

Scenario 280

GEN ELECTIONS 2024-IV

FORM 45 PLAY IN ELECTIONS 2024

The substandard (and failed) conduct in the 8th February 2024 election continued to haunt the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) even weeks after the voting day. After failing to meet the ***legal deadline of 22nd February 2024*** to publish all Form 45s, the Commission finally released the documents on 7th March 2024, in the process triggering another storm of complaints regarding blatant and rather crude manipulation of electoral results.

[WHAT'S FORM 45: *The Form 45, which is a tally of all votes cast at a polling station for each of the contesting candidates, is the formal documentation of the first and most important step in the post-poll vote-counting exercise. A copy of it is supposed to be issued to the nominee of each candidate who witnesses the count of ballots. Since the result of an election is built on the consolidation of individual Form 45s issued by presiding officers from each polling station, the integrity of these forms is what ultimately legitimizes the poll exercise.*]

In the case of the 2024's general election, many candidates had complained that the Form 45s they received from the presiding officers in their respective constituencies were showing very different results than those announced by the ECP after unlawful and as yet unexplained delays. ***There were several rival candidates and even entire parties endorsing the PTI's claim of victory on various seats based on the Form 45s collected by them, even though official results had declared some other candidate as the winner – all tell the same story of changing stories of ECP's blatant manipulation and fraud.***

Since the ECP's copies of its Form 45s had not been shared till the above said date, it was impossible to determine where exactly the official count and the Form 45s issued to candidates had deviated. ***The documents now released by the ECP seem so full of inconsistencies and errors that they have bolstered the persistent allegations of widespread***

tampering with results and strengthened independent observers' demands for a transparent audit of election results, daily **DAWN** dated 8th March 2024 opined officially.

Where, on the one hand, the ECP insisted on rigid interpretations of election rules and laws to deny the PTI its bat and the *Sunni Ittehad Council* (SIC) its share of reserved seats, the nation started looking the other way. The ECP violated its own legal deadlines and failed to explain the glaring anomalies in its announced results – taking sides of the PMLN openly.

In this Form-45 case, duplicity should not have been condoned by the judicial forums, especially by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Given how crudely vote counts were overwritten in some of the Form 45s shared by the ECP, the Commission must have explained why it considered it appropriate to announce winners and allocate seats based on seemingly tampered documents without conducting some kind of cross-checking first – the whole ECP could have been sent behind the bars.

The higher courts could make out a judicial inquiry committee, comprising of the judges, and must organize an immediate, independent audit of the election results that had been contested; all important stakeholders should have been invited to witness. It would prove extremely difficult for the nation to move forward unless such trends and practices at the level of constitutional bodies be curbed.

Re-writing the words of **Group Captain (Rtd) Parvez Mahmood** in '**THE FRIDAY TIMES**' dated 12th February 2024:

*"The nation has spoken. It has spoken as loudly as it did on 7th December 1970.... Now once again, the nation finds itself at another critical juncture and waits in agony to find out whether those holding the reins of power repeat their fatuous history. **Will they act with fear and hate or with wisdom?**"*

As a wise proverb says: 'One should never act out of fear, nor due to hate and jealousy. These are three sins that convert a man into a beast....' From that infamous night of 10th April 2022, when the Supreme Court assembled at the stroke of midnight to invalidate the National Assembly Speaker's ruling, to the Supreme Court's infamous denial of election symbol to Imran Khan's party, many people were killed, humiliated, tortured and incarcerated. It would be prudent for everyone to remember history - as no tyrant has gone unpunished, either physically, or by the history.

[The Shah of Iran, Videla of Argentina, Pinochet of Chile, the Myanmar juntas and their ilk live in infamy. We all remember Imam Hussain (AS) and Saint Peter. Millions of Muslims proudly trace their lineage to that great tortured family and their companions. However, the world denounces their tormentors ever since - they are not even owned by their own progeny.]

