

A History of Formation and Working of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1946-1955: An Historical Perspective

PhD Dissertation

Submitted by

Kalsoom Hanif

Roll.No 02

Supervisor

Prof.Dr.Muhammad Iqbal Chawla



DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB

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Abstract:

This study seeks to explore institutional history of Punjab Legislative Assembly 1947-55. Focus would be on evolution and building of this institution in newly formed country. Achievements and failures of the Punjab Legislative Assembly would be focused in the context of institutionalization. Three main indicators durability, autonomy and differentiation have been borrowed from Kevin T. McGuire's and Huntington's institutionalization and would be applied. Electoral politics in Pakistan will be analyzed because in the Election of 1950 many anomalies and injudiciousness committed will be brought into focus. Political dismemberment and instability in the Institution of Punjab Legislative Assembly which affected the social and economic process in early years of Pakistan would be evaluated. The study aims at to answer the main question, whether external or external forces are the main determinants of the performance of the Assembly. While answering the history of institutionalization in Pakistan from 1947-1955 would be explored. Moreover the interrelationship between Legislative assembly and other institutions of Pakistan such as bureaucracy, judiciary, and army would be examined. Much work has been produced to highlight the role of various institutions such as military, bureaucracy, political parties in politics of Pakistan but historian generally ignored the significant role of the legislature as an institution. Although in modern democratic scenario it is playing key role to protect and promote democracy.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Today there are five primary institutions of Pakistan namely legislature, bureaucracy, judiciary, military and media who are playing important role in the smooth running of the government machinery. At times, it is observed that when one institution faces challenges the other institutions start interfering. Legislature is one of the important pillars of a country.

Institution of the legislature is mostly shown weakness in its functioning and other institutions also did not let it function as envisioned in the constitution. One of the major argument of the critics is that the internal weakness in the formation, functions and rules of the legislature has had led other institutions to get public support and thus overthrow the legislature. This has caused derailment of democracy many times. Therefore, it is high time to understand why the institution of legislature has not been properly working and why other organs of the state letting it down. This study seeks to explore, examine and analyze the history of Punjab Legislative Assembly (PLA) from 1947 to 1955 as an Institution because institutionalization is a practice by which an organization acquires a specific way of performing its function. Strong institutions can play vital role for the development of the country. In a democracy, political parties and working of the legislative body/bodies are the core components that make successful running of the democratic process in the country. In national or provincial assemblies the elected representatives of the people frame constitution and make amendments. The legislature may be simply defined as a body of institution or persons of the state vested with the law of nature making functions of the state.

Pakistan, on the contrary, has been less democratically run country. It has been relatively tough for its law makers or electorate to declare itself against to the powerful government or bureaucracy.¹ Institutions have never been sufficiently strong in Pakistan and the country has typically been ruled through authoritarianism.² political development in legislature has demonstrated clearly that colonialism had a tremendous impact on the development of the representative Institution Muslim politicians in pre independence days could not acquire much

¹ Robert C. Fried, *Comparative Political Institutions*. New York: Macmillan Co.1966.p.7

² Mahboob Hussain, Power Dynamics of State Institutions in Pakistan, Discourse Analysis of Bureaucracy and the Legislature (1971-1977). *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies* Vol. 30, No.2, July – December 2015, p.178

experience in the art of government because of the lack of discipline party is in the legislature more over the by the colonial power public was not allowed to work out their charter therefore politicians who were independent even, unable to carry out their functions.³

On the other hand, the executive always plays a superlative role within the national affairs as close to the role of the legislature. Even though the forces which do not originate from the legislative Assembly control the state, the political players consider the institutions of legislative Assembly as essential part of political structures of modern world. It can, thus, easily be claimed that the administration is a representative of the people and the legislature represents the public view. It was for this reason that all the four armed services regimes arranged the elections, whether they were political party-less, created assemblies which granted the authenticity and legitimacy to the military rule.⁴ Modern legislatures perform various functions for example in the selection and appointment of officials administrative or judicial in the control of Administrative action in the amendment of national constitution in the investigations of various problems of society and in the redress of grievance but the prime function of the Legislature is to make laws including the imposition of taxes and appropriating of money they play an important role. By making laws and appropriating public money legislatures in democratic system determinant the task of the executive and set the limits within which the government can operate.⁵

A vigorous and strong legislature is therefore essential if the modern state is to fulfill its key functions the strength of the legislative body Riggs argues stems from its base in the electoral system political parties and the interest groups.⁶ In democratic countries members of the legislative are chosen through an electoral process characterized by popular choice which serves to legitimate their rule. As Riggs's reviews that electoral ineffectiveness is a feature of most political system in development countries and that such ineffectiveness occurs as a result of extension of plate bureaucratic influence into local government there for electoral ineffectiveness is one of the reason for the inability of Legislature to function as a central governing bodies in such political systems. An effective vigorous legislature is also impossible without strong

³ Mustafa Chaudhary, Pakistan: its Politics and Bureaucracy, Delhi: Associated publishing House, 1988.p.212

⁴ Waseem, M. (2006). Democratization in Pakistan, A Study of the 2002 Election. Karachi: Oxford University Press.p.30

⁵ John.M Pfiffner and Robert Presthus, *Public Administration*, 5th ed, The Ronald Press company, 1967.pp522-523

⁶ F.W Riggs, *Bureaucrats and political Development*. Princeton University Press, 1963.

political parties. Unless political parties system is vigorous, legislature fails to organize their activities. Elected members of the legislature sometimes serve as puppet of the party. Another requisition of an effective legislature is existence of vigorous and loyal opposition.

The study will explore PLA as an institution from 1947-55 that could not function accurately and in political system of Pakistan it could not play its legitimate role and thus democracy could not attain strong footings in Pakistan. Therefore, it is important to understand why institution of Punjab Legislative Assembly failed to generate a powerful political, social and economic structure in the province and why leadership of Punjab failed to keep regular contact with masses and why federal structure could not work properly that led to creation of one unit. It is also important to explore what type of role of Punjab Muslim League played in the Punjab legislative assembly especially before and after the provincial election of 1951. It will also examine the causes and effects of the imposition of Governor Rule in Punjab and also working of the Federal structure during the period under study.

Another dimension of the study is that it deals with the regional history of Pakistan and thus Regional history approach would be applied by focusing on the province of Punjab which apparently seems to have dominated the political fabric of Pakistan. Exploring and analyzing the history of Punjab legislature one can understand what will be the dynamics of Pakistani politics in the future. It also discusses how Punjab manipulated to maximize its political and bureaucratic role from 1947-1955. As Ilyas Chattha wrote that “tensions between central government and the provinces can only be comprehended by reference to studies of localities”⁷.

Due to ethnic diversity every segment of the society has different aspiration and priority. In order to feed their aspiration and needs, people start to promote the regional politics. As Munakata⁸ is of the view that regionalism refers to those institutions that are established by Government in order to promote integration for economic development.

Pompal⁹ says that regionalization is bottom up and societal driven process. On the other hand regionalism primarily based on the process of institution building in order to promote and

⁷ Ilyas Chattha, Faction-building in Pakistan: Sir Francis Mudie and Punjab politics, 1947–1949. *Journal of contemporary South Asia* Volume 22, 2014. Pages 225-239 www.tandfonline.com/toc/ccsa20/22/3"

⁹ Revisiting the imperialist History of International Law 1511-1972

develop the inter-State cooperation. Katzentein ¹⁰ describes the regionalism of process of institutional practices for cooperation and regionalization refers to a process that involves actors. According to the Hurrel ¹¹ it may be defined as the promotion of societal integration and cooperation within an area.

Before independence Punjab played pivotal role in the Pakistan movement. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was really satisfied with the abilities of leaders of Punjab that's why in the Punjab four members of the assembly were sworn in the cabinet ministers among them Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot as the Chief Minister holding Law and Order and General Administration; Mumtaz Daultana incharge of Finance and Industry; Sirdar Shaukat Hayat Khan holding several portfolios, namely Irrigation, Revenue, Information, Excise and Taxation, Rehabilitation, Islamic Reconstruction Cooperatives and Electricity and Sheikh Karamat Ali the only urbanite, was incharge of Education and Public Works Department holding important portfolios.¹² Unfortunately after 1947 Punjab legislative assembly faced crucial situation as compare to other provinces of Pakistan. Settlement of refugees, allotment of property, peace maintenance, health and education were main issues of that time. This study attempt to cover eight years of institution of Punjab Legislative assembly in which my focus is to highlight its evolution and building process.

Preexisting colonial political structure had established in Punjab feudal and landlords who remained strong even after independence. Punjab was annexed by the British in 1849, on the facade that between the Mughal and Sikh regimes and new colonial government, there were most important differences was seemed that had preceded it. In terms of the state's institutional capacity, ability to penetrate society and logistical reach, at the disposal of the British colonial government, the biggest difference between them was the infrastructural power. By setting up a formal, modern bureaucracy eventually that closely controlled agricultural production and regulated in the province on a scale under previous regimes that had not been possible simply and introducing a legal system that could enforce and implement a plethora of laws intended to safeguard the interests of the landed allies and British government. To engender an institutional

¹⁰ P.J. Katzenstien, regionalism in comparative perspective. Cooperation and conflict

¹¹ A Hurrell, Regionalism in theoretical perspective, Regionalism in World politics: Regional organization and International order.

¹² Ahmad, Saleem., *Pakistan of Jinnah* . lahore: Brothers, 1993.p.37

transformation that to a great extent long-drawn-out the power of the state and its skill to respond and monitor, at every level of government developments was aim of the British government.¹³ To highlight the role of these personas in the building of institution of Punjab legislative assembly is propose of the study under Huntington,s theory of Institution as he says from the interests of individuals who are part of the institutions Institutional interests. "Applies to individuals in the long run individuals are all dead", not institutions. Individual interests based on are inevitably short-run interests. However institutional interests exist through time; the advocate of the institution has to consider to its wellbeing through an imprecise future. A limiting, of immediate goals is often means of this consideration. Aristotle remarked the "true policy,"for oligarchy and democracy alike, but one which will ensure the longest possible life for both, is not one which ensures the greatest possible amount of either."¹⁴ On June 23, 1947 voting in the elections Punjab Legislative Assembly were 1946 held and as a result the East Punjab Legislative Assembly and the West Punjab Legislative Assembly, had been divided into. 91 numbers of members were included in West Punjab Province; they were sitting members elected from different constituencies of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1946. With effect from 15 August, 1947 to the renamed West Punjab Legislative Assembly these members were declared to have been reelected. On January 5, 1948 first sitting of the Assembly was held. Second session of the Assembly was held from March 15, 1948 to April 9, 1948 which was last session of the Assembly which was. 29 sittings of the Assembly were held over two sessions. When on January 25, 1949 the Governor dissolved it. 1 year, 5 months and 11 days was a period First Assembly worked after independence in this way.¹⁵

In 1949 West Punjab Legislative Assembly was dissolved and about two and a half year was followed reason was assortment of political developments in Pakistan which was newly born country. The Province of West Punjab in 1951 was named as Province of Punjab in 1951 general election was held as a result under the Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947; Punjab Legislative Assembly consisting was constituted with 174 Members. First sitting was held on from May 7, 1951 and on March 31, 1955 Assembly met for the last time. Assembly had life of 4

¹³ Ali Imam, *The Punjab Under Imperialism, 1885-1947*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.1988.P.9

¹⁴ Aristotle, *Politics* (trans. Ernest Barker, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 267

¹⁵"WPLA proceedings." 1948.

years 5 months and 8 days total 114 sittings over 10 sessions of the Assembly were held and on October 14, 1955 on the formation of one-unit Assembly was ceased to be exist¹⁶

This period needs to be explored the personal jealousies, clannish rivalries and vested interest created factions in Punjab legislative assembly which weakened its organization and working of the institution. Research examines Political culture of the landlords rooted with factional conflict, dominated legislative assembly. This factionalism was encouraged by bureaucracy the first chief Minister of Punjab, Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot but Daultana and Sirdar ShaukatHyat was not satisfied from leadership of Mamdot but majority of the assembly was supporting Mamdot as he was president of the Punjab Muslim League as well so Daultana and Shaukat Hayat Khan resigned from Punjab Legislative Assembly. Rafiq Afzal¹⁷ as early as December 1947 within months of Pakistan's existence, looks apart in the Punjab Muslim League, Daultana complained that "often decisions of the cabinet were influenced by a Nawab of Mamdot,s shadow cabinet". Daultana decided to bring down the Mamdot regime by obtaining control of the Punjab Muslim League Party as Muslim League remained ruling Party not only in Punjab but in center as well. In November 1948 when he became as Punjab Muslim league President, with that capacity he advised central Government to dissolved Punjab legislative assembly. Governor General dissolved Punjab Legislative assembly as Talbot says dismissal of feudal ministry under section 92 A of the provisional constitution. From that day till election Punjab remained under Governor Rule. From 10 to 20 March 1951 elections were held in Punjab and for the Punjab it was the first electoral experience after independence. The provincial legislature in Punjab consisted of 197 seats. These constituencies through an act of Governor of Punjab had been created by the legislation when Punjab legislative assembly election act was enforced. Due to the dissolution of the institution of Punjab Legislative assembly these elections were scheduled by Governor of the Punjab Sardar AbduRubNishter in January 1949. Interestingly enough on 30 March 140 seats Muslim League had but it increased to 153 on very next day and it had 166 members four months afterwards. Having weakness crept into its lines despite of, it still was the well planned part in argument. In the minds of many, its image was

¹⁶"Proceedings." Punjab legislative assembly, Jan 5, 1951.

¹⁷Rafiq, Afzal. *Pakistan History and politics*. Karachi: Oxford University press, 2001.p.57

still fresh as the founder party. Whereas Electoral Reform Commission Report¹⁸ wrote thrashing victory of Muslim League, despite it was expansively noted that upon the electorates these elections were nothing but “a mockery a farce, and a fraud. Election of 1951 in Punjab was first elections in Pakistan which set the trend for other provinces and general elections in Pakistan. In the final result of the electoral activity, provincial elections of 1951 it had been very important to analyze predominant role played by the executive which was good example of extreme centralization.

After gaining an obvious power in the province, Mumtaz Daultana started interfering in the affairs of the Central Government. His ministry in the Punjab was trying to destabilize Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din's administration in the center, like organizing *Anti-Ahmadiya* disturbances for which he willfully misused public money which was not intended for it. In the early years of Pakistan, Government of the Muslim League in Punjab Legislative assembly, instead of focusing on resolving the problems of its masses, it mainly revolved around its' political leadership for their personal interests which not only degenerated its fame within the province rather it had effected its recognition in the entire country.

Ministers did not work properly and even Governor Rule was imposed 1949-1951 to carry out the business of the administration of Punjab. Punjab was the key province of the country that is why whatever happened in the Punjab legislative assembly impacted not only the province but the whole the country. Causes of Political dismemberment and instability in institution of Punjab Legislative assembly which affected the social and economic process should be evaluated. Dissolution of Ministers of Punjab legislative assembly badly affected planned programs and policies of Government. Unfortunately planning and work done by the Government of previous time was condemned by the each Government which came into power and formulated their own strategies and framed their own plans of development and left their claims without even achieving the objective of plan. Punjab Ministry from the beginning showed sign of disunity and lack of cohesion. There were disputes regarding the delimitation of function between the various ministers.

The Ministers in charges of Industries insisted upon dealing with everything that was connected with abandoned industries under taking. The revenue Minister had to be consulted on

¹⁸"Electoral Reforms Commission report." 1956.

all questions of anoned land, and many matters proposals for rehabilitations were initiated and final decisions were taken by him. The west Punjab Premier controlled the machinery for the allocation of the houses and shops. To complicate matters abonded avacuee property presented a attraction to many of the laeading figue in which districh auccumed and these usurpers looked to one Minister or another for political protectionsIt was partly as a protest against this division of authority and the constant involved that the West Punjab refugees Minister, the confusion regarding the function of the various ministries had the desastricous result of making each Deputy Commissioner a law unto himself in his district. The Pakistan Punjab refugees Council had to exert itself a great deal to bring order out of the administerative chaos produced by devided authority. The problem under research is that politics in modern times is focused on the people for the people and is played by the people. People, in turn, are represented by the legislature. In political system, shaping the direction legislature it means, are the most essential element of the nature and level of political development. Basically military and bureaucracy are institutions of the state whereas legislature is the institution of society. Like that of Pakistan in the developing countries, to counter the control of society and its representative institutions state institutions are strong enough. Or in other words, they will be not capable to defend the benefit of the society if the representative institutions of society are weak. Natural outcome of this weak point is supremacy of the dictatorial institutions of state. The political system of the society weakend consecutively. In such a complex state of affairs, Political development fells victim to more complexities.

This study will make in depth analysis of the working of the institution of Punjab legislative assembly as it faces a burden of refugees with little resources and diminuend machinery, when central government and Sind government was not cooperating with Punjab on refugee issues. Many immigrants dropped off the train before reaching Multan and their number was less than 1200 when train entered rohri.¹⁹In spite of all initial problems institution of Punjab Legislative Assembly succeeded to reorganize the life of the Province and develop the field of education, health, road communication and other public works and economy of the Province to some extent.

¹⁹"proceedings." west Punjab, jan 5, 1948.

Conceptual framework:

Chronological factor is also one of the tools to measure the process of institutionalization as Huntington says “political institutions are not created overnight, political development is slow particularly when compared to the apparently much more rapid pace of economic development”.²⁰ Huntington says that” procedures and organizations obtain stability and value the process of institutionalization”.²¹ Basically regularized system of policy making, it refers to the development. A political community used to extend normal conduct of doing things, routine by organizational capable with authority and resource.

An Institution is a comparatively continuing organized practices and collection of rules , entrenched in the structures of resource and meaning r egularized system of policy making Metthew Holden,s ²² Concept of Institutions used in different branches of knowledge Institutionalization recomends to the progress of suitable structure of law making. Samuel P. Huntington ²³ Robert E. Gooding²⁴ Max Weber²⁵ Polsby²⁶ Kevin T. McGuire²⁷ has worked on this concept. Applying the theory of McGuire and Huntington my aim is to examine the institutional history of Pakistan Punjab legislative Assembly. Relying on various measures used by McGuire and Huntington as Durability, coherence, adaptability and autonomy institutional history of Pakistan Punjab Legislative assembly will be analyzed. Measures of institutionalization as Huntington M McGuire says consisted of four criteria: autonomy, adaptability, coherence and complexity, and regularized system of policy making. McGuire argues that there are three indicators through which we can measure the level of institutionalization Differentiation,

²⁰Huntington, Samuel P. *Political order in changing societies*. London: Yale University Press, 1968.

²¹ Ibid.p.12

²²Matthew Holden, Jr. Matthew Holden, Jr, Exclusion, Inclusion and political institutions in the Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

²³Huntington, Samuel P. *Political order in changing societies*. London: Yale University Press, 1968.

²⁴Goodin, Robert E. *The theory of institutional design*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

²⁵Weber, Max. *Political Writings*. 1994: University of Cambridge Press, 1994.

²⁶Polsby, Nelson W. "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives." *American Political Science Review* (The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives. *American Political Science Review* (1970). Nelson W. Polsby, University of California, Berkeley.), 1970: 145-62.

²⁷McGuire, Kevin T. "The Institutionalization of the U.S. Supreme Court." *political analysis*, 2004: 12.

durability and Autonomy.²⁸He defined differentiation as a common perception of the institution's role by clearly demarcating the role and responsibilities of the members of the institution. Physical Location helps to gain it importance in political system, a unique identity and independence. Durability, The aptitude to continue and adapt to modify and change, organization's mission is acknowledged by its coequals, Internal norms not individual personalities.

Huntington wrote about the strength of the Institution that in a complex society, political procedures and organizations are power on which Political community of the society thus depends upon. In turn power depends upon the ability of carry on for the rank of institutionalization and procedures and organization.²⁹Scope refers to the level to which the political procedures and organizations include action in the society. The scope is limited if only an upper class group small in number related to political organizations act in requisites of a deposit of procedures. a large section of the population on the other hand is politically structured and follows the political procedures, Institution is stable, valued, recurring patterns of behavior, the scope is broad. Procedures and organizations vary in their scale of institutionalization.

Autonomy

Autonomy as Capacity of institutions to make and implement their own decisions, establish boundaries, other indicators he used are: Complexity, Coherence, Congruence, and Exclusivity. McGuire also argues that Institutionalization enhances the impact of the organization Significance of its decisions: landmark decisions, Institutions are governed by larger forces like socio-economic. Hintington says at its more concrete level on one side autonomy involves dealings between between political organisations, and social forses on the other. In this scnerio political institutionalisation means the expansion of political procedures and organisations which are not only the reflections of the benefit of any social group particularly. From other spheres of society, political institutions have some autonomy, internal differentiation, adaptive and absorptive capabilities, and coordination of offices, roles with specified responsibility and authority. Johen P. Olsen explains Autonomy not being subject matter and as self-governing to the influence of the external or any person, supranational unit, institution, and

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ Huntington, Samuel P. *Political order in changing societies*. London: yale University press, 1968.p.16

state then applies to a number of units and raises questions about what the affairs between rival conceptions of autonomy are, and whether diverse types of collective independence prohibit or enhance other types of individual and collective autonomy.³⁰ New groups emerge to play a part in politics in every society affected by social change. The political system where lacks autonomy, these groups expand entrance into politics without acquiescing in the established political procedures or becoming recognized with the political organizations that is already established. The political procedures and organizations are not capable to stand up against the collision of a new social strength. On the other hand, autonomy of the system in a developed political system is sheltered by mechanisms that moderate and restrict the influence of new groups.

Complexity

The second Criterion is complexity from which level of institutionalization can be measured. As it is Complex in organization as institutionalized it is in complexity according to Huntington involves both differentiation of separate kind of organizational subunits and development of organization units hierarchally and functionally. An organization more complex is the more institutionalised exceedingly it is. Generally complexity involves both the differentiation of their various types and reproduction of organisational subunits. Comparatively traditional, primal, simple systems are usually beleaguered and devastated in the process of modernisation. McGuire says with one type of problem, if an institution for dealing effectively has developed a set of responses, and if it is then confronted with new issue, the organization may be not capable to deal with any new challenges and might become a victim of its past successes. Though, the first obstacle is the major one and the way for successful adaptation subsequently challenges were paved by achievement in adapting to one environmental challenge. For all organizations some changes in location such as changes in human resources are foreseeable and an organization itself produced other changes in circumstances. However The systems more complex, are likely more to adapt such fresh demands. Complexity involves often both differentiation of separate types of instittutional subunits and multiplications of institutional subunits. The greater the capability of the institution to secure, the greater the number of

³⁰ John p. Olsen, Democratic Government, Institutional Autonomy and the Dynamics of Change, ARENA Working Paper (online) | ISSN 1890- 7741, 2009. https://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english/research/publications/arena-working-papers/2001-2010/2009/WP09_01.pdf

subunits, and maintain the loyalties of all its members. An institution can better able to fiddle with to the loss which has many purposes inspite of institution which has only one purpose. Within an institution the differentiation of subunits may or may not be based with purposeful lines also. However changes of the whole in the functions are roles of the subunits and reflected by shifts in the power. In addition, if the subunits who are multifunctional, have greater institutional strength, but to the organization overall they may also contribute less flexibility.

