**Politics of Symbols/Slogans and its impact on 1970 and 1977 Elections**

**Abstract**

*General elections in Pakistan were held first time 7 December 1970. These were the decisive elections in a way that the democratic future of Pakistan was depended on the elections. The repercussions of the elections were so drastic. The present study will highlight and discuss the role of symbols and slogans that were used during the election years. The analytical and comparative study will show that the symbols used in the elections played very important role. There would also be discussion that how these election symbols and slogans mold the situation in the favour of the political parties. In this way, the aim and objective of the study would be that it will made researchers able to look the elections scenario in a broad perspective.*

**Keywords:** Symbols/slogans, elections, political parties, impact, results, people’s consciousness.

**Introduction**

In the history of Pakistan for the first-time general elections were held in 1970. General elections of 1970 were important because they brought a great change in the political scenario. It was Pakistan’s first experience of the general elections. From the setting up of Pakistan, there was political turmoil along with an authoritative regime. Thus, the general elections broke the stronghold of the authoritative rule. Further, the elections of 1977 were also a decisive one. It was clear by the two elections what Pakistanis wanted. The elections set the futuristic pattern of the Pakistani politics. Moreover, there was a strong impact of symbols or slogans on the elections of 1970 and 1977. In 1970 elections there were two strong contesters: Pakistan Peoples Party and Awami League. Motives behind the establishment of the political parties were to represent the will of people in the state institutions and these parties included the desires of people by publishing their manifestos. Both These parties presented their party goals in the shape of slogans and symbols. PPP raised the symbol of Islamic socialism. On the other hand, the AL went to highlight the issue of nationalism. These were the strong appeals at that time. Thus, people came out in favor of the two parties and they defeated all other. 1970 election results were in the favor of PPP and AL. Now because of some turbulent issues of that time Fall of Dhaka took place and there remained four provinces in Pakistan. Likewise, in 1977 religious as well as other political parties of Pakistan decided to defeat or pressure PPP. They formed an alliance in the name of PNA of 9 parties. In this regard they formulated a strong slogan to counter PPP that was Nizam-i-Mustafa. Although PNA could not win the election yet it attracted huge number of people.

The participation of the political parties in 1970 elections was based on some catchy slogans. First general elections provided political parties with opportunity to drag people towards their fold. 1970 elections marked an important watershed in the troubled history of relations between political parties, military and East Pakistan. The circumstances leading up to Fall of Dhaka and the events following from it also show something about the contradictions within the political setup of Pakistan.

Why political parties contest elections and use symbols/slogans? According to Ranney and Kendell, political parties are powerful groups that put together selections and contest elections hoping to gain and exercise authority of the personnel and policies of government.[[1]](#footnote-1) Politicians formulate such types of slogans that attract people because of increasing the vote base. Their ultimate goal is to exercise power and authority.

 In 1970 and 1977 elections there was the above-mentioned situation. All the political parties used catchy slogans and manifestos to gain power. In this regard following are the major as well as minor parties those participated in the 1970 elections: Awami League, Pakistan Peoples Party, Jamaat-e-Islami, PML (Council), PML (Qayyum), Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan, PML (Convention), National Awami Party (Wali), Pakistan Democratic Party. Further, in the elections of 1977 following were the main political parties that participated and used their symbols: Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan National Alliance, and PML (Qayyum). In this research the manifestos and symbols/slogans of the major parties will be highlighted. Further, whether there was any impact of the slogans on elections results or not will be discussed.

**Slogans/Symbols in Historical Perspective and Political Culture in Pakistan**

Political parties in Pakistan used the ideological inclinations, cultural symbols and historical events to create the political awareness among the masses. They get sympathies of the masses by manipulating social conditions of that time through their election manifestos. The common discourse regarding politics is that it is a process of making collective decision in a community, society or group through the application of influence and power. The prime focus of the politicians is to gain influence and power. Thus, they use slogans and symbols to attract masses. In the words of William Roberts Clark, “Elections are one of the defining characteristics of democracies and provide the primary mechanism by which democratic governments obtain the authority to rule”.[[2]](#footnote-2) So in a country where there are elections and democracy, it is necessary to manipulate people by giving them some manifestos and futuristic ideologies. Here it will be beneficial to highlight the modern kinds of democracy. There are two major concepts regarding democracy. One group holds that Minimalist Democracy is the best form of democracy, and the other group holds that Maximalist Democracy is the best one. Therefore, following paragraphs will explain what type of democracy exists in Pakistan.