2024's rogue ECP-manipulated elections left a story of outright theft, injustice, fraud and usurpation, during the process of compilation and announcement of results. The nation would suffer for this deceit and deception for a long while. In the previous tragic episode of this nation's history, the elections were held on 7th December 1970 where people had opted for a soft coup. On denial of peaceful transfer of power to the winner, three and half months later, East Pakistanis declared independence on 26th March 1971; a bit later, the GOC of Pakistan's Eastern Command had to sign the instrument of surrender in a publicly humiliating ceremony.

There were some points to ponder for in the after-math of the 2024 Elections:

- □Within the country & the world over the impression prevailed that the Elections – 2024 were rigged in Pakistan. - □Based on the above presumptions what course could be followed. There were two options; firstly:

- 1- *To resort to violence, Chaos, road blocks, damaging public property, & push the country to a situation of no return.*
- 2- *The other & more pragmatic situation was to keep people within legal & constitutional bounds, & proceed within the ambit of Law. Not letting the tempers over run our patience.*

The second option didn't sound to be appealing to the emotion ridden charged voters. But the leaders had to play a sobering & pacifying role. □The Doves must prevail over the Hawks. □There were sane voices to initiate the process of a round table conference, comprising all stake holders to sit and take the country out of the mess. For intelligentsia, the elections-2024 meant a chance to revive and handle Pakistan in a just way. Pakistan's economy had been consistently fallen behind globally – 2023 year was one of the worst, with the economy actually contracting. ***Every macro fundamental was flashing red: inflation, growth, debt & investment, to name a few.***

The general populace had never seen such hopelessness. The mighty establishment that was calling shots from behind was also clueless though

was striving through SIFC. BUT they couldn't expect foreigners to believe in the country when Pakistani people were losing all hope in fact - ***it was in that backdrop the Feb 8 elections were held.***

People were going mad and they were right - 442,353 children died in Pakistan just in year 2023 due to poverty; but the politico-establishment was busy playing its usual games – putting this one in jail, and that one in parliament this time. Through elections-2024, the ***relevant class*** had obviously sensed the people's anger; in post Feb 8 scenario, the distance between the ruler & the ruled went wider. No one had a plan to fix the economy. But even if they magically did somehow, they would hardly survive – because they successively lost all trust with their people; they would be foreigners in their own land if at all they survived. **For some: ELECTION-DRAMA was an interesting 5-day test match 2024 with seats-score:**

- **Day 1: PTI 179/Noon 35;**
- **Day 2: PTI 136/ Noon 57;**
- **Day 3: PTI 96 Noon/78;**
- **Day 4: PTI 95 Noon 79 and then *tea break.***

The elections took place on the 8th February 2024: ***A soft coup or a bloody anarchy? There was not much time to decide.***

INTELLIGENTSIA CRIED HIGH:

See **A TRIBUTE** - Posted by ***Gen Salauddin Tirmazi*** (Ex- Federal Minister PMLN) about Imran Khan at most media pages on 13th February 2024.

"It no longer matters what we think of him; it is not important anymore whether we regard him as corrupt or innocent, view him as efficient or incapable, place him on a high moral pedestal or at par with his opponents.

*What many of us do not realise is **that his fall was orchestrated**, his rise was ordained, his ouster was managed by a few, and his comeback is destined by the majority.*

His fall from grace may have been planned by humans, his rise to glory is destined by divinity; he has already reached a place where our opinions carry no weight since now, only Allah's decision matters.

What a great drama unfolding right before our eyes.....Historical times; this day will be part of our history remembered for long....One brave man rose to change the fate of 220 million people; one against all, politicians of various ilks joined together by greed, and greed alone.

People had accepted their condition as a given, unchangeable; their future generations condemned to crawl like insects against mafia that had eaten into the vitals of the nation, till one man and one man alone told them that was not their destiny, they were meant for something better.

He showed them how, practically, by standing in front of them - handsome and beautiful, a sublime figure larger than life, too good to be true.

Sacrificing a life of great luxury, his beautiful family, his gorgeous wife his country of adoption to land amidst a miserable country on the verge of collapse, he gave them a vision, hope, dream.

He told them to realize their true worth; he told them not to crawl when they could fly; he told them they were endowed by the Almighty with wings.

He led from the front, rode the caravan fearlessly; debunking all fear and possible instantaneous death.

This is stuff of legends unfolding now in sight of the whole world.

