



RESEARCH PAPER

Political Parties' Manifestoes: A Comparative Analysis of Political and Socio-Economic Programmes in Pakistan in 1970 Elections

Madeha Nelam

Ph.D Scholar, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar KP, Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

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***Corresponding
Author**

madiham64@yahoo.com

This study examines the election manifestoes and political programmes of major political parties in Pakistan. It focuses on their proposed constitutional, political, economic, social, educational, and foreign policy reforms. The text discusses the manifestoes of the Pakistan People's Party, Awami League, different factions of the Muslim League, National Awami Party, Pakistan Democratic Party, Jamaat-e-Islami, and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam. The study explores how these parties proposed to address issues such as provincial autonomy, federalism, economic inequality, land reforms, workers' rights, education, and the distribution of resources between East and West Pakistan. It also examines their differing views on nationalisation, the role of Islam in governance, constitutional arrangements, and foreign policy. The analysis highlights both shared objectives and differences in the proposed methods of achieving political and socio-economic change. Using a qualitative documentary approach, the study analyses the available manifesto statements thematically. It aims to understand how political parties presented their visions for Pakistan and how their programmes reflected the political and economic concerns of the period. The study is limited to the manifesto material provided and does not independently assess the implementation or electoral impact of these proposals.

Introduction

Political party manifestoes provide an important insight into the political ideas, policy priorities, and future plans of political parties (Budge et al, 2001). In Pakistan, major political parties have presented different approaches to constitutional development, federalism, provincial autonomy, economic reform, social welfare, and foreign policy. Their programmes have addressed issues such as nationalisation, land reforms, workers' rights, education, and the distribution of resources between East and West Pakistan (Fareed, et., al., 2019; Ahmed, 1979; Choudhary, 1974). The manifestoes of the Pakistan People's Party, Awami League, different factions of the Muslim League, National Awami Party, Pakistan Democratic Party, Jamaat-e-Islami, and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam reflect both shared concerns and differences in their political and ideological approaches. This article examines these manifesto statements through a qualitative and comparative analysis to understand

how political parties defined Pakistan's major challenges and proposed policies to address them (Yaseen, et., al., 2021; Kausar, et. al., 2019).

This study adopts a qualitative documentary research design to examine the political manifestoes and programme statements of major political parties in Pakistan. The study is based on the manifesto material provided in the source text, which covers the Pakistan People's Party, Awami League, different factions of the Muslim League, Pakistan Democratic Party, National Awami Party, Jamaat-e-Islami, and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam. The documents serve as the primary material for understanding the parties' stated political and policy objectives, including their positions on constitutional arrangements, provincial autonomy, economic reforms, education, social welfare, and foreign policy.

The collected material is analysed through thematic analysis and comparative documentary analysis. The manifesto statements are organised into key themes, including federalism, nationalisation, land reforms, workers' rights, education, religion and governance, foreign policy, and disparities between East and West Pakistan. The study compares the parties' stated positions to identify common concerns and differences in their proposed policies. The analysis focuses on what the manifestoes explicitly state and does not assume that proposed policies were implemented or achieved their intended outcomes. Since the study is limited to the available text, its findings reflect the material presented rather than a complete examination of every party's manifesto.

Pakistan People's Party

General Aims

The ultimate objective of a classless society, which is possible only through socialism in our time. This means true equality of the citizens, fraternity under economic and social justice. The aims follow from the political and social ethics of Islam. The party thus strives to put in practice the noble ideals of the Muslim faith (Pakistan People's Party, 1970).

The party accepts the possibility of a mixed economy, the existence of a private alongside a nationalized sector. However, it is within the public sector that all the major sources of the production of wealth will be placed. The private sector will offer opportunities for individual initiative in the areas of production, where small enterprises can be efficient. Monopoly conditions will be abolished, so that private enterprise will function according to the rules of competition (Pakistan People's Party, 1970).

Nationalization of industries in the public sector will be all basic and key industries. The principal ones are:

1. Iron and steel.
2. Non-ferrous metals.
3. Heavy engineering.
4. Machine tools.
5. Chemicals.

6. Ship-building.
7. Motor car assembly and manufacture.
8. Equipment for electrical power production, distribution and use.
9. Electronics.
10. Production of arms, ammunition and armaments for defence.
11. Cement.
12. Paper.