Minimalist democracy allows only elections in a country. Minimalists hold that there should not be NGOs, liberty, and extra human rights. It means a controlled system of democracy that allows people to cast votes further it is up to government what type of policies it continues. In other words it is only electoral democracy. Now here is the Classic Modernization Theory for defining the country’s democratic growth and its existing level regarding democracy. For Example:

Figure 1 **Classic Modernization Theory**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| “Traditional” society | “Modern” society |
| Large agriculture | Small agriculture |
| Small industry | Large industry |
| Small service | Large service |
| Dictatorship | Democracy |

Source: Clark, William Roberts, Matt Golder, and Sona Nadenichek Golder. *Principles of Comparative Politics, 3rd ed.* London: SAGE Publications, 2013, p. 173.

Przeworski defines Classic Modernization Theory in the following words:

“As a country develops, its social structure becomes complex, new groups emerge and organize, labor processes require the active cooperation of employees, and, as a result, the system can no longer be effectively run by command: The society is too complex, technological change endows the direct producers with autonomy and private information, civil society emerges, and dictatorial forms of control lose their effectiveness. Various groups, whether the bourgeoisie, workers, or just the amorphous “civil society,” rise against the dictatorial regime and it falls”.[[3]](#footnote-3)

On the other hand, maximalist argues that democracy is a system for people. Hence, after elections or formation of government, people should be authoritative to criticize or protest against the policies of government. It means maximalist democrats favor liberal democracy. Now in Pakistan there remained a system of controlled democracy. It means Pakistan’s democratic culture is closer to minimalist democracy. Although Pakistan is not direct minimalist country, yet it has close ties with minimalist posture. During the elections of 1970 and 1977 all of the political parties wanted to hijack print media as well as social mobilization because their aim was to win elections only. Leadership knew that after elections, they would be powerful for coming five years. Monarchy or dictatorship was not acceptable for the people of Pakistan because Pakistan remained under authoritative rule till 1970. Thus, the general elections of 1970 proved first transparent elections in the history of Pakistan.

Historically, Pakistan came into being in the name of Islam. In fact Muslim nationalism was a tool to mobilize people. Stanley kochanek said that Islam and the folk milieu of the traditional order are the two most important influences in the political culture of Pakistan.[[4]](#footnote-4) People were easily attracted by the name of Islam. Now traditionally there is strong hold of Islamic symbols in the politics of Pakistan. Further, Pakistan’s political culture is based on ethnicity, language geography and traditional elitism. In the words of Marvin G. Weinbaum, “The building blocks of a broad political culture in Pakistan undoubtedly begin with Islamic morality, egalitarianism, and ethno-regional cultures­­­­: the Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluch, and Pathan.[[5]](#footnote-5) Although Muhammad Ali Jinnah had never wanted to create any type of division between the Muslims of India, yet division came into being. While responding Syed Ali Zaheer’s letter, Jinnah gave a short reply that the Shias would be treated justly so there is no need to create any kind of division between the Muslims of India.[[6]](#footnote-6) It means founding father of Pakistan was clear regarding religious division, but the political leaders of Pakistan used Islam or its sects to gain power.

**1970 Elections, Symbols/Slogans and results**

In the history of Pakistan first National Assembly elections were held on December 7, 1970. Before the elections, Yahya Khan dissolved One Unit and then West wing of Pakistan was divided into four provinces Punjab, Sind, Balochistan and KPK then NWFP. 1970 elections were on the basis of universal suffrage and direct voting as well as single member territorial constituencies. Now in the politics of Pakistan many other factors entered. According to Craig Baxter, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto came with the slogan of improvement of the lot of “underprivileged” in both urban and rural areas and Shaikh Mujeeb with the symbol of Bengali grievances.[[7]](#footnote-7) Although the PPP and Awami League were the major political parties during the 1970 elections yet there were many other political parties with their different manifestoes and futuristic developments. Therefore, the following paragraphs will deal with the political parties that took part in 1970 general elections.

 Council Muslim League (CML) Daultana was the party with leadership of Mumtaz Daultana. Muhammad Ayub Khehro was also joined the CML and his joining gave some support to the party in Sindh. Daultana put the slogan that they were the only true representatives of Jinnah and All India Muslim League. Daultana said that they had no affiliations with the party of Ayub Khan and with Pakistan Muslim League Convention.

Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum) was the party of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan. He was former Chief Minister of the Frontier Province and a central minister. The prime focus of PML (Q) was on the confederation with the Islamic countries especially with Iran and Afghanistan. Further, there was a group namely the Islam Pasands. This term was used for those political parties which stood for the promotion of religion in the political system of Pakistan. As name shows, they demanded economic, social and political system under Islamic ideology. Likewise, there was a group with the name of Pakistan Democratic Party. This was formed by Nurul Amin. He hailed from East Pakistan. He also stood for the rights and autonomy, but his symbol was not impressive than of Shaikh Mujeeb’s. On the other hand, as the political groups could not feel themselves stronger enough to counter the AL and PPP, they came under political alliances. Thus, four parties, the Niazam-e-Islam Party, the Awami League (8 points), the NDF of Nurul Amin and the Justice Party merged into one Party namely the Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP). Aslam Jiwana group of the Muslim Lague( Convention) and PML-Q came under one shelter. The SUF and the Khuhro group of Sindh made alliance with PML-C.[[8]](#footnote-8)

**Awami League**

Shaikh Mujeeb was the leader of Awami League. The AL was focused in East Pakistan only. In the words of Shaikh Aziz, “In East Pakistan Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, through his emotional and livid speeches, spoke about the injustices meted out to Bengalis since the inception of Pakistan and told them that the only solution lay in his six-point programme”.[[9]](#footnote-9) Awami League was the major party that used its symbols and became victorious. Shaikh Mujeeb put coin of nationalism and attracted people. His party agenda was based on Six Points. As East Pakistan was the majority wing of United Pakistan. Thus, his victory in East Pakistan means victory overall Pakistan. There can be a question that why he used nationalism. He used symbol of nationalism because he knew the grievances of East Pakistanis. Shaikh Mujeeb’s Six Points were directly related with the prevailing condition of East Pakistan. Regarding the economic grievances, he pointed out that all taxing powers should be in the hands of provinces, each wing should be free to collect foreign exchange earnings.[[10]](#footnote-10) It means that Shaikh Mujeeb gave Bengalis a sense of confidence that they will be master of their sources. He raised that symbol of economic sharing during elections that people come and vote him. Further, Ayub’s industrial and agricultural reforms were only for the West Wing. Green revolution and economic boom were not for Bengalis.[[11]](#footnote-11) Now the following figure will also highlight the dominancy of West wing over East:

Figure 2

 **Development Outflow in the Public and Private Sectors**

|  |
| --- |
|  **Percentage of the total Expenditure** |
|  **East Pakistan West Pakistan** |
| 1950-51 to 1954-55 20 801st Five Year Plan 1955-60 26 742nd Five Year Plan 1960-65 32 683rd Five Year Plan 1965-70 36 644th Five Year Plan 1970-75 52.5 47.5 |

Source: Zaheer Hasan, *The Separation of the East Pakistan: The Rise and Realization of Bengali*

*Muslim Nationalism,* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 242.

 The other main points in the Six Points agenda were the separate militia for East Pakistan and two currencies for each wing. Moreover, regarding the ethnic stratification and national movements, Mohammad Waseem quoted the words of Paul Brass,

“The Potential for ethnic nationalism exists when there is a system of ethnic stratification in which one ethnic group is dominant over another, but it is not usually realized until some members from one ethnic group attempt to move into the economic niches occupied by the rival ethnic group. To the extent that they fail to do so or have bitter experiences in doing so, they will protest against the system of ethnic stratification as a whole and attempt to mobilize the ethnic group”.[[12]](#footnote-12)

Likewise, in East Pakistan there was same situation. West wing of Pakistan was dominant, and it treated East Wing as a colony. The symbol of nationalism and sheer support from East Pakistan to Shaikh Mujeeb are linked closely to each other. Now that was the strategy of AL to contest elections. The symbol of nationalism was a strong source of mobilization for the people of East Pakistan. Thus, the results of the 1970 elections were in the favor of Awami League. Now the following paragraph will highlight that why Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto did not use the slogan of nationalism? What were the factors that made PPP second largest party in United Pakistan in the 1970 elections? It can be an interesting question that how within the passage of three years, from 1967 to 1970, PPP became the second largest party in Pakistan.