Coherence

The third Criterion of measuring the level of institutionalization is the extent to which political procedures and organizations be autonomously of the social grouping and method of behavior if political institutions are found to be vulnerable to outside influence, it is just like that the institutionalization level is low, the force Criterion is coherence. The more coherent and unified an institution is the then it is more institutionalized. Coherence of an organization can be measured by availability of procedures for resolving disputes the foregoing discussions make it clear that by using attendance criteria it is possible to Maya the degree of political development in a particular country. Institutionalisation and Coherence are x relative to one another institutionalisation. Integrated organisation would better institutionalise. Huntington has further show and has tried to explain the interrelationship between institutionalisation and participation through an equation as:

$$\text{Political Instability} \\ \text{Political Participation} = \\ \text{Political Institutionalisation}$$

The equation relates political participation to political instability directly and to the political institutionalization anversly. In other way it shows that the less there is political participation the less chance there will be for the political instability in a country. Surely, Huntington treats political participation as a ratio between political institutionalisation and political participation, but with the obvious reason that if the political participation exceeds the level of political institutionalisation, its going will terminate into instability. But, if the institutionalisation is extra than political participation it, ll result other wise. Let us assume for same logic in another way that the term of political instability is the opposite of political development or political order of as Huntington himself has handled with both, it explain in the following pattern as:

Political Institutionalisation

Political Development = Political Participation

There is conceptual tension implicit in this set of indices, for example the complexity of institutions is inherently disruptive of coherence, because with the increase of complexity the number of interrelationships between various components of an institution also increase, which costs in terms of coherence. "The autonomy of institutions is likewise not necessarily helpful for the adaptability. Similarly, complexity may also lead to pluralization of social groups which is counter to undermining autonomy itself."³¹ Huntington applies this framework. He argues that behind social and economic change the most important problem of politics is the support in the growth of political institutionalization. He also explains that the development and growth of any political institution rely on the connection between political participation and political institutionalization as the result of participation capacity of the political institutions can be increased, to accommodate change, a stable political system should be maintained. In fact Huntington highlights the significance of political parties as highly important instruments in both totalitarian societies and democratic. It is also a fact that in transitional societies balance between bureaucratic strategy implementing structures and political strategy making institutions such an imbalance normally favours bureaucracy the political functions tend to be appropriated is substantially calculated by bureaucrats.³²

Adaptability

The more adaptable a system and institution is, the more well institutionalised it is and the less adaptable or more rigid it is, the lower is its level of institutionalisation. As an acquired institutional quality, adaptability is a function of age and environmental challenge. In turn, age, can be considered in three ways i.e. simply generational age, chronological age and the functional age. McGuire highlights that how the U.S. Supreme Court's members are exaggerated by the setting of institutional. How has that environment of the institutional altered over time and of those changes what have been the political consequences? In spite of substantial analysis of the institutional dynamics of executives and legislatures, political scientists have been sluggish to bring time sequence techniques to the study of the Supreme Court, and result of that is much less came to be known regarding its evolutionary path. While measuring a diversity of institutional

³¹ J.G. Grumme, A Paradigm for the comparative Analysis of legislative system, Beverly Hills, 1973.p.14

³² Leonard Binder, Iran: Political development in a changing societies, University of California, 1962

distinctiveness, he builds an index of the Supreme Court institutionalization from 1790 to 1996. This pointer suggests that into the system of federal policy production, the integration of the Court has better permit the justices to suit their objectives. The troubles of practical adaptability are not very dissimilar for political institution. A political party increase its functional age. When it moves its task from the representation of another, when it moves from opposition to Government, it also increases in functional age. A party that is not able to to acquire power and bring change in constituencies is less of an institution than one that is able to make these changes. Function of a nationalist party has been the promotion of independence from colonial rule after achieving its goals faces a major crisis, has to adapt itself to to some extent different task of run the country. ³³

The existence of a strong modern Bureaucracy in a political system characterized by weak representative institutions hinders political development that in such a system Bureaucracy cannot be effective and responsible and that Administrative Reforms cannot be carried out. Moreover Huntington pursue his analysis of modernization essentially in processual terms i, e. terms of a continuous and open ended process of change from simpler to more complex institutions according as their productivity increases. Pakistan inherited from the colonial days. That leads to analysis of the nature and scope of the State, its institutional penetration into the Pakistan society, which according to Huntington, its formulation may be the key to understanding the level of political development in this country. Legislatures exist within political context as well as strength of organization and internal resource extremely affects the development, formation and work of legislatures. Old procedures and institution however are not essentially adaptable if they have existed in a fixed situation. Over a period of time in addition if institution has progressed a series of response for dealing affectively with one type of problem and it is then confronted with an totally different reaction, the institution may well be unable to adjust to the new challenges and be victim of its past success.

Individuals and institution thus change significantly in their growing ability to settle in to changes. Individual generally grow up through adolescence and childhood without profound commitments to extremely definite functions. The procedure of commitments starts in late adolescence. More and more committed to the performance as the individual of certain functions and to unlearn the responses he has got to assemble environmental changes. Michael Kugelman

³³Ibid. P.17

says that “Pakistan faced always institutional failure, institutions are not able to solve the troubles faced by the people and ultimately guide to economic failure If leaders are sincere enough for transform system in Pakistan then they have to first get the institutions effective working again.”³⁴

If an institution has developed a series of responses for dealing effectively with one type of problem, and if it is then confronted with a new issue, the institution some time become a victim due to its past achievements and is not able to deal with any new challenges. However, the first problem is the major one and achievement in adapting to one ecological challenge paves the way for unbeaten adaptation to challenges subsequently. Some changes in a society, such as changes in recruits, are unavoidable for all institutions and other changes in circumstances may be brought by an institution itself. Often complexity brings both multiplications of institutional subunits and differentiation of split kinds of institutional subunits. If number of subunits is greater, the ability of the institution would be greater to maintain and secure the loyalties of all its members. Multipurpose institution is better than institution has only purpose. Within an organization the differentiation of subunits also may or may not be based along practical shape. However changes in the functions of the whole are roles of the subunits and reflected by shifts in the power. Furthermore, multifunctional subunits have greater institutional force, but they may also put in less flexibility to the institution on the whole. For example, a political system has less institutional flexibility that has parties of social combination than one with parties of exclusive representation.³⁵ Samuel Huntington also looks at the relationship between political institutions and public interests. A state with feeble political institutions lacks the capability to control the parochial desires and excesses of personal. Without strong political institutions, society cannot get the means of realizing and defining its common wellbeing. The capacity of the creation of political institutions is the actually the capacity to generate and follow public interests.

³⁴ Michael Kugelman and Ishrat Husain ,Pakistan’s Institutions: We Know They Matter, But How Can They Work Better? edited by ©2018 The Wilson Center.2018

³⁵ Samuel.P. Huntington, political development and political decay,*World Politics*, Cambridge University Press,Vol. 17, No. 3 (Apr., 1965), pp. 386-430

There are number of economic, social, intra institutional, political factors which are believed to be determined fundamental relationship between legislatures and the executive. These are social factors like interest groups, political History, civil society, culture media, economic factors and constitutional dimention as political factors. Intra institutional factors like members and chamber and finaly party dimention. The genral design is that through time institutions move they be likely to accept definite qualities and drop others. Spacifically the institution which are typical is considered more autonomous, adaptive, complex, coherent, and universatistic and less subordinate, simple, particularistic, disunified rigid.³⁶ This formulation of political development of Huntington has taken legislature as an important institution of the political system suits to the present study. Hypothesis of the present study is taken same in the context of Punjab. Therefore it is hypothesised that the legislature could not govern them at a velocity of development of political cooperation in Punjab which influenced the stability and strength of legislature and in the result culminated into the insecurity of the political structure. colossal challenge is posed in Such a state of anomic politics to the political growth in Punjab .A constant institutions can be concieveable through well thought-out political structure, public contribution and in decision-making processes an answerable form of government are important factors of political maturity. Political development is a procedure of rebuilding and modernizing for the wellbeing of the people at large. This process also creates awareness among the masess about the development of political institutions that can act in response according to the demands and needs of the the public and accomplish the general needs of people. a constant political system thus, , contributes to political development including the institutions and their operations. In the growth of a well society at the worldwide as well as nation level this can be supportive. Such kind of political institutions make stronger institutionalize the system and political power to attain the goals of political maturity.

³⁶ Mahoob Hussain, *Institution Building in Pakistan: A Study of Parliament (1971-77)*, Lahore:

Literature Review:

Historical institutionalists as written by Pierson and Skocpol³⁷ for much of their data have relied traditionally on secondary sources. This also comes true for present study as well, although some attempts has been made to make use of primary sources to addition the empirical potential of the analysis, where the secondary sources themselves are lacking especially. For the most, chronicled government record from the post-colonial and colonial periods, as well as Legislative Assembly Debates, have been utilized to illustrate the provincial politics and institutional relationship. The utilization of these particular sources is mentioned well; the latter, in particular, have thus far been the subject of small insightfull considration, and both offer first-hand accounts of how the state and landed politicians arrived at diverse choices, and made use of their position to fortify their control.

In the studies of politics and History of Pakistan, explanation of institutional have been introduces in diverse perspectives as per the diversity of their approach to analyse the phenomenon by many scholars like Lawrence Ziring³⁸ has associated the introduction of first martial law of Pakistan's regime in 1958 with the collapse of Muslim League resulting in institutional weakness. Maleeha Lodi, s³⁹ analysis the intervention of the army in 1977 in same term of institutional weakness. Mazher Aziz⁴⁰, Shuja Nawaz⁴¹ HussainHaqqani,⁴² AyeshaSaddiqa⁴³ and Hamza Ali⁴⁴ has pointed out any other institution cannot work smoothly and freely because institution of army in Pakistan is so strong that it does not let it happen. Many writers and scholars have written on early history of Pakistan which has helped me to understand

³⁷ Pierson, P and Skocpol, T 'Historical Institutionalism in Contemporary Political Science', in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner (eds.) *Political Science: State of the Discipline*, New York: W. W. Norton, 2002. pp. 693-721.

³⁸ Lawrence Ziring, Pakistan. *Pakistan The Enigma of political development*. Boulder Colorado: west view press, 1980.

³⁹ Lodhi, Maleeha. " Pakistan in crises." *The journal of commonwealth and comparative politics*, 2011: 65.

⁴⁰ Aziz, Mazher. *Military control in Pakistan*. Oxon: Routledge, 2008.

⁴¹ Nawaz, Shuja. *Crossed swords Pakistan and army and wars within*. Karachi: Oxford University press, 2008.

⁴² Haqqani, Hussain. *Pakistan between military and Mosque*. Lahore: vanguard, 2005.

⁴³ Saddiqa, Aysha. *Military Inc. - Second Edition: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*. Karachi: Oxford University press, 2016.

⁴⁴ Alavi, Hamza. *Social Forces & Ideology in the Making of Pakistan*. karachi: Democratic Action, Research & Education, 2002.

political scenario of Pakistan after 1947 especially politics in the center. However, very few have written on the legislative history of Pakistan and this study is an effort to fill up the research gap.

Leonard Binder (1961) has written about some ideological discussion as major issues in the way to political maturity in the society. These principle problems incorporate: i) state of religion in the newly built up ideological state of Pakistan; ii) part of religious bunches within the political framework; iii) put out devout clergy within the system of the state; and iv) the impact of the devout advancement on the political advancement of the State. From 1947 to 1958 whereas checking on the pre-military hegemonic period, Binder⁴⁵ pointed out that three major groups of the modern secularists, the fundamentalists, the traditionalists, and as the trend setting powers within the political structure of Pakistan. Distinction of supposition between these different groups' posterd serious challenges to the political growth, of the society of pluralistic footings. Asif Hussain ⁴⁶ has annouced that the proprieter elites, religious elites, the professional elites, political elites, industrial elites, and the military elites were the main share holder of power in the political structure of Pakistan. He argues that considering Pakistan an ideological state that devout clergy had a strong footing in the traditional culture of Pakistan. He also believes that the political maturity in the country is based on the religious grounds not the feudal roots. Initial problem of Pakistan to him was more of organizational nature that that of political. Religious personas could have played a very significant part in that phase. But they were not provided due share in the political system of the country. Although, they have played important role especially in the making of the constitution on the based of religious footings. He concludes that in the political system when the important forces of the state were not provided their due representation, feudal classes and the military and civil and got an oppertunity to set up their hegemony on the political structure. This would cause a drastic damage to the political growth within the society.

In the *The English Utilitarians and India* Eric Stokes⁴⁷ pointed out a masterful account of the diverse ideologies and debates that informed administrative policy and revenue of British

⁴⁵Binder, L. *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*. 1961: University of California Press, 1961.

⁴⁶ Asif Hussain (1979). *Elite Politics in an Ideological State: The Case of Pakistan*. England: Wm Dawson & Sons Ltd 1979.

⁴⁷ Eric Stokes, the *English utilitarians and India*, London: Oxford University, 1959.Press.

colonial power in India in the founding century. This theme is followed by Penner⁴⁸, Metcalf⁴⁹, Lee⁵⁰ and Van Den Dungen⁵¹ all of whom scrutinize how in its initial years the debates painted by Stokes shaped the administrative perceptions and practices of the Punjab administration.

Rizwan Malik in his writing politics of the one unit, 1955-58.⁵² Riaz Ahmed, s book constitutional and political development in Pakistan, 1951-54⁵³ Zarina Salamat, Pakistan 1947-58: An historical review.⁵⁴ Hassan Askari Rizvi, military and politics in Pakistan⁵⁵ Ahmad, Sayeed Nur, From Martial Law to Martial Law discuss Politics in the Punjab⁵⁶ Pakistan its bureaucracy and politics⁵⁷ Ahmad, Mushtaq⁵⁸ These writers mainly discuss central politics but did not throw light on Punjab politics.

Afzal⁵⁹ is one of the prominent writers of the Pakistan. He has written many books on History of Pakistan ,his writings for example Political parties in Pakistan 1947-58, Pakistan history and politics, 1947-1971, Party politics in Pakistan 1947- 58 give us useful information about central politics and role of different political parties in Center. Many scholars wrote on Punjab, such as Ahmad Salem's⁶⁰ throws light on lives and role of the political leaders of Punjab after 1947 and impact of their attitude on the politics. But there is also gap in his writing as working of the Punjab legislative assembly is not discussed.

⁴⁸ P. Penner, *The Patronage Bureaucracy in North India: The Robert M. Bird and James Thomason School 1820-1870*, Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1986

⁴⁹ Thomas R Metcalf 'The Struggle Over Land Tenure in India, 1860-1868', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1960, pp. 295-307.

⁵⁰ H. Lee, *Brothers in the Raj: The Lives of John and Henry Lawrence*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2002.

⁵¹ Van Den Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1972

⁵² Malik, Rizwan. *politics of the one unit, 1955-58*. Lahore: Pakistan Study center, 1988.

⁵³ Ahmad, Riaz. *Constitutional and Political Development in Pakistan 1951-54*. Karachi: Pak American Commercial Limited, 1981.

⁵⁴ Salamat, Zarina. *Pakistan 1947- 58*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and research, 1992.

⁵⁵ Rizvi, Hassan Askari. *military and politics in Pakistan* . Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publication, 1997.

⁵⁶ Ahmad, Sayeed Nur. *From Martial Law to Martial Law* . London: West view press, 1985.

⁵⁷ Chaudhary, Pakistan its bureaucracy and politics. 1968

⁵⁸ Ahmad, Mushtaq, *Government and Politics in Pakistan*. Karachi: Pakistan publishing House, 1959.

⁵⁹ Afzal, Rafiq. *Pakistan History and politics*. Karachi: Oxford University press, 2001.

⁶⁰ Saleem, Ahmed. *Mamdoot say watto tak* . Lahore: Punjab Publishing House, 1996.

There are many writers who give us general information and references about the topic such as,⁶¹ Ian Talbot⁶²Hamid Yousaf⁶³Riaz Ahmad⁶⁴K.K. Aziz,⁶⁵ though these books provide very valuable information pertaining to the deficient fact of relationship between center and Punjab's politicians. Yet this information does not sufficiently cover the whole topic

K.K. Aziz⁶⁶ used theory of Path Dependency for his work, he developed the argument that as the primary decision making component, the emergence of the military perhaps creates its own set of standard and institution that enable the military to be, the civilian government as in Pakistan will hang about weak and unstable given the influence to the Military and scope of capacity.

Aysha Siddiqi⁶⁷ analyzes the gradual power-building of Military's internal and external dynamics, and the influence, having on economic and political development of Pakistan. Military Inc developed the ways how the military has step by step gained control of State, social economic and political resources and Pakistani society has changed by this power. Siddiqi has tried to answer the question whether democracy has a nature in Pakistan, why military become key players in a power politics of the country and where the armed forces have become an independent class.

Shuja Nawaz highlights in his book that how political state of affairs at different instances caused military intervention in political affairs of the State. He argues speedily that the growth of the political structure halted development of the military; no attempts were made by the leaders to redress the imbalanced power between the institution of the army and that of state. His future developed the argument that power imbalance transformed the army into the power hub and army is invited by politician for intercession of their dispute. This uncovered their weak spot to the military. Another argument Shuja, developed that American did not want to coddle

⁶¹Callard, Keith. *Pakistan: A Political study*. California: Allen & Unwin, 1957, 1957.

⁶²Ian Talbot, Pakistan. *Pakistan: A New history*. London: Hurst and company, 2015.

⁶³Yousaf, Hamid. *Pakistan in Search of Democracy*. Lahore: Afrasian publication, 1980.

⁶⁴Ahmad, Riaz. *Constitutional and Political Development in Pakistan 1951-54*. Karachi: Pak American Commercial Limited, 1981.

⁶⁵Aziz, K.K. *Party politics in Pakistan, 1947-58*. Islamabad: Historical and cultural research center, 1976.

⁶⁶Aziz, Mazher. *Military control in Pakistan*. Oxon: Routledge, 2008.

⁶⁷Nawaz, Shuja. *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*. USA: Oxford university press, 2008.

in the political and domestic affairs of Pakistan but for their alliance against communism wished to insured political and domestic constancy in Pakistan.

Hussain Haqqani⁶⁸ also contents that Pakistan's institutions especially the intelligence and military and their alliance against communism on the basis of religion their services have been playing the most important role in building its state identity. Further he says that state machinery sponsored, different times to support the military's political dominance and support domestic politics and. Haqqani calls it interesting democratic phenomena.

Ilhan Niaz also mention in his works that Pakistan was governed by elements within the judiciary, CSP officers and senior military officers, and. According the author interims of performance between 1947 to 1969 era was perhaps the best but "long-drawn-out authoritarian's power left the big void in leadership of Pakistan politics".⁶⁹

Tariq Ali ⁷⁰ BadrudinUmer ⁷¹ and RasoolBakshRaees ⁷² argue the masses roles in developing the institutions but it is possible behind the decision of institution if there would be masses. Intuition would be strong with masess support institution even drop the control over its effective direction and working as well. Waseem (1989) discussed in the the politics of Pakistan that the authority structure of the Pakistan which is innate from the British India give a focal point for the State,s political structure. Apparently though the political group of people seemed to control the political situation through ethnic violence, different ideological movements, legislative activity, election campaigns etc. but it was the structure of the country which was first and foremost responsible for determining the political measures throughout the post independenc. In this way primarily the constitutional authority and Punjabi elits occupied the central stage while the political elements had an inclination either to get hold up from it or

⁶⁸Haqqani, Hussain. *Pakistan between military and Mosque*. Lahore: vanguard, 2005—. *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*. New york: Carnegie Endowment , 2005.

⁶⁹ Niaz, Ilhan. *The Culture of Power and Governance of Pakistan, 1947-2008*. Islamabad: Oxford University Press, 2010.

⁷⁰ Ali, Tariq. *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power*. New York: <https://books.google.com.pk/url?client=ca-google-print&format=googleprint&num=0&id=SELWsimonandschuster>, 2008.

⁷¹Umar, Badruddin. *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Rise of Bengali nationalism, 1958-1971*. canada: Oxford University Press, 2006.

⁷²Rais, Rasool Bakhsh. *Imagining Pakistan: Modernism, State, and the Politics of Islamic Revival*. lanhum: Lexington Books, 2017.

otherwise to limit its legitimizing latent. Jalal (1969) had conducted a historical and comparative work .

Ahmad Sayeed⁷³ while observing political system of Pakistan and control of the institution of bureaucracy over it, commented that Pakistan, s Government might be pyramid carved out of single rock and Apex of pyramid had captured civil servants. The political history of Indian Muslims since 1858 and of Pakistan till 1958, Sayeed interpreted the onward march of the Pakistan movement and the birth of Pakistan in terms of Muslim nationalism and institution of leadership as Jinnah's charismatic leadership, while the interplay of political forces and the course of politics in Pakistan's early years are explained in terms of the "viceregal system" of undivided India. In any case, in Sayeed's present thesis, Muslim nationalism and Jinnah's charismatic leadership give way to the colonial heritage and socio-economic milieu of the early years as the principal determinants of the nature and direction of political change. The theme of institutionalization has since been persuaded by many scholars Hibbing⁷⁴ wrote about British House of Commons, Mezrey, s⁷⁵ work is about legislatures and institutional performance. P Squire⁷⁶ describes theory of legislative institutionalization in which he discusses about California's Assembly. Max Weber's⁷⁷ focus is on political institutionalization and relationship between charisma and concept of charisma is extensively essential for understanding the procedure of institution growth in main fields of which are social departments such as economy, law, religion and culture. On the existing literature comprehensive look proves that there is research gap and my present study will fill the research gap and it will be a valuable addition in research work.

⁷³Ahmad, Sayeed Nur. *From Martial Law to Martial Law* . London: West view press, 1985.

⁷⁴Hibbing, J.R. "Legislative institutionalization with illustration from British House of commons." *American Journals of political science* , 1988: 681-721.

⁷⁵ Mezay, M.I. "Legislatures: individual purposes and institutional performance." M.I. Mezay, Legislatures: individual purposes and institutional performance, in political The American political science Association (M.I. Mezay, Legislatures: individual purposes and institutional performance, in political sci The American political science Association), M.I. Mezay, Legislatures: individual purposes and institutional performance, in political science State of discipline II A W Finifter ed. (Washington D.C: The American political science Association. 354: 354.

⁷⁶Squire, P. "The theory of institutionalization and the California's Assembly ." *The Journal of Politics* , 1992: 1026-1054. .

⁷⁷Weber, Max. *Charisma and institutional building*. London: The University of Chicago press, 1968.

Above-mentioned literature review clearly shows that not a single comprehensive study has been made on the history of the Punjab legislative assembly. This study will be conducted by utilizing the primary sources including debates of legislative assembly, census reports, Police secret document of one unit, Interviews of main political figures

Significance of the study:

No specific research work has been done on the Punjab Legislative assembly as an Institution so it will be the first attempt to highlight Punjab politics by focusing on this institution.

It will highlight political, social, economic picture of the Punjab after partition and to examine the measures taken by Punjab Legislative Assembly.

The study will shed light on how in the post-colonial era Punjab elites wanted to retain their privileged position in the federal structure of Pakistan.

Research Questions:

To investigate that why institution of Punjab Legislative Assembly failed to generate a powerful political, social and economic structure in the province?

To study that why leadership of the institution of Punjab legislative assembly failed to keep regular contact with masses?

To examine that what type of role Muslim League played in the institution of Punjab legislative assembly especially election of 1951?

Objective of the Study

To undertake a comprehensive study of the institution of Punjab legislative assembly 1947-55.

This research study will explore and analyze the provincial working and implications for the National politics of Pakistan.

To examine the role of Punjab Muslim League as ruling party in the institution of Punjab legislative assembly

To discuss the role of main political leadership and their role in the proceedings of the Punjab legislative Assembly, which has not thoroughly has been discussed by historians to date.

Methodology:

This study is based on primary sources debates of Punjab legislative assembly, official reports, census reports speeches, interviews, autobiographies of political figures secondary sources which help me to complete my research include books, biographies, research papers, articles and other resources would be consider to formulate the theoretical framework. As the area and topic of research is multi-dimensional that is why the collection of literature to be consulted for the knowledge would not be specific. All kind of documents will help me to evaluate the formation and working of legislative assembly in specific era under study. My research has analytical, historical and descriptive approach.

Limitation of the Study

The focus of the research would be era 1947-1955 although Punjab legislative assembly worked actively and took many decisions after 1955 and on ward but my research would be limited till 1955 because these early years were more crucial in the History of Pakistan which left impacts long-lasting.

Delimitation of the study

Punjab is the key province of the country that's why what happens in Punjab Legislative Assembly it has impact not only the province but the whole over the country. As Punjab Legislative Assembly is lawmaking institution which play very important role in provincial status especially in early years of the country, this research study has encompassed available literature for Punjab Legislative Assembly i.e. debates, proceedings, speeches to books article by scholars. Primary and secondary sources would be analyzed to search the facts from the regional History. Historical analytical and descriptive approach would be adopted.

Chapterization

Chapter 1

In This introductory chapter historical summary of political development in Punjab has been highlighted, with particularly emphasising on the institutional development of Legislature and representation ratio of different communities in it. The literature on this particular topic has also been reviewed, highlighting the insights and conceptual framework that can be taken from existing scholarly research work while also mentioning some of the shortcomings and gaps that characterize it.

Chapter 2

Chapter provides historical survey and evolution of the institution of PLA in Punjab. It deals with the foundational and formative years of British control in Punjab, provides analysis on various developments in the building of Punjab Legislative assembly as an institution since British came in Punjab. Purpose of this chapter is to examine the imperatives that at first shaped the building of British rule in the Punjab. Emphasis will be found on investigating detailed instances of institutional growth in which the interaction of interest and ideology formed colonial strategy, leading legislation and limited representation of local during the foundational juncture of 1849-1947. The use of electoral politics to keep up the British's control on political authority, the use of elite and bureaucratic class networks and linkages to receive and disburse patronage, and the role of legislative politics and legislation in determining the institutional structure of Punjab's politics.

Chapter 3

This chapter focuses on the formation and building of the Punjab Legislative Assembly as an Institution after Independence of Pakistan in 1947. Functions of the Assembly by adopting rule of procedure and conduct of business will be highlighted. Party affiliation, role of factional politics in re-forging and fissure, role of leaders, election for the Assembly and attitude of the leaders and common people towards election, conflicts and results of the differentiations and conflicts among leaders would be focus of the study. Member's relations with each other their attitude towards assembly and State will be in the focus. In this Post colonial period establishment was also clever enough to utilize of this factionalism, playing important role in making different political groupings off against each other in the quest of its own power and interests.

