

Electoral Politics of Punjab:

A case study of Pakistan People's Party in Faisalabad city 1970-2002

Abstract

Elections, political parties and leadership always play significant role in the political culture of any state. Pakistan has many characteristics in its political culture and it varies from region to region. Punjab is the key region among the other regions of Pakistan which plays noteworthy role in economy and political culture. Before the partition of the sub-continent, Punjab and Bengal were very effective and influenced in the political culture of the sub-continent. After the partition of India in 1947, though Punjab was divided but in spite of this, the importance of Punjab cannot be ignored. It has few important cities like Lahore, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi and Multan. Remarkable role of leadership of these cities cannot be ignored. On the other hand, the masses of these cities always supported the democratic norms and raised slogans against the dictatorial and authoritarian rules in Pakistan. Faisalabad is a hub of industrial zone from where the industrial products are exported to the world. In this industrial city, what the political maturity level of the people is? This research paper will explore this question. Pakistan People's party is considered the political party of Sindhis. This research will refute this notion and will discuss the leadership and voting behavior of the people of Faisalabad towards Pakistan People's Party.

Introduction

After getting statehood in 1947, India and Pakistan started their journey under the dominion of British Common Wealth. Sectarianism and communal riots began to rise from both the sides. Due to the common al massacre, Punjab had to suffer more than any other province.¹ It remained the center of all activities since after its inception. It had a strong hold over the politics of Pakistan with a long list of momentous legislators. Historically, the importance of Punjab cannot be ignored due to historical cities such as Lahore, Multan, Pakpattan, Rawalpindi and Lyallpur. Each has its own importance but Lyallpur is remarkable because of its significance of industrial zone and also has its special contribution in trade and textile industry. It was established by Sir James BroodwoodLyall in 1892.² During the regime of Z. A Bhutto, Lyallpur was renamed as Faisalabad in the loving memory of the assassinated Saudi King, Shah Faisal on April 07, 1977.³ Shah Faisal was assassinated by his own nephew Faisal Bin Musaid and after his death Lyallpur was renamed Faisalabad in his honor⁴. Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the first socialist political party of Pakistan was also founded by Z.A Bhutto. He managed good relations with Islamic states and its rulers. There was close

association among Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (Pakistan), Gaddafi (Libya) and Shah Faisal (Saudi Arabia). They were thinking earnestly about different tracks on which the Islamic countries would illustrate themselves in the whole world. Shah Faisal and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto wanted to bond the Islamic countries together and Gaddafi was a strong financial supporter.

The history of the electoral process is not good in Pakistan because after the creation of Pakistan, First general elections were held in 1970. Political culture of Pakistan came to surface with the existence of multi-party system. Pakistan bore with a large number of regional and a few national political parties. Pakistan People's Party was one of the most popular socialist political parties. PPP laid its foundations in Lahore with the collaboration of different experienced leaders on November 30, 1967⁵. By laying the foundation of the political party, Bhutto raised the voice for the rights of the common people. It was the only party that covering all the sections of life such as students wing FSF, PLF, Trade cell, women wing, Labor bureau, peasant wing etc. PPP's offices were established soon at all the levels (Tehsil, District, City and UC level) and PPP also got momentum in Lyallpur. It was a city of workers and peasants at that time. Personalities whose loyal efforts contributed as milestone in making the PPP a most popular political party of Faisalabad City were Mir Abdul Qayoum Advocate, Dr. Haleem Raza, Mukhtar Rana, Mian Muhammad Iqbal, Choudhry Muhammad Hussain, Choudhry Muhammad Younus Advocate, Ahmad Saeed Awan (From Bhakar) and Begam Nargis Naeem (From Multan). Nayyar Hassan Dar was the member of Executive Committee of PPP. His house remained a center of political activities of the party. During the movement for restoration of democracy against General Zia-ul-Haq, Benazir Bhutto visited Lyallpur and arranged a political meeting at Dhobi Ghat ground. Nayyar Hassan was the person who assisted her during her visit to Lyallpur. His elder brother also remained a devoted worker of PPP and served his energies for strengthening the party in Faisalabad⁶. Ahmad Saeed Awan⁷ can't be ignored due to his distinction and close associations with Bhutto family. Benazir Bhutto expressed his good wishes for Ahmad Saeed Awan during her visit to Lyallpur in 1986 He remained Propagation Secretary at Faisalabad city in 1967, Vice President in 1970, President in 1971, President City of Sargodha division in 1972 and General Secretary of Punjab in 1990⁸.

