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Landed Aristocracy and the General Elections 1970

Mazhar Abbas*

Abstract

What role had the landed aristocracy played in the general elections of 1970? With an objective of finding the role of landed aristocracy from party manifesto to oath taking in the National Assembly, this study addresses the above-mentioned question through an historical analysis of both primary and secondary data. This study reveals that notwithstanding the trust that international observer community placed in the elections of 1970, the major power players turned them into a controversial political enterprise. Unlike his predecessor, General Yahya Khan did not ban political parties in the General Elections, 1970. There were twenty four (24) major political parties at that time which drew their leadership from landed aristocrat class of the country. The election results revealed that more than 30 percent of the legislators of all the previous National Assemblies of Pakistan (1956, 1962, and 1966) and 35.41 percent of the Members of National Assembly (MNAs) after 1970 elections were landed aristocrats especially from the Punjab and Sindh. This class influenced the activities of political parties as well as national political life.

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Introduction

Pakistan is one of those countries, which have been under the influence of landed aristocracy. Landed aristocrats¹ especially from Sindh and the Punjab played vital role in the creation of Pakistan. Since then, they have been able to reach the assemblies by manipulating elections and subsequent legislation and policy making in the country. Over the years, representation of these aristocrats varied in the National Assembly of Pakistan. For instance, 24 out of 72 Members of the National Assembly of Pakistan (in 1956)², 49 out of 156 Members of the National Assembly of Pakistan (in 1962)³, and 58 out of 156 Members of the National Assembly of Pakistan (in 1966)⁴, were landed aristocrats. Unlike previous elections, the results of General Elections of 1970 were not different for this particular class as they were able to ensure their representation in the National Assembly of Pakistan. According to the election results, 51⁵ out of 313 members of the National Assembly were landed aristocrats.⁶

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- 1 Different terms such as *jagirdar*, *wadero*, *sardar* [Punjabi & Sindhi: landlord, Chief, leader] etc., are used for feudal lords in Pakistan that is why the term 'landed aristocrat' is being used in this research work. The term 'landed aristocrat' is used for a person who holds more than 100 acres of agricultural land and has influence on the people of his area. Thus, landed aristocrat is a person who draws his power from the land which he owns and uses this absolute power on his own will.
 - 2 Iftikhar Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970* (Lahore: South Asian Institute, 1976), 23.
 - 3 Muhammad Siddique Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Dost Publications, 2002), 12-13.
 - 4 Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 12-13.
 - 5 There were more than 51 members of the National Assembly of Pakistan (1972-1977) whose occupation was agriculture as mentioned in *Who is who in National Assembly*, Published by the Government of Pakistan. However, all of them were not landed aristocrats but some of them such as Col. Habib Ahmad, Nazar Hussain Kiani, Choudhry Ghulam Rasul Tarar, Maulana Muhammad Zakir, Muhammad Bashir Ahmed, Ch. Muhammad Anwar Ali Khan, Shafat Khan Chohan, Zulfikar Ali Bajwa, Ghulam Haider Cheema Major (R), Mian Shahadat Khan Bhatti, Mian Sajid Parvez, Zafrullah Khan Choudhry, Choudhry Barkatullah, Khan Irshad Ahmed Khan, Sardar Abdul Aleem, Mian Muhammad Hassan Khan Wattoo, Noor Muhammad Sukhera, and Major (R) Abdul Nabi Kanjo were only small land owners. Thus, the number of landed aristocrats in the results of 1970 elections was 51.
 - 6 Anwar H. Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto* (London: Macmillan, 1992), 81-87. Also see Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 13-14.

The main argument of the research study is that landed aristocrats have been an important group in the previous National Assemblies of Pakistan (1956, 1962, and 1966). The founder of Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who himself was a landed aristocrat voiced and vowed to eradicate landed aristocracy. However, he allocated tickets to the landed aristocrats and got them elected to the National Assembly of Pakistan. The elections of 1970 have been taken as a case study due to the following reasons:

- These were the first general elections of Pakistan;
- Bhutto himself being a landed aristocrat voiced to get rid of landed aristocracy.

Preparations for Elections

The second Martial Law was enforced in Pakistan on March 25, 1969. General Yahya Khan, after assuming power, announced to hold the first general elections on the basis of adult franchise.⁷ He promised to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people. He clearly said, "Our aim must be to establish constructive political life in the country, so that power is transferred to the elected representatives of the people".⁸

The first general elections of Pakistan were held in 1970. According to the international election observers, the elections were free and fair. A controversy erupted over the formation of government, which resulted in chaos and unrest across the country.

Unlike President Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan did not ban political parties, when he enforced Martial Law. He prepared a comprehensive programme for the first general elections of Pakistan, which is commonly known as the

7 Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 209-10.