By submitting to the vision cognitively, emotionally even if not behaviorally.

For I wish I could be as brave as MY LEADER.

Bravo Imran Khan, Bravo All Pakistanis.

**Imran Khan is a living legend in political history of Pakistan."*

IK TERMED 'KING OF CHAOS' – WHY SO?

In the above back-drop of Gen Tirmazi, also see an analysis of Mr M Hanif for the general elections-2024 in Pakistan titled as **Pakistan's 'King of Chaos' Imran Khan keeps winning even behind bars** – as appeared in **BBC** dated 3rd March 2024 which said that Pakistan's general elections-2024 were supposed to bring in a period of stability, badly needed to deal with crippling inflation and bitter political divides in the country. But instead, they delivered a minority government - a shaky, reluctant coalition that was unsure of its own mandate.

Two weeks after the elections, the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) led by former prime minister Nawaz Sharif and Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Bilawal Zardari announced that they would form a government but that the PPP wouldn't be part of it. The midnight announcement by the leaders of both parties was made in subdued tones and had the air of a shotgun wedding – in fact, Pakistan was that rare democracy where everybody wanted to be the prime minister. BBC continued:

*"The establishment - a synonym used by local media for Pakistan's powerful military - always believed that **general elections are too sensitive an exercise to be left to civilian politicians. This time around they opened their old election playbook and used every trick deployed successfully in the past.** The main contender Imran Khan was put in jail to face more than 150 criminal and civil charges, all of which he denied vehemently. A week before the elections he was sentenced in three cases - in one he was accused of contracting a marriage in a hurry. His party **(PTI), was denied its election symbol and a united platform; were forced to contest as independents.** Many were evading police raids instead of campaigning in their constituencies. His main opponents were cleared of many cases against them and given a free hand to campaign."*

On the Election Day, social media and mobile phone services were shut down, apparently for security concerns **but in reality, to ensure that Khan's supporters didn't have easy access to the polling booths and would find it hard to identify their (independent) candidates on the ballot paper.** Khan's supporters showed remarkable ingenuity, formed WhatsApp groups, improvised apps and websites overnight and reached polling booths and managed to find their candidates. His party used AI-generated speeches to convey the message of their jailed leader. Imran Khan's prison ID number was turned into an election slogan.

The PTI workers campaigned guerrilla-style and sprang a surprise on Election Day. Despite all types of rigging against it, his Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) still emerged as the single largest party in elections.

The Khan-wave on Election Day was too strong to be reined in by routine rigging. The establishment used 20th-Century tactics to tame a digitally-shrewd generation - and lost. To the military's tried and tested machinations, the voters' response was polite and defiant:

'...thank you, but no thank you, we are not as ignorant and illiterate as you think we are. We may not be able to take you on in the streets, you have your guns, but here's our stamp on the ballot. Do what you will with it.'

[BBC's analysis dated 3rd March 2024 is again referred]

The seasoned agitator: Imran Khan didn't get a simple majority in parliament, refused to align with any other parties to form the government and decided to sit in opposition. He built his campaign and overall charisma by portraying his opponents as corrupt. He was unwilling to share power with the politicians he had been attacking most of his political career.

The state, judiciary and allegedly the establishment too had denied every public platform to the PTI leadership, workers and supporters – but Khan pulled off an election victory from his prison cell with communiques sent through his lawyers and close family.

HIGH-PROFILE VOICES SPARKED, TOO:

NOW see a mind-blowing script from a former IGP, ***Tariq Khosa***, appeared at print and electronic media including daily **DAWN** dated 28th April 2024:

..... Elections have winners and losers, but their legitimacy through a fair process is crucial. (Pakistanis) have the police and armed forces to protect them, but who would protect the people from them? Someone need to answer this question.

"The deep state's behind-the-scenes political engineering (in elections-2024) may be a tactical win for the string pullers, but it reflects their much larger strategic failure with regard to our democratic future. To the declared winners went the spoils, leaving the declared losers with the burning sensation that the election was

illegitimate, and the stolen mandate could not be accepted. What happens when the will of the people is violated? We cannot afford another gridlock leading to misadventure.