In General Elections of 1970, there were only two constituencies in Faisalabad city area; NW-49 and NW-50, and both were won by PPP with heavy margin.

Bradism and party influence played key role in the success of the candidates. Mukhtar Rana was a leader of labor unions. Two braderis, Rajput and Arain, were very strong in NW-49. Mukhtar Rana belonged to a Rajput family while his opponent Mian Zahid Sarfraz was from Arain bradari. He was a famous businessman and property dealer. Mukhtar Rana was very popular among the masses. During the election campaign, he was in jail and his campaign was led by Ahmed Saeed Awan. Ahmed Saeed Awan resorted to the younger daughter of Mukhtar Rana in election campaign.⁹ Mukhtar Rana won the elections with unbeatable margin. Later on, By-election was conducted in this constituency due to disqualification of Mukhtar Rana. Trade unions were passionate and active for labor rights and in a strike, a mill owner was dead. Rana Mukhtar was nominated

for that murder and disqualified for elections. In the by-elections, PPP nominated Afzal Hassan Randhawa who was a lawyer by profession and belonged to a common family but due to his affiliations with PPP, he got victory against a popular and wealthy man. The same condition was in NW-50, where PPP gave ticket to MianAttallah, who was a humble man and very down to earth. He had to compete a famous industrialist, RafiqSaigol. RafiqSaigol was owner of Saigol industries while MianAttallah was a land lord. He was known as a founder of Abdullapur. Due to his good character and party affiliation, victory came into his fortune.

Next elections were held in 1977, PPP won these elections with heavy mandate but the results were rejected by PNA (Pakistan National Alliance). This was the coalition of different political parties against Bhutto's government. They not only rejected the results of the elections of National Assembly but also boycotted the Provincial Assemblies elections; that became the cause of another political crisis in Pakistan. After the separation of East wings, new constituencies were designed in Pakistan and the elections of 1977 were held under these new constituencies. Two Constituencies NA-68 and NA-69 came under Faisalabad City area.¹⁰

A neck broken competition was held between PPP and PNA. PPP gave tough time to PNA and almost swept out in the elections. PPP was participating as a single party while it had to face a coalition of eight parties (PNA). As far as Faisalabad city is concerned, the results remained different from the previous elections,

| Constituency | Winning Member | Secured Votes | Party | Runner Up | Secured Votes | Party |
|--------------|-------------------|---------------|-------|---------------|---------------|-------|
| NA-68 | Mian M. Attallah | 59723 | PPP | Tufail Ahmad | 45577 | PNA |
| NA-69 | MianZahidSarfranz | 46074 | PNA | Mian M. Iqbal | 43920 | PPP |

(Pakistan Election Compendium, Church World Service Pakistan/Afghanistan, 2012)

The contestant of PPP, Mian M. Attallah was a well-known personality due to his character. He also served his last tenure as MNA in this constituency and as Minister of Railways. He was a true supporter, loyal and ardent worker of PPP while his rival, Tufail Ahmad, neither had he concerned with politics nor he belonged to a political family but he appeared on the political ground as a sole representative of all the political parties. He belonged to Jamat-i-Islami and all other political parties were standing with him due to their coalition. In spite of all efforts, Tufail Ahmad could not defeat MianAttallah. In these elections, MianZahidSarfranz again came to the surface and won elections from the platform of the PNA.¹¹

General Zia-ul-Haq enforced country's third martial law on April 5, 1977 and toppled the elected Government of Z.A Bhutto. Zia had no intention to remain in power initially but after some time his intentions were changed and he did not want himself to keep away from power. As he mentioned in his first

speech that he had no political ambitions and his aim was only to organize free and fair election and after 90 days, elections would be organized.¹² After a few days he postponed the upcoming elections without giving a new date. A Majlis-e-Shoorawas established in 1981 by using the opponents of Z.A Bhutto, through which all the state affairs used to run.¹³ Zia-ul-Haq had to conduct elections due to undue pressure by different political parties and political leaders. Before elections, he secured his position through referendum and then he organized non-party based election.¹⁴ He took this decision due to two reasons. Firstly, he wanted to counter PPP and popularity of Bhutto. Secondly, he wanted to rule over the country without any restriction.¹⁵ Elected government was again over thrown by Zia-ul-Haq in 1988. The conflicts arose between President and Prime Minister but Ojhri Camp incident became the main cause for the end of this tenure. The dictator over threw the government of Muhammad Khan Junejo on May 29, 1988.¹⁶ After the death of General Zia-ul-Haq in air crash, elections were held on Party basis on November 16 and 19, 1988. PPP again emerged as popular party with 93 seats out of 207.¹⁷ Due to the formulation of new constituencies Faisalabad city consisted of NA-64 and NA-65. PPP launched a vigorous campaign in Faisalabad. The results of the elections were as under:

| Constituency | Winning Member | Secured Votes | Party | Runner Up | Secured Votes | Party |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------|-------|-------------------|---------------|-------|
| NA-64 | Ahmad SaeedAwan | 54,438 | PPP | MianZahidSarfaraz | 49,745 | Ind. |
| NA-65 | Mehar Abdul Rashid | 69,604 | PPP | Ch. Sher Ali | 57,621 | Ind. |

(Pakistan Election Compendium, vol. 1, Church World Service Pakistan/Afghanistan, 2012)

Ahmad SaeedAwan had remained active in politics during the era of General Zia-ul-Haq. After the demise of General Zia-ul-Haq, he participated in the elections from the platform of PPP. He had very close relations with Bhutto family and a loyal worker of PPP. ArainBradari was in majority in this constituency as compare to Awanbradari. Due to his personality and party affiliations, Ahmad SaeedAwan won with heavy margin. PPP had the same influence in Second Constituency of Faisalabad City area. Mehar Abdul Rashid was a seasoned politician. He struggled for the establishment of PPP, MRD and against Zia's dictatorship. While his opponent was a famous businessman and industrialist. Ch. Sher Ali had relation with Nawaz family and participated in elections as an independent candidate. Ch. Sher Ali was enjoying the support of Butt Bradari in his own area. In spite of this, Sher Ali could not win elections.¹⁸

Government of Benazir Bhutto was dismissed by President GhulamIshaq Khan on August 6, 1990. It was some sort of coup. President of Pakistan dissolved both the National and Provincial assemblies with the help of Army Chief General MirzaAslam Beg. Army took control over several important buildings in Islamabad and the Prime Minister House. The government was accused of corruption, mismanagement and failure in maintenance of law and order in the country. New caretaker Administration and Prime Minister, GhulamMustufaJatoi,

was appointed by President GhulamIshaq Khan. Caretaker government was supporting IJI and opposing PPP. IJI appeared as a remedy of rightists. PPP joined political alliance with PML (Qasim), Tehrik-e-Istaqlal and Tehrik-i-NafazeFiqah-e-Jafaria and that alliance was called as Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA). Along with IJI and PDA there were other twenty five political parties contesting in elections but IJI and PDA were major participants.¹⁹ IJI was a coalition supported by governmental machineries and agencies. In NA-64 MianZahidSarfraz was contesting elections from the platform of IJI. He had support of different political parties and the government was granting them funds for election campaign. So due to the collective struggle of governmental administration, agencies and political parties, MianZahidSarfraz became able to counter FazalHussainRahi. MianFazalHussainRahi belonged to a poor family. His father was an ordinary businessman and he did his graduation from Salsa College Jaranwala. He belonged to Kumharbradari, now these days it is known as Rehmani. He also served as an MPA in his last tenure. In this election also, FazalHussain proved himself a strong candidate. As the result show.

| Constituency | Winning Member | Secured Votes | Party | Runner Up | Secured Votes | Party |
|--------------|------------------|---------------|-------|--------------------|---------------|-------|
| NA-64 | MianZahidSarfraz | 62,536 | IJI | FazalHussainRahi | 52,165 | PDA |
| NA-65 | Ch. Sher Ali | 67,086 | IJI | Mehar Abdul Rashid | 63,396 | PDA |

(Pakistan Election Compendium, Church World Service Pakistan/Afghanistan, 2012)

In these elections, Ch. Sher Ali also appeared as candidate of IJI. The major reason of the success of Ch. Sher Ali was the undemocratic attitude of Mehar Abdul Rashid. During his last tenure as a MPA, he did not bother the interest of the voters. He was least interested. It was very miserable election for PPP from Faisalabad because it could not secure even any single seat of National Assembly. IJI swept from two constituencies of Faisalabad.

