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Politics of the Electables: A Case Study of Faisalabad, Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

This study elaborates the scenario of electables' politics in Faisalabad, the third populated city of Pakistan. The study focuses upon historical overview of the political and electoral developments in the area and discussed the consequences of electables' politics. The political and electoral representation of the Faisalabad in provincial as well as national legislative bodies was also expounded and outlooks of electables in the district and their changing affiliation towards various parties were also reviewed. The attitude of the populace with the opportunist politicians was also elaborated in this study. The study was output of the analysis of official documents as well as research manuscripts and interviews of the experts.

Introduction

Lyallpur Election Contests during 1950s and 1960s

According to National Assembly (1947 NA hereafter) at the time of independence, any member elected for the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan did not belong to the district Faisalabad (Lyallpur at that time). Chaudhary Ali Akber Khan, resident of Lyallpur city, was elected as the member of First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan as Muslim League nominee in 1950. In the

provincial legislature of Punjab Chaudhary Aziz Din, Sardar Dalip Singh Kang, Sardar Kartar Singh, Dev Raj Sethi and Chaudhary Harbhaj Ram served as elected members from the constituencies of Lyallpur district till 1949 (PA, 1947, PA hereafter).

Chaudhary Aziz Din, single Muslim member from Lyallpur in Punjab legislature at the time of independence, was re-elected in 1951. Out of Twenty-One elected members of Punjab Assembly from Lyallpur district, Chaudhari Ali Akbar and Shamim Ahmed Khan served as minister and Mian Abdul Bari as Leader of Opposition. Chaudhary Sultan Ali and Mehr Muhammad Sadiq served as Parliamentary Secretary in provincial legislature. Begum Khadija G. A. Khan served as Deputy Minister in Punjab's cabinet during this period as she was the first female parliamentarian from Lyallpur (Punjab Assembly, 1947).

Kokab (2020) stated that, in the elections of Second Constituent Assembly held in May 1955 where the provincial legislatures were Electoral College for general seats. In the second constituent assembly, two members elected from Faisalabad were Mian Abdul Bari and Chaudhari Aziz Din. Former was a landowner from Jaranwala and latter was a lawyer of Lyallpur city. Both were the nominees of Muslim League (NA, 1955).

Awan (2014) argued that, NA in 1962 was constituted through Electoral College of Basic Democrats. The constituencies were demarked on the population basis and boundaries of constituencies were decided to be within districts. According to NA (1962), Lyallpur got four seats in National Legislature. Mian Abdul Bari, Chaudhary Abdul Hamid, Muhammad Afzal Cheema and Miss Zahara Aziz were elected from here. Miss Zaahra Aziz was the first ever female in National Legislature from Faisalabad. She was daughter of Chaudhary Aziz Din, former Member Punjab Legislature and the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Thus the daughter of a former legislator was benefited from the political legacy of her late father and an electable's heritage was transferred to his progeny. Khan (1962) elucidated that, Afzal Cheema, another elected member as well as an electable from Lyallpur who had already been elected member of Punjab Assembly in 1951, was elected as Senior Deputy Speaker of National Assembly on the nomination of opposition alliance. He won with the margin of one vote as he secured 75 votes. The treasury nominee, in contrast, bagged 74 votes.

PA (1962) explained the scenario that, on Lyallpur's seven seats in West Pakistan Legislature elected in 1962 Imtiaz Ahmed Gill, Ahmed Khan, Asgher Randhawa, Amir Habibullah Khan Saadi, M. Hamza, Raja Nadir Khan and Chaudhary Sultan Ahmed won the elections. Malik Nadir Khan and Chaudhary Sultan, were re-elected among all other fresh faces from Lyallpur in provincial legislature.

In next elections held in 1965, Faisalabad had five seats in National Assembly. Muhammad Ishaq Cheema, Sultan Ahmed, Saleem Khan and Rafiq Saigol were elected for Assembly. One seat remained vacant on which Malik Nadir Khan was elected one year later in 1966. He had already been elected for provincial legislature. However no previous member of National Assembly could be re-elected (Assembly, 1965). For Lyallpur's seven seats in provincial legislature in 1965 Imtiaz Ahmed Gill, Rai Arif Hussain, Asgher Randhawa, M. Hamza, Anwar Ali Khan, Makhdum Syed Nasir ud Din Shah, Wahidullah Khan were elected (PA, 1965). Two electables, Imtiaz Ahmed Gill and Asgher Randhawa, were re-elected.