To these will be added the new industries which must be established to enable the autonomous growth of the national economy. For example, it will be necessary to manufacture agricultural machinery and equipment in Pakistan, and the commonly used hand tools. All major industries will be nationalized. This will mean taking over into the public sector, textile and Jute mills over a certain production capacity. In private ownership these have been sources of excessive profits, inefficient production, wastage of resources and unhindered exploitation of workers. In the public sector will be not only the large-scale production of electrical power, but also all other sources of energy supply, namely, nuclear material, gas, oil and coal (Pakistan People's Party, 1970).

All exploitation of mineral wealth, both mining and era-processing will be in the public sector. The public sector will completely contain the following and major means of public transport, namely railway, shipping and airways. It will also take over public road transport. Large-Scale export trading, such as of jute and cotton will be conducted by state corporations (Pakistan People's Party, 1970).

Rights of Workers

As a necessary part of their employment in factories, the worker must be provided with housing and adequate means of transportation to their place of work. They will be entitled to paid holidays, and recreation camps will be opened where they can spend their leisure time, will have the right to provide training facilities for improving their skills. Hospitals and free medical attention will be incorporated in the system of workers, welfare (Pakistan People's Party, 1970).

A system of minimum usages, reckoned according to the cost of living, will be enforced both in the public and the private sector (Pakistan People's Party, 1970).

Princely State

No region of Pakistan will be permitted to be governed in the manner of a princely state. All political agencies will be brought in line with the general legal administration of the rest of Pakistan.

Financial Measures

The possession of many institutions in the hands of private parties is the source of exploitation, which uses national wealth and private deposits to create money for financing of monopoly capitalists. All big industries have been set up

entirely on bank loans. Which means, on the money of the depositors? Such loans can be said to have been the bankers. To this sort of abuse, which is inherent in any system where banks are in private hands, there has been added the control of banks in cartels belonging to industrialist families.

Unless the state takes hold of all the banks by making them national property, it will not check inflation the state's financial policy is at present a prisoner of the bankers.

All banks and insurance companies will be forth with nationalized reform of taxation system. The establishment of a socialist order will, naturally, change the present form of taxation, which being designed for a capitalistic society favours the accretion of wealth with the privileged classes.

Agrarian Reform

The party stands for elimination of feudalism and will take concrete steps in accordance with the established principles of socialism to protect and advance the interests of the peasantry.

The promotion of self help groups and co-operatives is the best way to help the cultivators to improve there lot.

Patterns of proprietorship the breaking up of the large estates destroy the power of the feudal landowners is a national necessity that will have to be carried through by practical measure, of which a ceiling is only a part. The size of the agricultural estate will be limited by the ceiling. The norm being the ownership of a maximum of so to 150 acres of irrigated land, the maximum varying from tract to tract and being determined on the basis of quality of social, present productivity and availability of irrigation facilities (Pakistan People's Party, 1970)

Education

Primary and secondary education will be free up to matriculation and primary education will be compulsory and free. A 5 years programme will be formulate by the end of which all the necessary schools must be built and the primary school teachers trained. Free housing will be provided for such teachers, and their children will be exempted from secondary school bearing fees if they opt for the profession of teaching.

More secondary schools must also be established, with the aim that in due course education will become compulsory up to a prescribed age and level of secondary school education.

Among the compulsory subjects in schools, mathematic will be accorded the place of honour and taught by the most scientific modern methods.

Awami League

1. Pakistan shall be a federation granting full autonomy on the basis of the six point formula to each of the federating units.
2. No law opposed to the injunctions of he Holy Quran and the Sunnah will be enacted.

3. Representation in the federal legislature shall be on the basis of population.
4. The basic aim of the economic programme is the creation of a just and egalitarian society free from exploitation.
5. Nationalization of banks, insurance companies, heavy industries including iron and steel, machine tool, heavy engineering, petro chemicals, fertilizers, cement, fuel and power.
6. Nationalization of jute and cotton trade.
7. Alteration in the tax structure to ensure that higher preparations of tax resources are realized from direct taxes.
8. Total ban on import of luxuries, and restriction on domestic production of luxury goods.
9. Revision of wages and salary structures in order to attain a just and equitable distribution of incomes.
10. Government shall progressively acquire shares in equity capital of such industries as are not immediately brought under public ownership.
11. Highest priority for the establishment of small scale industries.
12. Total abolition of Jagiradari, Zamindari and Sardari system in West Pakistan and setting a ceiling upend land-holdings and redistribution of land which exceeds such ceiling to landless cultivators.
13. Exemption of all holdings up to 25 big has (8 acres) from payment of land revenue throughout Pakistan.
14. Measures for flood control in East Pakistan and salinity and water logging in West Pakistan.
15. Basic living wage for the workers and security of service including rent free housing, free medical aid and free education of heir children etc.
16. Rights of workers in accordance with the ILO conventions shall be guaranteed.
17. Free compulsory primary education to all school-gong children within a period of 5 years.
18. Immediate measures to replace English with Bengali and Urdu, the two national languages of Pakistan.
19. Our foreign policy shall be determined by the paramount consideration of safeguarding our territorial sovereignty and national independence.