IJI headed by Nawaz Sharif, could not go smoothly. In early phase, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had developed differences with President Ishaq Khan and Army Chief General Asif Khan Junjua. After sudden death of General AsifJunjua, those difference became widen on the appointment of new Chief. This conflict turned towards the division of power between the Prime Minister and the President. After an abrupt address of Prime Minister on television and radio, President GhulamIshaq Khan dissolved National and Provincial assemblies, but due to the Supreme Court decision, Nawaz Sharif government was restored. Confrontation became more complex. At last, President dissolved the National and Provincial assemblies on the advice of Prime Minister. Caretaker Prime Minister MoeenQureshiwas appointed. Fresh elections were announced on 6th and 9th October respectively. IJI was divided and emerged as a new political party known as PML (N). On the other hand, PPP entered into a coalition with PML-J as Pakistan Democratic Front (PDF)²⁰. Ch. Sher Ali was contesting as a candidate of

PML (N) and MianZahidSarfr az was contesting from PML (J). According to the coalition PML (J) had support of PPP.

| Constituency | Winning Member | Secured Votes | Party | Runner Up | Secured Votes | Party |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------|---------|--------------------|---------------|---------|
| NA-64 | Ch. Sher Ali | 66,183 | PML (N) | MianZahidSarfr az | 50,023 | PML (J) |
| NA-65 | MianAmjadYaseen | 68,496 | PML (N) | Mehar Abdul Rashid | 65,148 | PPP |

(Pakistan Election Compendium, Church World Service Pakistan/Afghanistan, 2012)

In last contest, there were some sort of differences between Ch. Sher Ali and Nawaz family on the issue of land but now it had resolved and Ch. Sher Ali joined contested election from the platform of PML (N). MianZahidSarfr az who had contested against PPP but in these elections he was enjoying the support of PPP. He could not defeat Ch. Sher Ali due to his personal fame. While there was very interesting situation in NA-65. There was a competition between those two personalities, who had served PPP. MianAmjadYasin was not affiliated with PML (N) from the start of his political career but was contesting as a member of PML (N). He had his relations with MianAttaullah who began his political career with PPP. Due to MianAttaullah, MianAmjadYasin had a large number of voters. While Mehar Abdul Rashid, a famous politician remained runner up. Mehar Abdul Rashid had started hi business and neglected his politics.²¹ PPP with other small political parties and independent members formulated a federal government on October 19, 1993 under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto. But again this time, differences were developed between Benazir Bhutto and the President Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari. He dismissed her government on November 6, 1996 with the help of Army Chief General Jahangir Karamat by accusing the same previous blames. Elections of National and Provincial Assemblies were scheduled for February 3, 1997.²²

Two Constituencies NA-64 and NA-65 falling under Faisalabad City area in 1997 elections. Candidates participating in these two constituencies were seasoned politicians but few of them were participating in these elections for the first time such as Sheikh Muhammad AslamGuchha but Mian Abdul Manan had indirectly attached with politics.

| Constituency | Winning Member | Secured Votes | Party | Runner Up | Secured Votes | Party |
|--------------|------------------|---------------|---------|----------------------|---------------|-------|
| NA-64 | Ch. Sher Ali | 69,782 | PML (N) | Sheikh M AslamGuchha | 25,242 | PPP |
| NA-65 | Mian Abdul Manan | 72,840 | PML (N) | Mehar Abdul Rashid | 25,652 | PPP |

(Pakistan Election Compendium, Church World Service Pakistan/Afghanistan, 2012)

Shiekh M. Aslam had no political background but the reason for his selection as candidate in election 1997 against Ch. Sher Ali was that he was a devoted worker. He was renowned among the masses due to his humble character and as a famous businessman. He was the only person who could give tough time to Ch. Sher Ali. He had a special status due to his personal character, that's why he could attain large number of votes against Ch. Sher Ali while Ch. Sher Ali spent big period in politics. He had firm hold over his constituency's politics. This was the first time that Sheikh M. AslamGuccha was participating in Politics. No doubt, it was not easy for him to get victory against Ch. Sher Ali but he did not let him an open ground for success in NA-64. On the other hand a new situation evolved in NA-65. Mian Abdul Manan had no political affiliation with PML (N) from very start. He served PPP and Mehar Abdul Rashid as political secretary and delivered speeches on behalf of Mehar Abdul Rashid in the public processions but now he was standing against Mehar Rashid as a contestant of PML (N). Success of Mian Abdul Manan was a new development. He had unanimous support of Arainbradari and his own political party.²³ Along with Faisalabad, PML (N) got large number of seats in National Assembly and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif formed his coalition government with MQM and some other independent members on February 17, 1997. PPP played the role of opposition.²⁴

