



A SNAPSHOT INTO ELECTION HISTORY IN PAKISTAN

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List of Abbreviations

AKMC Azad Kashmir Muslim Conference

AL Awami League

ANP Awami National Party

APDM All Pakistan Democratic Movement

BISP Benazir Income Support Program

BNM Balochistan National Movement,

BNP-H Balochistan National Party-Hayee

BNP-M Balochistan National Party-Mengal

BUF Balochistan United Front

C-in C Commander in chief

CoAS Chief of Army Staff

FATA Federally Administered Tribal Areas

HPG Haq Parast Group

IGD Islami Gonotontri Dal

IJI Islami Jamhoori Ittehad

JIP Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan

JUI Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam

JUI-F Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam-Fazlur Rahman,

JUI-M Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam-Mahmud

JUI-S Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam Sami-ul-Haq

JUP Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan

JWP Jamhoori Watan Party



KPK Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

KT Khaksar Tehrik

LFO Legal Framework Order

MDM Muttahida Deeni Mahaz

MJAHP Markazi Jamiat-e-Ahle-Hadees Pakistan

MJUP Markazi Jamiat-ul-Ulema Pakistan

MMA Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal

MQM Muhajir Qaumi Movement

MRD Movement for the Restoration of Democracy

MWMP Majlis Wahdatul Muslemeen, Pakistan

NA the National Alliance

NAP-W National Awami Party-Wali

NDP National Democratic Party,

NFC National Finance Commission

NPP National People's Party

NRO National Reconciliation Ordinance

NWFP North West Frontier province

OGRA Oil& Gas Regulatory Authority

PAI Pakistan Awami Ittehad

PCO Provisional Constitutional Order

PDF Pakistan Democratic Front

PDP Pakistan Democratic Party,

PHP Pakistan Hindu Party

PkMAP Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party



PML-Pg Pakistan Muslim League- Pagaro Group

PML Pakistan Muslim League

PML-Cl Pakistan Muslim League-Council

PML-Cn Pakistan Muslim League-Convention

PML-F Pakistan Muslim League-Functional

PML-J Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo

PML-N Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz

PML-Q Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-i-Azam

PML-Qm Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum

PNA Pakistan National Alliance

PNP Pakistan National Party

PPIS Punjabi Pakhtoon Ittehad Sindh

PPP Pakistan People's Party

PPPP Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian

PPP-SB Pakistan Peoples Party-Shaheed Bhutto

PPP-Sh Pakistan People's Party-Sherpao

PTI Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf

QWP-Sh Qaumi Watan Party (Sherpao)

SKMPPMM Sindh-Karachi Mohajir Punjabi-Pathan Mutahida Mahaz

TI Tehrik-i-Istiqlal

UCF United Christian Front



Disclaimer

This e-booklet is prepared with utmost care, diligence and scientific methodology, nontheless, any discrepancy found in data, graphs, charts and analysis could be without intentions and biases against any political party.



Introduction

This booklet is about electoral history of Pakistan which covers all general elections from 1970 to 2013. Pakistan came into being on august 14, 1947, and under the indepedence Act of 1947, a separate constituent Assembly for pakistan was formed which comprised 69 [44 from Bengal, 17 from Punjab, 4 from Sindh, three from Khyber Pakhtunkhua (then NWFP) and one from Balochistan]members indirectly elected by the provincial assemblies of newely constituted country. The independence Act of 1947 made the existing Constituent Assemblies the dominion Legislatures. These Assemblies were to exercise all the powers that were formerly exercised by the Central Legislature in addition to the powers regarding the framing of a new Constitution, prior to which all the territories were to be governed in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935. In the first session of first constituent Assembly, on August 11, 1947 Muhammad Ali Jinnah was elected unanimously as the President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, and the National Flag was formally approved by the Assembly.