**Pakistan Peoples Party**

In the 1970 manifesto PPP directly dealt with masses. The manifesto starts with the words of “**Islam** is our faith, **democracy** is our policy, **socialism** is our economy, and all power to the **people** “. Now Islam, democracy, socialism and people are the words of great importance. Bhutto wanted to spread a sense of confidence that PPP was not against the very basis of Pakistan. Hanif Ramay insisted that there should be progressive aspect of Islam because of preventing party looking atheistic/communist party.[[13]](#footnote-13) Democracy was considered as the rule by and of people. Thus, it was also a sign of support. The most important point was socialism because Bhutto was also blamed of being anti-Islam due to his inclination towards socialism. In spite of accusation, Bhutto got popularity through his slogan of *Roti, Kapra* or *Makan* (Eating, Clothes, and Shelter).

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was aware of the politics of Pakistan. “The PPP convention in Lahore November 1967, which officially launched the party and laid out the party’s manifesto, at the convention, Z. A. Bhutto read out the party’s manifesto (that he had written with J A. Rahim) and put it up for debate in front of the participants. Socialism and Pakistani nationalism were at the center of the manifesto”.[[14]](#footnote-14) Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s popularity was based on his policy of direct dealings with masses. Bhutto’s main and strong symbol was **‘Islamic Socialism’**. Islamic Socialism was defined as ‘Masawat-e-Muhammadi’ (the political and economic system of equality and justice introduced by Islam’s prophet).[[15]](#footnote-15) Now it should be kept in mind that Bhutto was not a religious man, but he used Islam to motivate people towards his party.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto used the concept of **Islamic Welfare State**. He said that Pakistan would be a welfare state and there will be equality among the citizens of Pakistan. Hanif Ramay was the person who advised Bhutto to use the term Islamic Welfare State.[[16]](#footnote-16) Bhutto’s all policies were aimed at to turn people as his voters. Along with welfare state, Bhutto involved spiritual leaders into politics. It should be kept in mind that **spiritual leaders** have remained strong in Sindh, Such as Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman, Syed Qaim Ali shah, and etc.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto emerged as a leader of nation. Apart from his national image, he was, to some extent, inclined towards Shiites. During the 1970 elections, party symbol of PPP was sword; sword was referred to ‘**Al-Zulfiqar**’. Al-Zulfiqar was the title associated with Ali’s sword. It was a powerful and emotional symbol for Shiites.[[17]](#footnote-17) In this way, Bhutto controlled the minds of Pakistanis through his strong and meaningful symbols and slogans. In the words of Bhutto himself, “A native system of privileges and exploitation is as odious as one instituted by alien rule. It was, therefore, essential to try to translate the egalitarian spirit of Islam, which continues to inspire our people, into concrete terms of Socialist organization”.[[18]](#footnote-18) Thus, Bhutto tried to merge religion into his socialist ideology to attract the religious, working classes as well as socialist minds.

Apart from religious symbols, Bhutto took **anti-American** and **anti-Indian** stance. According to Mohammad Waseem, “He took up a strong nationalist stance against American imperialism as well as Indian hegemonism”.[[19]](#footnote-19) It should be kept in mind that after 1965 war, people of Pakistan were in the position of humiliation. Thus, the anti-Indian stance of Bhutto during his election campaign boosted his position. Ayub Khan kept sympathy towards America and Bhutto’s sheer critic to America was also favorable for PPP.

Now here it is important to note down that Bhutto was a leader of high charisma, but charisma was not enough to maintain the position of power. Charisma always needs platform. Thus, at the early days of his party, Bhutto was busy in the search of strong platform. After the breakup of the relations with Ayub, Bhutto tried to come close to Yahya because of maintaining his position. According to Asghar Khan:

“Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was…the only political leader to publicly welcome the imposition of martial law. For Bhutto, the end justified the means. The end being the capture of power, he was willing to use every stratagem to achieve this. He had maintained good personal relations with important Generals throughout his tenure as a minister in Ayub Khan’s cabinet and had done his utmost to retain these links even after his exit from the government. He was shrewd enough to know that Yahya Khan was the likely successor to Ayub Khan and had maintained good personal relations with him. His statement welcoming Yahya Khan’s martial law on his assumption of power as President and Chief Martial Law Administration was meant to start his dealings with him on the right note. All his subsequent moves were to follow this consistent approach and throughout the almost 3 years of Yahya Khan’s rule, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto maintained the closest links with him, largely through Major-General Pirzada, the Military Secretary to the President”.[[20]](#footnote-20)

So this is the answer of Bhutto’s sudden rise. PPP’s formation date is 1967 and subsequently Bhutto got power in 1971. His charisma and his policies can be shown in his party slogans and symbols. When he got platform, he announced himself as the sole leader of Pakistan. Bhutto’s military relations, religious inclination, social and democratic links were all for the gaining of power only. He was neither an ordinary leader nor leader of ideologies. But yes he wanted to uplift the morale of Pakistan by any means and he did whatever he could do for Pakistan, such as formulation of Atomic Energy commission and relations with Gulf countries.