PML (N) had two-third majority in National Assembly and secured in the Senate but after taking power, it tried to increase its power over the Parliament and State Institutions. He replaced former President, Chief Justice and Army Chief to his protégé and Muhammad RafiqTarar became a new President of Pakistan. As Nawaz Sharif announced to remove General Pervez Musharraf from the command of Army, through a coup his government was dismissed on October 12, 1999 by high command of armed force. He got assertion from Supreme Court of Pakistan of his coup, under the "Law of Necessity", power of Constitutional Amendment and also asked them to conduct the general election within three years. The military regime held election in October 2002.²⁵ The seats of National and Provincial Assemblies were increased according to the new legal framework of 2002. The seats of National Assembly were increased from 207 to 272, along with it 60 seats were reserved for Women and 10 for Non-Muslims. The legal framework of 2002, defined new delimitation of the constituencies.²⁶ The results of the elections were as under.

There were three major political parties participating in the elections, they were PML (N), PPP and PML (Q) but the role of PPP and PML (N) were being limited by General Musharraf. The first two were more reliable for masses more than the third one because PML (Q) was created by a military dictator, General Pervez Musharraf. In NA-82 winning candidate was Sahibzada Haji M FazalKarim. He had been in politics since 1990. He was leader of JUP but there was collaboration between JUP and PML (N) since 1990 till 2010 and both were supporting each other wherever they felt need. There is another fact,Sahibzada Haji M FazalKarim was the son of Moulana M Sardar who was a famous religious and spiritual leader and scholar. Sahibzada M FazalKarimhad got fame due to his father. Due to his personal fame and along with the support of his party he won in NA-82.²⁷

Mushtaq Ali Cheema was younger brother of Shauqat Ali Cheema who remained the Vice Nazim of Union Council. He belonged to the Shia sect and was murdered. This murder case was influenced by sectarian issue. After the death of Shauqat Ali Cheema, Mushtaq Ali Cheema got the party ticket for upcoming election and became MNA by defeating IjazVirki, a contestant of PPP. Mushtaq Cheema got benefit of his brother's political career.

It was the first time when Ch. AbidSher Ali came into politics and a new avenue of politics began. Ch. AbidSher Ali was also a businessman like his father. Remarkable history of his father helped him in emerging as a politician. On the other side, Ch. AbidSher Ali had to face a contestant FazalHussainRahi, who came into the politics due to the revolutionary steps of Z.A Bhutto. FazalHussainRahi was not belonging to a financially strong family however he succeeded in making his own place in politics. He contested elections several time at provincial level and remained successful in securing votes but he could not increase his popularity and could become MNA.

In NA-85 a seasoned politician, Haji Muhammad Akram Ansari could not participate in elections due to not having graduation degree. Due to the dissatisfied and critical condition PML (N) had to choose Raja Nadir Pervez and Akram Ansari supported him enthusiastically. Raja Nadir Pervez was a military officer and participated in the war of 1971. He had kept in prison by Indian army but he remained successful in getting free from that prison. He became retired as a major and later on he joined PML (N). His father was a rich man. Raja Nadir Pervez worked hard to show himself as an active politician. There is no blinking fact that success of Raja Nadir Pervez was a result of bradari support because this Constituency was consisted of the voters from Jutt and Ansari bradari and due to the support of Akram Ansari, Raja achieved the votes of Ansari bradari.²⁸ On the other hand, Haji Bilal Noor Ansari was also a seasoned politician and belonged to the Ansari clan. Beside this he could not attract his voters by touching their empirical side.