8 G. W. Chaudhry, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 73.

Legal Frame Work Order (LFO).⁹ Under LFO, an Election Commission was constituted.¹⁰ The Commission's first task was to decide whether to accept or reject the electoral rolls prepared during Ayub's regime. On the demand of politicians, new electoral rolls were prepared for a country with a population of about 115,000,000 (according to the Census of 1961).¹¹ The Commission started preparation of new electoral rolls on August 27, 1969, which were completed on June 15, 1970. Another task assigned to the Commission was demarcation of the electoral constituencies. The Commission also fixed the number of seats for the National Assembly. According to it, 162 members, along with 7 women members, were to be elected from the East Pakistan, and 138 members, along with 6 women members, from the West Pakistan. Seats in the National Assembly from West Pakistan were further divided as follows: 82 members, along with 3 women members, were to be elected from Punjab, 27 members, along with 1 woman from Sindh, 4 members, along with 1 woman from Balochistan, 18 members, along with 1 woman from NWFP and 7 members from the Tribal Areas.¹²

Justice Abdul Sattar, a Bengali Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, was the Chairman and two judges, one from the High Court of East Pakistan and other from the High Court of West Pakistan were members of the Election Commission.¹³

There was controversy over the acceptance of LFO among major political parties. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the President of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Sheikh Mujeebur Rehman, the President of Awami League (AL), had accepted the LFO. Mujeebur Rehman accepted it

9 Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 64. Also see Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 213

10 *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71*, vol. I (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1972), 3.

11 Chaudhry, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, 109.

12 Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 213.

13 *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71*, 3-9.

because he was sure about his success in the East Pakistan, and by winning the elections he could legitimise his six-point programme. Bhutto accepted the LFO on certain grounds. On other hand, the major army personnels were against “one man, one vote” principle, because it can give supremacy to the Bengalis in the National Assembly, and Provincial Assembly of the East Pakistan.¹⁴

From January 1, 1970, election campaign was started. About 24 political parties participated in this election.¹⁵ These political parties were divided into two main groups. First group, the rightist political parties consisted of Pakistan Muslim League Convention (PML-Con.), Council Muslim League (CML), Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum) (PML-Q), Jama'at-i-Islami (JI), Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (JUI), and Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), etc.¹⁶ The second group, the leftist political parties consisted of Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Awami League (AL), National Awami Party (Wali Khan Group) (NAP-W), and National Awami Party (Maulana Bhashani Group) (NAP-B), etc.¹⁷

14 Firstly, the president of PPP, Z.A Bhutto, felt in his public gatherings that public was not paying any considerable attention to his criticism on LFO. Secondly, most of the leaders of various political parties had not only accepted it but also warmly welcomed it. Thirdly, if he had demanded on a more comprehensive provisional constitution, then his rival parties would have propagated against him by labelling him that he did not want democratic government which could be achieved through electoral process. Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (Karachi: Vanguard Books, 1999), 193.

15 M. Rafique Afzal, *Pakistan: History & Politics 1947-1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 378.

16 The term 'Islam Pasand' was used by Pakistani press for religio-political parties. This was basically a group of religiously oriented political parties with varying degrees. There were three major religio-political parties which participated in the first general elections of Pakistan: (a) Jama'at-i-Islami (JI), (b) Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), and (c) Jamiat-i-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Hazarvi Group) (JUI -H). Iftikhar Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970* (Lahore: South Asian Institute, 1976), 41. Also see Afzal, *Pakistan: History & Politics 1947-1971*, 378.

17 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 41. Also see Afzal, *Pakistan: History & Politics 1947-1971*, 383. The major split into NAP took place in December 1967 and it was divided into two groups.

Landed Aristocrats in the Major Political Parties

Major political parties of Pakistan remained under the influence of elite class. Keeping in view the role and influence of landed aristocrats in the electoral history and politics of Pakistan, major political parties decided to allocate tickets to the landed aristocrats and influential persons, especially in the rural areas.

Council Muslim League (CML)

Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Daultana, a landed aristocrat of Vehari, was the president of CML, and Abdul Qasim of East Pakistan was its secretary-general. Yahya Bakhtiar and Khawaja Khairuddin were presidents of the CML West Pakistan, and East Pakistan respectively. The CML was mainly a party of upper landed aristocrats and industrial classes of Punjab and Sindh. The prominent leaders of CML were: Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan of Campbellpore (now Attok), Hamid Nasir Chattha of Alipur, Mian Nizam al-Din Haider of Bahawalpur, Mian Muhammad Zakir Qureshi of Sargodha, Raja Lehasib Khan of Jehlum, Qazi Akbar of Hyderabad, Ghulam Muhammad Wassan of Tharparkar, and Haji Naeem al-Din Leghari of Hyderabad, etc.¹⁸ According to Iftikhar Ahmad, the principle area of strength of CML was Punjab because Daultana and Shaukat Hayat, two major landed aristocrats, were from Punjab.¹⁹

Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) (PML-Con.)

Muhammad Ayub Khan was the president of PML (Con.). Fazlul Qadir Chaudhry of East Pakistan succeeded Ayub Khan.²⁰ Malik Muhammad Qasim became its secretary-general. Muhammad Yasin Khan Wattoo was the president of West Pakistan PML (Con.), and Malik Khizer Hayat Khan was its secretary-general. Gamiruddin Pradhan

18 Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasatdanun Ki Qalabaziyan* [Urdu: The Somersaults of Politicians] (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd., 1994), 549-90.