Chapter 4

This Chapter deals with the working of the Assembly. In spite of all issues Assembly was successful to introduce many acts and amendments in the acts. How assembly handled all early critical issues Rehabilitation of refugees, Evacuee property, health, education, food etc after independence. Relying on maximum Primary sources efficiency of the PLA as an institution will be highlighted,

Chapter 5

This chapter deals with the relations of PLA with other institutions of the State Political parties, Political leaders, Executive, establishment, and bureaucracy. It also highlights provincial autonomy and role of Central Government in decision making of the PLA. It also examined that how PLA tried to establish its boundaries and how situation was manipulated again and again on different occasion against PLA by other strong institution. power of land lords is reproduced in the post-colonial time, focusing espacialy how the landlords and Bureaucracy themselves have used their historically deep-rooted sources of social authority to control electoral politics, legislate and access bureaucratic networks with each of the mechanisms complementing the others to make sure the maintenance of the power of landed elite.

Chapter 1

Punjab Legislative Assembly in Historical Context

In 1849 since its annexation, Punjab had to pass through to its partition in 1947, the aim of the present Chapter studying the century long political and socio economic development of Punjab in the area under consideration. As a part of political development this Chapter explains the working and nature of legislature. The introduction of a Legislature in Punjab, and the steady growth of electoral politics and representative government, gave rise to new mechanisms of institutional development. It will also analyse the nature of the legislature of those times and also the manners in which it functioned.

The source of institutional maturity of the Pakistan state's administrative body **lies** essentially in its historically established legitimacy in the country. This legitimacy drew variously upon the complex characteristics of the supreme authority of the Westminister, its legal and constitutional relationship with the dominant groups of the Indian society in the form of rights of property and private enterprise and finally its capacity to safeguard itself with the help of its armed wing as a last resort.

The Punjab "stone of Pakistan"⁷⁸ can truly possess a rich egalitarian and democratic heritage. In the history of this region it always has been played a decisive role. By imposing the passes and routes of the North-Western frontiers, Punjab has been key to the safety measures and the door way and of the whole Sub-Continent. From the aggression of invaders entire region was protected by its effective defense system but the area was ruined by invaders when its protection weakened. It has been suffered by many invaders and bears the burnt attacks in the earlier period which ended Punjabis an lasting segment of the social order. "Therefore the people of this area, have long back-earned repute of being the sword arm in making the utmost sacrifices eventually to librate the Sub-Continent from the hold of imperialistic dominance".⁷⁹ Thus, due to

⁷⁸ By virtue of its typical location and geo-political position, Punjab, termed by Jinnah Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*. Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd. 1999, p.67

⁷⁹ Grover, V. *The History of Punjab Yesterday and Today*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications. 1995

diplomatic communications and military invasions there has been a constant practice of assimilation and migration of people, which affected characteristics of the population. Its history is not very simple though these grand lands bore several invasions and not narrow but it did not totally lose its strength and glory in spite of long historical journey and all sufferings. Whereas indicative to examine its unique and exclusive history holds in South Asia. By the coaching of Lord Delhousi, Punjab was annexed in British India, on 29 march 1849 Governor Genral of India Sir henry held a Darbar at Lahore in which Mahraja dalip singh with all Sikhs Chiefs were present. In that event Punjab was officialy declared part of British India.⁸⁰

A treaty was sighned between Sikhs and East India Company on April, 5 1849, koh-i-Noor gem Ranjit Singh got from Shuja-ulMulk was also surrender by Maharaja of Lahore Dalip Singh (son of Ranjit Singh) to the Queen of Victoria.⁸¹ During the Pakistan Movement it played an active role but has also been competing for the development for the sake of democracy. Always Punjab was the most significant and imperative province of the Sub continent. British were helped by this bottom with a chance to grab hold of more than 500 princely states of India. But it is true that Lahore remained the centre for political, cultural, learning activities at the same time. Under the British rule Rawalpindi became an important military station. In the Punjab various legislatures no matter what their name called, always raised a consequential voice for growth and developing of democracy even against gigantic and ungainly probability. It is important to highlight that under the contact of the national political principles, Punjab also experienced continues and regular changes and fluctuations of the governments, and frequent termination or deferment of the parliamentary and democratic system. From 1849-1947 Punjab was a province of British India. In the Indian subcontinent it was one of the last areas which fall under British rule. total area of Punjab in 1947 was 136,330 sq. miles, and28,418,819 was population.

It comprised of the present day areas Punjab, Delhi and Islamabad. In 1947 with the end of British rule, between India and Pakistan the province was partitioned. Population of Punjab consisted of following communities according to 1941 census:

⁸⁰ Morrison, J. L. *Lawrence of Lucknow*, London. 1934.p.224

⁸¹ Najjar, B. S. (n. d.). *Punjab Under the British Rule (1849-1947)*. Vol. 3. Lahore: Mustafa Waheed Publishers.

Province	Total Population	Hindus	Schedule Caste	Muslims	Sikhs
Punjab	28,418,819	6,301,737	1,592,320	16,217,742	3,757,401 ⁸²

In the West of the Punjab though the Muslims were determined mainly and Hindus in North and in the East and South Sikhs were concentrated, however, all over the whole province the three communities were comprehensively mixed.⁸³ All over the world Legislatures essentially originate procedural guidelines and framework and so as to undeviating and observe their working, and turn the business and proceedings in the House in a productive and democratic manner.

In the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, the conduct of business, by whatever name called, has all the way through been governed and regulated from time to time by the proper provisions of the Constitution and the rules of procedure formulate, either by the Assembly or Governor or itself. In 1849 with the annexation of the Punjab, the issue of establishing an administrative system was the first question faced by British faced which matched to the flourishing pursuit of their well being and interests.

Board of Administration

In order to maintain Law and order situation in Punjab British had to face problem because there were many radical elements there against the annexation of Punjab. British planned to rule over Punjab with Iron hand. When the announcement of the Annexation of Punjab the day of March 29, 1849 A. D, the administration and management of the Punjab was given in the hands of the triumvirate, it was called the Board of Administration. All the three members were already well familiar with the area, its soldiers, chiefs, and their culture. President of the Board was Sir Henry Lawrence; members were Mr. Mansel and Mr. John Lawrence. From 1849 to 1853 they run the province efficiently and successfully. The most competent officers

⁸² M. Rafique Afzal (ed.), *The Case for Pakistan* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1979, p.30.

⁸³H. M. Close, *Attlee, Wavell, Mountbatten and the Transfer of Power* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1997, p.32.

were part of the Board, chosen from army and civil service and preferred to Punjab at prudence of Lord Dalhousie, Governor General.⁸⁴ The board possessed absolute and supreme executive, military and judicial powers and unobstructed control all over matters regarding Punjab. Against any onslaught stress was laid on to the consolidation of authority from outside or within and the protection of law and order. What it was meant and expected to do strengthen the British rule the board specifically worked for it.⁸⁵ By introducing influential system of district level administration with the help of energetic assistance of cultivators and by their unusual approach towards religious communities new government of the Punjab by and large brought prosperity and peace for the population of Province.

Irrespective of communal association rulers were concerned in attracting the rural local aristocracy and population to play its role in administration. They thought that if the government came in joining the local landed gentry with the effective administrative setup, their rule would be prolonged and strengthened. Nonetheless, later on, rise of communal approaches in the elections was not checked by the British government practically failed to make sure harmony etc.⁸⁶ the board was abolished in 1849 and as Punjab's chief Commissioner John Lawrence was selected. This opened a new chapter in the action-packed political history of Punjab. From the Sikh to British rule period of transition was over. For administration purposes Lawrence introduced reforms, at that time there were seven divisions of Punjab with respective headquarters at Ambala, Multan, Jalandhar, Rawalpindi, Leiah, Lahore, and Amritsar. Divisions were divided into 24 districts under deputy commissioners, and further the districts were separated into tehsils, under tehsildars. Tehsildars was also responsible of the administration of the villagers. For the matters associated to their land the villagers were linked with these officials.⁸⁷ This setup still exists in Punjab though not in its true form.

Fiscal reforms were introduced for the welfare of peasants and to reduce the load of returns. For the first time in the province the idea of land possession as a moveable and manageable object, was introduced. Employment opportunities in different departments among

⁸⁴ Chhabra, G. S. *An Advanced History of the Punjab. India: Ludhiana. 1891.* P.313 Latif, S. M. *History of the Punjab* (1st Pakistani ed.). Lahore: Progressive books.1984. P.574

⁸⁵ Najjar, B. S. (n. d.). *Punjab under the British Rule (1849-1947)*. Vol. 3. Lahore: Mustafa Waheed Publishers.

⁸⁶ Khurshid, M. *The Role of Unionist Party in the Punjab Politics (1923-36)*. The Islamia University of Bahawalpur: Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis. 1992.p.24

⁸⁷ Leigh, M. S. *The Punjab and the War* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.1997

local people were given like judiciary, army, police, and other branches of organizations and administration. Policy of class of landed aristocracy was introduced by the British government for all trustworthy to their interests and as a return for their services in various fields were provided massive estates, administrative powers and titles as honorary magistrates especially in army, where and when needed. Ultimately, British won over the hearts of the people of the region by using such strategy, mainly the rural classes including peasantry to feudal lords.⁸⁸ Actuality, this kind of policy of British was a conclusion of two reasons, need to develop a system appropriate to simple rural people and need of strong government as suited to geopolitical demands.⁸⁹ As regards legislations the customs of the native were taken as the basis of the law. A code of native customs was drawn up. Those customs were badly and unable of improvement were outlawed. Those which were associated to and tending to the deprivation of female and marriage, divorce were first customized and then accepted. Those which associated to such subjects as adoption and inheritance were incorporated at once.⁹⁰ The land tax was that varying halves of the manufacture of the soil which was too claimed by administration as its own.

Under the system introduced by the board a low average of the produce of a district was taken on the returns of several years' together. The money value of the government share was taken at another low average of the current prices. The varieties of land tenure were numerous and complicated but they were time honoured. The Board in no case desired to destroy but only to revive and to preserve them. The land tax had in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time amounted to half of the gross production and had generally been compensated.⁹¹ This payment in kind not without strong protest on the part of tax payers were abolished by the Board, and its amount reduced to half or to quarter of what it had been before. Nor did the State suffer much of the remission for the revenues of Multan, which had become an integral part of the Punjab and of other outlying parts, were flowing freely into the Government treasury.

On January 1, 1850 all town and transit dues all exports, all imports duties were abolished by the Board. Trade was gone without charge to run in its normal channels. During that period vast stores of the minerals were found in the salt range were after this to be managed by the

⁸⁸ Khurshid, M. *The Role of Unionist Party in the Punjab Politics (1923-36)*. The Islamia University of Bahawalpur: Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis. 1992.

⁸⁹ Thorburn, S. S. (1889). *The Punjab in Peace and War*. London: William Blackwood and sons. 1889. p.9

⁹⁰ B.S Nijjar, *Punjab under the British rule 1849-1947*. Volume 1, Lahore: Book Traders, 1954. P.50

⁹¹ Punjab Administration Report-1858, pp 31-32

British Government itself. To turn into the revenue accruing from its securing the import of it from all other neighbouring countries were forbidden. It was the the one splotch on an otherwise brilliant fiscal system. But the natives did not object to it and consider it no trouble.⁹² During this period G.T Road had been traced surveyed and put in progress. Another great work was proposed by the Board was as characteristic of the aims of the British Government in India as the Hasli canal had been of the inhabitants. preliminary from the point of in the Ravi as through to emphasise the dissimilarity a Canal was projected from different cities. The new canal would be essentially be the effort of several years, but it was begun in trust and was all but proficient in the Chief commissionership of John Lawrence.⁹³ The Board had extensive authority and unrestricted be in command of all over matters regarding Punjab. The most outstanding characteristic of the Board, s work was its all-inclusive. In the four years thousand of Ranjit Singh army men were not only demolished without any annoying occasion but transformed into passive and faithful subjects. The whole revenue, Judicial and fiscal structure of the Punjab were updated and many under affectionate direction reforms were introduced, the peripheral face of the State was changed. Roads were built all the way through the length and breath of the Punjab, and canals were built which prepared the waste places blossom.

At the time of the annexation class composition of Punjabi setup played a significant role in determining colonial strategy, mainly in the early period of institutional emergence. Sikh and Mughal aristocracies were comprised of the landed classes of the province. One of the more important segments of the British establishment which it developed over time in Punjab was the point to, enterprise slow, incremental institutional adjustment so that changing communal and political situation would be coup up. Initially Board of Administration (BoA) got appreciation and trust of the people.⁹⁴ BoA was enforced to tackle a diversity of different issues, by Constructing the colonial government from scratch, not least of which was devising a setup for

⁹² Punjab Administration Report-1851-52&53, pp 153-158

⁹³ Punjab Administration Report-1858, pp 58-61

⁹⁴ The Board of Administration had to deal with a disgruntled aristocracy and with the masses who had a strong feeling of antipathy towards their conquerors. The Punjab's cities and villages were placarded with notices demanding the surrender of arms. In a short while, 1,19,796 arms swords and matchlocks, a few pieces of cannon, rifles and other weapons were recovered. All military grants of Sikh times were abolished. The Guides Corps, raised by Henry Lawrence as resident in 1846 and now expanded to include troops of horse as well as of infantry, was charged with maintaining peace in the Derajat and guarding the chain of fortresses which were built to prevent tribal incursions from the northwest.

revenue generating, and some time relying on the inadequate information took policy decisions that was obtainable, or with existing colonial principle on issue of establishment. It was argued that the new administrators of the province by introducing this measure would be capable to function autonomously of the centrally imposed policy that in point of fact inadequate the level to which improvement could be introduced in the executive structure working in the other provinces. A. D. Lord Dalhousie In 1853 abolished the Board and as first Chief Commissioner of Punjab selected one of the members of the Board, Mr. John Lawrence. The dissolution of the Board of Administration opened a new chapter in the exciting history of Punjab. Under the Regulating Act 1773 Provincial Government had various categories. In first type the term of the Governor of province was alike to that of the power of Governor General in center. In the second category the provinces was under a Lieutenant Governor who was selected under an Act of Parliament in the Council by the Governor-General he was probably among the servants of the Company in India. He had no Executive Council.⁹⁵ This was third kind of Government on Provincial level in practice in Punjab, which was being governed by the Chief Commissioner, in 1853 established by Lord Dalhousie. Such a government was governing with much larger reliance more on the Governor-General than a Lieutenant-Governor. In the history of legislatin in Punjab John Lowerence can not be ingnored who had sympathy with the peasants than the chiefians. He regarded Chiefs and Jagirdars as parasitic growth who lived on the blood honest ryot and put a heavy strain on the exchecquar. John Lawerence had shown himself as a great administrator whole English Emipre in India hailed him as great statesman, who by his energy, resolution and farsightedness had saved the British Empire in India.⁹⁶ Period 1849 and 1868 was preliminary and introductory period for the British astablishment in Punjab the method adopted in which the institutional measures and policy put in practice locked colonial administration into a route of path-dependent expansion.

At least in the early phases the colonial relationship of State with the customary landed cream of the crop, was run by these constraints and in the 1860s the consolidation of the Punjab government, it was only after the Indian Revolt of 1857, with regards to their landed elites who were allies of them, British in Punjab were able to introduce and sustain a comparatively coherent strategy. Although this strategy was some time subject to modification over time, and

⁹⁵ H.H Dodwell, Cambridge History of India. Cambridge University press, Vol.VI.1960.p. 595

⁹⁶Herald lee, Brothers in the Raj: The Lives of John and Henry Lawrence, Karachi,Oxford University Press,2002.

while preferential treatment of the landed elite by the colonial government's often led it to took some dealings that changed the institutional framework of domination introduced in Punjab, by the opening of the well-known Land Alienation Act of 1900 illustrated most dramatically, it was firmly believed that wellbeing of British in Punjab were relatively determinedly and possibly irreversibly associated with the landed gentry of the Province. there weretotal 197 Municipal Committees in Punjab By 1874, with the membership of 2093 from which Indians were 1692, on the base of an enormously limited franchise a very little minority were elected to their posts.

In 1870s the introduction of District Committees at the district level was established whose function was like their municipal counterparts. For all their native representation, these committees, represented little more than, 'official power hidden under the umbrella of elections'³⁸, they however provided the basis for the expansion of local government under the District Boards Act of 1883. These boards, again consisting of members that were expenditure than the committees that preceded them, and existed to successfully manage and apply the work of various parts of local government in any given district.there were 1305 members of District Board in Punjab, a number which would remain mostly constant until 1946 in 1888, for the seats the majority of them were elected.

Indian and British, nominated and elected members, enjoyed superior have power over taxation and to sustain law and order situation A Miltiary forced was established consisted on 8,000 troops.⁹⁷British tried to win the hearts of the people because they wanted to secure their rule over the province administratively. For this they established a free judicial system, in the Punjab and construction of new roads, elimination of the custom duty and maintaining the accessible ones for the uninterrupted and better trade association with other provinces. In 1883 in Punjab the first elections were held, with the colonial government presenting restricte shapes of representative government within the area as portion to rule more efficiently. Based on restricted franchise, it were being allowed to use the power to vote only being settled to large landowners, a small number of leaders in these elections brought into power who were competent to act in an advisory aptitude to the governor of the Punjab. In the following years, gradually both the franchise and the domain of elected representatives were extended, while institutional problems were introduced that confirmed the frequent reproduction of the political authority of the period of landed alits.

⁹⁷ Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj: 1849-1947*. Delhi: Manohar, 1998, p.15.

Foundation for the introduction of legislature on local level with the section 44 of the Act in the Punjab was laid by the Indian Councils Act of 1861; also the dispatch of Sir Charles Wood Secretary of State for India, the Governor-General in Council was left to come to a decision at what time, effect should be set to this objective. This Act approved the legislative authority in to the provinces, but concurrent powers were in the hand of the government of India so that could supersede and control any Law and regulation prepared by the provincial government.⁹⁸ The older provinces at once acknowledged the advantage but unfortunately the Punjab, after a period of 36 years along with a few others areas, was admitted to this privilege ¹, when the Act of 1861⁹⁹ had been modified by the Indian Councils Act of 1892.¹⁰⁰

Council of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab

In 1897 first ever Legislature was thus introduced in the Punjab. Although with the both official and non-official members it was declared nominated body, it had the authority of introducing laws. “(Moved by Sir Louis William Dane on November 1, 1897 and passed by the Council on April 15, 1898) The General Clauses Act, 1898 was the opening endorsement in the Punjab History”¹⁰¹.

First Council

The first Council worked for more than eleven years. Total meetings were 28 held and laws which were passed by this Council were 23. Lieutenant Governor himself presided over meetings of the Council. Only nominated members were part of the Council and factor of election in the Legislative Council should be introduced, and in the Indian Councils Act, 1909 it

⁹⁸ The Indian Council Act-1861 ,Sec.22

⁹⁹ The biggest drawback of the Act was regarding the selection and the role of the Additional Members. These members did not take part in the discussions and their role was only advisory. The non-official members of the Executive Council were not interested in attending the meetings of the Council, moreover, under this Act they were not bound to attend them either. The Indian members were not eligible to oppose any bill and most often the bills were passed in one sitting without discussion.

¹⁰⁰ It also relaxed restrictions imposed by the thus allowing the councils to discuss each year's annual financial statement. They could also put questions within certain limits to the government on the matter of public interest after giving six days' notice, but none of them was given right to ask supplementary questions. Thus it prepared the base of Indian democracy.

¹⁰¹ https://archive.org/stream/1898PN1/1898PN1_djvu.txt

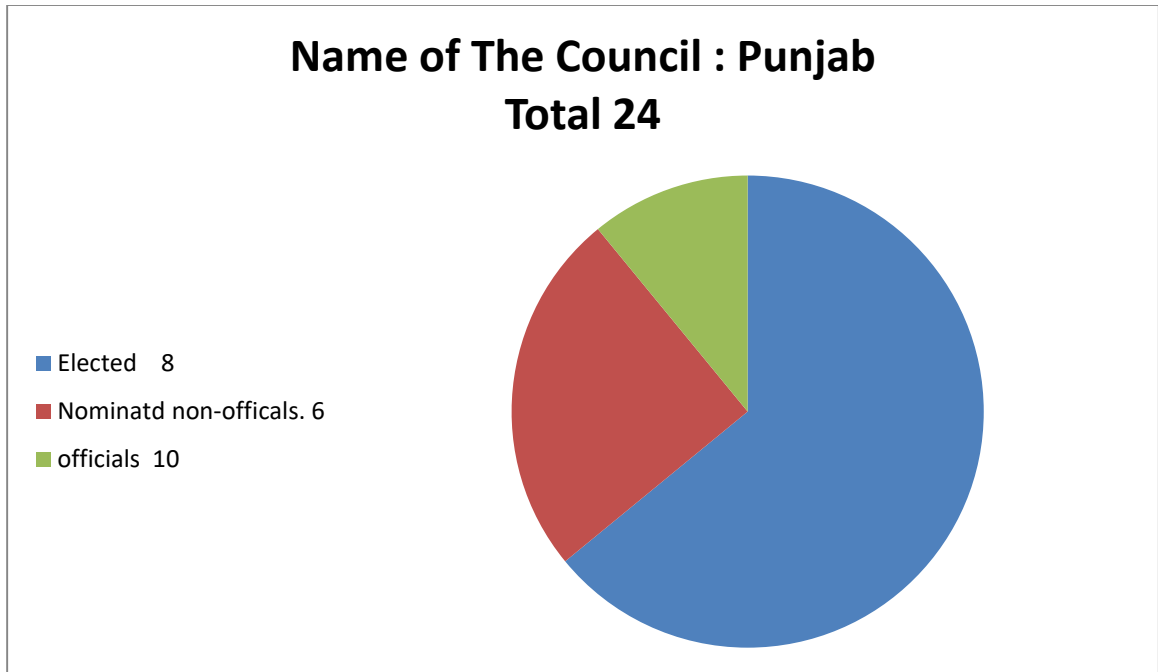
was, for the first time introduced,¹⁰² it was also called Minto-Morley Reforms. From ten to thirty memberships was increased; including five elected members and fourteen non-official¹. The Council could pass resolutions on matters of public importance and on the budget, which, however, were of a recommendatory nature by the Lieutenant-Governor but again the Punjab Minto-Morley Reforms sustained the long-established prejudice. Only thirty members were allowed for Punjab like Assam, in spite of the fact Assam was seven Millions and while population of Punjab was twenty millions. Similarly, while the elected member's proportion to the total strength was 48% in Bombay, 53 % in Bengal, U. P., and Punjab had only 19% in Madras and Eastern Bengal, 42% elected members.¹⁰³

Second Council

According to the features of Acts of Indian Councils (1861, 1892 and 1909) second Council of the Lieutenant Governor was thus established. 18 meetings Council held and passed 14 Acts ². At the provincial level, elected members with the unofficial appointees' members together, outnumbered the appointed official, but duty of the governor to the legislature was not projected. While introducing the Indian legislature to the British Parliament Morley made it clear that the goal of British government was not parliamentary self-government. In the History of Legislature of sub continent The Morley-Minto Reforms were a landmark. In Indian legislative councils election principles introduced for membership systematically. The 'franchise' though was very limited. To the Muslims Lord Minto fulfill his promise, and ensured separate electorates. Essentially with no authority over the executive the Councils was playing role as advisory board, and rather than curbing it the result was an increasing demand for self-government.

¹⁰² Coutenay Ilbert, The Indian Councils Act, 1909, British Institute of International and comparative Law. *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation* Vol. 11, No. 2 (1911), pp. 243-254

¹⁰³Hussain, Azam . Fazl-i-Hussain: a Political Biography. Bombay. 1946.p.75



Third Council

According to the features of Acts of Indian Councils (1861, 1892 and 1909) third Council of the Lieutenant Governor was thus established. On the other hand, when the Government of India Act, 1915 was introduced (to combine the provisions of above mentioned Acts), under the 1915 Act the Council worked. By election Three seats to be filled and by nomination one actually membership was increased by four; ¹. During its life Council held 14 meetings.

Fourth Council

In 1916 Fourth Council of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab was established Under the Government of India Act, 1915. For the first time Vice President Office was introduced. Since the 1915 Act in place of the Lt Governor's Council had given idea to constitute of a Legislative Council, therefore, this fourth Council was declared last Council of the Lieutenant Governor. During Council life 29 meetings were held.