In Pakistan's context, institutions like courts, law enforcement and intelligence agencies have lost the trust of the citizens. This is simply a failure of governance because of institutional hubris. The institutions of restraint, that promote the rule of law and enforce accountability, stand exposed. The police, to my mind, is the worst culprit, or a toothless victim, which has acted as an instrument of persecution wielded by conniving, cruel, shadowy and unaccountable elements of the deep state. When exposing a crime is treated as committing a crime, it is nothing other than tyranny.

*Accordingly, humility can be a bulwark against absolutism, and an antidote to the present era of grievance. **Angry democracy**, according to Nobel laureate Prof Daniel Kahneman, **is a "nasty world of critiques, replies and rejoinders, whose aim is to embarrass"**.*

Let us start by admitting our failures. In the recent elections (of 8th February 2024), we messed up counting votes; we manipulated results and cobbled together a coalition of politicians who lack legitimacy and moral authority. However, all major political parties and their leaderships have gained power with overt or covert support of the establishment that includes the deep state. Almost all of them have been the beneficiaries or victims of the machinations of the power brokers. The present dispensation is the product of the project of political persuasion pursued by the establishment. The leadership of the PTI, PML-N and PPP have all faced incarcerations and persecution."

After 9th May 2023, when Imran Khan was arrested for the first time after his government's dismissal, his supporters rioted, and the crackdown that followed was swift and brutal. Most of the PTI top leadership was abducted and pressured to part ways with Imran Khan - some condemned his politics, others quit politics for life. The establishment wanted to send out a clear signal that Imran Khan and his party were finished. With Khan in jail, as the election drew closer, the party was taken over by second-tier leadership and local faithful who were crucial in organizing the battered party's campaign to victory.

The then state actors were certain that the PTI leader would not be allowed to return to power, but the workers showed through their vote that they

wouldn't abandon him just because the army wanted them to. The intelligentsia knew: ***'Imran Khan, when out of power, is the king of chaos, unleashing his wrath not only on his political opponents but the army establishment as well.'***

Before he was arrested and put away, Imran Khan claimed in his speeches that he was ousted at the behest of the US for pursuing an independent foreign policy; famous CYPHER CASE is referred. His opponents say that all his policies while in power were only about his own ego and whimsy. When in power, he spent more time hounding his opponents than he did running the country. While in government Khan seemed distracted and failed to make timely decisions to rein in runaway inflation - it was the whole truth but even then the general populace loved him.

The critics held the opinion that ***'...he is a seasoned agitator'***. When his party lost the 2013 elections, he campaigned relentlessly to get the results overturned and laid siege to the capital Islamabad. He was able to do it with the establishment's backing. Later, that he overturned to the establishment's enemy number one. His party decided to sit in opposition, but Imran Khan was likely to play his politics not in parliament but out on the streets (once more), with public rallies and social media.

The new PMLN+PPP+MQM government was being dubbed as a ***coalition of losers*** - it literally was a coalition of parties that were soundly beaten by Khan in the said elections - for two weeks after the election results there was no enthusiasm to form a government amongst Khan's opponents. For the first time, leading politicians instead of laying claim to power were reluctant to accept responsibility. There's reluctance to govern because Pakistan was facing a crushing debt crisis and rising fuel and food prices made life unbearable for the working classes. With the army's increased role in every sphere of governance, ruling politicians were reduced to going around the world asking international donors for bailouts.

Imran Khan thrived as a dissident-rebel; he didn't opt to turn into a submissive version of himself to become acceptable to the establishment. ***His rage against the redundant political business clans made him the most popular leader in Pakistan*** - even his losing opponents were seen reluctant to govern. This was the perfect environment for Imran Khan to continue his crusade, even from his jail cell as the country's most famous prisoner - number 804.

COURTS & TRIBUNALS FLOODED...:

Pakistani courts were flooded with petitions immediately after the elections 2024 with the main allegations of rigging on the grounds of counting, Form 45 miss-handling and changing the results under the control / advices of the ECP. The Lahore High Court received the majority of these petitions, followed by the Islamabad High Court and the Sindh High Court. Next day, the Election Commission announced the results for 259 out of 265 seats, with PTI-backed independent candidates emerging as the winners in the National Assembly.