19 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 42.

20 Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Tarikh-o-Siyasat* [Urdu: Pakistan: History and Politics] 1947-88 (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1989), 120-21.

was the president of East Pakistan PML (Con.), and Shamsul Huda was its secretary-general.

The party, however, was a representative of capitalist class along with some landed aristocrats like Mian Muhammad Yasin Wattoo of Sahiwal, Irshad Allah Tarar of Hafizabad, Sardar Khizer Hayat Khan of Jehlum, Khan Amir Abd Allah Khan Rokhri of Mianwali, Ghulam Hasan Khan Dhandla of Mianwali, Malik Allah Yar of Campbellpur, and Ayub Khuhro of Larkana, etc.²¹

Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum) (PML-Q)

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan of North-west Frontier Province (NWFP) was the president of Pakistan Muslim League (PML) in 1958, when Ayub took over. The PML was disintegrated into three segments. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan formed a new political party namely PML (Q), and became its president. Sabur Khan was its secretary-general. Makhdoomzada Hassan Mahmood became its chief organizer of the West Pakistan, and Qazi Abdul Qadir the chief organizer of the East Pakistan. A number of important Punjabi landed aristocrats having conservative political background included Diwan Ghulam Qutub al-Din of Sahiwal, Syed Alamdar Hussain Shah Gilani of Multan, Khan Aftab Khan Daha of Multan, Syed Hamid Raza Shah Gilani of Multan, Nawabzada Asghar Ali of Gujrat, and Syed Hassan Mehmood of Bahawalpur etc., joined the party. Some landed aristocrats of Sindh included Malik Mir Hazar Khan of Karachi, Syed Zulfiqar Ali Jamoot of Hyderabad, Rais Ghulam Muhammad Mari of Sanghar, Yousuf Chandio of Thatha, Abdul Sattar Pirzada of Sukkur, Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Mehar of Sukkur, Pir Syed Abbas Ali Shah of Khairpur, and Syed Ghous Ali Shah of Khairpur etc. also joined PML (Q).²² Like other factions of the Muslim League, PML (Q) also represented the interests of big landed aristocrats both in Sindh and Punjab.

21 Anjum, *Siyasatdanun Ki Qalabaziyani*, 549-90.

22 Anjum, *Siyasatdanun Ki Qalabaziyani*, 549-90.

Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP)

Nur al-Amin formed Pakistan Democratic Party, and became its president. Shaikh Nasim Hassan became its secretary-general. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, a landed aristocrat of Muzaffargarh, and Abdus Salam Khan were presidents of the West Pakistan and the East Pakistan respectively. The PDP was put together from a group of disparate elements. Choudhry Muhammad Ali, former Prime Minister, brought the bulk of his Nizam-i-Islam Party into its fold.²³ The Justice Party of Air Marshal Asghar Khan was also merged into the PDP. The party was very weak and the coordination was very poor. Some of its important leaders who were influential landed aristocrats included Syed Khawar Ali Shah of Multan, Abd al-Latif Memon of Nawabshah, Badar al-Din of Khairpur, Aziz al-Haq, and Yousuf Ali Choudhry. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan was a very influential landed aristocrat, so the party became a representative of landed aristocrats.²⁴

Pakistan People's Party (PPP)

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a landed aristocrat of Sindh, founded the PPP in late 1967, and became its president. J. A. Rahim was its secretary-general. The PPP emerged as anti-imperialist party representing a progressive force in Pakistan. Leftist intellectuals, journalists, poets, writers and students flocked towards the PPP. It also received support from the bourgeoisie, particularly from Punjab. The bourgeoisie class was in conflict with the monopolists; and it was in its interest to support an anti-imperialist party. Along with this, the PPP also won the support of landed aristocrats of Punjab and Sindh as well as members of the bureaucracy and military.²⁵ *Pirs* and influential landed aristocrats were the major supporters of PPP that included: Sadiq Hussain Qureshi of Multan, Abbas Hussain Shah Gardezi of Multan, Taj Muhammad Khan Langah of Multan, Syed Nasir Ali Shah

23 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 46.

24 Anjum, *Siyasatdanun Ki Qalabaziyān*, 549-90.

25 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 49-50.

Rizvi of Multan, Manzoor Ahmad Lund of Dera Ghazi Khan, Shaukat Hussain Mazari of Dera Ghazi Khan, Ghulam Mustafa Khar of Muzaffargarh, Ghulam Haider Cheema of Gujranwala, Shahadat Khan Bhatti of Hafizabad, Rai Hafeez Allah of Lyallpur, Pir Abd al-Qadir Shah of Khairpur, Syed Qaim Ali Shah of Khairpur, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi of Nawabshah, Hakim Ali Zardari of Nawabshah, Sardar Nur Muhammad Lund of Sukkur, Ali Hassan Mangi of Sukkur, Malik Sikandar Khan of Dadu, Abd al-Hameed Jatoi of Dadu, Pir Ghulam Rasool Shah of Tharparkar, Mir Ali Bakhsh Talpur of Tharparkar, Mahkdoom Muhammad Zaman of Hyderabad, Mahkdoom Amin Faheem of Hyderabad, Ijaz Ali Talpur of Hyderabad, and Mumtaz Bhutto of Larkana etc.²⁶