The members of constituent assembly were raised to 79 to include six members (five in Punjab and one in Sindh)reserved for refugees, four seats were reserved for states of Bahawalpur, Khairpur, the Balochistan States Union (Kalat, Makran, Lasbela and Kharan) and for the states of KPK (Dir, Chitral, Swat, and Amb). Muslim League retained overwhelming majority approaching 60 members out of total 79 members of first constituent Assembly. Governor General of India, Lord Louis Mountbatten addressed the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, when the transfer of power took place. On August 15, 1947, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was sworn in as the first Governor General of Pakistan. On October 24, 1954, the then Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dissolved first constituent assembly. The second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was created on May 28 under Governor General's Order No. 12 of 1955. The electoral college of this Assembly was the provincial Assemblies of respective Provinces. The strength of this Assembly was 80 members, half each from East & West Pakistan.

On March 5, 1956, Major General Iskander Mirza became the first elected President of Pakistan. According to the Constitution of 1956, the President was the Executive Head of the Federation and was to be elected by all the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies for period of five years. Under the Constitution of 1956, the Parliament of Pakistan was unicameral. Legislative powers vested in the Parliament, which consisted of the President and the National Assembly comprising 300 members divided in to half between East and West Pakistan. In addition to those 300 seats, five seats for women were reserved for each of the two wings for a period of ten years.

Under the new constitution, the first elections were scheduled for early 1959; however, President Iskander Mirza abrogated the constitution, dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies, and declared Martial Law on October 7, 1958. He appointed General Muhammad Ayub Khan, C-in C of the Army as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. General Ayub Khan became the second President of Pakistan on October 27, 1958. Ayub Khan introduced a system of local self-government known as



'Basic Democracies' promulgated under Basic Democracies Order on October 27, 1959. On February 14, 1960, president Ayub won referendum of assuming power of presidency by securing 95.6 percent of the votes in his favour. He framed constitution on March 1, 1962.

General elections to the National Assembly (150 general seats) under the new constitution were held on April 28, 1962, and elections to the six special seats reserved for women were held on May 29, 1962. Public did not elect these members directly but by a group of 500-550 basic democrats. The first session of the third National Assembly was held on June 8, 1962. Similarly, the second basic democracy (local bodies) elections were held in November 1964. As these basic democrats formed the Electoral College for presidency, therefore in presidential elections held on January 2, 1965, Ayub khan defeated Fatima Jinnah, who was candidate of Combined Political Parties. Further, on March 21, 1965, Muslim League (Convention) won an overwhelming majority of 126 seats to National Assembly against 13 gained by Combined Political Parties.

The third basic democracy elections were about to held when General Yahiya Khan imposed second Martial Law On March 25, 1969, and took over as the President of Pakistan and Chief Martial Law Administrator. He issued a Legal Framework Order, under which the first ever general elections were held on December 7, 1970 and the composition of the Assembly was based for the first time, consisting of 169 from East and 144 from West Pakistan.



Methodology of Data Collection

For this booklet, data is collected from different sources, counter verified, and presented in graphical representation. The bulk of the data is taken from the website of ECP (Election Commission of Pakistan). Moreover, the data is also obtained from "The Comendium" Pakistan Election compiled bν Church World Service (Pakistan/Afghanistan), and that is also verified through ECP website. Nevertheless, there are cetain data gaps identified in all sources of electoral history mainly because the data was not compiled in digital formate before 2002 elections. Some of the inconsistensies found in electoral data is mentioned here; for instance, during 1970 elections, There were allocated 2, 6, 2, and 1 seats reservd for women in provincial assemblies of Khyber pakhtunkhua, Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan respectively. However, there is no information available about political party affiliation of the women elected on such seats. Similarly, There were allocated 20 reserved seats for national assembly, and, 2, 12, 4, and 2 seats reservd for women in provincial assemblies of Khyber Pakhtunkhua, Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan respectively. However, there is no information available about political party affiliation of the women elected on such seats. In 1985, elections were held on non-party basis, therefore, there is no specific charts available for describing party position. Further, in charts and graphs, mostly the total number of seats of parties also include some of the independent candidates who duly joined the party after being elected independent.



Electoral History of General Elections (1970-2013)

There are total 11 general elections including one non-party based held in pakistan from 1970 to 2013. These elections are discussed separately in this booklet.