Conclusion

It is fact that Faisalabad always proved itself as trend setter in all elections. In the elections of 1970 and 1977, the people of Faisalabad stood with the leadership of Pakistan People's Party. At that time, it was considered the city of peasants and labor class because the labor unions were very strong. Even before partition, the Kisan conference was also held in Lyallpur and Kisancommittee also consisted of the Lyallpurians. But the martial law of Zia-ul-Haq changed the norms of politics and new leadership emerged under the garb of the elections of local government system and non-party based elections in 1985. During the regime of martial law dictator, the leadership of PPP from Faisalabad adopted three pronged strategy, One few politicians went to underground due to the fear of Zia-ul-Haq, Second few faced jails and bogus cases in the courts, Third, PPP decided to boycott the elections under General Zia-ul-Haq. After the demise of Zia-ul-Haq, few committed workers of PPP decided to say goodbye to the party and decided to PPP's opposite alliance. Benazir Bhutto, new emerged leadership of PPP, also gathered the cluster of a few new and old one candidates. IJI and later on PML (N) succeeded to replace PPP from the city of Faisalabad. The business

community became powerful and they preferred PML (N). The Labor unions and peasants had become weak due to the policies of Z.A.Bhutto and it was proved in later elections. That's why, the workers of PPP who belonged to labor class like FazalHussainRahi faced defeats in the elections. The politics of bradris replaced the politics of ideology and parties used to issue tickets keeping in view the importance of bradris.

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¹ James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan* (Facts on File: New York, 2009), 15.

² Sir James Lyall was born on 4th March 1838. He joined Bengal Civil Services in 1857 and remained the Governor of Punjab till 1887 to 1892. He established Pakistan's industrial city Lyallpur.

³ Ashraf Ashari, *Manchester of Pakistan in Historical Perspective* (Faisalabad: Pakistan, 2012), 69.

⁴ <http://absoluteverdict.blogspot.com/2011/11/death-of-gaddafi-compared-to-za-bhutto.html>

⁵ MunoBhai, *Pakistan People's Party BunyadiDastawaiz* (Lahore: Pakistan, 2000), 25.

⁶ Nayyar Hassan Dar (Member of PPP's central Executive committee) 2014, pers.comm., 13 April)

⁷ Ahmad SaeedAwan was a devoted worker of PPP. He served as Federal Minister of Information and also Federal Minister of Industries. He served country as a Judge of High court in 1996.

⁸ Ahmad SaeedAwan (PPP's Ex. Federal Minister), Interview by Author, 4 May 2014. Faisalabad.

⁹ Ibid.,

¹⁰ Mehar Abdul Rashid (Ex. MNA), Interview by Author, 4 April 2013, Faisalabad.

¹¹ Javeed Ahmad Sadique (Journalist), Interview by Author, 16 May 2014, Faisalabad.

¹² Louis D. Hayes, *The Struggle for Legitimacy in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, n.d), 259.

¹³ AzharSohail, *General Zia KaGyaraSaal* (Lahore: Feroz Sons, 1988), 25.

¹⁴ Louis D. Hayes, *The Struggle for Legitimacy in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, n.d), 257

¹⁵ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan a Modern History* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1999), 265.

¹⁶ K.M Arif, *Working With General Zia, Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-89* (New York: Oxford, 1995), 325.

¹⁷ MuhammahJaveedAkhtar, P. hd Thesis, "Dilemma of Political culture: Case Study of Pakistan (1988-1997)", (Multan: BahauddinZakariya University), 113.

¹⁸ Mehar Abdul Rashid (Ex. MNA), Interview by Author, 4 April 2013, Faisalabad

¹⁹ Dr. Hassan AskariRizvi, *The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan: 1970-2013* (Islamabad: PILDAT, 2013), 23.

²⁰ Dr. Hassan AskariRizvi, *The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan: 1970-2013* (Islamabad: PILDAT, 2013), 23.

²¹ Ahmad SaeedAwan (PPP's Ex. Federal Minister), Interview by Author, 4 May 2014, Faisalabad.

²² Dr. Hassan AskariRizvi, *The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan: 1970-2013* (Islamabad: PILDAT, 2013), 26-27.

²³ Javeed Ahmad Sadique (Journalist), Interview by Author, 16 May 2014, Faisalabad.

²⁴ Dr. Hassan AskariRizvi, *The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan: 1970-2013* (Islamabad: PILDAT, 2013), 28.

²⁵ Kamran Aziz Khan, "2002 elections In Pakistan: An reappraisal" *Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 18, Issue. 1 (2003), 94.

²⁶ *Pakistan Election Compendium*, Church World Service Pakistan/Afghanistan, 2012, 37.

²⁷ Hamid Raza (Politician), Interview by Author, 28 April 2014, Faisalabad.

²⁸ The Dawn, Dec 16, 2007