Thus, the PPP was succeeded in pulling together many diverse forces including the bourgeoisie of Punjab, landed aristocrats of Punjab and Sindh, and the disgruntled members of army and bureaucracy. Despite all this, the PPP strengthened its roots in the masses as a revolutionary party and set out to break the shackles of landed aristocracy, capitalism and all kinds of exploitation.²⁷

Issue of Land Ownership in the Manifestos of Major Political Parties

A number of major political parties raised the issue of land ownership, landed aristocracy, and *jagirdari* system in Pakistan. Along with other major issues, the issue of land ownership in the manifestos of major political parties is discussed below.

Awami League

Major issues raised by Awami League were regional autonomy of East Pakistan, included in the six-point programme of Sheikh Mujeebur Rehman. It received popular support from the peasants and workers of the East Pakistan

26 Anjum, *Siyasatdanun Ki Qalabaziyun*, 549-90.

27 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 50.

because the economic slogans such as end of economic exploitation were largely welcomed.²⁸

Nationalization of key industries including banking, insurance companies, heavy industries, foreign trade, jute trade, cotton trade, and transport etc., was part of the party manifesto. The Awami League promised to abolish *jagirdari*, *zamindari*, and *sardari* systems in the West Pakistan, as it did not exist in the East Pakistan, so a ceiling put on landholdings.²⁹ All holdings up to 25 *bighas* (8.33 acres) were to be exempted from the payment of land revenue, and the arrears of such revenue were to be written off. It also promised to redistribute the land in excess of the ceiling to landless peasants.³⁰

Pakistan People's Party

Major issues raised by the PPP were dictatorship, landed aristocracy, capitalism, freedom of press, and civil liberties. The PPP favoured socialist economy. It supported nationalization of banks, insurance companies, and key industries. It promised self-cultivation, co-operative farming, and ceiling on landholdings up to 150 acres. According to its manifesto, state land was to be given to landless peasants, and small landowners were to be exempted from the payment of land revenue.³¹

Under agrarian reforms, the manifesto of PPP, repeated the promise of its foundation documents that the party stands for the abolition of landed aristocracy. A land ceiling of 50 to 150 acres of irrigated land was to be adopted. This was clearly a compromise between Bhutto, who did not want permanently to alienate the Punjabi landed aristocrats, and the group led by Sheikh Muhammad Rasheed of Lahore,

28 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 50-51. Also see *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs*, 3-23.

29 S. G. M. Budruddin, *Election Handbook 1970* (Karachi: Publishing & Marketing Associates Ltd., 1970), 21. Also see *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs*, 3-23.

30 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 54.

31 *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs*, 215-34. Also see Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 55.

who, for the first time, got the party to accept a potential ceiling of 50 acres. Sindhi middling *zamindars* and peasants were pleased with the provision that all state land brought under irrigation or otherwise reclaimed for cultivation was to be reserved for landless peasants, or peasants holding less than the subsistence landholdings.³²

Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum)

The manifesto of the PML (Q) proposed that all heavy industries were to be taken over by the public sector. Banks and insurance companies were to be taken into legislative control. Land revenue was to be reduced on small land owners. There was to be no fixed ceiling on landholdings. State land was to be given to small land owners on installments.³³ The party promised that it would neither allow poverty, nor accumulation of wealth by a few.

Council Muslim League

The manifesto of the CML proposed economic justice, according to the spirit of Islamic egalitarianism. Banks, insurance companies, heavy industries, sources of energy, and transport were to be nationalized and brought under public control. It also proposed ceiling on landholdings up to 250 acres, and exemption of the land revenue. Income of landholdings over 200 acres was to be frozen till such time as the monthly income of the farmers reached Rs. 300.³⁴

Pakistan Muslim League (Convention)

The manifesto of PML (Con.) voiced for a society based on Islamic teachings i.e. national welfare state, reduction of land revenue in the East Pakistan, and state land to be given to landless peasants. Tenants' share was to be fixed of agricultural produce at 3/5th. Tube-well charges in the West

32 Philips E. Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 277. Also see *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs*, 215-34.

33 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 55. Also see *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs*, 179-96.