The 1970 Election

Background

Under the LFO (Legal Framework Order), the seats were distributed among the provinces based on their population. Similarly, the first direct general election based on 'one person, one vote' at the federal level for the National Assembly was held on December 7, 1970. However, the direct provincial elections were held ten days later on December 17, 1970. Due to floods and cyclone in coastal Bengal on November 12, elections to the nine national and 18 provincial constituencies affected by the calamity were held on January 17, 1971.

General Yahiya Khan made three important decisions in 1970 in relations to the general election.

- (1). The issuance of the Legal Framework Order on March 30, 1970, which stated that the National Assembly formed after elections, would frame the constitution within 120 days or would stand dissolved otherwise;
- (2). The dissolution of one unit of West Pakistan, and the restoration of four provinces such as Punjab, Sindh, NWFP (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan on July 1, 1970. Balochistan got the status of a full province whereas other provinces were revived. There was no change in the status of FATA that continued to be governed by the President through the Governor of NWFP (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). The LFO set forth details of the coming elections and provided for a unified election commission with five provincial election commissions.
- (3). Population was made the principle of representation, and therefore on the basis of which East Pakistan got more than half seats in the National Assembly for the first time.

The Contending Parties

In 1970 elections, the major political contenders were the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman that dominated the election campaign there in East Pakistan and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in West Pakistan. Other political parties contesting the election were National Awami Party-Wali, Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP) and 3 divisions of the Pakistan Muslim League such as PML-Council, PML-Convention, and PML-Qayyum. There were also some religious Islamic parties in the electoral fray; these were the Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan (JIP), Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam



(JUI), and Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP). Several other small parties also competed in the election in addition to independent candidates.

Election Results

The election results in ever first general elections of Pakistan during 1970, resulted into diagnostic of political polarization of Pakistan. In election results, East-West Pakistan relations and the state of economy in East Pakistan clearly reflected. In nutshell, the Pakistan seemed divided in election results. In National Assembly, there were total 300 general seats, out of which 162 seats were allocated to East Pakistan. The Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Mujeeb-ur Rehman (the major leadership belonged to East Pakistan) won 160 seats, and emerged as majority party in the National Assembly. In addition to that, Awami League also won all the seven additional seats reserved for women, and its total seats were 167 seats of 313 seats (300 general, 13 women seats). However, the other two seats lost by the Awami League in East Pakistan, were also won independent candidate and a candidate belonging to the PDP.

On the other side, Pakistan Peoples Party won the majority 85 seats out of 138 general seats allocated to West Pakistan. Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum was the second largest party that secured 10 seats including woman. Further, PML-Council secured 7 seats and the Jamaat-i-Islami got 4 seats. However, 24 seats were won by different parties such as National Awami Party (Wali Khan), the PML-Convention, JUI, whereas 16 seats were shared by independent in the provinces in West Pakistan as shown in fig 1.1.

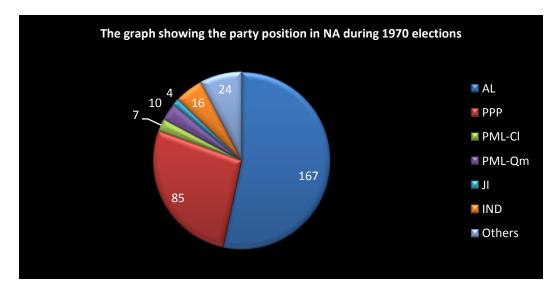


Fig1.1: The graph showing party position in NA during 1970 elections

The overall voter turnout in 1970 elections was recorded approximately 59.8 %. The provincial break-up of voter's turnout was East Pakistan: 56.9 percent; Punjab: 68.7 percent; Sindh: 60.1 percent; Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: 48.4 percent; Balochistan: 40.6 percent.



In provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then N.W.F.P), out of total 42 seats (40 general, 2 women) NAP (Wali), PML-Qayum, PML-Convention, JUI (West Pakistan), PPP, PML-Council, and JI got 12, 7, 2, 2, 2, 1, and 1 seats respectively. The figures 1.2 provide party position in provincial assembly of KPK in 1970 elections.