Having regard to the aspirations of our people and the basic interest of our state, we stand committed to an independent, non aligned foreign policy.

In keeping with the basic principles of “friendship to all and malice towards none”, we wish to live in peaceful co-existence with all countries, including our neighbours on the basis of justice and mutual respect for each other’s sovereignty. In pursuance of the aim of peaceful co-existence, we accord the highest importance to the peaceful and just settlement of all outstanding disputes.

We shall continue to support the rightful struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for the realization of their fundamental right of self-determination and the just settlement of the Farakha problem.

We believe that continued participation in SEATO, CENTO and other military pacts is against our national interests and therefore favour the immediate withdrawal of Pakistan from SEATO, CENTO and other military pacts (Awami League, 1970).

We affirm unqualified adherence to the principles embodied in the United Nations charter, in particular the fundamental right of self-determination of people and the sovereignty and equality of states (Awami League, 1970).

Specific programmes related to each federating unit shall be contained in the manifestos of the Awami League of the federating unit, which shall be drawn up within the framework of the principles laid down in this manifesto.¹

Muslim League (Council)

1. The creed of the party consists of Islam, democracy and economic justice according to the spirit of Islam.
2. A federal parliamentary democracy based on the sovereignty of the people so expressed through regular, fair and free adult franchise and direct elections.
3. Justifiable and exhaustive fundamental rights, the abrogation of the special repressive laws, complete freedom of the judiciary and full liberty of expression through press and other ways.
4. Nationalization and public control of the banking insurance and heavy industries like steel, chemicals, heavy engineering, ship-building, or moments etc, all resources and of all sorts of transport.
5. The profits of all industries based on indigenous raw-materials should be co-operatively and equally shared with labour.
6. The right of workers guaranteed by law, should include minimum wages, share in profits, free trade union organization, right of strike and full insurance.
7. While the maximum limit of land-holding should without any exception be 18,000 produce-index units, namely 250 creases of optimum land, the priority of agriculture in our national economy should be emphasized by cheap and easy provision and maintenance of machinery, improved seeds and fertilizers, reduction in water rates, crop and cattle insurance, guarantee of fair price and application of income-text exemptions to land revenues. Concentration of wealth should be so controlled that private income from any

source does not exceed the equivalent of income accruing from 250 acres of land till every family is assured of a minimum annual income of Rs. 30,5000.

8. Education must be free up to matriculation.
9. Pay and status of the teachers must be radically raised in accordance with nobility and import of their profession.
10. The party is committed to a free foreign policy completely non-aligned with any world-bloc super-powers, and based on the policy of friendship and responsive comradeship, particularly with the Muslim countries, the Far-Eastern nations and China.
11. Repudiation of the SEATO and CENTO and other pacts. Totally committed to Arab struggle in Palestine.
12. Removal of economic disparity between the two wings of Pakistan. To spend all foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan there to stop the flight of capital from that wing, to bring at par the effective fighting and fire-power of the defence services in the two wings and to shift the Naval Headquarters there. Parity in all services and the central establishment for East Pakistan.
13. Retention of defence, foreign affairs, currency and federal finance and inter-wing communications and trade and such other subjects as to be agreed upon with the federal government.
14. Equal opportunity to women.
15. Introduction of Bengali and Urdu as medium of instruction and office work.
16. Full employment by 1975.