34 Budruddin, *Election Handbook 1970*, 25. Also see *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs*, 163-76.

Pakistan were to be reduced by 50 percent. It also proposed and favored ceiling on landholdings up to 250 acres.³⁵

National Awami Party (Wali Khan)

Khan Abdul Wali Khan formed a political party namely NAP (W), and became its president. Mahmudul Haq Usmani was its secretary-general. Prof. Muzaffar Ahmed and Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri were its presidents of the East Pakistan and the West Pakistan respectively. In its manifesto, the NAP (W) stood for socialist economy, new social order free of all exploitations, and equitable distribution of wealth. It proposed socialism through democracy. According to its manifesto, revolutionary reforms were to be enforced in the agricultural system of the country. It favoured ceiling on landholdings up to 50 acres per each family.³⁶

National Awami Party (Bhashani)

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani of the East Pakistan formed NAP (B), and became its president. C. R. Aslam of Lahore became its secretary-general. The NAP (B) proposed and supported reservation of seats in the National Assembly for workers and peasants. It opposed private ownership. It favoured Islamic Socialism, and a society based on equality.³⁷

Jama'at-i-Islami (JI)

Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi was *Amir* [Urdu: Leader] of the party, and Choudhury Rahmat Elahi became its secretary-general. Mian Tufail Muhammad and Prof. Ghulam Azam were *Amirs* of the West Pakistan and the East Pakistan respectively. It was a better organized party. It was the organization of the followers and disciples of Maudoodi.³⁸ The party was confined to the West Pakistan, which appealed to the middle class in larger cities, and in small towns to the refugees from India, for votes. Other than

35 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 56.

36 Mahmood, *Pakistan: Tarikh-o-Siyasat 1947-88*, 156-57.

37 Budruddin, *Election Handbook 1970*, 28.

38 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 45

Maudoodi, the principle leaders were Prof. Ghulam Azam of the East Pakistan and Mian Tufail Muhammad of Lahore. During the campaign, JI enlisted the support of Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, former governor Punjab, and General Umrao Khan, a retired military officer.³⁹

The Jama'at-i-Islami mainly focused on the abolition of *jagirdari* system, and ceiling on landholdings from 100 to 200 acres (100 *bighas* in the East Pakistan). The state land was to be sold to the landless peasants on easy installments. Land revenue was to be exempted for landholdings below subsistence level.⁴⁰ It would have a temporary ceiling on landholdings (100 to 200 acres in the West Pakistan and 100 *bighas* (33.3 acres) in the East Pakistan), and there would be no permanent ceiling. It believed in economic justice, and not in economic equality, since the latter is utopian. The Land revenue was to be exempted on land up to 10 acres in the East Pakistan, and land less than subsistence level in the West Pakistan.⁴¹

Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP)

According to the manifesto of the PDP, *jagirdari* system was to be abolished. It proposed and favoured ceiling on landholdings up to 150 acres.⁴²

Jamiat-i-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Hazarvi Group) (JUI -H)

The Deobandi School of Nationalist Muslims was the ancestors of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind in India. Majlis-i-Ahrar was another religious political party in India before partition. In 1969, the Jamiat split into two factions: (a) leftist faction, and (b) rightist faction.⁴³ The principle leader of the stronger, and the leftist faction was Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi, who tried to make an Islamic political party. It favored local

39 *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs*, 57-74.

40 Mahmood, *Pakistan: Tarikh-o-Siyasat 1947-88*, 145.

41 *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs*, 57-74. Also see Budruddin, *Election Handbook 1970*, 22.

42 Mahmood, *Pakistan: Tarikh-o-Siyasat 1947-1988*, 130.

43 Afzal, *Pakistan: History and Politics 1947-1971*, 380. Also see *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs*, 25-36.

participation in the ownership of industry and abolition of landlordism. The Hazarvi group was unique because it strongly propagated a socialist program in the name of an Islamic System. The JUI (H) opposed capitalism and landlordism through its manifesto. It promised that absentee landlordism was to be abolished. It opposed forcible acquisition of private property and nationalization of industrial establishments. The rightist faction, which was more conservative faction led by Maulana Ehteshamul Haq Thanvi. The Thanvi group, however, actively campaigned against socialism and nationalization.⁴⁴

Question of Land Ownership during the Election Campaign

The campaign lasted for almost a year and this was perhaps for the first time that the people of Pakistan experienced a sustained and continuous political activity for such a long period. The campaign in many ways revolutionized the pattern of politics in the country.

Understandably, the industrial and business circles preferred to aid JI, JUP, PDP, and the Leagues. The JI received more than Rs. 10 million for its election coffers, including its funds for the protection of the Ideology of Pakistan. The PPP did not succeed to raise funds from major indigenous contributors.

After his entry into the PPP, M. A. Qasuri was able to bring funds from business circles of Lahore. For the landed notables who wanted to join the PPP, Bhutto extracted considerable sums as the price of admission.⁴⁵ The Qureshis of Multan are said to have enriched the party coffers by as much as 4 lac rupees. The *Musawat* press began to print bond-like 'notes' which the PPP workers and fund raisers passed out to small contributors in a scheme that was called *note do, vote do* [Urdu: give money and vote]. This was particularly the case among landless cultivators, who came

44 Budruddin, *Election Handbook 1970*, 30. Also see *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs*, 25-36.

45 Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power*, 292.