General Elections 1970

Hussain (2017) clarified that, in the first ever adult franchised National Assembly elections in 1970 Lyallpur had nine constituencies. In these elections, the former electables of the city had to face defeat in these elections. All previous members of the National Assembly; Rafiq Saigol, Imtiaz Gill, Ishaq Cheema, Chaudhary Sultan Ahmed, Col. Saleem Khan, and Malik Nadir Khan failed to bag sufficient votes for victory against the candidates of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) who got overwhelming victories. Mukhtar Rana won with the margin of 64 thousand votes against Zahid Sarfraz. Mian Atta Ullah defeated influential industrial Rafiq Saigol with the margin of 67 thousand votes. Bashir Ahmed won with the margin of 50 thousand against Akhter Gill. Muhammad Aslam defeated Hamza with the margin of 28 thousand votes. Rai Hafeez Ullah won with the margin of 19 thousand votes against Israr Hussain Shah. Anwar Ali Baloch defeated Col. Saleem Khan and Ghulam Dastgir with the margin of 50 thousand votes. Ghulam Nabi gained 23 thousand margin's victory against Rai Arif Hussain and Siddique Randhawa. Muhammad Khan scored 50 thousand margin's victory against Abdul Hameed. Ehsan ul Haq won unopposed, (electionpakistani, 2020). Out of 19 constituencies of Punjab Assembly in Lyallpur PPP won in sixteen. One seat was bagged by independent

candidate and one each by Pakistan Muslim League Council and West Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (WJUP) candidates. All were new for the legislature, (Assembly, 1972).

General Elections 1977

In the General Election 1977 the number of constituencies for Lyallpur was increased from nine to thirteen (NA-68 to NA-80). PPP won 12 national assembly seats and lost one (NA-68) by Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) nominee Zahid Sarfraz who had not been able to return in 1970. Mian Muhammad Ata Ullah, Nisar Akbar, Rana Sakhawat Ali, Anwar Ali Khan, Moin Uddin, Imtiaz Ahmed Gill, Shahadat Ali Khan Baloch, Ghulam Nabi Chaudhary, Asad Masood, Rai Hafiz Ullah Khan, Muhammad Bashir, Chaudhary Bashir Ahmed were elected for national legislature on PPP ticket (Election Commission of Pakistan, 1977, ECP hereafter).

The PPP nominees Asad Masood, Muhammad Bashir, Nisar Akbar, Moin Uddin, and Shahadat Baloch were altogether fresh elected for any legislature. Shahdat Baloch had failed contest for provincial legislature in 1970. An electable Member National Assembly (MNA) Rana Sakhawat had formerly won Punjab Assembly in 1970 as an independent candidate. Another newly elected MNA Imtiaz Gill was an electable as he had been former member of provincial legislature for two times. However it was his first return for national legislature. A very prominent electable who also won the election of 1977 was Mian Atta Ullah, an active PPP leader who had served as minister in Bhutto's cabinet. His vote bank in NA-68 was owing to huge support from his *Arain Baradari*, which was concentrated in the area. Party support and his public works during his tenure as minister also gave him public approbation. Another electable returned in 1977 was Rai Hafiz Ullah (PPP). Anwar Ali Khan, Ghulam Nabi and Chaudhary Bashir Ahmed also were re-elected for NA.

There were 27 constituencies of Punjab Assembly (from PP-68 to PP-93) in Lyallpur in 1977 and PPP nominees won on all with huge margins, (electionpakistani, 2020). Majority of the new faces were elected. Rai Sakhawat, Nasir Baloch, Ghulam Qadir, Rai Ahmed Hayat, Hameed Ullah Khan and Ali Muhammad Khadim were re-elected on PPP ticket. Rai Sakhawat had previously returned for provincial legislature in 1970 as independent candidate. In 1977 he was nominated by PPP. Nasir Baloch was re-elected after switching over to PPP. In 1970 he, as candidate of WJUP, had defeated PPP candidate

Shahadat Baloch. The outgoing Deputy Speaker of Punjab Assembly, Shamim Ahmed Khan was also re-elected, (Assembly, 1977). After this election as Member Provincial Assembly (MPA) he was once again nominated by PPP for the slot of Deputy Speaker.

General Elections 1985

Before the 1985 election tehsil Toba Taik Singh was separated from Faisalabad and was formed as a new district. Faisalabad with changed name was administratively upgraded to a divisional headquarter. Three constituencies of National Assembly already allocated to district Faisalabad were decreased as they were allocated to Toba Taik Singh. Even then Faisalabad had ten constituencies in comparison with Lahore that had eight seats, (ECP, 2000b).