A massive shift of emphasis towards.
17. Vocational and technical education.
18. Repudiation of Tashkent pact and rededication to the sacred responsibilities of liberating the people of Jammu and Kashmir, Manavader, Mangral and Junagarh.
19. Ensuring the rights of Indian Muslims as guaranteed by the Liaquat-Nehru pact of 1950.²

Muslim League (Qayyum)

1. An Islamic socio-economic order as it believes that Islam offers a complete basis for the solution of all human problems including socio-economic ones, it is opposed to old ideologies alien to Islam.
2. A democratic constitution.
3. A strong and powerful centre with maximum possible regional autonomy. It would combat all fissiparous tendencies threatening Pakistan.

4. Division of powers between the center and provinces on the lines adopted by other federations, like the United States, Soviet Union, Canada and Australia.
5. A non-aligned independent foreign policy with friendship to all super powers, but would not tolerate intervention of foreign powers in the affairs of national sovereignty.
6. Providing basic necessities of life food, clothes, shelter, medical aid and education to all.
7. Eliminating poverty on the one hand, and is opposed to the accumulation of unlimited wealth by a privileged few on the other.
8. Rationalization of industries but is opposed to nationalization, the party wants to bring all heavy industries under the fold of the public section for optimizing production.
9. Guaranteeing reasonable living wages to workers commensurate with work put in.
10. Abolishing the trading corporation of Pakistan in order to give small businessmen more opportunities.
11. Guaranteeing compensatory allocations for development funds to East Pakistan.
12. Giving top priority to irrigation and flood control in East Pakistan.
13. Reducing land revenue and putting up a ceiling on land holding.
14. Paying more attention to students, education will be revolutions by giving it a vocational, national and Islamic bias. Education would be free up to matriculation and compulsory up to the middle standard.
15. Abolishing 'beggary'
16. Reviewing taxation system with a view to bringing it in line with the interest of the nation, entrepreneur and consumer.³

Muslim League (Convention)

1. Pakistan will be an ideological, state with Islam as its sine qua non. A board comprising of Supreme Court judges, eminent advocates and Ulema will be formed to codify the broad principles of Islam.
2. The center will have five subjects, namely defence, foreign affairs, inter-wing communication. Foreign trade, currency and central taxation. All other subjects will be given to the province.
3. Naval Headquarters will be shifted to East Pakistan and head-Quarters of deputy commander in chief of land and air forces will also be established in East Pakistan.
4. A separate province for northern part of East Pakistan will be created.

5. Rights and privileges according to 'Shria' will be granted to the women.
6. The mosques will be the central basic Zakat, Auqaf income and the incomes accruing from other forms of charity.
7. A welfare state will be established where all citizens will be given statutory or constitutional guarantee for being fed, clothed, sheltered, education, and medically treated.
8. In agricultural sector, ceiling of private land will be substantially lower than the present one.

In West Pakistan self-cultivators will be allowed up to 200 acres only.
9. Loans to be provided to agriculturists will be interest free up to Rs. 2,000.
10. In the industrial sector, consumer industry, basic and heavy industries and the defence industry will be run by the state.
11. After eight years, in production any industry employing 50 workers, will pay 20 percent of its profit to the workers.
12. The government will own 51 percent shares in all banks and insurance companies.
13. Jute trade will be nationalized.
14. Representation in services will be on a population basis.
15. A board of legislatures will act as watchdog on flight of capital and removal of disparities in services.
16. Education in the country will be given Islamic-cum-Technical-cum-Agricultural bias and education up to secondary level will be free.
17. Foreign policy will be in accordance with the ideological leaning of Pakistan.

Issues of Jammu and Kashmir, Junagarh and Farrakha Barrage will be settled amicably on principles of justice and fair play.

Election Issues

If the PML came to power, it would established Islamic rule in the country, would try to secure legitimate rights of the workers, tenants and students.

The party would create a ministry of religious affairs in the country for dealing with religious matters, reorganization of mosques and imparting the right type of training to Imams.

PML would establish a separate ministry of youth welfare and setup youth hostels in all big towns for recreational and professional activities of the student community (Muslim League Manifesto 1970).

Nationalization

At present the nationalization of big industries is not advisable. However if the people were unanimous on the issue, the party would not hesitate in nationalization industries (Pakistan Muslim League, 1970).

Education

PML would grant adequate remunerations to the teaching community and would also setup book banks in big cities for the benefit of poor students (Pakistan Muslim League, 1970).

Kashmir, Farakka

Kashmir and Farakka Barrage issue to be presented before the Security Council.