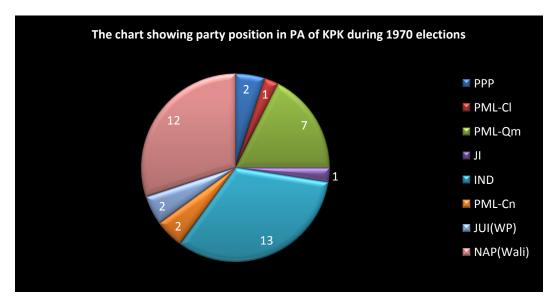


Fig 1.2: The chart shows party position in PA of KPK during 1970 elections

In the provincial Assembly of Punjab, PPP emerged as majority party with 116 seats out of total 186 seats (180 general, 6 women). Similarly, PML-CI, PML-Qm, PML-Cn, MJUP, PDP, JUI (WP), JI, MJAHP and IGD secured 17, 7, 6, 5, 4,3,1,1 and 1 seat respectively. There were 19 candidates elected independents from Punjab Assembly. Fig 1.3 provides party position in provincial assembly of Punjab in 1970 elections.

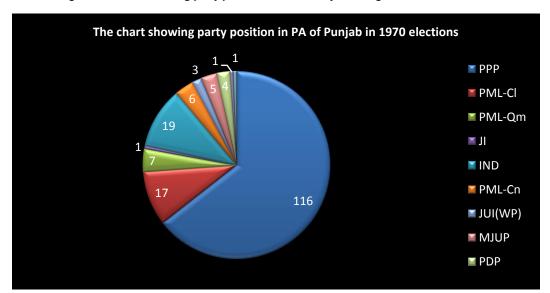


Fig1.3: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 1970 elections



Similarly, during 1970 elections, in provincial assembly of Sindh, PPP claimed victory and it secured 28 seats out of 62 (60 general, 2 women). However, PML-Qm, PML-Cl, MJUP, JI, and SKMPPMM secured 6, 4, 6, 1, and 1 seat respectively. Further, 14 members were elected as independent candidates. The chart 1.4 describes the party position in PA of Sindh during 1970 elections.

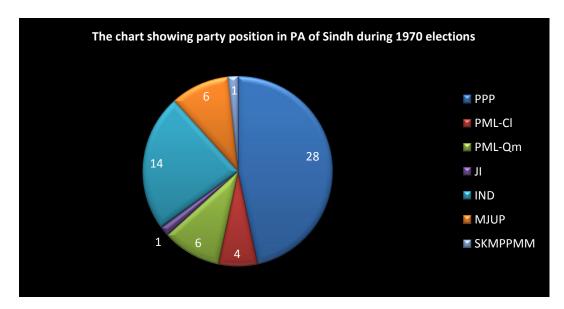


Fig1.4: The chart showing party position in PA of Sindh during 1970 elections

Nevertheless, in provincial assembly of Balochistan, National Awami Party of Wali khan emerged as majority party that won 8 seats out of total 21(20 general, 1 woman). The second majority party was JUI (WP) that secured 5 seats. While PML-Qm and BUF secured 2 and 1 seat respectively. In addition, 4 members were also elected as independent candidates as shown in fig 1.5 below.