to believe that a note entitled its holder to 12.5 acres if the PPP won.⁴⁶

The PPP was relatively a new party but Bhutto organized its election campaign skillfully.⁴⁷ Thus, a yearlong campaign marked with strikes, demonstrations, rallies, large public meetings and other similar forms of protests.⁴⁸ The party motto was, 'Islam is our faith, democracy is our policy, socialism is our economy, and all powers to the people.'⁴⁹ The ultimate objective of the party was the accomplishment of a classless society, which was deemed as possible only through socialism. During election campaign, the PPP propagated issues that were directly related to the middle and lower classes of the society.⁵⁰ The PPP's main concern of the election campaign was related to the West Pakistan. The main reason behind that strategy was that Bhutto was well aware of Mujeeb's popularity in the East Pakistan, so his total consideration was the West Pakistan. His party did not contest seats in the East Pakistan. In the West Pakistan, Bhutto's major focus was in Punjab and Sindh in particular, and in NWFP and Baluchistan in general. He spent eighteen to twenty hours a day in traveling, speeches, processions, and rallies despite illness and other difficulties.⁵¹ He became hero of the mass movement when he was released from prison in 1969.

However, there were some other prominent leaders as well including Daultana, Wali Khan, Nasrullah, and Qayyum, etc., Thus, he had to stand hard in becoming a popular

46 Further, the party required that applicants for tickets have to deposit in the PPP's election account (handled by Habib Bank Ltd.), the amounts: Rs. 1,000 per National Assembly seat applicant and Rs. 500 per Provincial Assembly seat applicant.

47 Afzal, *Pakistan: History & Politics 1947-1971*, 390-91.

48 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 67.

49 Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, "Pakistan People's Party: The Twin Legacies of Socialism and Dynastic Rule", in *Political Parties in South Asia*, eds. K. Mitra Subrata and M. Enskat Clemens Spies (London: Prager, 2004), 161.

50 Afzal, *Pakistan: History & Politics 1947-1971*, 390-91.

51 Rafi Raza, *Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan 1967-1977* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 27.

leader of the West Pakistan.⁵² Bhutto got election support from lawyers, students and professionals. A section of the ruling civil military and bureaucrats also supported Bhutto because they wanted a change, and were not satisfied with the existing system of the country. The PPP's motto of socialism and classless society also attracted the labour class of the society. Pakistan Labour Party of Bashir Bakhtiar, and the press workers' unions, and *tongas* and taxi drivers' unions also pledged their full support to the PPP.⁵³

The PPP used various electioneering tactics and methods during the election campaign. The first and the foremost element was direct contact with the voters, which had been practically unknown in the election experience of Pakistan. The campaign was carried out through what may be termed as intermediaries. These consisted of group leaders in various areas, families and *biradri* heads. The campaign consisted in winning over these local influential people, who would then obtain votes for their patrons.⁵⁴

Generally, the masses in Punjab perceived the PPP, not in terms of its election manifesto, but in terms of the slogans that swept the province. Most popular slogans of the PPP during election campaign were: *roti, kapra, aur makan*⁵⁵ [Urdu: bread, clothing, and housing], *zamin kashtkaron ko* [Urdu: land to the tillers].⁵⁶ The support for Bhutto was reflected in these popular slogans.⁵⁷ Leaders of the PPP from Punjab, like Sheikh Muhammad Rasheed, were

52 Ronaq Jahan, *Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues* (Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1980), 31.

53 Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 198.

54 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 68.

55 Afzal, *Pakistan: History & Politics 1947-1971*, 391.

56 Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power*, 299.

57 Bhutto *Sada Sher Hai, Baqi Her Pher Hai* (Our Bhutto is truly a lion while the others are merely devious), *Valika tha, Amrika tha, Bhutto wah, wah, wah* (Valika, the industrialist, is down, America is down, cheers for Bhutto), *Sada Bhutto Awe-i-awe* (our Bhutto is destined to come to power), and *Bhutto Jiye Hazar Sal* (may Bhutto live thousand years). Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 69. Also see Yunas Adeeb, *Quaid-e-Awam* (Lahore: Maktaba-e-Pakistan, 1972), 203-4.

consistently quoted as promising that the cultivator would own the land he tills, the worker his factory, and the renter the space he lives in. The district and local leaders took these slogans and promises to the *mandi* towns, and roadside crossings, and from where they thoroughly penetrated the countryside.

The PPP leaders and cadres promised 12 or 12.5 acres to the cultivating tenants and field laborers. A promise, found to be expressed as 100 *kanals* in a village in Pindi Gheb Tehsil (Campbellpore), one of the more remote areas of the Punjab. In parts of Sahiwal and Multan Districts, peasants adopted the slogan: *ek hath men parchhi, dusre hath men barchhi* [Urdu: in one hand the ballot, in the other the spear].⁵⁸

According to Philip E. Jones, on a field trip to a village in Pindi Gheb Tehsil, someone asked the village chairman of the PPP, "what Islamic Socialism meant?" The thrust of his answer was typical of many:⁵⁹

Islamic Socialism means that all men will get bread, clothing and housing and that there will be no tyranny. We told the people: everybody who cultivates will get 100 *kanals* of land and will be freed from any servitude or debt to any other landlord.