As the 1985 elections were held on non-party basis they produced a number of new politicians. Several politicians went in darkness and new personalities were elected to the legislatures. Despite the boycott of the PPP the party considerably affected the polling. Former PPP leaders Anwar Ali Khan, Rai Arif Hussain Nasir Ali Baloch and Dr. Muhammad Shafiq along with other new faces like Raja Nadir Pervez, Hanif Ansari, Chaudhary Nazir, Rai Salahuddin Khan, Bashir Randhawa, Abdullah Ghazi won elections of National Assembly. Begum Sarweri Sadiq returned on reserved seats for women, ((Assembly, 1985). She was wife of former provincial minister Mehr Muhammad Sadiq.

It was stated that, “the seasoned politician, especially belongs to PPP did not participated in the elections under Zia regime. Three electables from Faisalabad emerged successful for National Assembly in 1985” (J. Siddiqi, personal communication, December 19, 2019). Anwar Ali Khan, re-elected in 1985 had returned in 1970 and 1977. Other elected MNA Rai Arif Hussain had been elected for Punjab Assembly in 1977 and Nasir Ali Baloch also had been elected member Punjab Assembly in 1970 and 1977. Raja Nadir Pervez, Hanif Ansari, Chaudhary Nazir Ahmed, Rai Salahuddin Khan, Bashir Randhawa, Abdullah Ghazi were fresh faces for legislature. Among these Raja Nadir Pervez entered first time in electoral arena but had strong political background of his electable father. He belonged to the influential feudal family and his father Malik Nadir Khan had remained member of provincial, as well as national legislatures during Ayub era.

Hanif Ansari who set the stage for a huge offing electable of Faisalabad, Akram Ansari, contested with the support of *Ansari Biradari*. There was huge vote bank of Ansari Biradari in NA-70 and Biradari decided about Hanif's candidature. The influential and wealthy personalities of the *Ansari Biradari* also financially contributed in Hanif's and later on Akram's election campaigns, (Naz, 2018f). Hanif Ansari died just a few months following the general elections and his collaborator Akram Ansari had his first chance to be elected in by-elections, (ECP, 1985). This was start of a trail of electoral victories of Akram Ansari. Another emerging electable who won first time in 1985 was Chaudhary Nazir. He was an influential moneyed personality and used his money as well as influence of *Chaudharies* of the area to secure votes, (Naz, 2018d). He also won the Provincial Assembly seat from where he resigned. Sardar Dildar Ahmed Cheema won the seat in by-election with his support.

Assembly (1985) clarified the scenario that, out of 20 constituencies of Punjab Assembly in Faisalabad future electables Muhammad Siddiq Salar, Fazal Hussain Rahi, Tahir Ahmed Shah, Muhammad Yousaf Malik, Muhammad Farooq, Sardar Shahid Iqbal, Muhammad Akram Chaudhary, Rai Rab Nawaz Khan, Mazhar Ali Gill, and Safdar Shakir got their initial electoral success in 1985. The victory of Tahir Ahmed Shah and Fazal Hussain Rahi owed their success to silent support from the PPP workers. The non-party base elections introduced the use of financial resources. The use of cash was observed in the election campaign of electables like Chaudhary Nazir, Sardar Shahid Iqbal, Safdar Shakir, Hanif Ansari and Dildar Ahmed Cheema, (J. Siddiqi, personal communication, December 19, 2019).

General Elections 1988-1997

From nine constituencies of National Assembly in Faisalabad in general elections 1988 past electables Chaudhary Nazir Ahmed, Shahadat Baloch and Nisar Akbar Khan were re-elected. While new future electables Rai Muhammad Aslam, Ghulam Mustafa Bajwa, Ahmed Saeed Awan, Mehar Abdur Rasheed won their seats for the first time. Chaudhary Nazir won from two constituencies (from NA-61 as nominee of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) and from NA-57 as independent candidate). He left seat of NA-57 and Zahid Sarfraz, another electable, as nominee of IJI but with the support of Chaudhary Nazir won the seat. Ghulam Mustafa Bajwa was also nominee of IJI and all others were PPP nominated candidates, (ECP, 2000). PPP nominated George Clement for

minorities seat and IJI nominated Begum Sarwari Sadiq, former MNA, for women seat from Faisalabad, both won the seats, (Assembly, 1988).

Electables Shahadat Baloch and Nisar Akbar Khan, active political workers of PPP and winners of the contest in 1977, were absent in 1985 electoral contests due to PPP's boycott decision. Their re-entry in 1988 made their success certain owing to their electability. Chaudhary Nazir along with his deep roots in influential *Chaudharies* and his wealth also used local media for his projection and got victory, (J. Siddiqi, personal communication, December 19, 2019). Ahmed Saeed Awan, Mehar Abur Rasheed and Rai Aslam were also PPP workers and reached first time in legislature. Following this election they kept winning in various future contests.