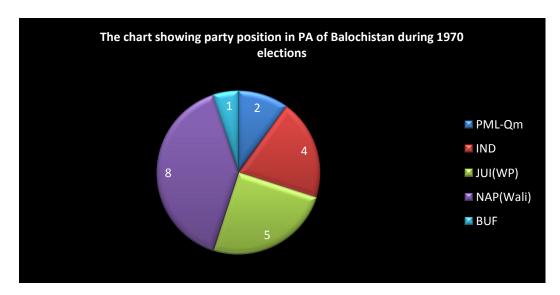


Fig 1.5: The chart showing party position in PA of Balochistan during 1970



Government Formation

Although 1970 elections in Pakistan was first attempt of according right to vote to citizens, through which they could chose their representatives directly, however, the election proved disastrous in political history of country. The basic reason is that the election resulted into conflicting nature of two wings of Pakistan. In East Pakistan, the Awami League emerged as majority party by winning 160 0f total 162 general seats in the National Assembly while in West Pakistan Z.A Bhutto's newly formed PPP got majority. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was insistent on making the constitution strictly in accordance with the Six-point formula; however, Z.A Bhutto wanted some changes in at least two points. On the other side, the military government led by General Yahiya Khan was unwilling to hand over power to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman without a major revision of the Six-point Formula. Mujibur Rahman, Z.A. Bhutto, and Yahiya Khan met several times to discuss these political solutions but were unable to agree on a framework of constitutional and political arrangements, and resultantly this backlog provided Yahiya Khan to postpone the session of the Assembly.

The Awami League challenged this decision and started massive and violent street protests. When the protests exacerbated and the writ of the State in Bengal became ineffective, the then government lead by Yahiya khan decided to launch a major military operation on March 25, 1971 against the Awami League and supposed perpetrators. Meanwhile, Election commission disqualified almost 76 elected members of the Awami League in September 1971. Two members among these already had died. On this development, the military government decided to hold by-election to 78 seats. About 63 members were elected uncontested and the election to 15 seats was to be held. However, before the elections could happen, the security situation in East Pakistan deteriorated and, on November 21, 1971, Indian troops launched a full-fledged military attack on East Pakistan, which later resulted into a total war between India and Pakistan on both sides of Pakistan.

Pakistan lost the November-December war to India and East Pakistan seceded to become Bangladesh on December 16, 1971. On December 20, General Yahiya Khan resigned and power was handed over to Z. A Bhutto and he headed the first civilian government, after the end of the 1971 India-Pakistan war.



The 1977 Election

Background

Under the 1973 constitution, the term of National Assembly was to expire on august 14, 1977 and general elections were to be held by that date. The 1973 Constitution was enforced on August 14, 1973, which entitled the National Assembly elected in December 1970 and began to function in January 1972, to continue functioning for five years from the date of enforcement of the 1973 Constitution. However, on demand of opposition parties, the then Prime Minister Z.A Bhutto in his final address to national assembly on January 7, 1977, announced the date of general elections to be held on 7 March 1977. Similarly, the four provincial assemblies were dissolved on January 13, 1977 and elections in provincial assemblies were scheduled for March 10, 1977.

For 1977 elections, fresh electoral roll was prepared and delimitation of constituencies was held. Article 51(1) of the new constitution raised the number of general seats in the National Assembly from 138 to 200. Similarly, article 51(3) stated that these seats would be allocated to the provinces, FATA, and the federal capital based on population in accordance with the officially published census. Pakistan's total population as recorded in the 1972 census was 64,980,371 and therefore every seat covered the population of 324,902 persons. Further, clause 4 of article 51 provided for the allocation of ten reserved seats for women to be distributed among the provinces. Similarly, article 51(2A) amended in fourth constitutional amendment provided for six seats reserved for minorities such as Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parses and Qadianis. Therefore, total strength at the time of the general elections in 1977 was 216.

The Contending Parties

In 1977 elections, the major elections contenders were the ruling party, the PPP, and alliance of mainly the right wing political parties called as Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). On the one side, PPP was contesting the election to hold on to power and its key leaders were confident that they could win the election based on their performance. On the other side, PNA comprised of nine political parties such as the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal (TI), Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), Jamiatul Ulema-e-Islam Mufti (JUI), Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP), Pakistan Muslim League Pagaro Group (PML-Pagaro), National Democratic Party (NDP), Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Khaksar Tehrik (KT), and Azad Kashmir Muslim Conference (AKMC). In this way, right wing conservative and Islamic parties dominated the PNA. Further, the PML-Qayyum contested elections separately. In the elections, there participated a number of small political parties specific to provinces. The real contest was between the ruling PPP and the PNA.

Election Results

During 1977 general elections, the total number of seats in National Assembly were 216 (200 general, 10 women and 6 reserved seats for non-Muslims). As stated above, political analyst viewed this election a close contest between ruling party PPP and PNA;

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