The courts in Pakistan faced a downpour of petitions as many of the candidates, supported by Imran Khan's PTI party, alleged rigging in the election. PTI-backed independent candidates emerged as the winners in the National Assembly (NA) with 102 seats, followed by the PMLN with 74 seats, the PPP with 54 seats, the MQM with 17 seats, and other smaller parties winning 12 seats. The result for NA-88 was initially withheld due to complaints of fraud - to be announced after addressing the grievances. The petitions filed in the Lahore High Court also challenged the victories of PMLN leader Nawaz Sharif, his daughter Maryam Nawaz, and Aleem Khan, the President of Istehkam-e-Pakistan Party (IPP).

Various high-profile politicians, including former Punjab chief minister Parvez Elahi and his wife Qaisera, former Khyber PK finance minister Taimoor Jhagra, former speaker Mahmood Jan, former Punjab health minister Dr. Yasmin Rashid, and Rehana Dar, the mother of Usman Dar, had also filed petitions. The petitioners argued that their opponents were declared winners based on Form 45, which was the primary source of election results at the lowest level. However, they claim that their victories were turned into defeats in Form 47, which summarizes the results from each polling station. The candidates alleged collusion in the alteration of election results and demanded that Form 47 should have been prepared according to Form 45s.

Political analysts, local & foreigners both, held that in 70 percent of the seats, the election results were as expected, but disputes arose in 30 percent of the seats. The focus of the debate was on the seats won by the PMLN, with questions being raised about several of their candidates who were initially losing but were declared winners overnight. The formation of the government in Pakistan remained uncertain, with predictions of a minority government.

In addition, a petition was filed in the Supreme Court of Pakistan to require independent candidates who were elected to join a political party within three days of the official notification of their victory. PTI candidates had contested as independents due to restrictions on using the party symbol, a cricket bat.

The petitioner argued that independent members in the national or provincial assemblies should be considered unfair, illegal, unconstitutional, and against the parliamentary form of governance. The petitioner cited Article 51 of the Constitution, which outlines the procedure for determining the number of National Assembly seats and the functioning of the house.

On 5th June 2024: The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) accepted for regular hearing applications filed by all three winners of National Assembly seats from Islamabad seeking the transfer of election petitions to some other tribunal. A three-member bench headed by CEC Sikandar Sultan Raja while issuing notices to the respondents fixed next day as the date of hearing.

- The 3 MNA's winning was initially challenged by the PTI on 12th February 2024.

Anjum Aqeel Khan, Dr Tariq Fazal Chaudhry and Raja Khurram Shahzad — declared winners from NA-46, NA-47 and NA-48 respectively — also prayed to stay proceedings in the tribunal till the final disposal of their applications. The counsel for Raja Khurram Nawaz objected to the remarks by the tribunal; as his client felt harassed by the remarks; *'You should not be afraid of jail if you have not done anything wrong,'* the CEC remarked.

The counsel said it was beyond jurisdiction of a tribunal to send some party to jail. He sought orders of the ECP to immediately halt the proceedings before the tribunal; but was told that there was only one tribunal for Islamabad.

The counsel for Anjum Aqeel Khan said the ECP could also transfer the cases to some tribunal in Khyber PK. Objections were also raised over what was called *'speedy trial'* and the comparison of the ECP's record with that provided by the petitioners. Tariq Fazal Choudhry's lawyer claimed that according to the Code of Civil Procedure (CPC) the tribunal was under the ECP; a candidate produced a document from his pocket which the tribunal promptly accepted without being cross-checked. He claimed that no legal regulation had been adopted and the proceedings were initiated.

When the CEC asked whether the tribunal should proceed with the case, the lawyer argued that under the Election Act the commission had the authority to establish and change the tribunals as needed. The CEC queried the legal basis for halting the proceedings. The counsel for petitioners also said the tribunal instead of acting like a trial court was exercising powers of the high court.

The three MNAs in their applications had expressed apprehensions that they will not get justice from the tribunal where their cases were pending; that the right to fair trial was the corner stone of justice and refers to Article 10-A of the Constitution.