Pakistan Democratic Party Constitutional Issues

- a. The PDP is in favour of restring the 1956 constitution.
- b. Having a federal parliamentary form of government with a bicameral legislature at centre the lower house being composed on the basis of equal representation of all the federating units.
- c. The centre having defence, foreign affairs, currency and federal finances, inter-wing and external communications, trade, and such other subjects as would be agreed upon.
- d. Maximum provincial autonomy in keeping with viable centre, future constitution on the basis of the 1956 constitution.
- e. Creation of a separate province of north Bengal.

Defence

The defence of the country will be so organized that both wings are self-contained to the maximum possible extent. A defence council will be formed in which both wings will get equal representation.

Naval Headquarter will be shifted to East Pakistan. A military academy will be established and more cadet colleges will be opened in that wing.

Education

The education system of the country will be completely overhauled in accordance with the ideology of Pakistan.

Education will be free, universal and compulsory up to middle standard. A study of the Holy Quran and Islam will be compulsory for all Muslims. Non Muslims will be educated in their own religion.

In the sphere of higher education, the emphasis will be on science and technology.

The universities will be made autonomous bodies, free from outside interference.

The salaries of the teachers will be raised and they will be given a reasonable state.

Socio-Economic Reforms

Economic planning will be made in accordance with spirit of Islamic social justice.

All voted interests and privileges are abolished. Concentration of wealth in the hands of a few will be prevented. Cartels and monopolies will not be allowed. Full employment, middle standard of life and basic necessities will be provided to every citizen.

Zakat will be collected through legislation. The key industries will be nationalized and more and more people will be allowed to share industries.

The size of holdings in East Pakistan will be fixed as originally provided in the East Bengal estate acquisition Act, 1950, no exemption will be given on account of gardens, stud farms etc. Land revenue from holdings of 10 acres or less will be remitted (Pakistan Muslim League, 1970).

Taxation

All income of an individual in excess of one hundred thousand per annum will be taxed at the rate of 90%.

Judicial Commission

A judicial commission will be appointed to inquire whether a person who has held high public office has misused his position.

East Pakistan Problems

Disparity between both wings will be removed within 10 years. Foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan will be equally represented in all services, including the Supreme Court within 10 years.

There will be a permanent bench of Supreme Court at Dacca.

The central public services commission will have its headquarters at Dacca.

National Awami Party (Wali)

1. A federal parliamentary system ensuring sovereignty of the people.
2. Provincial autonomy with the center retaining only defense, currency and foreign affairs.
3. Supremacy of legislatures over the governors and the president who would be just titular heads.

4. All citizens shall have an equal right to participate in the governance of the country and shall equally share in fundamental rights like freedom of speech, press, movement and so on.
5. Adult franchise, joint electorate, and representation according to population.
6. Members of an electorate shall have who violates their mandate. A member crossing the floor should seek re-election-separation of judiciary from executive and curtailment of powers of the bureaucracy to ensure effective democratic control on administration.

Removal of intra-wing and inter-wing disparities. Nationalization of banks insurance, mining and other key industries and of Jute and cotton trade fair prices to growers.

Radical land reforms, fixing ceiling of land holdings and distribution of land to poor and landless peasants, mechanical and scientific farming.

Control of floods in East Pakistan and of salinity in West Pakistan, ensuring cheap supply of foods to toiling masses in rural areas: introduction of a 42-hours working week for workers living wages and security of services to them guaranteeing their right to strike-trade unionism, and collective bargaining, equal pay for equal work for women.

Removal of illiteracy and provision for better education, each province should introduce its own language as medium of instruction, Sindhi and Punjabi and Baluchis should be recognize as national languages.

Foreign Policy

An independent and neutral foreign policy, withdrawal from all imperialist black like the SEATO and CENTO. The party shall render and assistance to the struggle of Arabs and Indo-Chinese people against us imperialism.

Assistance to the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for national liberation against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Diversification of trade and acceptance of foreign aid without strings, better and closer trade and cultural relations with socialist and democratic countries like the German democratic republic, Democratic republic of Vietnam and Korean people's democratic republic and re-establishment of diplomatic relations with them (Lodhi, 1980).

National Awami Party (Bhashani)

The party has not issued any election manifesto. From the speeches of its leaders, the party stands for the following:

1. Provincial autonomy on the basis of the Lahore resolution.
2. Supremacy of the national assembly in framing the constitution.
3. Reservation of seats in assemblies for workers and peasants on population basis.

