
- Dawn*, June 1, 1970.
- Dawn*, March 9, 1970.
- Jang*, February 18, 1970.
- Khan, Hamid,(2007) *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* ,Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, Roedad ,(2000), *The American Papers: Secret and Confidential India-Pakistan Bangladesh Documents 1965-1973* ,Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Louis D, Hayes,(1986), *The Struggle for Legitimacy in Pakistan* .Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Morning News, December 11, 1970.

Nasr., Reza, S.W. (1994). *The Vanguard of Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at –i Islami of Pakistan*.

New Times, September 26, 1970.

Pakistan Observer, 26 October 1969.

Pakistan Observers, February 25, 1970.

Report of the General Elections 1970-71, vol. I , (1972), Karachi: Government of Pakistan.

Shah, Syed Mujawar Hussain (1996). *Religion and Politics in Pakistan* (1972-88). Islamabad: NIHCR .

Syed, Anwar H. (1992). *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto* .London: Macmillan Press.

Wolpert, Stanley (2007). *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan; His Life and Times* .Karachi: Oxford University Press.