The PPP was sold as revolutionary socialist party that was bent upon tumbling the thrones and tossing the crowns. The people were told that every trace of landed aristocracy and capitalism were to be eliminated. Fields were to be given to the tillers, and the factories to the workers. Every exploiter was to be answerable to the people's court. In short, there was no revolutionary slogan that was not used by the PPP leaders and cadres. At the same time, the PPP's manifesto had sufficient attraction for the bourgeoisie class of the Punjab, landlords of the Punjab and Sindh, and the disgruntled members of the bureaucracy and the military.⁶⁰

58 Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power*, 299.

59 Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power*, 299.

60 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 58-59.

Across the country, political parties opened up their offices for the cause of propaganda and canvassing. One of the most important results of this large scale campaigning was that for the first time in the history of Pakistan, the rural areas of the country were brought within the sphere of politics. This included door to door campaign, person to person canvassing, street and *mohalla* [Urdu: Town] meetings, and other similar activities.⁶¹

Some religious parties criticized the socialist ideology of Bhutto and termed it as *kufir* [Urdu: infidelity].⁶² They started chanting the slogans *socialism kufir hai, Muslim millat ek ho* [Urdu: Socialism is heresy, let the Muslims remain one].⁶³ However, they remained unable to overcome the PPP's popularity as its slogan *roti, kapra, aur makan* became more popular with the passage of time.

Bhutto himself was a wealthy landed aristocrat but his stance throughout election campaign was anti-landed aristocracy. During the election campaign, he promised the people of the country that he would abolish landed aristocracy once he was in power. He used this trick successfully just to attract maximum number of voters especially in the rural areas. Formation of his political party was also based on the abolition of landed aristocracy. In spite of all this, Bhutto allocated most of the party tickets to the landed aristocrats especially in interior Sindh and South Punjab in order to secure maximum number of seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan. He was successful in convincing the landed aristocrats to join his political party. Bhutto did so because he knew that success in the elections was not possible without their support. Landed aristocrats joined the PPP because they were well aware of the growing popularity of the party and Bhutto. Both sides joined together for their own purposes and interests.

61 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 69.

62 Afzal, *Pakistan: History & Politics 1947-1971*, 381.

63 Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 197.

Election Results and the Representation of Landed Aristocrats in the National Assembly

From the summer of 1969, the Chief Election Commissioner, Justice Abdus Sattar and his two colleagues, one from the East Pakistan and other from the West Pakistan, found that there were 56,500,000 qualified electors throughout the country. More than 135,000,000 ballot papers were printed and 16,000 polling stations in the East Pakistan and 14,000 in the West Pakistan were set up.⁶⁴

Elections of the National Assembly were originally planned for October 5 but, actually were held on December 7, 1970. According to the election results of 1970, the victory of PPP was regional in character. The results authenticated polarization of the two wings. In the East Pakistan, AL captured 160 out of 160⁶⁵ directly elected seats of the National Assembly. In the West Pakistan, PPP secured 81 out of 138 seats of the National Assembly. The AL got 75.11 percent of total votes cast in the East Pakistan, but it could not win even a single seat in other four provinces of the country. It got 0.07 percent of total votes cast in the Punjab, 0.25 percent in Sindh, 0.22 percent in NWFP and 1.6 in Baluchistan (see appendix I).⁶⁶ On the other hand, PPP did not contest election in the East Pakistan. It secured 41.66 percent of total votes cast in Punjab, 44.95 percent in Sindh, 14.28 percent in NWFP and 2.38 percent in Baluchistan (see appendix I).⁶⁷ The Election results were a great setback to

64 L.F. Rushbrook William, *The East Pakistan Tragedy* (New York: Drakes Publishers, 1972), 42.

65 162 seats were allocated to the East Pakistan for the members of the National Assembly. However, in 1970, Elections were held on 160 seats instead of 162 seats in East Pakistan. Later on, by-elections were held on the remaining two seats. Thus, in the East Pakistan, AL captured 160 out of 160 directly elected seats of the National Assembly.

66 Ahmad Shuja Pasha, *Pakistan: A Political Profile 1947 to 1988* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), 240. Also see *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71*, 202-203.

67 Hasan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000), 191. Also see *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71*, 202-3.

older political parties, particularly three factions of the Muslim League, JI, and NAP (W), etc. Religious parties also gave poor performance. The JI secured 4 seats, the JUI (H) got 7 seats, and the JUP also secured only 7 seats. Some parties even did not capture a single seat such as Nizam-i-Islam Party, Khaksar, and Jama'at-i-Ahle Hadith, etc. (see appendix II).⁶⁸

Representation of the landed aristocrats had varied in the successive National Assemblies since its existence. The number and the percentage of the landed aristocrats in the first four Parliaments of 1956, 1962, 1966, and 1970 are being discussed here. But the main focus will be on the landed aristocrats from Punjab and Sindh in the fourth Parliament (1970). In the first Parliament (1956), 24 were landed aristocrats out of 72 members of the National Assembly, and their proportion was 35 percent. All the landed aristocrats in the first Parliament were from the West Pakistan and their percentage was 74 (see appendix III).⁶⁹