Punjab Legislative Council:

In British India demand for self-government was in momentum during First World War. The Therefore British Government introduced new reforms, regarding the Montague-Chelmsford scheme. The causes of these reforms proposal were to bring in innovative setup of Government in the Provinces in form "*diarchy*" system. Through the Act of 1919 scheme of diarchy was implemented. Instead of the Councils of Lieutenant Governor Government of India Act, 1915,

had by now introduced constitution of the Punjab Legislative Council. The legislative Council also enjoyed a larger amount of authority than the councils it was enjoyed, for the first time ministerial portfolios being created and granted to Punjabis. The authority of the Council was restricted to some fields such as education, agriculture, health, though, it was only happened when Government of India Act 1935 was introduced, and in 1937 the consequently establishment of the first Punjab Legislative Assembly, province was given full provincial autonomy. Revolutionary types of Reforms were introduced in Punjab.

The first Punjab Legislative Council:

In 1921 elections were held, under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. This was the time from onward, political leaders split into two groups in each election in the Subcontinent, those who invited for partaking in the process of electoral consequent government, and those who called their supporters to dump the polls and come out to the streets. Credit goes to these reforms that reforms, the British government started to transfer concentration from the central government (where they were enjoying almost total aothurity) towards the provinces and from the urban areas (with their seditious, middle classes westernized educated) to the countryside (no doubt where they still hoped for loyalty and gratitude from both the landed peasantry and gentry).In 1921 under the 1919 Act first Punjab Legislative Council was constituted. The Council total members were 93,¹⁰⁴ rest to be nominated whereas seventy per cent to be elected; and the three years term of the Council was declared. In the past (till 1920), Council meetings were presided over by the Lieutenant Governor, and in the history of the Council for the first time as President a nominated person could be designated, and in his absence elected person could preside meetings designated as Deputy President). When on October 27, 1923 the Lieutenant Governor decided to dissolve the Council after end of its term at that time Total 98 meetings first Punjab Legislative Council had¹⁰⁵.

The second Legislative Council

In 1924 under the Government of India Act, 1919 second Legislative Council was established. Section 20 of the this Act envisaged that after the end of four years the President

¹⁰⁴Proceedings, Punjab Legislative Council, January 8, 1921, pages 5-6.

¹⁰⁵Proceedings, Punjab Legislative Council, October 27, 1923, page 387.

would be elected by the Council on January 8, 1921 the first meeting of the first Punjab Legislative Council was held. Therefore election was held and first elected President of this Council was Sir Sheikh Abdul Qadir who was the first Muslim and the before his election, Mr Herbert Alexander Casson the previous chosen President continued such as. In September 1925 Sir Sheikh Abdul Qadir submit resignation from his office after that he was selected Minister for Education and later on Khan Bahadur Chaudhri and Sir Shahab-ud-Din succeeded him.¹⁰⁶ On October 1926 Council detained its last sitting, and on October 27, 1926 it was dissolved after completion of its three years term. During its life Council held 102 total meetings.

The third Legislative Council:

, Third elections for Punjab Legislative Assembly were held in In November 1926. The Muslim educated urban middle classes elected Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Maqbul Mahmud, Shaikh Din Muhammad, and Chaudhry Zafarullah Khan to signify them in the provincial legislature. They were from to Muslim Punjabi intelligentsia. As it has already been cleared that middle classes were feeble due to educational and skilled backwardness. In Punjab legislature they favoured and joined later the Unionist party. The contradictory situation of Punjab in Iqbal's ambivalent position middle classes was represented.

In 1927 under the Government of India Act, 1919 and third Legislative Council was constituted. Allama Sir Dr. Muhammad Iqbal belongs to religious family one of the great Muslim scholar, poet and philosopher was an associated with this Council. Officials' members of the Council were all Britishers, and as representatives of General Interests 8 nominated non-officials, 13 nominated of the European and Soldiers of His Majesty's Indian Forces, of the Indian Christians and of the Punjabi Officers, Anglo-Indian communities, of the Labour Classes. 67 members were elected in the Council from urban and rural areas of the then Punjab.

Dr Muhammad Iqbal being a part of the Punjab Legislative Council, on March 10, 1927 had delivered an significant speech, stress on various aspects of education while pointing out the facts and figures shared in the Report regarding the improvement of Education in the Punjab for the year 1925-26, "They (earlier speakers) have stressed on the reality that education is a general phenomena, that it had impactson all communities of this land Muhammadans, Hindus,

¹⁰⁶3Proceedings, Punjab Legislative Council, October 25, 1926, page 1810

capitalists, Sikhs, and labourers but they have not taken at the issue from the stance of a overseas government. An impartial overseas government is an inconsistency in terms. The in this country government needs to remain the public unaware. My compliance is that in the matter of primary education is concerned so far as, it is entirely essential in the concern of this province to adopt at once the standard of compulsion.”¹⁰⁷ He took great interest in the work of the council and he made important contribution in it. He delivered many speeches on the budget of the Punjab. He also discussed other subjects in the council. He had a great love and sympathy for the poor. Iqbal moved some very good resolutions in the legislative council. Iqbal put great fight for the revision of land taxes. He said in one of his speech that:

“In case the money is remitted we should introduce the reduction of taxes. We should introduce the standard of development to land revenue. Principle of progression and the principle of ability are applied in the matter of income-tax, it is to say, there is graduated range and most of the people do not give income-tax at all. My compliance, as a result is in the light of this principle that the council should think on the matter of the reduction of taxes.”¹⁰⁸ Muhammad Hanif Shahid examined the files of the Zamindar of November 23-24, 1926, he compiled a very detailed account of activities at different polling stations which he reported in his study, Iqbal and the Punjab Council (Urdu).¹⁰⁹ In the July 1927 session of the Legislative Council Iqbal proposed four bills: 1) that the Punjab government sold the capitalists 325,000 acres of land in the Montgomery (currently Sahiwal) district, half of this acreage of land should be reserved for the landless tenants. 2) A law should be enacted to eliminate the possibility of blasphemy against the Prophets and the founders of all religions (Incidentally, an ordinance was issued on this subject in 1927.) 3) Laws should be enacted to prohibit public drinking of alcohol. 4) Sword should be exempted from the list of forbidden weapons. Because of Iqbal’s efforts swords, which could be carried without a license by the Muslims was declared an exempt weapon in the districts of Mianwali, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffar Garh, Jhang, Gurgooan, Hisar, Anbala, Shimla and Kangra.¹¹⁰ In the Punjab Legislative Council Iqbal emerged as a skilled parliamentary member. Clearly, his speeches led to several conclusions: before speaking on several diverse

¹⁰⁷ A. R. Tariq, *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, (Lahore: Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1973), p. 57.

¹⁰⁸ Javed Iqbal, *Dr Iqbal*, (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Adam educational publication) 1956, p.28

¹⁰⁹ PGGE 7 (1920). NAI, Home Public, File No. 120/1920.

¹¹⁰ Inqalab, July 25, 1927.

issues, he invariably conducted research and gathered facts and figures to criticize the government's policies.

On January 4, 1927 as President Sir Shahab-ud-Din Khan Bahadur Chaudhri was re-elected. Seven months extension was set to the Council within its three years period and on July 26, 1930. It was dissolved. During its extended period Council held 111 total meetings.

Main objective of the Unionist Party was to defuse the rising power of moneyholders, trading and urban qualified community and reduce the nationalist pressure with the sponsorship of the Punjab administration. Fazl-i-Husain in the Punjab Legislative Council, tried to clip the wings of urban community by backing the bills which was actually reflection of the programme of Unionist Party. Punjab (Urban Property) Regulation Bills, Punjab Moneylenders Registration Bill, the Punjab Court Fees 210 Bill, and exposed the risk posed by the increasing influence of the moneyholders and urban community to the country wellbeing of the landed gentry.¹¹¹ The Money Lenders' as the report of the Punjab Money Lender's Association wrote that Registration Bill aroused extensive resentment and objection of the urban business classes. "Hardly there is a city and place in the province where this Bill has not roused stance of alarm and sensation,"¹¹²

In Punjab Legislative Council most of the debates held, focused concerns of these two main classes which often took on communal complexion as these two classes had come out of two davout communities. Both attempted to fill their positions with petit nobals as to declare their class individuality who were not so well-developed. In its early days the legislative council which delighted artificial autonomy for its business became reliant on the official members. The new Governor Malcolm Hailey selected the ministers relying on their past record of devotion inspite of relying on the important place they had in the party. Most noticeable selection among Muslims was Firoz Khan Noon. In Punjab Assembly debates, there was sharp contrast of conclusion between rural elites and Hindu urban, Chotu Ram was spokesman of them. Land Revenue Amendment Bill was passed by the Legislative Council, proposed by Unionists which presented substantial reduction of revenue from 33 per cent to 25 per cent. Chotu Ram recommended that peasant ought to be exempted from revenue which was opposed by landed gentry from the Unionists. To reduce some money-lending hones the council also legislated in

¹¹¹ PLCD, 4-5 August 1924, vol. VII, no 1, 89

¹¹² L Salig Ram Bajaj, comp. A Brief Report of the Criticism on the Punjab Money Lenders' Registration Bill and the Resolutions of Protests Passed Against it All over the Country (Lahore: Arorbans Press, 1925)

the favour of the agriculturalist classes. In December 1929 Punjab Regulation of Accounts Bill was passed, in July 1931 which came into force. In a rural-urban division, The Punjab convention of setting up patron-client relationships between the in a rural-urban division and central bureaucracy resulted which confined legislative issues absent from the urban middle classes. Protection of the loyal landed gentry classes from political and economic supremacy by the urban elites became colonial arrangements. On the floor of the Council Fazl-i- Husain talking stated that 'Punjab was at huge for cooperation' with Simon Commission. He mentions Four Muslims, which are, Chaudhry Afzal Haq, Rana Feroz- ud-Din, Muhammad, Sadiq, Dr. Muhammad Alam (resolution mover) who backed the resolution, were elected with urban bolster. On 3 December, 1929 all elected members and official members of the council who were represented landed elites voted for no to inquiry. Finally motion was lost with 51 Noes and 22 Ayes in the end of debate.¹¹³

The Fourth Legislative Council:

Beneath the Government of India Act in 1930 fourth and the last Legislative Council was constituted. On October 25, 1930, for the third sequential term Khan Bahadur Chaudhry Sir Shahab-ud-Din was chosen unopposed as President. On October 20, 1936 as a Minister for Education he was chosen; and Rao Bahadur Chaudhry Chhotu Ram succeeded him.¹¹⁴ the same group was brought in the the 1930 elections once more to legislative council. The Unionists and Narendra Nath's Nationalist Progressive Party again rose as the two big legislative and enormous authoritative screen charectors in the assembly. Total 71 elected members won unopposed out of thirty eight candidates. The factional legislative issues, the common characteristic of landed privileged, conquered activities of the assembly. The group of Firoz Khan Noon and Shahab-ud-din had extreme clashes. In the absence of Fazl-i-Husain from the province, Sikandar Hayat was aspirant to the best post among the Unionists. Results of Elections of 1930 Punjab Legislative Council total Seats won 37 won by Unionist Party, 20 by Nationalist Progressive Party 14 by Independent and others won ¹¹⁵ The elections of Punjab

¹¹³ PLCD, 26 November, 1928 to 28 March, 1929, Official Report, Vol. XII (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1929), 331-2.

¹¹⁴ *Punjab Assembly 1987*. Ahmad book binding, 1987

¹¹⁵ Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party* (New Delhi: Monohar Publishers, 1999), 71.

Legislative Assembly in 1930 made the ground for collaboration between Congress and radical left. In the fourth conferences held in Mahilpur, Sarhali, Garhdiwala, Cheema Kalan and the Kritis played an imperative position in moved center of the political dissident to relieve of lower class, in the princely states of Kapurthala diminution of land revenue. Kisan conference at Lyallpur was organized by Sir Chhotu Ram's Zamindara League and took acknowledgment for the "Golden Acts" passed by Punjab Legislative Assembly for relieving the obligation burden of the peasants.¹¹⁶

However Council period was three years, but continuing political development was the reason, From time to time it was given leases of life. In the provincial subject Montago-Chelmsford Reforms introduced significant changes also.¹¹⁷

Working of the legislature was engorged by these Reforms. The members had the right to talk about economics and taxation matters, on the matters of public interest they could move regulations and to ask questions on all matters except affairs with the inhabitant states, foreign relations, and the issues under permissible intercession. Eventually an only 3 percent of the population was enfranchised in Punjab at that time whereas for voters the franchise was strict and limited but direct criterion of disqualifications and qualifications. However Women, for the first time got the right to vote. Functions of legislatures under this Act were confidential as 'Provincial and Central' 'departments. In turn provincial departments were, separated into 'reserved and transferred Governor would deal acting with a Minister or Ministers or the Governor in Council and in that order. Thus, diarchy was introduced in the Act 1919 in the provinces, however, in the procedure of its performance, was found to be both unworkable and unsatisfactory.¹¹⁸ On party basis in Punjab no elections were held so that the political parties were concerned, before 1923. Until the Government of India Act 1935 same setup remained active this came into function. In the meanwhile, five years was period of the provincial legislature lain down for according to the Government of India Act, 1935. The Council sustained for six years in the situation, during its extensive time; Council passed 26 Act held within 197 meetings.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Surinder Singh, "Some Aspects of Communist Movement in the Punjab," *Journal of Punjab Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 42

¹¹⁷ PGGE 7 (1920). NAI, Home Public, File No. 120/1920.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 1923

¹¹⁹ Proceedings, Punjab Legislative Council, November 10, 1936, page 411.

It is worth mentioning that on November 17, 1935 present Assembly building construction was inaugurated by Minister for Agriculture Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, during the period of this Council. Fully sovereign assemblies and responsible government was popular demand, and becoming stronger and stronger. From 1930 to 1932 in London British Government arranged a sequence of round table conferences, representatives of many political parties in India participated and formulated a constitutional proposal. This proposal was eventually come in material form in the Government of India Act, 1935. Autonomy was introduced on Provincial level in this Act although it was controlled type, but still it was a much better then last system of diarchy introduced.

During this period many fundamental changes introduced in broad-spectrum of political system of Punjab. In contrast to 1919 Act, 1935 was implemented under which, not in reality though but it seems that, whole provincial administrative, was lay under the command of Legislative Assembly. The same system remained in action in the West Punjab until British government was replaced the Government of Pakistan in 1947. These were the conditions in which Punjab was missing in the field of political activism. Due to its geo-strategic place The With less political awareness British had arranged to keep this province under autocratic rule. Indeed they wished to hold the expansionist plan of Russia through Punjab by keeping it a military subjugated part. John Lawrence went to that level that when there were twelve Divisions of Indian Army; four Divisions of Army were deployed only in Punjab. Twenty seven army officers were appointed in Districts of Punjab as their Deputy Commissioners.¹²⁰ Although, the province was given autonomy but in every subject of the province the Governor was given discretionary powers to get in the way. For practical purposes that is why the Act of 1935 was not mature. According to the Act Punjab Legislative Assembly 175 seats were allotted. Elections of 1937 under this Act were held. The Fazl-i-Husain (Unionists Party) of and others parties British government supported Pro-British landowners, swept in these elections in Punjab.¹²¹ he was succeeded and formed his cabinet; Skinder Hayat Khan became chief minister. By 1937, at

¹²⁰ Najjar, B. S. (n. d.). *Punjab under the British Rule (1849-1947)*. Vol. 3. Lahore: Mustafa Waheed Publishers.p.61

¹²¹ Ahsan, A. *The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan* (2nd. ed.), Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1998. p.325

the provincial and district levels frequent rounds of elections had repeatedly returned candidates, members of the Punjabi landed gentry

Punjab Legislative Assembly:

It is worth mentioning that in the political system of the sub-continent The Government of India Act, 1935 brought momentous change. Instead of the Punjab Legislative Council it was called constitution of Punjab Legislative Assembly. Now speaker was President of the Council Assembly membership was set as 175 divided into many categories¹. 42 general (Hindus) seats, 84 seats for Muslims, 31 seats for Sikhs 1 seat for Anglo-Indians, 1 seats for Europeans, 2 seats for Indians Christians, 1 seat for representatives of commerce, industry mining and planning, 5 seats for of land holders 1 seat for University, 3 seats for labour representation, 1 general seat for women, 1 seat for Sikh women and 2 seat for Muslim women.

The election for the first Legislative Assembly in 1936 under the 1935 Act was held. Governor of the Province who was always English had discretionary powers; He had the power to prorogue and summon to the Legislative House of the Province. In his discretion he could dissolve the lower house. Before it becomes Law his consent was nessary for every bill. Bill could be send by him for reconsidrartion. But bill could be reserved it for reconsideration of the Governor Genral and Majesty, s Government by the Governor. He had authority to stop the Resolution, discussion of any Bill, an answer to a quation, adjournment motion, if he well thought-out such a course nesassary for the proper emancipation of his responsibilities. Joint meeting of the Houses could be called by him to iron out differences between them.¹²²

Unionist administration was supported by The British administration the in the time of crisis. Under Montford reforms the official members of the Council took part in the election of the President of the Council in the session of Punjab Legislative Council, National Reform Party, leader, despite the protest of Narendra Nath. 56 votes were won by Chhotu Ram was elected as President with the support of official members and Muslim while Buta Singh was supported by Hindu and Sikhs members got 28 votes. Some Sikh and Hindu members walk-out against it. After 1936-37 the Punjab politics took a turning point in the elections when all-India parties started to make severe work to strengthen their place in the province. From 18 January, 1937 to 3 February, under Government of India Act, 1935, 1937 elections to Punjab Legislative Assembly

¹²²B.S Nijjar, *Punjab Under British Rule*, Lahore: Book Tradrs. 1954.p.156

were held. Time of elections approached, seven tickets were issued to League in the Punjab and namely only two of them, Raja Ghazanfar Ali and Malik Barkat Ali could get their way to Legislative Assembly on their personal behalf rather than party power. Ghazanfar Ali moved and made allegiance Unionist Party and joined it to enjoy remuneration as he became parliamentary secretary of the Assembly. Muslim elits won Eighty-one rural seats; reserved seats for landlords were included in them. Hindu rural notables total twenty-three supported to the Unionist Party. In Punjab the Congress got 18 seats and elected. From Muslim constituency two won. From urban constituency four Muslims won as independent candidates.¹²³

First Punjab Legislative Assembly:

Ten years from 1937-1947 ha been very important I n the History of legislation and political development of Sub continent. It was during the period that political institutions of the time were given more or less in final shape. Under the new act the first election was held in the winter of 1936-37. The Sikhs had the option of supporting either the Congress as there was Arya Samaj leadership anti-Sikhs dominant; the unionist because dispite of their leadership the reason of the agriculturist their most important attention was Muslims, secondry importance were the Sikhs and Hindues Jat. They could not produced allaience with any political party but none of the leaders had the foresight to do so. They instead come apart their groups into Anti Akali and Akali group both in provincial affairs had minor importance and none on the national picture whatsoever. In all provinces exept Punjab, Bengal, sindh and the the Indian national congress won the polls. Its performance was not good in the Punjab, where it won a bare 10 percent of the vote. The 96 percent seat were won by Unioniaist and 20 percent by Khalsa Nationalist the rest were won by Muslim League and Congress, independents and communists out of totall 175 seats. To form the Ministry Sir Sikender Hyat Khan was invited by the Governor consisted of the members following.

Sir Sikender Hyat Khan-----Premier

Sir Sunder Singh Majithia-----Revenue Minister

Sir Choto Ra-----Development Minister

Mr. Manohar Lal-----Finance Minister

¹²³ Syed Nur Ahmad, Marshal Law se Marshal Law Tak, 3rd Impression (Lahore: Maktab-i-Alia, 1993), 150.

Major Khizer Hyat Khan Tiwana-----Public works Minister

Mian Abdul Haye-----Education Minister.

Principal offices of the Punjab Legislative Assembly

Chaudhary Shahab-ud-din-----Speaker

Sardar Dasondha Singh-----Deputy Speaker

Sardar Bahadu Abnasa Singh-----Secretary

Khan Sahib Hakim Ahmad Shuja -----Assistant Secretary.

Sir Sikander Khan chose his cabinet of three Muslim two Hindus and one Sikh. Majority were rural Jat in evidence as among the six Ministers of the Hindus only one was an urban non agriculturist Mr. Manohar Lal. Jinnah wished to drive out Sir Sikender Khan from the Punjab Assembly but he was told by other Muslim to have amiable connection with the premier of Punjab. Ahmad yar Khan was one of such leaders who wanted to establish good relations between Mr. Jinnah and Sir Sikender Hyat Khan. Ahmad yar Khan Daultana the secretary of the Unionist party even called himself one of the passionate Jinnahites tried for the agreement and submitted a names of the members to be elected from the League council adding up these were all his men against the entire World”¹²⁴

Unionist group under the leadership of Sir Sikender joined Muslim League. British government, particularly in an area like Punjab were in no ready to permit an urban politician Jinnah to disturb the the area where they had strained main part of their army, in order to maintain hold in these areas The British had dependence a lot on the authority of the landed magnates and the authority of Deputy Commissioners. In 1932 Jinnah complained of these activities of Muslim leaders. Members were supposed to consult with the Deputy Commissioner before their support. During the tenure of the Unionist Ministry following:

The Punjab Unemployment Insurance Bill

The Punjab Hours of work Bill

The Punjab Health Insurance Bill

The Punjab District Boards Bill

The Punjab Removal of beggary Bill

The Punjab land revenue Bill

The Punjab fixation of Minimum rates of wages bill

¹²⁴ Dsr. Bakhsh Singh Nijjar, *Punjab under the British rule*. Lahore: Book Publishers, 1954. P.160

The Punjab Anti Phooka Bills

The Punjab and small towns patrol Bills

The Punjab Municipal Bill

The Muslim Wuwaf Bill

In 1937 Sardar Dasondha Singh replaced Sardar Bahadur Sardar Buta. First Assembly had its first sitting on 5 April 1937 at present Lahore, secretariat, Council Hall at that time construction of the house of the Assembly was in process. First Speaker of the Assembly was elected on April 6, 1937. In the history of Punjab Legislature first ever work to rule, was also staged at this time. On November 10, 1938 first meeting was arranged in the present building. The term of the Assembly was five years, but, there were many reasons, political developments, World War II, and so on the Assembly continued its working for about eight years and on March 19, 1945 its last sitting was held. During its extended life Assembly held 368 total sittings. Shortage of consumer goods was major problem for the Unionist Ministry. The diversion of resources to war manufacture and the limitation of ordinary consumer goods import were the main reason of his stubborn issue. While its first impact was seen in towns, the rural population ever more suffered from its effect.

The Nationalist Progressive in June 1938, expressed their fear over Unionists' three bills presented by Unionist ministry. These bills were meant to dish up the wellbeing of landed gentry but seen by business and merchants classes influenced by Hindus as disparaging of their interests. Chhotu Ram though, who was with the Hindu agriculturalist classes, supported the Unionists, leadership of Hindu twisted against the ministry.¹²⁵ Land Alienation Act 1900 was the first bill projected an amendment to introducing limitations on urban Hindus to have own agricultural land. Money-Lenders placed second requirement and registered them under government catalogue and the third sought the recompense of mortgaged land in order to compensate 345 landowners lands of whom had been mortgaged and alienated earlier to 1901. Mukand Lal Puri blamed that aim of these bills was to destroy the money-lending classes related to Sikh communities and Hindu as money lending was not business of the Muslim. The Punjab Congress was also against the bills reason was that they discriminated against certain classes on the basis of lineage or descent. G C Bhargava commented that these bills were beneficial for the rich landlord of the Unionist Party and not for the underprivileged which the Congress stood for.

¹²⁵ Civil and Military Gazette, 12 August, 1938.

The Akali leader Kartar Singh argued in assembly that these bills were brought at the will of the British government to wipe out the local money lending businesses as a result British-owned banks could replace them. Sikh with Communist, s inclination Sohan Singh was also not in favour of the bills. Ajit Singh assured the Congress support for the bills if they were not inequitable. Outside the legislature Kharak Singh another Sikh member announced to protest against the bills. In the support for the bills Khalsa National Party (KNP) too was divided. KNP leaders like Sunder Singh Majithia, a Sikh landlord, presented Restitution of Mortgages Bill. Santhosh Singh, urban Khalsa representative raised his voice in the opposition to the bills and under the Narendra Nath joined five Hindus members from legislative assembly who were no more in the coalition. The Muslim middle class on the other hand, which had begun to avow it, connected with the Unionist landed elits to control the control of trading, commercial, and urban middle classes. An opponent of Sikander, raised his voice in the favour of the bills. Amjad Alavi Ghulam son of Rasul Mehr, commenting about the days when his father was editor of Inqilab pro-Unionist, uttered the view that against the Congress the Muslim landed gentry and middle classes had common interests and only landed gentry in the Punjab could give the leadership to the Muslims. A propaganda campaign was launched by Ahmad Yar Daultana to come together classes relevant to agricultur in support of these legislations.¹²⁶ The Tribune considered the bills as 'communal' and assertion of war of landed gentry against trading classes and urban money-lending. On 4 September, 1938 Sikander, Addul Haye, Chotu Ram, prearranged Zamindar Conference at Lyallpur and Rohtak to gather together support for the bills. In 1938 the two bills were passed by ministry of Unionist dominated and Governor approved the bills despite the protest of main urban middle and trading classes. Leaders of Congress including Dr. Satyapal, Gopi Chand Bhargava, Duni Chand and Ajit Singh presented resignations from Congress offices and seats of the assembly as well. Gokal Chand prepared protest in urban areas. Another campaign was launched by Punjab Congress against the bills. In October 1938 Sikander attended the session of the Sindh Muslim League at Karachi and talked for the provincial League unity in the paralel of Congress dying for power. He called the Sindhi Muslim in the name of Punjab Muslims to handle their differences and 'to come together under the banner of the League for the stature of Islam'.¹²⁷ By inviting Sikandar Jinnah honoured him to preside over Bombay Muslim

¹²⁶ Civil and Military Gazette, 12 August, 1938.