The PPP nominees Nawab Sher Waseer, Wasi Zafar, Chaudhary Zaheer ud Din, Rana Aftab Ahmed Khan, Umar Draz Khan and IJI nominee Afzal Sahi got their first electoral success in provincial elections and imprinted their reflection for the future electoral victories. Second of their electoral victories was got by Fazal Hussain Rahi (PPP), Safdar Shakir and Mian Muhammad Farooq of IJI and Mazhir Ali Gill (independent) to reach in Punjab Assembly, (ECP, 2000a). PPP also nominated Mrs. Zubaida Malik for the reserved seats of women in Punjab Assembly. Raja Sajjad Akbar, Mahmood ul Hasan Dar, (PA, 1988).

In general elections 1990, IJI's nominated electables Sardar Dildar Cheema, Chaudhary Sher Ali, Haji Akram Ansari, Abdullah Ghazi, Raja Nadir Pervez, Nasir Baloch, Zahid Sarfraz and Chaudhary Nazir and PPP nominated electable Rai Muhammad Aslam won the contest, (ECP, 2000). Sardar Dildar Cheema was new for national legislature but had won the provincial assembly seat in 1985. He was considered an influential feudal of the area and used cash to gain voters' attention, (Naz, 2018c).

Haji Akram Ansari who had become MNA in 1985 by-elections contested the election in 1988 but was defeated by PPP candidate Nisar Akbar but Ansari took back his seat in 1990, (ECP, 2000). The majority of Ansari *Biradari* was entrepreneur and they supported Haji Akram in order to oppose PPP because of party's anti-entrepreneur labour favoring policies. He could be defeated but a wrong decision of PPP leadership made him electable of the area. PPP introduced a new candidate against him in 1990 and shifted Nisar Akbar, the constituency's electable of 1977 and 1988 election to another constituency.

This decision went in favor of Ansari, (N. A. Khan, personal communication, November 25, 2019).

Chaudhary Sher Ali was an electable as he was close relative of Nawaz Sharif, Punjab's former Chief Minister, and had served as mayor Faisalabad from 1985 to 1988. He made deep roots in local public by giving them financial as well as personal benefits during his tenure as mayor. He used these contacts in his election campaign and remained victorious in 1990 general elections, (Naz, 2018e). Abdullah Ghazi, Raja Nadir Pervez and Nasir Baloch were winners of the 1985 elections but were defeated in 1988. They reached in federal legislature after the break of a tenure. Zahid Sarfraz was winner of 1977 elections and after a long break he succeeded to reach in assembly in 1990.

In the contests for Provincial Assembly of 1990 the IJI clean swept and Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA) could not win from a single constituency. Electables Dr. Muhammad Shafiq Chaudhary, Khalid Mehmood, Chaudhary Akram, Rai Rab Nawaz, Safdar Shakir, Mazhar Gill, Mian Farooq, Afzal Sahi, Malik Muhammad Din, Tahir Shah, Chaudhary Nazir Ahmed, Chaudhary Sher Ali and Anwar Khan Baloch won for second or third times on provincial seats in general elections, (ECP, 2000a). Talib Hussain won for the first time. However, he was a potential electable as he won the future elections.

Dr. Shafiq Chaudhary first time won the contest in 1985 with the support of his Biradari but defeated in 1988. This time Biradari was supporting Chaudhary Nazir. In 1990, Chaudhary Shafiq contested the elections collaborating with Chaudhary Nazir. Chaudhary Nazir and Sher Ali, the winners of national as well as provincial seats, decided to remain MNA and resigned from provincial seats. Chaudhary Sher Ali nominated and supported Rana Sana Ullah while Chaudhary Nazir nominated his son Shahid Nazir for by-elections. Both nominated by their electable patrons reached in provincial assembly for the first time, (Assembly, 1990).

In general elections 1993, the PPP nominated electables Rai Arif Hussain, Shahadat Baloch, Shahid Nazir, Sardar Dildar Ahmed Cheema and PML-N nominees Haji Akram Ansari, Chaudhary Sher Ali, repeatedly won the contests, (ECP, 2000). Chaudhary Muhammad Ilyas Jutt (PPP), Rana Zahid Tauseef (PML-N), and Mian Amjad Yaseen (PML-N) were elected for the first time but they made their place and became electables in the future.