- ***The case came up for hearing two weeks after an audit of key election documents revealed that all the declared winners from Islamabad actually had obtained less votes than the runners-up.***

Under section 155 of the Elections Act, any person aggrieved by the final decision of the Election Tribunal in respect of an election petition challenging election to an Assembly or Senate may, within 30 days of the date of the decision, appeal to the Supreme Court.

On 8th June 2024: CEC Sikandar Sultan Raja indirectly blamed judiciary for the complications witnessed during the process for general elections 2024. While hearing applications filed by all the three MNAs from Islamabad seeking transfer of petitions pending before the tribunal against them, Mr Raja said *'....he went to the then chief justice of Pakistan and chief justice of the Lahore High Court and requested them to spare judicial officers for performing duties as DROs and ROs, but to no avail.'* The remarks came when Faisal Chaudhry, who appeared before the ECP's four-member bench as counsel for PTI-backed candidate from NA-46 Aamer Masood Mughal, termed the 8th February elections **the most rigged polls in the country's history.**

It was discussed before the tribunal that bureaucracy had been tasked with holding the elections twice — in 1977 and 2024 — and on both times they failed Pakistan. The CEC's remarks about non-availability of judicial officers for poll duties were also seen by many as an admission that DROs and ROs drawn from the bureaucracy had failed to deliver. Faisal Chaudhry argued that ECP can neither make redundant the tribunal constituted for the capital, nor can it regulate its proceedings. *'You cannot sit as a revisional or appellate authority on the orders of the tribunal,'* he told the bench.

It remained a fact that the applicant, a respondent in the case before the tribunal, had neither submitted a response, nor did he raise any objection over the election petition being time-barred there. The tribunal had granted extra time to the applicant (MNA Anjum Aqeel Khan) for submission of his reply, yet he had failed to submit his reply; he alleged that the application had been filed with malicious intent to cause damage to the answering respondent's lawful cause - as the application was vague, cursory, and based on surmises and had been prepared on a misunderstanding of law on

whimsical basis. ***The applicant had brought the presiding officer of the tribunal into ridicule, hatred and contempt*** - aimed at delaying the proceedings before the tribunal.

After hearing the arguments, the ECP reserved its decision on the tribunal transfer case.

ELECTION TRIBUNALS STAYED BY IHC:

On 13th June 2024: The Islamabad High Court (IHC) stayed the proceedings of the newly-appointed Election Tribunal against the election results from the federal capital's three National Assembly seats won by PMLN candidates. IHC Chief Justice Aamer Farooq in a two-page written order stated: *'The proceedings before the Tribunal, constituted vide notification dated 07-06-2024 are stayed. Let main case as well as all pending applications be listed for 24-06-24.'*

- **[On 10th June 2024;** the ECP ordered the transfer of the petitions against the three MNAs from the capital, to the tribunal led by former Justice Shakoor Paracha.]

According to the IHC's written order, the ECP's transfer order was without lawful authority, and the reasons provided by the ECP were erroneous. In the transfer application, allegations of bias were levelled against the tribunal's presiding officer, who was a judge of the IHC. However, no justification or basis for these allegations was provided. That the ECP had wrongly exercised its jurisdiction by invoking Section 151 of the Elections Act, 2017. Also, that the language used against the tribunal was ***'contemptuous, vexatious and scandalous'***. Reading of the transfer application shows that *in ground-f of the application, contemptuous language has been used*, CJ Aamer Farooq had expressed anger over the change of the Election Tribunal in Islamabad.

Justice Aamer also inquired:

"Why the tribunal has been changed? The government explain to me that this amendment was abolished years ago, and now they have brought it through an ordinance. How can the acting president issue an ordinance? What was the emergency that the ordinance came overnight? Let the system remain a system."

The petitioner challenged vires of Section 151 of the Elections Act, 2017, along with Ordinance No5 of 2024 and the order dated 04.06.2024 passed by the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). Prayed to the court to declare Ordinance V of 2024, namely, the Elections (Amendment) Ordinance, 2024, maybe declared ultra vires; adding that the ECP may be restrained from hearing the application for the transfer of tribunal filed by respondent No 03.