In 1962, out of 156 members of the National Assembly 49 were landed aristocrats and their take in the Parliament was 31.41 percent. Out of 78 members of the National Assembly from the West Pakistan 37 were landed aristocrats and their quantity was 47.44 percent. While in the case of East Pakistan, out of 78 members of the National Parliament, 12 were landed aristocrats, and their percentage in the Parliament was 15.38 percent (see appendix III).⁷⁰

In 1966, out of 156 members of the National Assembly 58 were landlords and their percentage in the Parliament was 37.18. Out of 78 Members of the National Assembly from the West Pakistan 46 were landed aristocrats and their percentage was 58.98. While in the case of East Pakistan, out of 78 members of the Parliament, 12 were landed

68 Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 81-87. Also see Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, 192.

69 Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 23.

70 Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 12-13.

aristocrats, and their percentage in the Parliament was 15.38 (see appendix III).⁷¹

According to the election results of 1970, out of 313 members of the National Assembly, 51 were landed aristocrats and their proportion was 16.29 percent. The total seats of the National Assembly from the East Pakistan were 169; and none of them was landed aristocrat whereas the total number of seats from the West Pakistan were 144, out of which, 51 were landed aristocrats, and their percentage was 35.41. The members of the National Assembly from the West Pakistan can be further divided into five parts, Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan and FATA. Out of 85 members of the National Assembly from Punjab, 28 were landed aristocrats, and their percentage in the Parliament was 32.94, while in case of Sindh, out of 28 members, 18 were landed aristocrats and their percentage in the National Assembly was 67.86.⁷²

Conclusion

The election results showed that only the Awami League and the PPP emerged as two major political parties of Pakistan. The results of 1970 made Bhutto the Quaid-i-Awam [Urdu: Leader of masses] in the West Pakistan, and Mujeeb ur Rehman the *Bangla Bando* [Bengali: Brother of Bengal] in the East Pakistan. After the AL, the PPP was the second majority party in the National Assembly. The results were contrary to the official expectations. The performance of the PPP in the first general elections of Pakistan was greater than Bhutto's dream because he was thinking that the establishment would have not allowed the PPP to emerge as a power in the Punjab.

Around 51 members of the 1970 National Assembly were landed aristocrats. They were successful in getting their due share in the assemblies. All landed aristocrats were from West Pakistan especially from Sindh and northern

71 Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 12-13.

72 Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 81-87. Also see Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 13-14.

Punjab. It proved that landed aristocrats had always influenced the politics in Pakistan.

Appendix I

PERCENTAGE OF VOTES SECURED BY VARIOUS PARTIES IN THE ELECTIONS OF 1970

Party	East Pakistan	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Total
AL	75.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	1.1	39.2
PPP	0	41.7	45.0	14.3	2.4	18.6
CML	1.6	12.7	6.8	4.1	11.0	6.0
CVML	2.8	5.1	1.8	0.6	0	3.3
QML	1.1	5.4	10.7	22.6	10.9	4.5
PDP	2.8	2.3	0.1	0.3	2.4	2.2
JUI-WP	0	5.2	4.9	25.6	20.0	4.0
JUP	0	10.0	6.9	0	0	3.9
JI	6.1	4.7	10.03	7.2	1.2	6.0
NAP(W)	2.6	0	0.4	18.5	45.2	2.4
Other	4.5	1.2	1.7	0.7	6.8	7.0
Independent	3.4	11.7	11.1	6.3	6.8	7.0
Total:	100.00	100.10	99.73	100.40	107.80	104.10

SOURCE: Ahmad Shuja Pasha, *Pakistan a Political Profile 1947 to 1988* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), 240.

Appendix II

SEATS WON IN THE ELECTIONS OF 1970 BY DIFFERENT PARTIES

Party	East Pakistan	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Total
AL	160	---	---	---	---	160
PPP	---	62	18	1	---	81
CML	---	7	---	---	---	7
CVML	---	2	---	---	---	2
QML	---	1	1	7	---	9
PDP	1	---	---	---	---	1
JUI-WP	---	---	---	6	1	7
JUP	---	4	3	---	---	7
JI	---	1	2	1	---	4
NAP(W)	---	---	---	3	3	6
Other	---	---	---	---	---	0
Independent	1	5	3	7	---	16
Total	162	82	27	25	4	300

SOURCE: Ahmad Shuja Pasha, *Pakistan a Political Profile 1947 to 1988* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), 240.

Appendix III**PROPORTION OF LANDLORDS IN THE FIRST THREE
NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS**

National Parliament	Total	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
1956	35%	74.0%	0
1962	31.41%	47.44%	15.4%
1966	37.18%	58.98%	15.4%

SOURCE: Muneer Ahmad, "Failure of Nation Building in Pakistan", *Pakistan Forum*, vol. II, no. 3 as cited in Iftikhar Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970* (Lahore: South Asian Institute, 1976), 108; Prof. Muhammad Siddique Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Dost Publications, 2002), 12-14; Anwar H. Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto* (London: Macmillan, 1992), 81-87.