¹²⁷ The Civil and Military Gazette, 12 October, 1938.

League Conference on 6 May, 1939 at Sholapur as a part of his bigger policy to show to his opponent Congress leaders because he had control over Muslim politics in Punjab in his hands. Sikander accused in his presidential address, Congress of adopting 'tactics and ideology of dictators in Europe' and of 'direction towards the model of an authoritarian state'. Punjab Primary Education Bill 1941 was introduced by the Unionist Ministry in the Punjab legislative assembly in 1940 which sited some limitations on teaching Gurmukhi and Hindi.¹²⁸ AIML in 1941 passed resolution to be in opposition to any moves to launch Punjabi as dialect language in the Punjab and prepared symbol of the government.¹²⁹ Sikander in his public statements announced his heartfelt support for British war attempt and took realistic measures to make sure recruitment of army men from Punjab in order to constituency the 'danger of subjection by another foreign power'.¹³⁰ He facilitated the channel of Recruitment Bill in Punjab Legislative Assembly (PLA) and on 26 August 1939 in his speech promised to use all resources of the province.¹³¹

In December 1942 for example food shortage was noted from thirteen districts, fuel, sugar and salt. These created speedy inflation which caused great sorrow amongst the poor. The subsistence of such shortages made the Unionist party had to export wheat from the province very disliked however this was carried out grudgingly in compliance to the Government of India. Alone 265,000 tons of products were sent between May and October 1943 from the Punjab to Bengal. The export of the Wheat to other provinces was criticized in the Legislative Assembly as early as March 1942. For the Unionist party it was a threatening sign that the main resistance came from of its own faction. A djournalment motion was moved by Unionist member on the issue and to criticize his own Government Khan Bahadur Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani defied parliamentary convention.¹³² About this opposition the Ministry could do nothing as its hands were fixed by central establishment. The Punjab Assembly early in November 1943 adopted an unofficial resolution without division to the effect that any effort to have check on the price of wheat would effect in very intense umbrage and dissatisfaction amongst agriculturist gentry.

¹²⁸ Tariq Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.197

¹²⁹ Kanwaljit Kaur, "Riots, Refugees and Rehabilitation: A Case Study of Punjab 1946-1956," PhD diss., Punjabi University Patiala, 2010), 168.

¹³⁰ Ian Talbot, "The Second World War and Local Indian Politics: 1939-1947," *The International History Review* 6, no.4 (Nov. 1984): 605.

¹³¹ PLAD.VOL.II.29 August 1939.

¹³² Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, 14 March, 1942.

Khizer Hyat the new Unionist Premier was though not capable to put off the reintroduction of price control.¹³³ The Unionist did not only have to carry out the Government ostracized policies during the war, but because of fiscal inflexibility they had to dumped many of their striving programme of rural lift. They have assured for example the Thal Canal colony project but be short of funds delayed its completion. They have incapable to have enough money to decrease the water charges in the canal colonies and to begin a descending scale of land revenue charges, both of which the smaller landlords had been demandng for a long time. Panic of disorderly the war attempt preventing the Unionist party from introducing furthure any legislation which favored the rural inhabitants at its cost of non agriculturalists. In 1941 the dangers in pressing such controversial legislation had been become obvious. When province's commercial life was disrupted by Hindus and Sikhs business class for two Months in protest against the passing of the Agricultural produce markets Act and the general sales tax Act.¹³⁴ The Unionist wanted support of the Hindus and Sikhs in order to run the region's war effort. The Sikh group of people was of course a vital basis of army's employees whilst the Hindus were influential Government contractors.

In accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, the second Legislative Assembly was established in 1945 with the same 175 membership.

After the election of 1945 party position in the Punjab assembly

No	Party	Seats						
	Muslim League	85		1		2	3	5%
	Congress	74		1		3	2	4%
	Unionist	8						
	Ahrya	16				6		

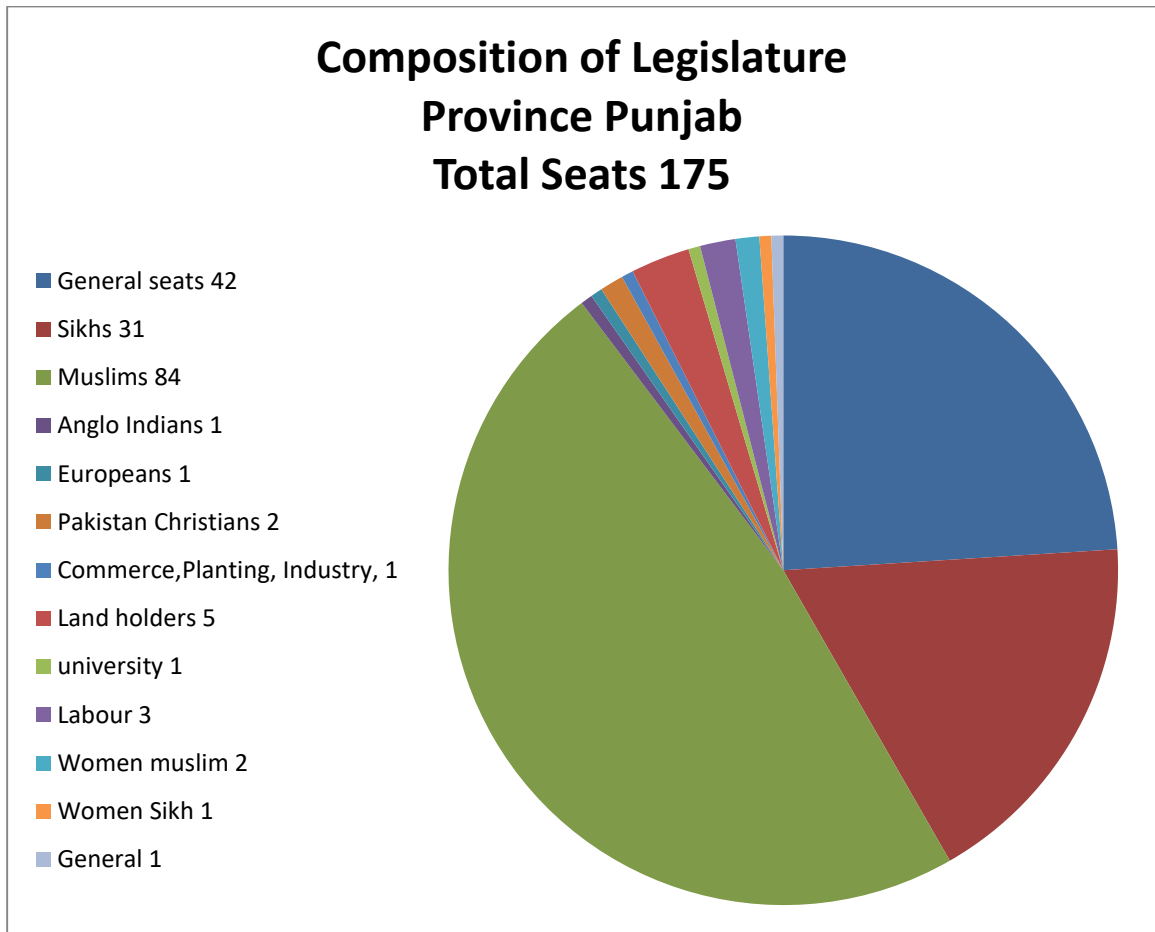
¹³³ Ibid.6 November, 1943

¹³⁴ The General Sales tax Act which aimed to distribute the burden of taxation more evenly between the urban and rural population aroused the greater opposition. It taxed all traders who had an annual turnover of over Rs. 5,000. The traders formed a beopari mandal to fight this and marketing Act. Ian Talbot, Punjab and the Raj, New dahlia: Monohar Publication, 1988. P. 149

	Khak sar	3						
	Azad	83			0	1		6

N.J Awan *Tahrik-i-Azadi main Punjab ka kirdar*. Islamabad: Modern Book Dipo Melodi.

1993.p. 28



Province	Punjab
Total seats	175
General seats	42
Sikhs	31
Muslims	84
Anglo Indians	1

Europeans	1
Pakistan Christians	2
Commerce,planting, industry,	1
Land holders	5
university	1
Labour	3
Women muslim	2
Women Sikh	1
General	1

In Talbot says, “Creation of Pakistan depended on the Punjab”.¹³⁵ thus, the result of the 1946 elections in India were to establish the future of Indian Muslims and corroborate or if not the claim of the Muslims League that they were a nation and that in British India the Muslim League was the only representative of Muslim majority.¹³⁶ Thus elections were held only on one outline that was: Pakistan should be or no Pakistan. Since electoral politics in Punjab and political development of the representative institutions, the communal lines of the province were was dragging. A little split was seen through the Unionist Party but when both the factors, entry of the major parties of Punjab in the political affairs and impregnable communal representation tied together, Political traditions of Punjab was changed purely to a communal bases.¹³⁷ As a result province,s division was noted on communal bases beside the partition of India in 1947, society was devided into two streams in the 1945 elections i.e. the non-Muslims and Muslim. Before Pakistan got its independence of 1945-46 elections were the final elections to be planed in combined India. In the campaign of in Central issue of All India Muslim League in these elections was the claim for a separate state for the Muslims community of India. The Muslim League remained ineffective to form a Government with a majority, with the support of a alliance of Unionist-Congress-Sikh, Sir Khizar Hyat Khan became premier again. It was a historic conclusion which shattered the last hopes of rallying Muslim resistance to partition

¹³⁵ Ian Talbot, Khizr Tiwana: *The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India*, Karachi:Oxford University Press, 2002.p. 1.

¹³⁶ Q. Abid / M. Abid, Uunionist - Muslim league relations and the punjab administration

¹³⁷ Azra Asgher Ali, Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab: 1849-1947*Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. 29, No.(June 2009), .P. 75

surrounding the Unionist Party.¹³⁸ Under the premier of Nawab Khizr Hayat Tiwana new Punjab ministry was established completely in an undemocratic way. The attitude of the Unionists, British Governor, Sikhs, and Congress set a trend of political suppression and containment in the Punjab against the League. It may be well-known that during their election campaign a majority members of Punjab assembly used to use vast amounts of money and therefore, they projected material recompense not only for own but also for their close supporters and relatives in the shape of an appointment as honorary magistrate, registrar, and even on minor positions in the government.¹³⁹ The increasing inability of the government to curb the malpractices associated with rationing and controls became progressively evident. It was pointed out in the Punjab Assembly that the situation was aggravated by corruption which was said to be in full swing in the province.¹⁴⁰ Contrary to the spirit of the government orders, the price of rationed wheat was very high in the towns compared with the villages, and the people protested against it. ¹⁴¹It was mentioned in the Assembly that the poor men had to face problems at the hands of the ration depot holders.¹⁴²

Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot was of the observation that after joining Ministry Unionist Muslims had get nearer to the regulation of the League; for this reason Punjab ministry must be considered as League ministry.¹⁴³ Hayat also attached with the group of Nawab Iftikhar of Mamdot and by supportive to the explanation of Sikandar-Jinnah Pact prepared by him. Tara Singh, Chhotu Ram, and Baldev Singh uttered their uneasiness over disintegration of Muslim landed upper classes and took Khizar's stance. With twenty Muslims members Shaukat Hayat even threatened to refrain from the Unionist Party and from Punjab Legislative Assembly. Jinnah and Khizar held meeting to stumble on a answer to the trouble and Khizar warned about perditions; Governor's Raj might be imposed, Unionist Muslims came apart on the matter of formation of League in Punjab Assembly. The differences between landed elits like Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Firoz Khan Noon, Shaukat Hayat and Nawab of Mamdot came to scene at a

¹³⁸ Mughees Ahmmad, Political Out Fits of Political Parties in British India: A Case Study of Unionist Party, *South Asian Studies A Research Journal of South Asian Studies* Vol. 29, No.2, July - December 2014, pp. 531-541

¹³⁹ Q. Abid, M. Abid, Unionist - Muslim League relations and the Punjab administration, *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan.*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 2008.P.03

¹⁴⁰ *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, vol. XXV, no.6, 27 March 1946, p. 176.

¹⁴¹ *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, vol. XXV, no.7, 28 March 1946, p. 194.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*P.105

¹⁴³ Civil Military Gazette, Lahore, 4 June, 1943.

time even when the Punjab had not happen to the component of independent Pakistan.¹⁴⁴ “The Punjab League was crowded with opportunists in 1947 that had slight dedication to the Pakistan model.”¹⁴⁵ These comments made by Ian Talbot opened the reality regarding the landed elites who established the Punjab League. Firoz Noon was ‘despondently disappointed’ because Jinnah did not endorse him to be the leader of the Provincial League.¹⁴⁶

Jenkins had the meeting on the same day with Iftikhar Husain Mamdot and asked him to show that he was leading majority of the members of Assembly. In its place Mamdot delivered him a letter claiming for instant appointment of Ministry as he assured to have to hold of ninety members including 80 Muslim League, 3 other Muslims, 4 Scheduled Castes, 2 Indian Christians and 1 Europeans without mentioning names.¹⁴⁷ Mamdot’s opponent Firoz Noon held meeting with Jenkins in his individual capacity and informed him that Mamdot had only 83 votes.¹⁴⁸

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly subsequent victory of the party was 73 out of 84 Representatives of the Muslims legitimized their claim for Muslim. It determined the way for the division of Punjab also. Thus it can carefully be decided that huge political involvement on communal bases and outcome of an electoral procedure, were the mainly influenced the division of India and partition of Punjab. After soon the triumph in the 1946 election that created Pakistan,¹⁴⁹ factions had already started to come into view in PML as Feroze Khan Noon, Mamdot, and Daultana began to compete for power within party.¹⁵⁰ Iftikharuddin and his newspapers Pakistan Times and Amaraz were against Liaqat Ali Khan’s favour for Unionist Feudals and considered it dangerous for progressive class.

Iftikharuddin's opposition of Unionist Feudals was not new. He delivered his first speech in the Punjab Legislative Assembly after successful victory on the Muslim League ticket in the general elections of 1945. In this, he strongly criticized the unity of Unionist and Congress were against the Muslim League. The Nexus was released by Abul Kalam, and its aim was to bring an end to power in the subcontinent. On the occasion of transition, the Muslim league should be

¹⁴⁴ Vicky Noon to Jinnah, 9 November 1946, SHC Punjab Vol. IV/45. Vicky Noon complained to Jinnah about his accusation against her husband of conspiring against Mamdot.

¹⁴⁵ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement: The Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India, 1937-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 103

¹⁴⁶ Ibid

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.p. 104

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.p.104-105

¹⁴⁹ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1105473>

¹⁵⁰ *Quaid-e-Azam Papers*.vol.XII National Archive of Pakistan, Islamabad, 616-618

deprived of power from Punjab. Although the League Party was the biggest in the Assembly. The number of unionist were not more than nine or ten. Iftikharuddin's allegation was that the Congress united Along with the treasures of the country to oppose the right to self-determination, rather than the highest religious claims of their rule. Now in 1948 his view was that Liaquat Ali Khan by pairing with Unionist Feudals behaved in same way as Abul Kalam in 1946. A lawyer Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, occupied the early activities of both the the Muslim League and Punjab Congress, was persuaded that the Punjab political situation is conclusion of inter-communal collaboration as no particular community could lead an absolute bulk. The Unionist until 1946 with the support of the British subjugated the political affairs of the Punjab. The party worked more as a free coalition of Sikh, Muslim, Hindu landlords than as a political party in the modern common sense. It got favour from peasant proprietors and large landowners and called to Muslims from the Western Punjab and Hindus from the Eastern Punjab. The Unionist party under Muslim landlord's dominance but some rural Sikhs and Hindus also played an significant part in its development. Chhotu Ram's (1882-1945) rhetoric words provided a strong appeal for the party's strength. He stood head and shoulder higher than Muslim Unionists and addressed mob of peasants without the usage of a microphone.¹⁵¹ The role of governors in British India had always been significant in restoration fences and edifice bridges between the opponents. It was seen that at center, Viceroys like Lord Wavell and Lord Linlithgow tried for their unity and solve out the differences between the main political parties. Mostly, both Viceroys tried to play a role of a good negotiator. In this regard numerous examples can be mentioned. But Governor Glancy worked at the back of the scenes in the Punjab and even did not appreciate the formation of Muslim League ministry to avoid communal violence. Obviously, the Governor of Punjab was not in support of establishing a beyond doubt representative ministry in Punjab Legislative Assembly; he made barely any effort to bring about settlement among different communities.

Since the partition of the India had been determined, therefore, on June 3, 1947 in pursuance of the announcement of His Majesty's Government, Western Section of the Assembly held special meetings which was presided by the S.P. Singha Diwan Bahadur as a speaker and that on June 23, 1947 of the Eastern part of the Assembly was held presided by the Deputy

¹⁵¹ Dar, *Communal Riots in the Punjab 1947*, Under the terms of Lucknow pact, the Muslims had sacrificed their majority position in the Punjab Legislature to secure weightage for the Muslim minority areas.

Speaker Sardar Kapur Singh. The program for these meetings was to formulate a result whether Province of the Punjab should be partitioned or not. Partition was determined after voting on both sides. As a result, the existing Legislative Assembly of Punjab was also parted into West Punjab and East Punjab Legislative Assembly.

The sitting members related to the Western part consequently joined the newly established Assembly which was renamed as the West Punjab Legislative Assembly. On July 4, 1947 before independence this last Assembly held its last sitting. Within its life of one year and four months it stayed and during this period 13 sittings were held. British strategy was formed by a number of different forces from 1909 till partition in 1947 by the introduction of electoral government at the provincial stage. In Punjab on the one hand, the established strategy of the cooperating with land lords sustained apace, their landed representatives, power and authority was used by colonial officials to incrementally strengthen this deal over time. The interest of the colonial time in a prosperous, stable, strains forced of the two World Wars Punjab was reinforced, mainly role of the province was stores to the war effort and providing troops, as well as its repute as being a barricade of supporter of emotions in more and more nationalist era. The style of All-India politics, on the other hand, factionalism within Punjab itself and rise of both the Muslim League and Congress, also over time played its role in dominating colonial rule, mainly in the areas of self-government constitutional reform.

This period between 1897 and 1947 is important in the history of Punjab in which most significant legislative development and changes that were introduced and amendments to already introduced laws like the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1868,¹⁵² the Land Revenue Act of 1887¹⁵³ and

¹⁵² G.R.G Hambly, Richard Temple and the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1968. *The English Historical Review*, Volume LXXIX, Issue CCCX, 1 January 1964, Pages 47–66 Richard temple A former secretary of John Lawrence in the Punjab an energetic Chief Commissioner of Central Province ultimately Governor of Bengal 1874-77 and Governor of Bombay 1877-80 prominent figure in the debates of nature proprietary rights throughout sub continent.

¹⁵³ <https://punjabxp.com/punjab-land-revenue-act-1887/> The Punjab Land Revenue Act has been incorporated on 23rd September, 1887. This is an Act to amend the law relating to Tenancy of Land, Land Revenue Administration, records of rights, appointment and function of such Officers deems fit for this Act in State of Punjab.

the Alienation of Land Act¹⁵⁴ of 1900, there is no doubt that all of whom were contested enthusiastically by opponent groups in the all of which were contested vociferously by rival groups in the Assemblies and Councils and all of these acts had a direct effects on the position and power of the landlords.

The landed classes in the legislature of Punjab by the inherited legacy of predecessors when bureaucrats were in position to regulate the already established institutional policy further in their support, and were also in position that they could challenge their rural and urban on a territory that had already been fashioned and laid out and to their benefit. Within this broader framework, mechanism which is important for legislative politics through which landed power was imposed, through which this was done were two distinctive processes; the distribution of support and acquirement, and the implementation and formulation and of pro-landlord legislation. This was rooted in how the legislature developed as an institution was actually capability to make use of in the first of these styles at the climax of politics Punjab's patronage. As Karl Marx poited out that "Men always build their own history, but they can not compose it as they gratify; they do not build it under self-selected situation, but under already existing circumstances, transmitted and given from the past"¹⁵⁵.

Legislative Assemblies consisting on members who were more or less entirely haggard from mostly leading elements of the landed gentry, within the province and villages unfortunately legislature was place to representatives and politicians, were in position to spend their assets to activate great number of people for support across districts. Such petrelism has a direct relationship with the relative underdevelopment of legislative institutions in the Pakistan Reas. Punjab was a non regulation province where the doctrine os sepration of powere distrusted from the bigning. In the early years the pronice was put under the direct control of the Board of Administration. At that time it lacked any lagal identity and was considered a political appendage of the Act of 1935. Even after it was place under a Chief Commissioner in 1953, it remained a preserve of the executive who disliked representation of local interest at any level. It responeded

¹⁵⁴ The **Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900** was a piece of legislation introduced by the with the aim of limiting the transfer of land ownership in Punjab Province. It created a an "agricultural tribes" category, the membership of which was almost compulsory to buy or sell land.

¹⁵⁵ The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch01.htm>

more to the dictates of the Government of India at Delhi than to public pressures at home, indeed even after it gradually outgrew the direct administrative control of the centre it retained a high degree of institutional integration with it. Which was not really disrupted even after provincial Governments were installed in 1921.

This chapter gives a detail regarding the procedure of institutional development of British rule in Punjab in the first half-century. An effort has been also made to draw attention to processes of extensive institutional change by highlighting on how bureaucratic amalgamation, legislation the Court of Wards Act such as, in Punjab development of representative government and project of the canal colonies, all served to extend the influence of the landed gentry, and make stronger their association with the colonial state.

Legislative politics of the Assembly explains at how the landed gentry were competent to utilize their influence in government to make laws favorable to the quest of their benefit, give favour to their allies, and enforce sanctions on their opponents. British policy was shaped by a many of diverse forces after the electoral politics introduced in 1909 till partition in 1947 at the provincial level. The established policy of co-opting the landed gentry sustained apace in Punjab on one hand, with landed representatives and colonial officials using their authority and power and to incrementally reinforce this understanding over time. Interest of the colonial state in a prosperous, stable Punjab was reinforced by the strains forced by the two World Wars, above all known the province's role in providing supplies and troops to the war exertion, as well as its reputation as being a fortification of loyalist feeling in gradually more nationalist times. The dynamics of All-India politics, on the other hand, the rise of both the the Muslim League and Congress and within Punjab factionalism itself, over time also had a hand in influencing colonial policy mainly in the areas of institutional autonomy, constitutional reform, and self-government. Various historical elements played their role towards the weakness of institutionalization of the political structure. First of all the British introduced a constitutional and political structure in the subcontinent that was not really democratic and representative in character. It destitute the people of the valuable experience of democracy. After independence it became relatively complicated for the people to find out trends of a new political system. Secondly the major mover behind nationalist movements was urban middle class rather more anxious with getting rid of the colonial rulers than the representation Government. Thirdly a continue emergence of various political parties, demonstrating a lack of consensus. If such

parties are not entered into the system, they either remain estranged or strengthen their efforts to encourage their supporters that the system does not work appropriately because it did not allow them to share power. Behaviour of the Government therefore towards resistance also contributes towards institutionalization of the political structure.

Chapter 2

Formation, Complexity of the Punjab Legislative Assembly

This chapter deals with the formation of the internal structure and procedure of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. It explains the atmosphere in which legislation worked after the establishment of Pakistan. Because of frequent comparison with the legislature of British India it has also been acquired a critical character. It also throw light on accompanying political factors such as what political parties were, in what circumstances elections were held and how strong opposition parties.