Till 12th October 2024: Only eleven percent (11%) petitions could be disposed of, as ***the election tribunals disposed of only 40 petitions out of the 334***. The FAFEN, systematically tracking the election results' disputed being heard by election tribunals, in its report claimed that legally-preferred deadline had lapsed for many petitions. The FAFEN claimed the tribunals were legally required to dispose of all petitions within 180 days of filing, subject to the time spent resolving objections on petitions. However, the ECP much later notified eight election tribunals in Punjab after a prolonged legal disagreement with the Lahore High Court; those tribunals had yet to commence proceedings till October 2024. The slow pace of disposals in other provinces, coupled with the late start of tribunals in Punjab, made it unlikely that all pending petitions would be resolved.

Of the 40 disposed of petitions, only four pertained to National Assembly seats, while the remaining 36 related to Provincial Assembly seats. Regionally, Baluchistan tribunals disposed of more than half of their petitions (28 out of 51), Khyber PK (KP) tribunals resolved 10 percent (four out of 42), and Sindh tribunals resolved seven percent (six out of 83). In Punjab, only two out of 155 petitions were decided, and none of the three petitions from Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) had resolved. With the exception of two tribunals in Baluchistan, no tribunal rendered verdict of any petition after a full trial. Most of the petitions were dismissed on technical grounds.

About the National Assembly, two petitions from Sindh and one each from Baluchistan and KP were resolved. For Provincial Assemblies, 27 petitions from Baluchistan, four from Sindh, three from KP, and two from Punjab could be resolved till October 2024.

Of the 40 disposed petitions, three were accepted, and 37 were dismissed. The three accepted petitions were filed by losing candidates for the Provincial Assembly seats in Baluchistan – two by Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Pakistan (JUIP) and one by a National Party (NP) candidate. These petitions were filed against winning candidates from the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentary (PPPP) and Baluchistan Awami Party (BAP). In all three cases, re-polling in specific polling stations was ordered.

Among the 37 dismissed petitions, 11 were deemed non-maintainable due to non-compliance of mandatory legal requirement in filing the election petitions, 15 were dismissed for lack of evidence, seven were withdrawn by the petitioners, two were dismissed for non-prosecution, and the reasons for two could not be determined due to unavailable judgments. Among the dismissed petitions, nine each were filed against returned candidates of PMLN and PPPP, six against PTI-backed independents, four against JUI-P, three against unaffiliated independents, two against NP, and one each against returned candidates from BNPA, BNP, Muttahida Qaumi Movement Pakistan (MQMP), and BAP.

According to the petitions tracked by FAFEN, the election outcome in more than one-third (36 percent) of geographical constituencies across the National Assembly and four Provincial Assemblies were challenged. This proportion was consistent with the disputes raised following the 2013 and 2018 General Elections, during which 385 and 300 election petitions, respectively, were processed by the tribunals.

For Provincial Assemblies, 211 out of 593 geographical constituencies (36 percent) had their election results challenged. This included 32 percent of constituencies in the Punjab Assembly, 38 percent in the Sindh Assembly, 73 percent in the Balochistan Assembly, and 25 percent in the KP Assembly. Losing candidates of PMLN filed 33 petitions, nine for the National Assembly and 24 for Provincial Assembly constituencies (22 Punjab Assembly and one each for KP Assembly and Baluchistan Assembly). Of these, 32 petitioners were runners-up in their constituencies, while one finished in third place.

PPPP candidates filed 26 petitions – four for National Assembly and 22 for Provincial Assembly constituencies (10 Sindh Assembly, seven Baluchistan Assembly, three KP Assembly, and two Punjab Assembly). Of those, 20 PPPP petitioners were runners-up, while the remaining six placed third in their respective constituencies. JUI-P filed 24 challenges – four for National Assembly and 20 for Provincial Constituencies (nine Baluchistan Assembly, six Sindh Assembly and five KP Assembly). Unaffiliated independent candidates filed 23 challenges – six for National Assembly and 17 for Provincial Assembly seats. Candidates from GDA filed six challenges – one for National Assembly and five for Provincial Assembly constituencies.