4. Socialism through peaceful revolution by peasants, workers and intelligentsia, the revolution is aimed at saving millions from hunger, disease and poverty.
5. Socialism with God and Islam as the guiding force.
6. Elimination jagirdari, capitalism and imperialism.
7. Peasants holding 5 acres of land in East Pakistan to be exempted from land revenue.
8. Ceiling of land holding and redistribution of land to landless peasants.
9. Fixation of the Jute price at Rs. 50% per maul.
10. Minimum wages for workers should be fixed at Rs. 250/- persecution of workers in any form should cease.
11. Compulsory primary education, cheap and adequate facilities for technical education.
12. A bridge over the Jamuna River.
13. Eradication of corruption, black-Marketing, bribery and probation of drinking.
14. Establishment of an Islamic University at Santesh, East Pakistan.
15. Flood central with assistance of China.
16. Withdrawal from the SEATO and CENTO.
17. Recognition of the Arab freedom fighters, Vietnamese liberation Army, of Sihanouk of Cambodia.
18. Anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, non-aliened and neutral foreign policy. Closer relations with the socialist countries. Particularly the peoples republic of China (Zaheer, 1994)

Jamaat-e-Islami

Ideological Reforms

The party aims at a reorientation of the education system in such a way that the religious spirit and outlook become the soul of all subjects from the primary to the highest level of education.

National languages should replace English as medium of instruction and public schools should be closed to end the dual educational system in the country.

An atmosphere encouraging to the inculcation of Islamic values should be created in schools and colleges (Jamaat-e-Islami, 1970).

Social Reforms

The social environment should be molded in accordance with the tenets of Islam. Every effort should be made to weed out moral evils to educate the people in matters of religious beliefs and practices. The family planning scheme should be discarded and the challenge of the growing population should be met by improving the resources of the country (Jamaat-e-Islami, 1970).

Economic Reforms

The objective of the proposed reforms will be:

- i. Equitable distribution of wealth.
- ii. Prevention of concentration of wealth on a few hands.
- iii. Extirpate of all forms of exploitation.
- iv. Equal benefits of economic progress to all.
- v. Extirpate of poverty.
- vi. The guarantee that no citizen goes without the provision of the basic necessities of life.

To achieve these objective the Jamaat plans to

1. Confiscate all Jagirs (old and new) which have been obtained through illegal means.
2. Break all monopolies and cartels in industry.
3. Arrange the sharing of the major trade and industry by the people.
4. Proscribe all forms of usury and interest, state exchange, gambling, illegal sales, boarding etc.
5. Limit the land holdings to less than 150 acres.
6. Fix the minimum wage at a level that it is enough to meet the requirements of an overage family.

Foreign Policy

The corner-stone of the foreign policy as envisioned by the Jamaat will be the fact that Pakistan is an ideological state and that it aims at the propagation of truth and right-cousness the Jamaat will adopt a middle course in respect of the policy it will (Jamaat-e-Islami, 1970):

1. Oppose imperialism in all forms and in all parts of the world.
2. Favour all nations which have been subjected to tyranny.
3. With from SEATO and CENTO.

4. Take effective steps for the solution of the Kashmir problem.
5. Establish good relations with all powers with particular emphasis on the development of cordial relations with the Muslim countries of the world.

Minorities

The Jamaat assures all the civic and legal right to the minorities.

Constitution

1st Phase:

The Jamaat wants to revive the 1956 constitution with the following amendments:

- a. A bicameral legislature should be formed in the centre with proportional representation in the lower house and equal representation in the upper.
- b. The old provinces should be restored in West Pakistan. Quetta and Kalat divisions and Lasbela should form the new Baluchistan province. Karachi should merge with Sind and Bahawalpur should be made a separate province.
- c. Central subjects should be defence, foreign relations, currency federal finance, foreign trade and communications, and other agreed subjects. Centre should have powers to levy taxes to meet the expenses of these departments.
- d. Except for the above subjects the other powers should be given to the units and they should enjoy complete provincial autonomy.
- e. The tribal belt should be merged with Pakistan, the residents should be given the right of vote and Pakistan laws should be made applicable there.