 Political culture of Pakistan was like Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto presented or participated. His slogans were for masses and the minds of the masses were mold into his slogans/symbols. Thus, the 1970 elections were in the favor of AL and PPP. JUI was the religious party that also supported Bhutto’s symbols. Nadeem F. Paracha said, “Staunchly opposed to JI and Maududi’s thesis on political Islam, JUI was the only religious party that approved of the PPP’s ‘Islamic Socialist’ philosophy”.[[21]](#footnote-21) Now the following results of 1970 elections will highlight the impact of the symbols/slogans that were used during the elections.

Figure 3

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SEATS OF PARTIES AS PERCENTAGE OF CANDIDATES

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Parties | All Pakistan | Punjab | Sind | KPK | Balochistan |
| Awami League 94.11 - - - -PDP .95 - - - -PPP 67.5 79.48 72 6.25 -PML(Qayum) 6.76 2.85 8.33 41.17 -PML(Council) 5.88 14.00 - - -PML(Convention) 1.61 8.33 - - -JUI 6.66 - - 33.33 25.00JI 2.64 2.27 10.52 6.66 -NAP(Wali) 9.37 - - 18.75 100JUP 14.00 9.75 37.5 -  |

Source: Pakistan, Election Commission, Report on General Election: Pakistan 1970-1, Vol. 1 (Islamabad, 1972), pp. 204-5.

 In this way, with the help of symbols and slogans the two main symbol holder parties won the elections. In the words of Peer Mohammad, “Sheikh Mujibur Rahman’s Awami League swept the 1970 polls in the then East Pakistan, winning 160 of a total of 162 National Assembly seats of the province. The party, thus, secured a majority in the 313-seat house, which was to formulate a new constitution for the country. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s Pakistan Peoples Party won 81 of 138 seats of the four western provinces, qualifying as the second biggest party”.[[22]](#footnote-22) Therefore, after analyzing the election campaigns and use of symbols/slogans, it can be said that the 1970 elections were directly won because of the use of symbols/slogans. The symbol of nationalism in East Pakistan had a strong appeal because of the prevailing situation in East Pakistan. On the contrary, West Pakistan was facing the situation of different nature. Thus, Bhutto raised the slogans of economic betterment and Islamic Socialism and the charismatic appeal of Bhutto gave party a main advantage in the campaign but slight has been done so far in its short life to build up a strong organization.[[23]](#footnote-23) Moreover, the slogans of AL and PPP pleased people more than any other party. The result of the 1970 elections was the outcome of the symbols and slogans that were used by the different parties to contest elections. Winning of Awami League and Pakistan Peoples Party was due to the number of their regional and national slogans. In last Tahir Amin commented that Bhutto broke the strong hold of traditional politics though his catchy slogans and he gave new hopes to the people of Pakistan.[[24]](#footnote-24)

**1977 Elections and Uses of Symbols/Slogans**

The elections of March 7, 1977 were decisive one because the candidates and the parties which participated were presenting strong and influential slogans. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was proud enough to be winner. On the other hand, the strong alliances came into being to counter Bhutto and his ideology. The strongest alliance was of PNA (an organization of nine opposition parties) and PNA held that PPP government was dictatorial, and it would be a setback for democracy if it remains in power.[[25]](#footnote-25) Although Bhutto spread his influence throughout the country, yet PPP got tough time from the religious-cum-political alliances.

**Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)**

 Pakistan National Alliance was a direct threat to Bhutto. A.T. Chaudhry indicates the authoritarian nature in the election manifesto of PNA, “Constitutional issues the PNA stands on firmer ground. While the PPP holds that its five-year rule has provided a stimulus to the growth of credible political institutions and stepped up the process of democratic evolution, the PNA is highly critical of the amendments which have disturbed the original balance between the Judiciary and the Executive”.[[26]](#footnote-26) In this way, PNA’s direct target was Bhutto. The main control in PNA was in the hands of JI, JUI, and JUP. These parties wanted to implement Islamic Shariah in Pakistan but in reality they came to front to oppose Bhutto only. They have no any sense to introduce Shariah as such. It is said that the 1977 elections were rigged and controlled one but here the symbols and slogans will be analyzed and compared to gain results. 1977 elections will prove that symbols and slogans play a mainstream role during the elections.