The announcement of the formation of the league ministry gives the people of west Punjab their first national ministry to put their own representative in power the Muslims have fought for four long the evil combination of British bureaucrats, Muslims renegades and Machiavellians of non-Muslim political parties. August should have been a day of great joy for this province. It was hereafter that the Pakistan resolution was passed. It was the Punjab which has been in the forefront of the struggle against those who sought to deprive Muslim India of her right of self-determination. It might truly be said that the battle for Pakistan was fought and won in Punjab, and it was the Punjabis who bore the brunt of the suffering that went with the struggle. But the dawn of the new era finds the Punjab divided, with the boundary line still undecided in the hands of British lawyer and with no guarantee that the decision would be just and fair. The eastern part of our homeland is ablaze with burning homesteads and is drenched in innocent blood. Muslim Punjab, therefore, greets the new ministry with a heavy heart. The names which form the ministry hardly need any comment, for these names have become well known during the years of struggle against Khizar and his gang, if some individuals miss the name of favorite they must relies that the assumption of office by the league does not give our leaders any added privileges it only increases their heavy load of responsibility.¹⁵⁶ Huntington explains that complexity contributes to autonomy of a political system by providing different kind of organizations. Positions in which individuals become ready for the highest offices. In other words, the top leadership is the central part of the political system; the secondary organizations, the less influential positions, and the semipolitical organizations are the filters from which those

¹⁵⁶Mazher Ali Khan, *Pakistan: The First Twelve Year*. Karachi: Oxford University press, 1996.p. 329

desiring entrée to the core must pass. Therefore the political structure assimilates new societal forces and new persons without harming its institutional reliability. In these political structure where its lacks such kind of defenses, new viewpoints, new men, new social groups may substitute each other at the core of the structure with puzzling rapidity. In the west Punjab they have to initiate a thorough overhauling of the administrative machinery which, through years of bureaucratic misrule, is almost everything a democratic administration should not be. They have to undertake schemes to banish forever from out land the specters of poverty and ignorance, nakedness and starvation, the diverse problems which confront them will need all their time and energy, all their vigilance and wisdom. The new ministers had to represent the hopes and aspirations of entire people, and among these the most sincere and the most of event were the hopes for the happiness and welfare of brothers in the East.

Over a period of fifty-three years parliamentary and constitutional political history of Pakistan is eccentric rather bleak and thought- provoking. For diverse reasons too well known to the nation, within the structure of Islam still we are far off the objective of authentic democratic system of institution. It remained almost a so far illusion, the move of democracy, although esteemed and attempt to make happy the people. On 14 August 1947 unwearied and unremitting struggle, steered by the expert and devoted guidance of founder of the Nation Jinnah consummated in the establishment of the newly born country Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Precepts and goals which inspired Pakistan Movement was later included in the Objectives Resolution (1949).¹⁵⁷ The objectives were (a) every Muslim should enable himself/herself collectively or individually to live according to the lessons and teachings of Islam as taught in the Sunnah and Holy Quran. (b) “through the elected legislative body of the people use its authority and powers” according to the doctrine of democracy, equality, freedom, social justice and tolerance express by Islam”; (c) “before law, social, political and economic fairness, free will of thought, expression, credence, worship, faith, and union, fundamental rights would be guarantee including equality of equality and opportunity and equality of status” (d) make sufficient provisions “minorities free to develop their cultures and to own up and practice their

¹⁵⁷ The Constituent Assembly passed the Resolution on 12 March 1949 – see the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, 1949, Vol.V, pp.94-98; and, the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (1973), Article 2A.

religions”, “to protect the justifiable interests of minorities and miserable classes and backward”(e) vulnerable “the autonomous judiciary”.

Under the Indian independence act, 1947 sub-continent was divided into independent sovereign countries Pakistan and India. The Government of India Act 1935 was implemented, with required amendment and modification and it was adopted as Provisional constitution of Pakistan in 1947. With the emergence of Pakistan, the Punjab was parted into two Eastern Punjab and Western Punjab; consequentially Punjab Legislative Assembly was separated into East Punjab legislative assembly and West Punjab Legislative Assemblies in 1946. Under the Pakistan provisional legislatures order, 1947 after independence West Punjab legislative assembly was acknowledged to be the first provisional Assembly¹⁵⁸ On June 23 1947 at 9 Am the Punjab Legislative Assembly met in execution of the process laid down in the British arrangement of division, representing members from Bahadur S.P Sinha represented Muslim majority areas presided as Assembly of the speaker to vote in favor of the constituent Assembly at Delhi or new one; as predictable the Muslim majority turned their favour to new one.¹⁵⁹The two parts of the Punjab Assembly- Eastern and western separately met. Western Punjab Muslim members' majority voted not in favour of the division of the Punjab by 69 to 27 votes. But the members from the non-Muslim majority areas Eastern Punjab voted in favour of the division of the Punjab by 50 to 22 votes¹⁶⁰ meeting of Western section was arranged in the tea room of the Assembly and Eastern section was arranged in cabinet room of the Assembly. Lala Bhim Sen Saher and Malik Sir Muhammad Feroze Khan two members of the Western section and Seth Sudarsha and Nawab Iftikhar Hussain two members from the Eastern section raised agenda in the respective sections that a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly to be held on some issues especially for constituent Assembly. In the Assembly Chamber at 9. A.m. Joint meeting of the two parts of the Assembly was held Diwan Bahadur S.P. Sinha presided and the procedure was approved by the House it has been as an interim measure decided by the leaders of the Assembly that there would not be speeches and voting should be by decisions, no motion be made but the question be determined from the chair. Members from the western Punjab consisting on Muslim majority areas voted in the favour of the new separate

¹⁵⁸*The Punjab Parliamentarians 1897-2013*, published by Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.2015

¹⁵⁹ Punjab Assembly proceedings, voll. XXVII.p 1

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 2-5

constituent Assembly and existing constituent Assembly and by votes 27 to 60. The members from the East Punjab consisting on non-Muslim majority areas voted in the favour of the new separate constituent Assembly and existing constituent Assembly and by 50 to 22 votes.¹⁶¹

Building of Punjab Legislative Assembly

When Punjab Legislative Assembly was formed there was not building of the Assembly, first sitting of the Assembly, was held on 5 April 1937 consisting of 175 members, in the Lahore Council Hall in Punjab Civil Secretariat¹⁶² On 17 November 1935 Superintending Architect, Punjab Bazel M. Sullivan designed this gorgeous and stunning structure of the building, and Minister for Agriculture Sir Jogendra Singh laid its foundation. It is a magnificent Roman design and architecture, and is one of the prestigious and historical structure of the buildings of the State. Assembly Chamber is an example of rare intermingle of magnificence and simplicity. The adjoining land and building spread over an area of 16 acres. This beautiful structure of the building has two floors; there is a cafeteria, wide reception area, office of the Leader of the Opposition, library, Assembly offices, and committee room on ground floor. For dispensary and bank two rooms on ground floor have been given to help the members and staff of the Assembly. Speaker's chamber, chamber of Chief Minister, conference room, office of Deputy Speaker, offices for Ministers, offices of the Secretariat, and two committee rooms are on first floor. In this building on 10 November 1938 fourth session of the Assembly was held. Sitting was presided over by Honorable (Speaker) Sir Shahab- ud-Din. The prayer in silence was conducted by Sir Sikander Hayat Khan Honorable as Prime Minister.¹⁶³ Since 1947, the present building has been the West Pakistan Assemblies as well as permanent seat of the Punjab.

Functions of the Assembly

Punjab Assembly law making body for the province of the Punjab with the respect to evidence, criminal procedure, criminal law, and any other issue not included in Federal Legislative list. Assembly cannot formulate law which is against any feature of the constitution, which violates and contravenes any basic rights, which is not according to the principle of Islam as taught in the Sunnah and Holy Quran, which is not according with the ideology and policy. In

¹⁶¹ Ibid.p.4-5

¹⁶² Dewan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath, who was appointed for the purpose, presided over the sitting – Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 1937, Vol.I, p.1.

¹⁶³ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 1938, Vol.VI, pp.1-3

the Assembly rules of procedure of the of Punjab 1948 many parliamentary tools had been provided for obtaining essential knowledge about the Departments working, for supervision the Government, and regarding general public matters importance, making recommendations; viz.- Adjournment Motions,¹⁶⁴ Call Attention notices,¹⁶⁵ Assembly Questions, General Discussion on Budget and Resolutions¹⁶⁶. Money bills may be introduced whereas the majority of the legislation presented to the assembly is brought in by Minister, all member of the Legislative Assembly can introduce legislation introduced by who are not Minister are considered as Private members. The assembly makes laws by consisting bills which if agreed by the House are then forwarded for approval of the Governor. The Assembly's legislative activity was not limited to the passage of new laws only but extended to the modifications, adaptations and of old position to the needs of a new culture.

Legislative Assembly also plays its role to examine the Governments, s activity and keep it answerable in front of the people. Assmby does it by establishing committees, asking questions, moving motions, Discuusion on bills and motions regarding public importance, lodging petitions, accountability of public accounts committee. In the Ligislative Assembly as the seat of the Government is the house where Financial affairs of the Government are controlled by Assembly in two ways; viz approval of the budget and consideration as well as Public Accounts Committees consider the the Auditor General,s Reports of Pakistan.

Pre-budget Discussion

During the months of January to March every year Assembly held a session for the next year's budget for at least four days in a session by inviting proposals from the Members. Through a resolution of Assembly proposals are sent to the Government.

Passing of Budget

Provincial Government prepared 'Annual Budget Statement' before the Assembly the provincial Government's estimated expenditure and receipts for the next financial year.

¹⁶⁴ A special proceedue in which business of the Assembly was set aside to tslk about the important issue.

¹⁶⁵ Matter of the Public importance relating to law and order may be raised by a member of the Assembly.

¹⁶⁶ A official decision which is made when an organization has voted about a decion.

Governor appointed the time and day when Budget is presented to the Assembly. Usually Budget is presented by Finance Minister, or on his behalf Minister acting in his absence. The Budget is not recommended to Committee, and this process was completed in two steps:

As a whole general discussion on the Budget

Voting, discussion and demands for grants, as well as voting if there are any motions for reduction.

Sessions of the Assembly

Every year Assembly has least three sessions, and in one session between the last sitting of the Assembly not more than one hundred and twenty days should be involved and in the next session date prearranged for its first sitting.

To the Speaker calendar regarding sessions of the Assembly is provided by the Government at beginning of every parliamentary year. Calendar is circulated to the members by Secretary.

The Assembly can be summoned according to the calendar but Assembly can be summoning on any date other which was not mentioned in the calendar by the Governor.

To summon a session of the Assembly for meeting at any time nothing restricted in this rule bound the power of the Speaker.¹⁶⁷

Following Table shows sessions and days of the Punjab Legislative Assembly from 1947 to 1955.

Sessions	From	To	Total No of days
	Jan 5,1948	Jan 29,1948	15
	March 15,1948	April 9,1948	15
	May 7, 1951		1
	Dec.14,1951	Jan 15,1952	14

¹⁶⁷ Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), pp 3937-44.

	Feb 29,1952	March 15,1952	13
	April 28,1952	May 10,1952	8
	Dec 5 1952	Dec 22,1952	11
	March 16,1953	March 31, 1953	8
	Nov 30,1953	Dec 16,1953	11
	Feb 22,1954	March 11,1954	15
	Nov 22,1954	Dec 11,1954	14
	March 8,1954	April 4,1955	11
		Total	126

Parliamentary committees system in the PLA

The provincial Assembly of the Punjab after the emergence of Pakistan has undergone through frequent development changes and the committee system of the House has been a crucial structure and central feature of the Assembly. The History of parliamentary committee system in Punjab can be traced from the 1897, first ever legislature in the Province of Punjab named as Council of Lieutenant Governor was nominated. The nourishment of the committee system is divided into five different periods such as 1897 to 1918, 1918 to 1934, 1935 to 1947, 1947 to 1972 and 1973 to present. There are three types of parliamentary committees in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab i.e. standing committee (DRSC), select committees and special committees. Parliamentary committees often referred as mini parliament or Minister Legislature. They are smaller groups of legislature constituted appointed and nominated within the legislatures. They not only allow parliament to perform different function at the same time but also provide opportunity for detailed discussion and investigations about the matters referred to it by the parliament to reach a concrete conclusion. History of modern parliamentary committee system is very old in England. A standing committee of the house of common was appointed in 1340 with the task of frame a structure of particular nature from a bill or petition and the history of standing committee in America can only be traced after 1789 but the parliamentary committee system had already made in transfer from the Great Britain to colonies of America.

In the modern system of democracy is the legislature has to perform number of functions and duties they are vital role which examine the legislative proposals and policies during their passage concentrically perform the overseeing of executive performance and functions and often also perform judicial functions. Parliamentary committee system of the provincial Assembly has its origin to and also legitimacy from the constitution of Pakistan and rules of procedure of the Punjab assembly articles 67 of the constitutional provides for formulation of rules of procedure and finance committee has also been categorically mentioned in the constitution under article 88.¹⁶⁸ In Punjab more or less the parliamentary control over the executive is exercised by the house through the committee is financial committee such as public account committee are the most effective tool to check the malpractices of and to examine the detailed working of the provincial ministers and departments and their programs and project without hindering day to day activities these are the committees through which the executive office under the direct control of the Legislature and the direct control to the Assembly. Our legislatures are very careful in electing all the different kinds of Committees mentioned above. But only few of them actually perform some useful function. Consequently whenever a motion for election of some committee is made- it is subjected to criticism for doing almost no work. Representative instructions in Britain have been the result of slow historical growth. The powers and privileges attached to the legislature have developed together with the evolution of the popular body itself. They have been sanctified by tradition and defined by long usage. Very broadly speaking there are two kinds of committees in Pakistani legislatures. One type is of those committees which are attached to various ministries to advise the minister concerned on relevant subjects. These committees are regular committees Elected every year. The other kind is that of purely legislative committees, that is committees which devote themselves to the consideration of bills and other legislative measure referred to them such committees are mostly select committees. In addition to it there are a number of regular committees which are concerned with procedural matters such as privileges of the member, rules of procedure, etc. the houses also elect a prescribed number of members say one or two on administrative committees and commissions outside the chamber, such as on railways or universities, etc. Industries facilities promotion committee to advise and assist and industries in matters concerning to the procurement of new material, acquisition of land, power

¹⁶⁸ PIPS Parliamentary research Digest, Volume 5, Issue 7, p.6-16

recourses, machinery, trained personal, railways siding, , and marketing facilities. The aim of the committee was to stimulate private projects.

The Rules of Procedure:

Legislatures essentially make a procedural and technical guideline in all over the world o as to supervise and direct their indoor function, and observe the business, dealings and procedure in the House in a productive and independent way. Whatever name called the conduct of business has throughout been governed and regulated in the Provincial Assembly, by the rules of procedure formulated and the related provisions of the Constitution gradually, either by the Assembly or Governor. During the period, the following set of laws and regulation and the procedure and conduct of business in the Punjab Assemblies were introduced

(a) “The West Punjab Legislative Assembly Rules of Procedure” (1948)¹⁶⁹

(b) “The Rules of Procedure of the Legislative Assembly of West Pakistan” (1955)¹⁷⁰

First West Punjab Legislative Assembly:

Assembly had been parted into West Punjab and the East Punjab Legislative Assembly.¹⁷¹ Members who were part of the Previous Assembly of 1946, with effect from August 15, 1947 91 number of the members were included from West Punjab; they were elected to the renamed West Punjab Legislative Assembly. Nawab Khan of Mamdot declared the leader of the house¹⁷² He had following portfolios as well.

General Administration,

¹⁶⁹ To regulate the procedure of the West Punjab Legislative Assembly, which had its first sitting on 5 January 1948, the Speaker, in terms of subsection (3) of section 84 of the Government of India Act 1935, adapted, with modifications, the Punjab Legislative Assembly Rules of Procedure 1938 as supplemented by the Punjab Legislative Assembly (Special Procedure) Rules 1939. Subsequently under the Indian Independence (Amendment) Act 1950, the Province of West Punjab was re-named as Province of the Punjab; and, as a result thereof, the word ‘West’ in the Rules of Procedure was omitted. Later the Rules of Procedure of the Legislative Assembly West Pakistan (1955) replaced the said rules with effect from 14 October 1955.

¹⁷⁰ To regulate the procedure and conduct of business of the Assembly, constituted as a result of the formation of the West Pakistan on 14 October 1955 under the Establishment of West Pakistan Act 1955 (PLD 1955 Central Statutes 227), the Rules of Procedure immediately existing on 14 October 1955 were deemed to be the Rules of Procedure for the Assembly of West Pakistan under Section 4 of the Act *ibid*.

¹⁷¹ Constituted under section 5(1) of the Pakistan (Provincial Legislatures) Order 1947 (GGO 19 of 1947), published in the Gazette of Pakistan (Extraordinary), dated 13 September 1947, pp.85-86.

¹⁷² “Leader of the House” means the Chief Minister or a member designated by the Chief Minister to represent Government and regulate Government business in the Assembly;

Law & Order,

Civil Defense and Jail.

5 Aug, 1947 to 6 November, 1948 and 15 November, 1948 to 25 January, 1949. On 5

Khan Bahadur Sh Faiz Muhammad, B.A., LL.B., M.B.E. from Dera Ghazi Khan, was elected unopposed on Jan 5, 1948¹⁷⁴ and remained in his office to Jan 25, 1949¹⁷⁵ Mr Fazl Ilahi was Deputy Speaker from East Central Punjab basically Indian Christian elected unopposed from January 9, 1948¹⁷⁶ to March 24, 1948, he was died on Mar 24, 1948¹⁷⁷ Chaudhri Fazl-e-Elahi, Minister of Local Bodies, Education, and Health. He was also Parliamentary Secretary for Education, Revenue, Local Bodies and Health. Major Mubarak Ali was Minister of Public Works Department included all braches and Revenue Mian Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti was Minister of Civil Supplies, Industries, Labour, and Agriculture Rehabilitation. He was also Parliamentary Secretary for Refugees and Rehabilitation. Muhammad Nur Ullah was Minister of Co-operative Societies Finance, and Transport. Mumtaz Daultana from Sialkot South was Minister of Planing and Industries Finance, Civil Supplies and Transport. Shaukat Hayat Khan was Minister of Agriculture Irrigation Revenue, Electricit. Sheikh Karamat Ali was Minister of Veterinary and Forests, Public Works department, Medical and Public Health, Local Government and Buildings and Road Branch.

January, 1948 first sitting was held. Sir Robert Francis Mudie, Governor of West Punjab¹⁷³

¹⁷³ For appointment/oath, *see* Home Department (General) Notification No.4949-PP-47/50002 and Notification No.4949-PP-47/50001, dated 15 August 1947, published the same day in the West Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), pp.1-2.

¹⁷⁴ Elected unopposed — Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 5 January 1948, Vol.1, pp.3-4.

¹⁷⁵ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 7 May 1951, Vol.1, p.1.

¹⁷⁶ West Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 9 January 1948, Vol.1, pp.80-81.

¹⁷⁷ Ceased to hold office on the dissolution of the Assembly *vide* West Punjab Legislative Assembly Notification No.G-1(3), dated 25 January 1949, published the same day in the West Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), p.15.

Mr. M. Jamal Khan Leghari was appointed as speaker.¹⁷⁸ From March 15, 1948 to April 9, 1948 second session was held which was also the last session of the Assembly.¹⁷⁹ Over two sessions Assembly held 29 sittings when on January 25, 1949 Governor announced to dissolve it.¹⁸⁰ The first Assembly in this way after freedom remained active for the time of 1 year five months and eleven days. On 15 August 1947 election of the Punjab Assembly was held. Total 29 were actual working days of the Assembly. In 1949 dissolution of West Punjab Legislative Assembly saw a about two and a half year gap reason was to an assortment in political circumstances in the newly established State.

Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot as First chief Minister

Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot took oath as Chief Minister on 15 August 1947¹⁸¹; his tenure was from 5 August to November 1948. He again took oath on 15 November 1948 and remained there till Jan 25 1949¹⁸². Hakim Ahmad Shuja performed his duty as secretary from Aug 15, 1947 to Oct 15, 1958. In 1906 Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot was born in Lahore. Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Mamdot his Father was a politician and close person of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah in Punjab.¹⁸³ Nawab Iftikhar Khan Mamdot after completing his graduation from Government College Lahore, joined police department of Hyderabad Deccan. But he can't continue police services for a long time just because of his temperament and soon he left that job. The Unionist Party of Sir Fazal Hussain was the biggest party of the Punjab and had great support most of big landlords in the Punjab. Father of Nawab Iftikhar Hussai Mamdot, Sir Shah Nawas Khan Mamdot also joined the Unionist party in 1937. As compare the Unionist party the League was not so popular in the Punjab at that time. But Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot had a great political dream and he attached the Muslim league. His thoughts were for Muslim

¹⁷⁸ The Speaker takes a cardinal position in the Assembly. Although he is elected as a nominee of a political party, it is assumed that he would conduct the business of the Assembly as an impartial arbiter and shall manage the proceedings in line with the established norms of democracy. He is also required to effect a balance between the Treasury Benches and the Opposition Benches.

¹⁷⁹Section 5(1) of the Pakistan (Provincial Legislatures) Order 1947 (GGO 19 of 1947), published in the Gazette of Pakistan (Extraordinary), dated September 13, 1947, pages 85-86

¹⁸⁰ The Governor of the Punjab dissolved the Assembly *vide* West Punjab Legislative Assembly Notification No.G-1(3), dated 25 January 1949, published the same day in the West Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), p.15.

¹⁸¹ Political Department (General) Notifications No.4952-PP-47/50004 and No.4952-PP-47/50005, dated 15 August 1947, published the same day in the West Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), p.3.

¹⁸² Resigned — Political Department Notifications No.564-PP-49-3089, dated 25 January 1949, published in the West Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), dated 28 January 1949, p.19.

¹⁸³ Ian Talbot . *Pakistan: A Modern History*. London: Hurst & Company.2005. p.428

League, that the ML was a true opinionated party that can represent and fight for rights of the Muslims of India.

Quid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan of Unionist party, both leader was agreed through an agreement in 1937, that the Muslim leaguers must include in the assembly.¹⁸⁴ The leader ship of Punjab Muslim league was assigned Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Mamdot. Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot supported the cause of Muslim League and highly actively participated in all affairs of Muslim League.

After the death of his father in 1942 he became the Punjab Muslim League president. He wished that the Muslim league should be strengthened so that it could compete with the unionist party. For this purpose, he worked day and night and organized the Muslim league on sound footings in accordance with the wishes of his leader Quaid-i-Azam.¹⁸⁵ He was disciplined and believed in party discipline even never took any decision without taking into confidence of the party members. He also selected members from the Muslim Student Federation to represent in the Muslim League session going to be held in Delhi. Hamid Nizami was one of them.¹⁸⁶ Mamdot successfully win the confidence of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah , Mr. Jinnah believed that he was very sincere to the Muslim League. Nawab Mamdot donated Rs.50,000 in fund collection campaign for the Punjab provincial Muslim League.

In May 1942 Nawab Mamdot presiding a conference of the Muslim league in Karnal, He demanded legitimate rights of Muslims and a India should be divided in partitions, he request the Muslim for the unity and loyalty for league. Jinnah highly appreciated Nawab Mamdot Karnal's address, he congratulate to him in a letter that he wrote him and hoped that you will follow your father footprints.¹⁸⁷ Another truth was Malik Khizar Hayat was not sincere with Muslim league; Nawab Iftikhar succeeded strengthening and expanding the Muslim league in the entire Punjab through his leadership.