2nd Phases

After the 1956 constitution has been amended as per above suggestions and power transferred to the assembly the constitution should be further amended in the light of the following:

- a. The Quran and Sunnah should be clearly declared as the "chief source of law".
- b. All unreasonable restrictions and limitations imposed on fundamental rights should be removed.
- c. Rules regarding preventive detention should be changed so that no one is deprived of his liberty without due process of law being followed.
- d. Judiciary should be completely separated from executive.
- e. The powers to suspend fundamental rights during emergency should be cancelled.

Election Stand

1. Establishment of Islamic system in the country.
2. Solution of economic problems as enunciated by Islam.

Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (Hazarvi)**General Aims**

The means of production should be controlled by the state the people should be allowed to earn their livelihood through Halal and not by Haram means.

Head of the State

Head of the state should always be a Muslim subscribing "Sunni" school of thought.

Nothing should be encouraged which goes against Quran and Sunan.

Salaries

The difference between the highest to minimum possible extent.

Social Security

Provision of job opportunities and other basic needs of life are the responsibility of the state and should be guaranteed by the constitution as such (Mukerjee, 1972).

Share of the Workers

The workers should have a share in the ownership of the factories and should be provided free housing, free education for their children and medical care. The worker's share in factories could increase to an adequate level through reinvestment of bonus given to them by the managements (Mukerjee, 1972).

They should not be made to work more than eight hours.

Minimum wages of a worker under the prevalent socio-economic conditions should be fixed at Rs. 300/-per month.

Agriculture

The land belongs to those who actually cultivate it and not to the absentee landlord. All lands belonging to these who did not cultivate it or who got them allotted a bribe or favour would be confiscated.

Distribution and such that a maximum profit should go to cultivators rather than to middle man.

Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (Thanvi)

1. Sovereignty lies with the God almighty and he is also the source of Law.

2. A federal parliamentary system. A strong centre.
3. Full provincial autonomy, central subjects as follows.
 - i. Defence (ii) foreign affairs (iii) currency (iv) international Trade one inter-provincial trade and communications.
4. The province will have full control over all other subjects.
5. East Pakistan would be split up into two provinces, one of which will be north Bengal.
6. The society will get rid of the curse of interest and it will be prohibited in all its forms.
7. The banking system will be based on joint investment enterprises to be run on the principles of Shirkate-Mazarbat.
8. The stock exchange, gambling and un-Islamic hoarding will be restrained.
9. The rights and privileges of labour class will be safe-guarded and it will be ensured that full reward of labour is given to them.
10. Legislative compulsion for payment of Zakat.
11. Uncultivated lands will be offered by the government free of cost to the poor agriculturist and interest-free loan to make land cultivable.
12. Immediate steps to control floods in East Pakistan of Urdu and water logging and salinity in West Pakistan.
13. Free education at least up to metric.
14. Promotion of Urdu and Bengali as national official languages.
15. Abolition of co-education and introduction of separate syllabus for women.
16. Salaries of teachers would be raised.

Conclusion

The manifesto material shows that major political parties in Pakistan presented different approaches to the country's constitutional, political, and socio-economic challenges. Although their ideological positions and policy proposals varied, several common concerns appear across the text. These include economic inequality, poverty, workers' welfare, land reforms, education, and the organisation of the federal system.

Provincial autonomy and the relationship between East and West Pakistan formed important parts of several parties' programmes. The Awami League placed particular emphasis on autonomy based on the Six-Point Formula, representation according to population, and measures to address economic disparities. Other parties also proposed changes to the distribution of powers, representation in public

services, and the allocation of resources. However, their approaches differed in the extent of authority they proposed for the central government and the provinces.

Economic policy was another major area of discussion. The Pakistan People's Party and Awami League proposed nationalisation of key industries and financial institutions, while other parties presented different combinations of public control, private enterprise, welfare measures, and economic reform. Land redistribution, limits on landholdings, workers' rights, and access to education also featured in several programmes.

The manifestoes further reveal differences in the proposed relationship between Islam, constitutional governance, and public policy. Their foreign policy positions also included varying emphases on non-alignment, international cooperation, regional disputes, and military alliances.

In conclusion, the documentary analysis demonstrates that these manifestoes contained a range of political and economic visions for Pakistan. They provide useful material for understanding the policy priorities and ideological differences of the parties represented in the text. However, manifesto proposals alone cannot establish whether the parties implemented their promises or how these programmes affected political developments. Further research comparing the manifestoes with party actions, parliamentary records, and historical outcomes would provide a fuller understanding of their significance.

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