Rai Arif Hussain had been elected member of Punjab Assembly in 1965 as PML candidate and in 1977 as PPP nominee. He lost in 1970 to a PPP nominee but revived his victory in 1985 but was defeated by a PPP nominee Rai Aslam in 1988. There was huge vote bank of Rai *Biradari* and typical police culture and *Thana* politics went in support of Rai Arif that made him electable. The local village *chaudharies* kept on switching their support for monetary benefits in local context, (J. Siddiqi, personal communication, December 19, 2019).

Shahid Nazir was son of former parliamentarian Chaudhari Nazir Ahmed and had been elected member Punjab Assembly in 1990 in by-election with the ticket of IJI. He joined PPP after the demise of his father few months before the general elections in 1993 while his brother remained part of PML-N. Shahid won the election from NA-60 and reached national legislature first time in 1993. He gained support of three *Biradaries* (Arain, Rajput and Gujjar) in this contest joining hand with candidates of other two *Biradaries* in provincial constituencies, (Naz, 2018c). Dildar Ahmed Cheema was in PML-N in previous years but joined PPP for general elections 1993 and succeeded to reach national legislature. Rana Zahid Tauseef was new in the electoral politics, but he was in local alliance with Nazir family and Dildar Cheema. Although he was nominee of PML-N yet they supported each other in election campaign, (Naz, 2018b).

Shahadat Baloch had won the election in 1977 and 1988 but defeated in 1990 against IJI nominee Nasir Baloch. He did not contest in non-party poll in 1985 and Nasir Baloch won that contest. Shahadat Baloch remained part of PPP throughout his political career from 1970. He had strong networking with local influential personalities, *lumberdars* and *Chaudharies* which supported him in elections, (Naz, 2018a). Baloch votes are in majority in this constituency and since 1970 Baloch candidate remained successful in the area, (J. Siddiqi, personal communication, December 19, 2019). Akram Ansari and Chaudhary Sher Ali repeated their victory. Mian Amjad Yaseen was new in the politics of national legislature. He had huge *Biradari* vote bank in the area and support of Chaudhary Sher Ali in election campaign too, (Yaseen, 2007). The PPP nominated George Clement once again won the minorities' seat, (Assembly, 1993).

As far as the provincial contest, Shafiq Chaudhary, Mian Farooq, Afzal Sahi, Khawaja Islam, Chaudhary Sher Ali and Anwar Ali Khan Baloch

repeatedly won on PML-N tickets. Nawab Sher Waseer, Wasi Zafar, Chaudhary Zaheer Uddin, Rana Aftab Ahmed, Amanullah Khan, and Badaruddin Chaudhary won again as PPP nominee, (ECP, 2000a). The nominee of PML (Junejo) Manzoor Ahmed Watto, was a special case of electable. He along with his native constituencies contested from Faisalabad, was elected as MPA and consequently as Chief Minister of Punjab, (Assembly, 1993). Sahibzada Fazal-e-Kareem, Shahid Khalil Noor, Rana Farooq Saeed, and Raja Riaz Ahmed were new-comers, but they persisted their positions in future. Raja Riaz was the cousin of another electable Raja Sajjad Akbar.

In the 1997 elections the electables like Rana Zahid Tauseef, Rai Salah ud Din, Mian Nasir Ali Khan Baloch, Mian Muhamamd Farooq, Raja Nadir Pervaiz Khan, Haji Akram Ansari, and Chaudhari Sher Ali were elected for National Assembly again, (ECP, 1997). Mian Abdul Mannan entered the electable club for the first time and made his place warm for upcoming elections.

Afzal Sahi, Fazal e Karim, Mazhar Gill, Chaudhary Akram, Khawaja Islam, Siddique Salar, Safdar Shakir, Rana Sana Ullah, Talib Hussain, and Zahid Nazir won for provincial assembly for repeated times, (ECP, 2000a). Assembly (1997) clarified the position that the minorities' elected member Peter John Sahotra, and general member Rana Muhammad Afzal Khan were electables in the offing who won for the first time.

Conclusion

The elections scenario presented a view that electables reigned over electoral politics of Faisalabad since independence. The electables had determination in their constituencies and they had continuous winnings in various elections by using their sources, relations, positions as well as dosh. They remained in dominating position in all the elections except 1970, when all the seats were won by the newcomers. The electables were reinstated their position in upcoming polls if they were defeated in any election. The facts presented another view, that electables were defeated by the electables of rival political parties and they regularly changed their affiliations with political parties to contest elections with their adversary candidates. The electoral view clarifies that political ideology and parties did not dominate in elections in Faisalabad but the electable personalities dominated the politics through elections throughout from 1947 to 1997.

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