Due to flexibilities of the Muslim league most of the prominent Muslims of the Punjab also had the membership of unionist party. Sir ChottuRam trying to attract the workers of Muslim league towards the unionist party, Chottu Ram using his attractive statements and

¹⁸⁴ Zahid Chauhdry, *Muslim Punjab ka siasi irtika*, Lahore: Pakistan Studies institute. 1991.p.346

¹⁸⁵ Muhammad Ali Chiragh. *hamary akaberrin –i-Pakistan*, Lahore: Sang-i-Meel publication.1990. p. 783

¹⁸⁶ Sarfraz Hussain Mirza. *The Punjab Muslim student Federation*, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and research, 1991.p.238

¹⁸⁷ Amerjit Singh. *Jinnah and Punjab*. Delhi: Kaniska. 2007.p.81-82

speeches for this purpose but Nawab Iftikhar Mamdot aware the conspiracies and even inner matters of unionist party. Because of the flexibility in constitution of the Muslim league, most of the prominent Muslims of the Punjab had also acquired the membership of the unionist party. Sir Chootoo ram through his speeches and statements, was trying to attract the workers of the Muslim league towards the unionist party. Nawab Iftikhar Hussain khan was fully aware for the intrigues and conspiracies of the unionist party. He was full aware at this stage a lenient attitude and weak decisions will give the chance to unionist party succeeded in make weak the Muslim league. He clued-up the Muslims regarding the pro-British activities of unionist party, in this way did not allow unionists vicious aims. It was devotion and loyalty of Nawab Mamdot. Which strengthened the Muslim league to such an extent that none had the courage to speak against the party in the province. Nawab Mamdot was a straight forward person and opposed that who followed dual policy of the Muslim members of unionist party the image of Muslim league was being shattered. Nawab Mamdot strongly believe that Malik Khizar Hayat the role likes a stooge and he did not wish and bear to see the Muslim league flourish in Punjab . This was because of Nawab Mamdot efforts, Malik Khizar Hayat khan was expel from the Muslim league in 1944. In the Punjab Mamdot made the unionist party unsuccessful he openly criticized the policies of unionist party and start the civil disobedience movement for the eliminate of unionist party members from Punjab In February 1946's provincial election, Muslim league was captured the 79 seats in the province, Nawab Mamdot's made that possible in very difficult circumstances with his great efforts and hard work. It was a big victory and a clear sign and proof that the Muslims of Punjab had their sympathies with Muslim League that was proof now Muslims are ready to support the Muslim league and idea of Pakistan. Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah sent a telegram to congratulate Nawab Mamdot for victory. Mamdot had close bond with middle class citizens, inclined from the thoughts of Iqbal. Pir Ahsan Gillani, Ex ICS officer Khawaja Abdul Rahim, the founder and editor of Nawa-i-Waqt Urdu daily Hameed Nizami were very famous in Mamdot's group.¹⁸⁸ After separation Mamdot wished to Governor form Muslim League Ministry in the Punjab. He further said that in the Assembly he had the favour of 90 members including 80 from Muslim League, 4 from scheduled castes, 3 other Muslim, 2 from Indian Christian and European. On the March 3, Governor called the League leader to look at the possibilities of establishing a

¹⁸⁸ Riaz Ahmad. *The Punjab Muslim League, 1906-1947*, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and research, 1991.p.101

Government on his own or in alliance with the party.¹⁸⁹ On August 16, 1947 in the provincial legislature Nawab Mamdot, as the leader of its parliamentary group and president of the Punjab ML, took oath as Chief Minister. Holding Law and Order and General Administration; In the Punjab four members of the Assembly were the cabinet ministers. Among them Mumtaz Daultanaincharge of Finance and Industry; Sirdar Shaukat Hayat Khan holding several portfolios, namely Islamic Reconstruction Cooperatives, Revenue, Information, Rehabilitation Irrigation, Electricity and Excise and Sheikh Karamat Ali — the only urbanite, was incharge of Education and Public Works Department.¹⁹⁰This was the size of the first cabinet. There were some four or five Parliamentary Secretaries to share parliamentary duties with them.¹⁹¹In almost all the districts the members of the Assembly concentrated their activities on relief work and collection of funds for the refugees. Communal harmony meeting were organized at Sergodha and Muzaferagarh where audiences were advised to strive hard in bringing diffrenr communities nearer to each other. Minister of Education Toured Gujrat district and assured the minorities that their interests would be safeguarded.¹⁹²

The WPLA was a combination of refugee legislators and local members from East Punjab and other states in partitioned province. Legislators who were refugees were not only provoked and shoddier victims but more vociferous and vocal in expressing their grievances. While the local MLAs of West Punjab were usually led by *jagirdars*, hereditary land owners, and title holders, had too little education and intelligence, sitters on their hunches. The new land mafia also enjoyed the support of many of the ex-Unionists mostly hereditary land lords. Mamdot was also a refugee land owner of District of Ferozepur in East Punjab. The High of command League's liked him more for his reliability than for intellectual insight. His adversaries called him as a "dumb wrestler" while describing his calmeness.¹⁹³ Sir Francis Mudie Governor

¹⁸⁹The Tribune, March 4 1947

¹⁹⁰ Sirdar Shaukat Hayat Khan, *The Nation That Lost Its Soul* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1995), p.190.

¹⁹¹ Ibid

¹⁹² Disturbances in the Punjab: 1947 A Compilation of the official documents. Islamabad: National Documentation Center, 1995. P. 368

¹⁹³ Humayun Adeeb, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan: Mamdot Aur Punjab* (Lahore: Society Books, 1987), p.341. After Quaid's demise Mamdot had to face the brass tacks of the Punjab politics. He had to seek goodwill of West Punjab landed gentry who were skeptical of his bona fides. He had been inclined towards West Punjab feudal aristocracy because he had little choice in the matter. Perceived as a lukewarm towards the refugee interests Mamdot was suspected of being a stooge for West Punjab feudal aristocracy. Their patience running low the refugee legislators

of the West Punjab also did not have highly opinion about Mamdot.¹⁹⁴ Mamdot as Premier also was not able to take on an avuncular stand towards his junior colleagues like Shaukat Hyat and Daultana and Revenue Minister and the Finance Minister. He supposed that the only way out for the millions of refugee's rehabilitation put down by eradication of class differences existing in the the social order. Hardly six months had passed and the members of the Mamdot Ministry were at each others throats. Mumtaz Daultana, Finance Minister and Sirdar Shaukat Hayat the Revenue Minister, quit the Ministry as a protest.¹⁹⁵ He proposed radical change in economic system.¹⁹⁶ Since Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan wrote in his book he wanted to carry reforms in the communist pattern, which was possible in the existing atmosphere. He has disagreed with us and left the cabinet.¹⁹⁷ Iftakharudin called for 50 acre ceiling on landholdings, industrialization of basic industries, and the provision of Rs.5 a month for unemployment and the exchange of refugee property through officially appointed trustees. When Punjab premier Nawab of Mamdot, himself a refugee from east Punjab refused to countenance these demand, Iftikhar ud din sensationally quit his post. His departure brought the organization and ministerial wings of the Punjab Muslim League virtually to blows¹⁹⁸.

Iftikhar ud din criticized the ministry for putting of the much needed land reform in the province and charged the ministry that it had been seeking the shelter behind constitutional

formed a bloc within the parliamentary party demanding a vote of confidence. Mamdot was lucky enough to win the vote of

confidence but only with the help of his West Punjab supporters.

¹⁹⁴ Francis Mudie to M.A. Jinnah, Telegram, 14th April 1948, in F.46 (II)-GG/4-5; Z.H. Zaidi, ed., *Jinnah Papers*, ibid, vol. VII, p.401; Humayun Adeeb, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan: Mamdot Aur Punjab*, ibid, p.330; Francis Mudie to Liaquat Ali Khan, 15th April 1948, File No. 29 (4)- PMS/48, *Relief Work in Pakistan*(P.M.'s Account No.2) p.50 in Prime Minister's Secretariat, Government of Pakistan; Francis Mudie to Liaquat Ali Khan, 26th March 1948 in File No. 29 (4)- PMS/48, *Relief Work in Pakistan* (P.M.'s Account No.2), ibid, pp.36-39; Mudie to Nazim-ud-Din, 28th December 1948, in Mudie Collection, IOR, MSS, Eur, F. 164/51, p.16.

¹⁹⁵ Abdullah Malik, ed., *Selected Speeches and Statements: Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din* (Lahore: Nigarishat, 1971), pp.62-63; Note sent by Francis Mudie to Liaquat Ali Khan, 15th April 1948, File No. 29 (4)-PMS/48, ibid; *The Pakistan Times*, 15th November 1947, 'Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din Resigns'; *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din to Liaquat Ali Khan*, dated 2nd November 1947 in Abdullah Malik, ed., *Selected Speeches and Statements: Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, ibid, p.6. Ahmad Salim, *Pakistan of Jinnah* (Lahore: Brothers Publishers, 1993), p.37.

¹⁹⁶ Abdullah Malik, *Selected speeches and statements: Mian Iftikharudin* ,Lahore: Nigharshat, 1991. Pp.55-56

¹⁹⁷ Shaukat Hyat.Ibid. P. 66

¹⁹⁸ Ian Talbot , *Pakistan, A Modern History* (London, Hurst & company, 2005) P.122

formalities.¹⁹⁹ He also declared, Mamdot ministry was not true representative body of the people and charged the ministry to test the representative character by a reference to a vote on the basis of adult franchise.²⁰⁰ Jinnah knew both the ministries and Chief Ministers Mamdot very well and appreciated the fact that, in the battle for Pakistan, the united team of these young men had done a great job.²⁰¹ In December 1947, Daultana had some reservations that Mamdot did not demonstrate appropriate value for the cabinet: important issues were not brought to it, its decisions were usually set aside, and instead mostly relied on the "kitchen cabinet," counsel consisting of few senior civil servants and editor Nawa-e-Waqt, Hamid Nizami.²⁰² Shaukat Hayat expressed the same criticism and both threatened him to resign. Between Mamdot and Daultana conflict swell soon to the district level party organizations. The Governor General of Pakistan, Jinnah, summoned Daultana, Mamdot, , and Shaukat Hayat to Karachi at this time, asked them of the problems country was facing and going through, and stressed on the necessitate for a effective and stable administration in the Punjab. Sensing that Mamdot was not enough able than Daultana and thus unwilling to do work under him, but aware of the valuable responsibilities these men had fulfill during the days of struggle for independence, In the central government Quaid-e-Azam wished-for Mamdot to take as a minister and in the Punjab let Daultana give out its services as CM. But Daultana was reserved and continuously insisted that his complains and reservations with Mamdot did not means personal aspiration that to be the Chief Minister of Punjab was not his aim and that he wanted only that Mamdot should change his behavior. In an official setting Mamdot, restrained and possibly in presence of Quaid-e-Azam, assured him changing his ways. Whereas, Quaid-e-Azam emphasised these leaders to ignore their previous differences and mis understandings and work like a group by reminding them enormous responsibilities that fell upon the government of Punjab.²⁰³ They came back to Lahore and affirmed their determination to pursue his instruction." however in few days, they started to wrangle again. Jinnah called again Daultana and Mamdot to Karachi back but he was unable to bring them to a reasonable decree of their difference. Reluctantly to enforce a way out, he left

¹⁹⁹ Paksitan Times Lahore, 29 January 1947

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 24 March 1948

²⁰¹ Ahmad Salim, *Mamdot Say Wattoo Tak*, [Urdu] (Lahore: Gora Publishers, 1996), p.14.

²⁰² . Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1947-1958*, Vol-1 (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986). p.88

²⁰³ Syed Nur Ahmad, *From Martial Law to Martial Law* (Lahore: Vanguard, n.d.), p.289.

this problem to the provincial Governor Sir Francis Mudie, to handle the state of affairs. Governor Mudie met well-informed members and came to know that, without knowing the Quaid, s thought on the matter; the most of the members in the ML Assembly party would in favour of Mamdot. The ministers wrote their resignations and handed them over to the Governor. He considered his constitutional position and without getting involved any further, called the ministers and returned their resignations. The most of the members of the ML in the Assembly supported the Nawab of Mamdot, as well as the party council arranged a vote of confidence in his government. This irritated, both Daultana and Shaukat Hayat, and consequently they chose to resign again on 27 May 1948.¹⁰ Indeed, on May 20, 1948 Mamdot stimulated to hold down the hand of Governor to arrange a meeting and getting a vote of confidence from the party. The Governor wanted further recommendation from the Jinnah, but he was not in favour to interfere. On May 27 Daultana and Shaukat Hayat handed thier to resignation from their posts from the Mamdot ministry.²⁰⁴ The Quaid-e-Azam died on September 11. At the beginning 25 September, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan started a visit of West Pakistan to boost the people's drooping self-confidence and morale. Although he was in general thinking to support Daultana in the clash with Mamdot, efforts were made by him to bring together these two men. A few days earlier during Mamdot's tour of Karachi, Liaquat Ali Khan had stressed the Chief Minister to include Daultana and also invite Firoz Khan Noon in his Cabinet, supported by considerable number of members of the Assembly. When Liaquat Ali Khan Prime Minister came in Lahore, Mamdot reassured him to do so. It was rumour that between Mamdot and Daultana everything was settled, that the both of them would soon rejoin the provincial cabinet, news appeared in the press. But after departure of the Liaquat Ali Khan, Mamdot's mind was by his changed his personal advisors. They articulated that if Daultana, s joining back in the cabinet would be disturbance. After waiting for the month and the pros and cons, Prime Minister was informed by Mamdot that he would not feel comfortable to work with Noon and Daultana. In public this conclusion was interpreted by Mamdot's friends as a Daultana, s defeat, who felt embarrassed and insulted.²⁰⁵ Daultana now turned his concentration to the provincial ML because on November 25, 1948 elections for party offices were planned. He determined to fight

²⁰⁴ The Pakistan Times, 28 May 1948

²⁰⁵ Syed Nur Ahmad, Marshal La, pp. 374-75

for the president of League against candidate of Mamdot Alauddin Siddiqui, for this seat.²⁰⁶ Each group used its contacts to imprison maintain of as various rural councilors and enough buses and cars were sent to transport to them to Lahore. By 22 votes won by Daultana and it was a margin of few numbers, General Secretary Wilayat Ali was elected son of Liaquat Ali Kha.²⁰⁷ Daultana during the election, s campaign, addressed to the Muslim League secretaries and presidents at district level and through-out the province spoke at public gathering. He said that the provincial ministry should be accountable, party council was compared by the parliament. Most likely through these meetings, influenced, demanded resignation of Mamdot by blaming that he had unsuccessful to solve public issues in a "manly" manner. Daultana started to manage his favour from the ML Assembly party at the same time and shatter that of Mamdot by attracting his supporters. Assembly members were encouraged to demand a quid pro quo for struggle for their loyalty and support. They could look forward to only promises of benevolence iafter election from Daultana. Being Chief Minister from Mamdot they were expecting and contend with definite and frequently inapt demands. Exploitation started by them let us say one morning a group of (MPA's) Assembly members would meet him, and transfer and elimination of a certain Deputy police superintendent and Commissioner of their district was asked by them. They would intimidate to wilderness to side of Daultana if their requirement was not acknowledged. Mamdot would order the transfers requested. Later, perhaps even the next day, officers concerned was asked to be kept in his same position by another group of MPA's. They wished to demonstrate their home constituents back that with the establishment their authority in Lahore was big enough to loosen the influence of other group. Transfer orders were withdraw by Mamdot, previously issued by him. His personal friends, started to approach public officials be approach requesting them to plead on their behalf with the Chief Minister and in return offering to use their police authority to control impatient MPA's who might consider defection. The enmity between Mamdot and Daultana had broadened not only to the public official's level but also to lower party. Syed Nur Ahmad stated that "before this time the values of government had never fallen as low down as they had in the end of 1948. Chief Secretary(Punjab Government), Hafiz Abdul Majid, , spoke against interference of political elements in the daily routin work of

²⁰⁶ Muhammad Farooq Qureshi, *Pakistan Jumariat Ka Zawal*, [Urdu] (Lahore: Muktaba Fikr-o-Danish, 1987), p.195.

²⁰⁷ Zahid Chaudhary, 122

public officials, but one of Mamdot's friends made his mind Chief Secretary deserved to be sent away because he had spoken as Daultana's sponsor.”²⁰⁸ In the provincial Assembly by December 1948 almost one-half of the total membership of the provincial ML party supported Daultana. A proclamation was signed by these members demanding Mamdot to quit as CM, but he chose to pay no attention to their demand, the Council of Punjab Muslim League held a meeting on December 26, 1948, most probably to criticize Mamdot, called gangster by his group and disrupted it. At this time, Daultana who was president of the ML Council, asked Liaquat Ali Khan to end the ministry of Mamdot, dissolve the Assembly, and arrange new elections in the Punjab.²⁰⁹ He further said that the enlightened attitude is not represented in the existing Assembly, and that the society and administration in the province were in risk of declining apart.²¹⁰ In January 1949 Liaquat Ali Khan visited Lahore and he was offered to Daultana 42 members list of the Punjab Assembly, 44 supporters were on hand by Mamdot out of a total of 81, signed agreement of support to him. Seven signatures and names were on both lists found by Liaquat Ali Khan.²¹¹ He could have advised the Governor to call the Assembly so majority support could be seen. In its place, he advised the Governor General to end Mamdot's ministry, and Governor's rule should be introduced in the province after dissolution of the Assembly.²¹²

Punjab the first legislative assembly during this period it met for 30 days in all. The characteristics the feature of the Assembly of the Punjab was that there existed no opposition in it in any form with the partition of the Province and the migration of most of the non Muslims the original strength of 175 were reduced to somewhere below hundred. In view of actual number of membership after reduction the attendance was fairly high. Between 65 and 85 members were usually present. The noticeable feature of the general proceedings and the debate was that independent character of the Assembly asserted. On all occasions for instance the very first day recitation from the holy Quran was demanded to begin the proceedings secondly most of the speech was not only made in Urdu but express statements were made to adopt it as the official language of the house. Thirdly brought to bear on Islamic legislation consequently

²⁰⁸ . Syed Nur Ahmad, *Marshal La*, pp. 376-77

²⁰⁹ M. Rafique Afzal, p.55.

²¹⁰ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties*, pp. 61-62,

²¹¹ . K. K. Aziz, *Party Politics*, p.3

²¹² Richard Symond, *The making of Pakistan*, London: Faber and Faber, 1949.p. 128

passed by the Legislative Assembly also included the West Punjab Muslim personal law Shariah application act for January 1949 the Legislative Assembly was dissolved.

There were two types of response on the decision from political and social circle. Some were happy and wrote congratulatory letter and telegrams from all over the province and remarked the dissolution of the assembly as first good news after the establishment of Pakistan.²¹³ Sardar Shoukat Hayat appreciated the step taken by the central government.²¹⁴ Mister Walayat Ali Khan declared it step in right direction.²¹⁵ Sir Froze Khan Noon said I regret to say that central government has used its powers to suspend the legislature in the province was too much and arbitrary.²¹⁶ Daultana sensing that the tide had turned now joined with the provincial Muslim League condemned the center, intervention as undemocratic and retrograde.²¹⁷ Bagum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz wrote “there was a dinner party at Mumtaz Daultana’s house and while I was dressing in the evening one of my cousins came and knocked at my door to tell me that APP had telephone to say that Punjab assembly has been dissolved. The news came when we are accepting to hear that Mumtaz Daultana had been asked to form a cabinet of his own and I was shocked and surprised”.²¹⁸ Clashes of ministers affected badly political situation and administration of the province and led the dissolution of the ministry but it did not prove healthy sign to resolve the political situation.

Powerful and unscrupulous politician remained very active in raising communal tensions and encouragement of violence in the province. They assured protection to its followers. Mumtaz Daultana as Minister of West Punjab promised protection in future to those who had been arrested while he was on his tour of Attack district.²¹⁹ Unfortunately the the Government was failed to punish the rioters and its further encouraged violence. In Post 1947 there were some reports that Mamdot, s house was a center for Punjab ML Leaders abetting and aiding street violence to bring down the Unionist Government in 1947. Allegedly Mamdot not only presented Rs. 1000.000 to four Achut members of the PLA to alter their loyalty for his seat of

²¹³ Pakistan Times, 26 January 1949

²¹⁴ Ibid

²¹⁵ Ibid

²¹⁶ Ahmad Saleem, *Pakistan of Jinnah The hidden face*, Lahore: Brothers Publications, 1993.p.41

²¹⁷ Aysha Jalal, *Martial Law*,p.82

²¹⁸ Shahnawaz, p.259

²¹⁹ Jenkin to Mountbaten, 30 April 1947, TOP, Vol.X, Doc,263,p.506

premier but also used his influence and wealth, with the help of begum Shah Nawaz, to obtain and grenades arms from NWFP.²²⁰

Governor rule in the Punjab

Sir Francis was born at Scotland in 1880, He joined the Indian civil service in 1904 and was posted in Bengal, and He joined army during the First World War, returned back after the war and served as Magistrate, District Magistrate and Secretary. He was appointed acting Governor of Bihar in 1943; Governor of Sind in 1946 and he also have honour of being the first Governor of West Punjab. On January 24, 1949 first time this was done that the federal government had dissolve a provincial Assembly although it had support of the majority in the legislature.

After securing the president ship of Punjab provincial Muslim league Mian Abdul Bari toured all districts of Punjab. He received complaints in every district from Muslim leaguers that the officials ignored them and did not follow their instructions. Hearing this, Mian Abdul Bari came to conclusion thought that the governor was deliberately undermining the influence of the Muslim League.²²¹ Consequently; he decided to start a movement for governor's removal. In addition to that, the most important factor behind the movement against Governor was that Governor had constituted enquiries against certain politicians of the Punjab. These leaders were apprehensive of their public disgrace. They thought that the enquiries might not become the death-knell of their already dwindling political career. They required a lever to divert the public attention from themselves. They alleged that as a British national Mr. Mudie cannot Pakistan's genuine problems and therefore should be removed.²²²

Meanwhile, a section of the Lahore press opened fire on the Governor mainly on the basis of his nationality. Another allegation against the governor was about his anti-league attitude and poor perception of the provincial league leadership which had turned the bureaucracy against the organization. But Mudie held that in fact the league had lost popularity.

²²⁰ Civil Military gazette (Lahore) 21 October 1949, p.6.

²²¹ Syed Nur Ahmad, *From Martial Law to Martial Law polices in Punjab 1919-1958* (United States:Western View point. 1985) P. 302

²²² Tanwir Ahmad, *The Punjab Politics 1947-53* M.A Report, University of Punjab. P. 117

In case of election during his governorship, the league would have lost the election and that was unacceptable for the league leadership of the Punjab.²²³

Mudie was trying to file a case, under PRODA, against Mamdot on the charges of corruption and misuse of power that also led Mamdot and his colleagues to join Bari in his campaign for the removal of the Governor. In the meantime, Daultana also realized that there should be unity in league's ranks and therefore; withdrew from the presidentship of the Muslim league in favour of Mian Abdul Bari who demanded Mudie's removal from the office and organized a campaign against Mudie.²²⁴ The unity in the Muslim League ranks found expression and thus for the first time the resolution was moved by working committee of the Punjab ML against the Governor on May 1949. The resolution stated:

It is understood that the election in the west Punjab would be held at the earliest possible opportunity, and in the meantime, to associate public opinion with the administration, advisors to the government will be appointed. It is hoped that the west Punjab Muslim league will wee their way to submit a panel of names of advisors in response to the prime minister's invitations.²²⁵

Mian Abdul Bari apprised the members of the members of the working Committee of what had transpired between him and central government. He said that was not very happy with this decision and told the central leadership that working committee of the Punjab would like to see the dismissal of the Punjab and would not like otherformula. Thus working committee of the Punjab once again unanimously approved his approach and decided to inform the central government about the decision.²²⁶

The opponent of Muslim league also came up allegations against the league's top leadership in the Punjab. They alleged that the campaign against muddies removal is in fact to sidetrack the charges of corruption against the Muslim league. On 2nd June 1949, Mian Abdul Bari, Punjab provincial ML president issued an announcement to the press and refuted these allegations. He said;

The demand for the immediate recall of the west Punjab governor had been made only after it was established that he was busy spreading disruption in the Muslim

²²³ Safdar Mahmood, *Muslim League ka dour-i-Haqoomat 1947-1954* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.1986)p. 76

²²⁴ Pakistan Times Lahore 28, May 1949.

²²⁵ Pakistan Times Lahore 3 June 1949

²²⁶ Ibid 5, June 1949

league ranks. The present governor has been planning to strengthen the hands of elements which, only a short time ago, were tied to apron strings of the British's. The attitude of the Government has been hostile to the Muslim league organization and its members.

He further made it clear that;

The appoint of a Pakistani governor was demanded because today we are busy for building up a new state which would be Islamic in all its aspects, and, where there would be no gulf of estrangement between the administration and the people that had been created by the 200 years of the British rule.²²⁷

Mian Abdul Bari regretting on the false propaganda against the Muslim league leadership, said that this very just and honest demand is being interpreted as an off shoot of Mamdot Daultana controversy. He assured that these allegations were absolutely baseless fabrication. He alleged that the agent of the west Punjab governor were busy trying to disrupt the council of the provincial ML and working committee. He also said that, west Punjab was the only unfortunate province which could not find a Pakistani to govern it.²²⁸

The council of the provincial Muslim league met in Lahore on 5th June 1949 to ratify the resolution of working committee about Mudie. The meeting was attended by 2014 member out of a total of 375.²²⁹ A section of the Lahore press opened fire on the governor the Editor of Pakistan time denounced governor rule instead of British Governor. He concluded that “we do not want a British Governor in west Punjab because we do not want a British Governor anywhere. We do not want a British Governor to administer the province under section 92-A, because we don't want 92-A Governor of any complexion, white, black, brown or purple. The Editor of Nawa-i-Waqat explained, “Punjabi pride could not suffer an English man in the role of its sole representative.²³⁰

Daultana had revealed himself to be more dominant with the higher establishment whereas Mamdot and his Assembly was humbled, and. he was ready to relent, his honor retaliat. In favor of Mian Abdul Bari he gave up the Punjab ML presidency he had been distressing Mamdot from this position, a candidate acceptable to both factions. Both of them were now without office likewise, one might put in, influence in he provincial Government. Mudie

²²⁷ Aysha Jalal, Martial rule, p.146

²²⁸ Pakistan Times Lahore 3 June 1949

²²⁹ Ibid

²³⁰ Nawai-i-Waqat Lahore 21 June 1949.

advised civil officials to perform their responsibility as per as to rules without paying any attention to politicians looking for particular dealing. Therefore, they started to ignore the pleadings and recommendations of the Muslim League lead were often used to address them. They started to bestow route permits, jobs licenses, and civil liberties in their authority to provide according to their own illumination, wellbeing and links. Irritated and Frustrated party officials suspected that the Governor, at this sudden vanishing of their authority and fear of losing constituent support, a foreigner, was tarnishing the Muslim League. Governoer issued many ordinances in this period.