 The most catchy and attractive slogan during the 1977 elections was Nizam-e-Mustafa (order of Prophet). PNA held that Pakistan came into being in the name of Islam. Thus, there should be Islamic system. PNA said that PPP was the party of whisky leadership. Bhutto and other leader’s personal way of life were criticized. PNA’s all efforts were to infuse a since to hatred in the minds of Pakistanis against PPP.

**PPP with New Symbols**

 In the 1977 elections Bhutto repeated his achievements. In the words of Lawrence Ziring, “The Prime Minister caught the imagination of the Pakistani nation in the 1970 elections with his slogan *Roti, Kapra,* or *Makan* (Food, Clothing, and Shelter). By 1977 he could claim that he had fulfilled the promises made to the public and that his administration was now launching Pakistan on a new program of growth and prosperity”.[[27]](#footnote-27) In this regard, with the starting of 1976 Bhutto began to launch his new symbols to contest next elections. Bhutto announced to celebrate peasant’s day. Bhutto wanted to attract peasants then because he wanted to give expression that he was with the downtrodden people of Pakistan. Apart from peasant’s day, PPP workers distributed a booklet with the name Bhutto says….. This was of the quotations extracted from various speeches of Bhutto. Bhutto knew that his policies of Islamic Socialism were not pragmatic. Therefore, he exercised different tricks for the 1977 elections.

 Bhutto was aware of the PNA’s Islamic symbols. Thus, he celebrated first national Seerat Conference. Seerat conference was a religious step by Bhutto. PNA was a strong alliance of religious dominant parties. Therefore, for Bhutto it was necessary to show some religious symbols. Now here it can be noted that between PNA and Bhutto there was competition none of these were sincere with their symbols, but it was like to counter each other only.

Figure 4

| Seats Won in the 1977 Elections |
| --- |
|  | **Punjab** | **Sind** | **NWFP** | **Baluchistan** | **Islamabad** | **Tribal Areas** | **Total** |
|  |
| Pakistan People’s Party | 107(93%) | 32(74%) | 8(31%) | 7(100%) | 1(100%) | 0 | 115(77.5%) |
| PNA | 8(7%) | 11(26%) | 17(65%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 36(18%) |
| Independent | 0 | 0 | 1(4%) | 0 | 0 | 8(100%) | 9(4.5%) |
| *Total* | 115 | 43 | 26 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 200 |

Source: Overseas *Weekly Dawn* (March 13, 1977), reprinted in Shahid Javed Burki, Pakistan under Bhutto, 1971–1977 (London, 1980), 196.

**Conclusion**

 Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto saw the peak of his power. Although there can be many reasons of his apogee, yet symbols played a vital role in the uplifting of his party. On the other hand, Awami League’s zenith was also related with Shaikh Mujeeb’s symbol of nationalism. Pakistan National Alliance said about the reinstitution of Islam, but it was a tool to mobilize people only. PNA was working on the agenda of different type. PNA’s main focus was to remove Bhutto by hoc or crook. Election campaigns in Pakistan have remained stage dramas. People act on the already written descriptions. So this was seen in the two major elections of Pakistan. PNA was so extreme in its steps that it called its agitations against Bhutto as “Jihad”.

 Findings of the 1970 and 1977 elections show that power of symbols. All the elections encompass widespread role of gatherings and meetings. Thus, from 1970 to 1977 the political parties took painstaking work to establish appealing slogans. History shows that Islamic Socialism, *Roti Kapra* or *Makan*, and Nizam-i-Mustafa were the most pleasing slogans in the history of Pakistan. It is said that 1977 elections were controlled by Bhutto. Either elections were controlled or not, it is not concern here. Here it is going to be observed that how symbols support in the winning of the elections. Now in the above-mentioned research it has been proved that symbols/slogans play a key role during the elections. Politicians use symbols to gain their personal goals. For politicians two things are important: one is power and second is influence. Hence because of gaining of the two things, they participated in elections and use symbols to achieve their goals. Likewise, the politicians used symbols/slogans and took part in the 1970 and 1977 elections. Due to their strong symbols/slogans, they swept elections.

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