Year	Govern or Ordina nce	Govern or Orders	Govero r Regula tions	Acts of the Legislature	Amend ments Acts
1947	04	-	-	12	7
1948	5	-	-	15	8
1949	-	-		11	11
1950	-	-	02	14	23
1951	03		-	19	10
1952	2	-	-	07	13
1953	07	-	10	04	02
1954	09	-	-	17	7
1955	06	-	-	12	08

Source: The Punjab Laws. Volume II, 2003. Published by Provincial Assembly of Punjab, Civil Secritariat Lahore.

The new party president, Mian Abdul Bari asked for Mudie's resign. "Mamdot joint general reason with Mian Abdul Bari against the Mudie because Governor was just about to organise an investigation under the "Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act (PRODA) into Mamdot's conducted as Chief Minister."²³¹ If he would found at fault, for a period of time, Mamdot could be ineligible and disqualified from holding any public seat, as well as go through further disgrace. Parliamentary duties were shared by some four or five Parliamentary

²³¹ Among the charges against the Mamdot was his misuse of public office to secure prime land in the Montgomery district. The deputy commissioner of the land Montgomery district Hasan Akhatr and the commissioner of Rawalpindi district Khawaja Abdul Rehman, were both dismissed from the civil service for aiding and abetting corruption under Mamdot,s Ministry. They now acted as the main advisers of the Mamdot.

Secretaries. In the Punjab assembly, first ministry in the Punjab was formed by ML party leader. Mamdot was traditional in viewpoint and could refuse to accept the central domination in Punjab dealings. Francis Mudie had stipulation about Mamdot. Finance Minister of the Province Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Khan Daultana in this situation was an appropriate alternative to dish up the concern of the centre in state structure.

Provincial Elections of 1951:

Another bold step Punjab legislative Assembly had been taken in the Punjab towards emphasizing equal rights of citizenship for all was the adoption of adult franchise as the basis, on which the new provincial legislative Assembly was to be elected. Since the dissolution of the previous Assembly the electoral machinery had been completely overhauled. A commission appointed by Liaqat Ali Khan "Fact Finding commission" to collect the fact data about the all applicants for the forth coming election in the Punjab. The members of the commission were Agha Ghulam Nabi, A.B. Haleem, Mohammad Ibrahim Khan Jaghra, Hasan Ahmad Shah and Malik Sharfiudin.²³² For the Muslim League above 800 applicants appeared.²³³ New constituencies had been delimited, which had to elect a House of 197 members on the basis of new electoral rolls. The law about corrupt practices in elections had also been amended so as to stop the feeding of voters by candidates.

Pakistan ML had command and influence of authority in leading structure of the Government. It had authority in the ministerial and legislative circle. In provincial administration it had control of high political fields. It had uncontested right of selection to all political posts and mainstream in the Constituent Assembly. To test the popularity there was no an ygeneral election held. In Pakistan, electoral politics had poor effects. Since 1947 - 1958, there was no any appropriate institution at the national level to hold direct elections.²³⁴ At different time elections of different Provincial Assemblies were held. Election of the West Pakistan Assembly was portrayed as ridicule, facade, and a fraud. From 10 to 20 March in 1951 after independence, for provincial Assembl of Punjab, first direct elections were held.²³⁵ "In Punjab Provincial Assembly there were total 197 seats. For 189 seats, 939 candidates participated in the election, other nine

²³² Pakistan Times, Lahore 3 February 1951

²³³ Safdar Mahmood, 79

²³⁴ M.Ibrahim, Electoral Politics A case study of Pakistan(1947-1958) **Journal of Public Administration and Governance** ISSN 2161-7104 2015, Vol. 5, No. 1.p.1

²³⁵ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 7 May 1951, Vol.1, p.1.

were unopposed elected. Various political parties were taking part in these elections.”²³⁶ “There were total one-million voters were recorded. The elections were contested on an adult franchise basis”.²³⁷ “The turnout remained low in the elections. The mass input in voting practice in city areas as in Lahore was 30% and it was significantly not as good as in country areas of Punjab.”²³⁸ The inquisitive political trend of shifting alliances in order to suitably with personal desires had in use a serious toll amongst the lines of the Opposition parties, and in result a engorgement of the membership of Muslim League in the Assembly by 23 seats. No one can though runaway from his own future or the fate that he had suspiciously made for himself. *sajjada nashins and Pirs* once more hit the bull’s eye. Saeed Muhammad, Muhammad Munir and Abid Hussain Shah won trouble-free victories over their opponents.²³⁹ Even *biraderi* for their part did not fail to live up to the prospect of all those voters whose family unit alliances and networks had survived the resettlement policies and ferocity of the Partition. certainly, Sajjad Ali Khan, Abdul Hamid Khan, Abdul Aziz, Zafar Hussain, Altaf Mohy ud- Din would conceitedly crossed the doorstep of the building designed by Bazel M. Salune and took oath as members of the Punjab Assembly.²⁴⁰ However refugees had incontestably reshuffled the group and changed the composition of the Assembly. Back in 1947, 11 out of the 21 members at least, who took benefit from the shift of seats had either renounced the chance to run a movement or lost their seats.²⁴¹ In the same way, the refugees saturated cities of Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Lahore, Lyallpur, and Jhang demanded an extensive re-graduation of the lenses through which balances and hierarchies were experiential in both reserved-seats and ‘normal’. A revamped provincial Assembly was therefore certainly a risk with both the past and future in terms of the fulfilment of electoral promises and members’ require to come to terms with their new position and duties as state actors.

Law and Legislatures

²³⁶ M. Ibrahim, Electoral Politics: A Case Study of Pakistan (1947-1985), *Journal of Public Administration and Governance* ISSN 2161-7104 2015, Vol. 5, No. 1

²³⁷ The Punjab Legislative Assembly, Electoral Manual 1951

²³⁸ A.V. Vorys. (1956). *Political Development in Pakistan*. New Jersey: Princeton University.

²³⁹ *Punjab Gazette*, 2nd April 1951, UPL.

²⁴⁰ *Punjab Gazette*, 2nd April 1951, UPL.

²⁴¹ *Ibid*

There were 197 seats for the provincial legislature of Punjab. Total constituencies were 153. From them, 44 were constituencies of two-seat, in each constituency one seat was reserved for refugees. Community wise, numbers of seats therefore were as follows:

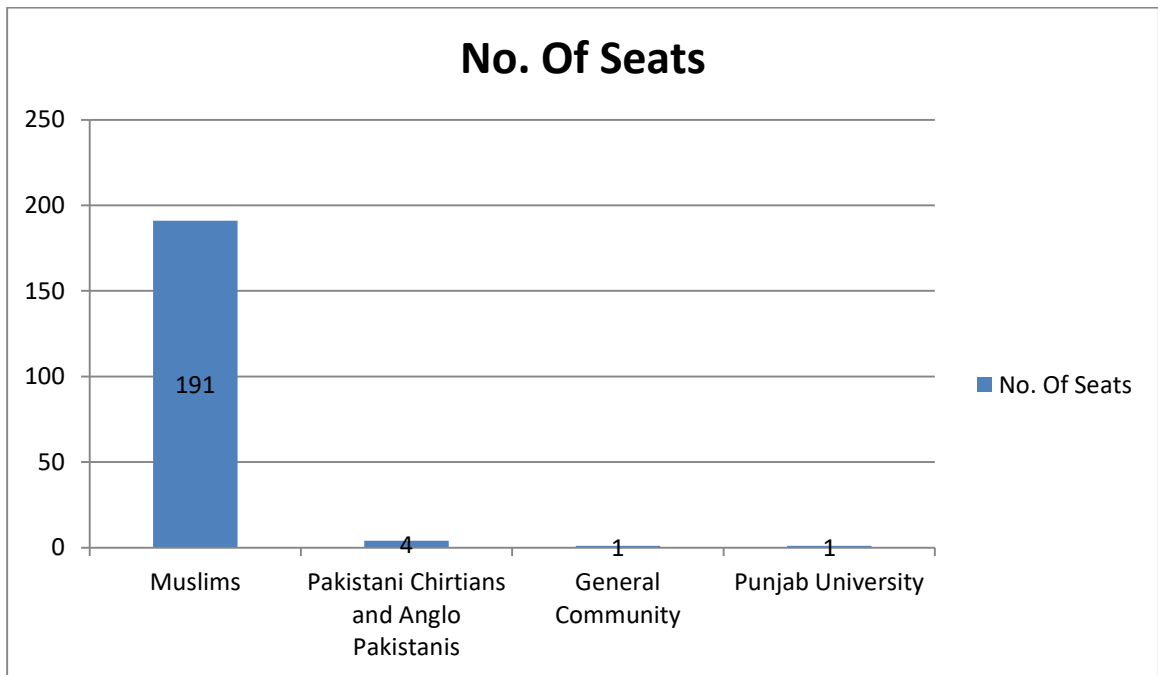
Muslims 191

Pakistani Christians and Anglo 4

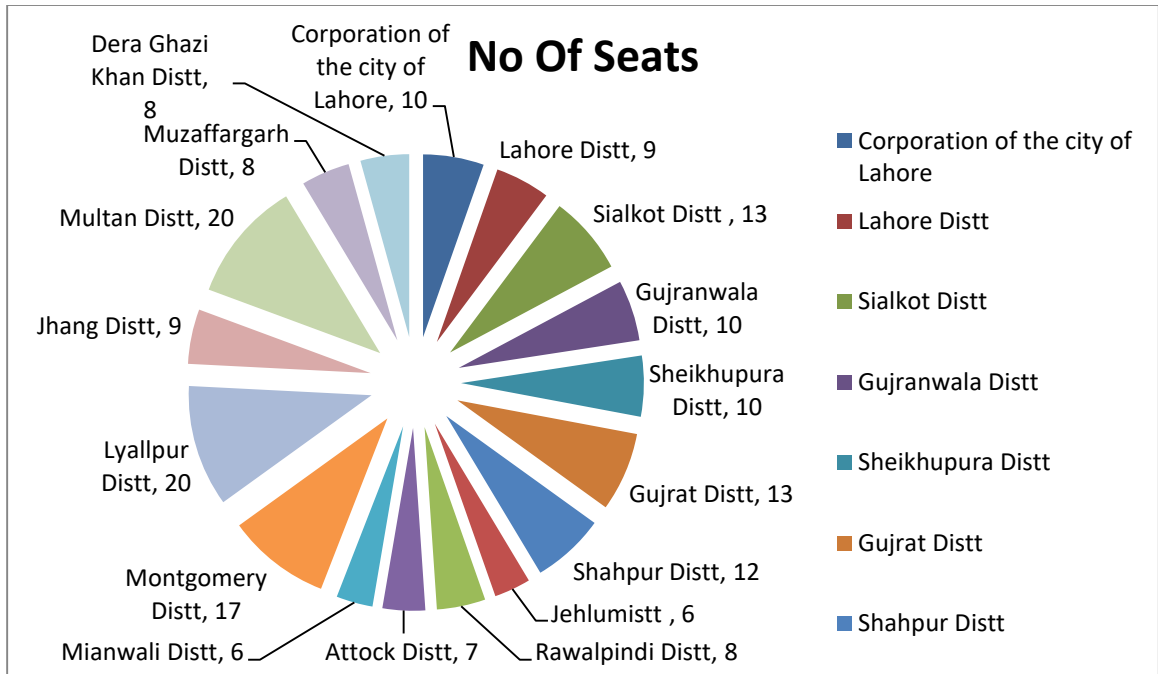
Pakistanis 4

General Community 1

There was one special seat for the Punjab University.



allocation of seats District wise is as follows:



Corporation of the city of Lahore 10

All these were Muslims seats

Attock District 7

Dera Ghazi Khan District 8

General 1

Gujranwala District 10

Gujrat District 13

Inner Lahore 1

Jehlum District 6

Jhang District 9

Lahore District 9

Lyallpur District 20

Mianwali District 6

Montgomery District 17

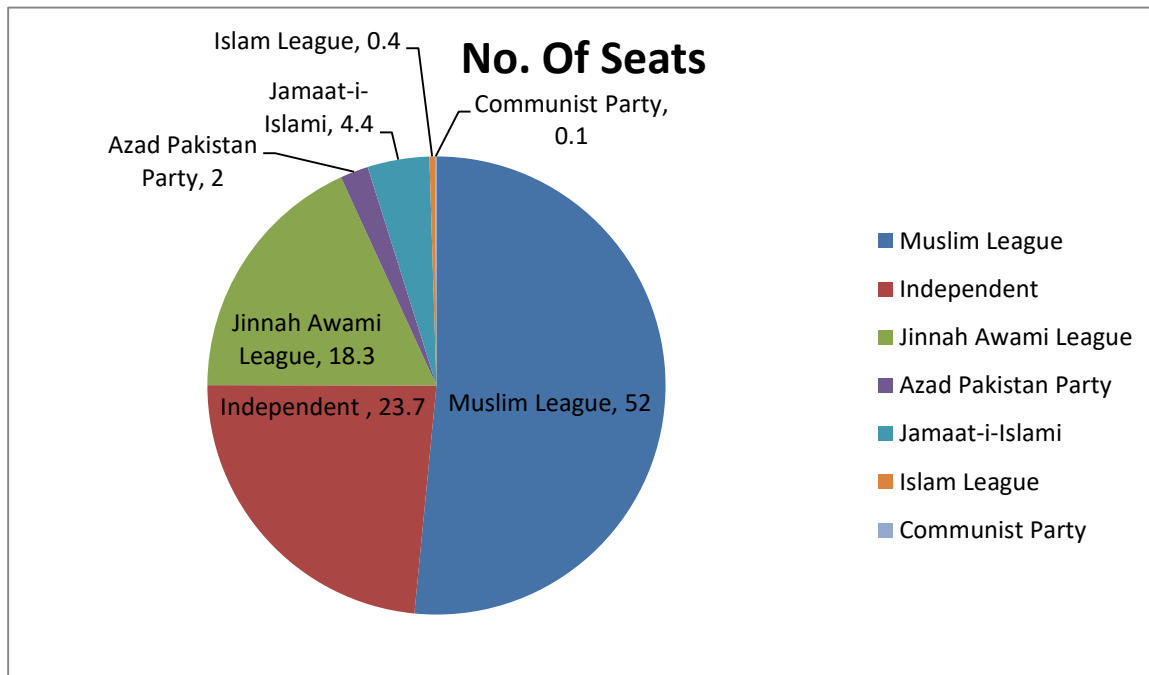
Multan City 1

Multan District 20

Muslim Women's Constituencies

Muzaffargarh District 8

Outer Lahore 2
 Pakistani 4
 Pakistani Christians and Anglo
 Rawalpindi 1
 Rawalpindi District 8
 Shahpur District 12
 Sheikhupura District 10
 Sialkot District 13



University (Special Constituency)

According to the Act of the Governor Punjab, constituencies had been formed by the legislation, named 'The Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections Act, 1950 at the time of section emposition of the 92-A of the Government of India Act in this Province,²⁴²

In the elections six parties participated namely Jinnah Awami Muslim League was the result of union of Awami ML and Jinnah ML, for Punjab Legislature Muslim League, besides independents and minorities, Azad Pakistan Party, Islam League, Communist Party, and Jamaat-i-Islami. Muslim League won overwhelming majority, leaving behind its challenger party Jinnah

²⁴² Hameed, Abdul (1953). *The Law and Procedure of Elections*. Lahore: Haque Brothers. P. 2-3

Awami Muslim League. Amusingly enough, however on March 30 Muslim League had 140 seats but it swelled to 153 the very next day and it had 166 members four months afterwards.²⁴³ According to Dawn, Karachi, Muslim League secured 52 percent out of the total votes polled, by securing 23.7 percent independents came after that of the total votes whereas 18.3 percent votes won by the Jinnah Awami League. Jamaat-i-Islami, Azad Pakistan Party, Communist Party, and Islam League bagged 4.4, 2, 0.1, and 0.4 percent votes respectively.²⁴⁴

For next Punjab legislative Assembly Party situation in the elections as under.

Azad Pakistan Party 1

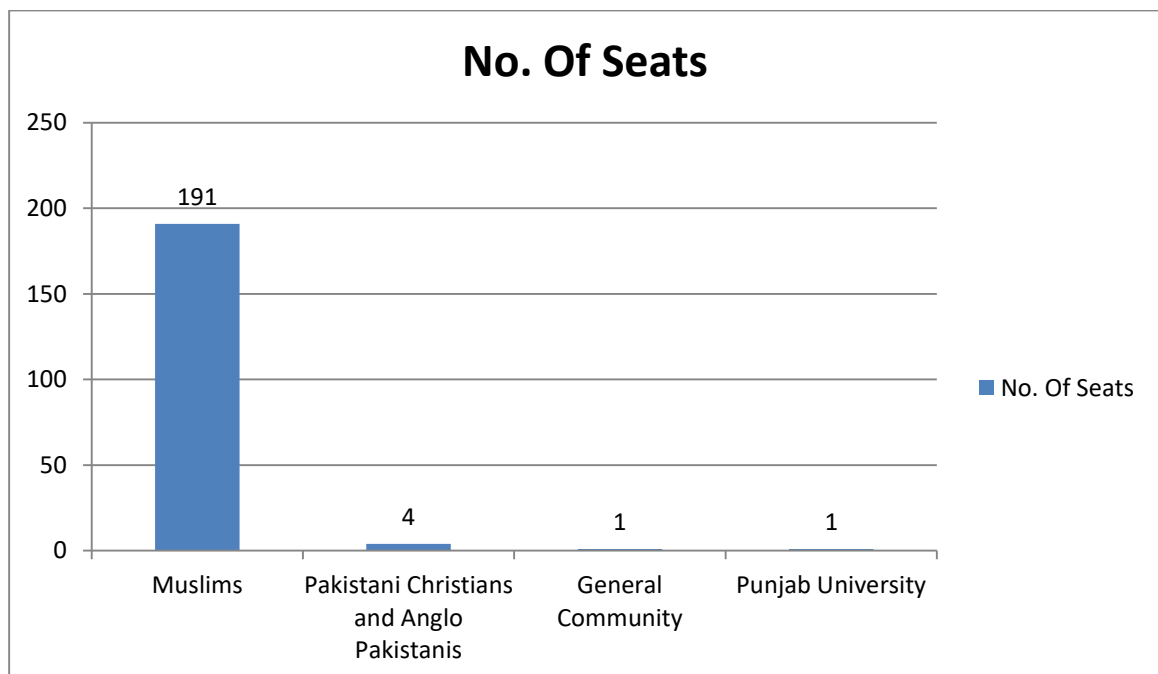
Communist Party -

Independents 17

Islam League -

Jamaat-i-Islami

Jinnah Awami Muslim League 32



Rafique Afzal throws light on the factors became the cause of the achievement of Muslim League. It still was the best structured in contention despite the flaw having crept into its lines. In the minds of many people, the image of the founder party was still still fresh. Daultana, the

²⁴³ Afzal, M. Rafique (2002). *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1947-1958*, Vol.1. Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research. P.99

²⁴⁴ *Dawn*, March 30, 1951

leader of Punjab ML proved to be the most competent of all the other politicians' waiting for power. "He weaned away successfully the one-time supporters of the Sardars of Muzaffargarh, Nawabzadas of Gujrat, Dera Ghazi Khan and the Sayyids of Jhang".²⁴⁵ He tried to do this, no less than an achievement in spite of a certain level far-reaching of Punjab ML manifesto, introduced land reforms. In addition Majlis -i-Ahrar and Jamiat al-Ulma-i Islam were also in good position with significant dexterity. Quite on the contrary, foundation of the opposition parties had dissimilar spirit. Rightist Jamaat-i-Islami and leftist Azad Party and had practically not anything familiar, therefore any alliance and political coalition was not possible. By raising the slogan of land reforms Daultana attracted leftist parties. That's why any variation in the parties, s manifestos confined into struggle of the power could almost not be made. Persistent support of Liaquat Ali Khan to Daultana was the basic cause- that proved very important in electoral victory in a while. Alongwith his powerful word to the people exposing the reality of Rawalpindi conspiracy on the eve of the election could not been timelier. Fatima Jinnah therefore sided with Mamdot but of no reward.²⁴⁶

Notwithstanding spanking victory of Muslim League's, it was extensively complained that these elections were "a fraud, ridicule and a travesty upon the electorates nothing else".²⁴⁷ One of the accusation was the detention of such pocket constituencies missing "geographical density or homogeneity in other actual particulars was cleft to suit the convenience and fortune of particular politicians".²⁴⁸ Registration of fake voters was also registered on a massive extent and different sorts were deployed they could vote under intimidation or inducements of for the similar reason. Besides that, ballot boxes were 'forced open and secretly overstuffed. Upon the electorate multitude plots were used by the leaders at the request of the party in command as on the most feeble reasons refusal of the nomination papers, kidnapping of the seconders, rival candidates or proposers even appear in the press. Political rivals had been flung or harassed put into the bars on the pretend allegations. the Most common of such charges was portraying them anti-Pakistan. Electoral Reforms Commission Report wrote a well-known former Member Legislative Assembly and member Muslim League as, "In the general elections of 1951, more

²⁴⁵ Afzal, M. Rafique (2002). *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1947-1958*, Vol.1. Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.P.98

²⁴⁶ Chaudhry, Zahid (1990). *Jinnah-Liaquat Tazad aur Punjabi-Muhajar Tazad*, Vol. 4, *Pakistan ki Siasi Tarikh*, ed. Hasan Jaffar Zaidi. Lahore: Idara-i-Mutalaya-i-Tarikh. P.172-76

²⁴⁷ *Report of the Electoral Reforms Commission* (1956). Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press. p.1.

²⁴⁸ Ibid

than 50% elected to PLA allocated their victory awesome to their very association with civil servants".²⁴⁹ Finally turnout that did not go ahead of 30% was very low also showed the lethargic attitude of voter regarding the elections which was not a supportive expression on the presentation of ruling party. Counterpoint voice of Iftikhar Ahmad by April 1951 insinuates, almost half of the Punjab Assembly newly elected members would be obligated a favour to a nation servant.²⁵⁰ In early 1949 current members who were part Central Constituent Assembly, former members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, public organizations and secretaries of local boards' answered a long questionnaire that a newly recognized committee had just submitted to them all. At the very spirit of institutions an electoral system lies down and, in the last alternative, even processes of decision-making. Members who had fled to India, Small towns and district Boards were firstly co-opted refugees through the substitute of those.²⁵¹

Muslim League role in the elections

A number of records about the Muslim League should be recorded. Throughout its history Landed gentry and nobility have subjugated it. In the mid-1940s since the struggle for independence it has not undertaken extensive mass recruitment. It became the party in rule at the independence of new State Pakistan in 1947 because it was the party of the father of the nation and as it had won the provincial and central legislative elections in 1946 and 1945, Quaid-e-Azam, the first founder of the country and Muslim League and Governor General of Pakistan had zeal since then has been to preserve that condition so it was, therefore, the "king's party." it would taken on in the early 1950s, as its president. Anyone who wants to become the Prime Minister in center-or CM in a province supposed to hold that office the Province of West Punjab. According to the Aysha Jalal the manifesto was the most progressive programme the Punjab had seen. Yet instead of applause Daultana had to face accusation of being produced too able and a detailed programme.²⁵² The election Manifesto subcommittee was to work under the guidance of Mumtaz Daultana drew up league party's blue point from third week of the September 1950. Mumtaz Daultana being himself a big landlord prepared a list of big land-owning families of all the

²⁴⁹ Ahmad, Iftikhar (1976) *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, Lahore: South Asian Study Centre, Punjab University.P.7

²⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 7.

²⁵¹ West Punjab Gazette – Extraordinary Issue, 23rd April 1949, UPL and West Punjab Gazette – Extraordinary Issue, 26th April 1949, UPL.

²⁵² Jalal, *Martial Law*, 147

districts of the province and entered into political alliances with them. For instance in Multan district, Daultana-Gilani and Gardezi-Gilani pacts were concluded.²⁵³ Leaders who were the pillars of the Muslim league stood against the Muslim League Like Mamdot, Iftikharudin,²⁵⁴ Sardar Shaukat Hyat formed Azad Pakistan party and decided to plunge against the Muslim League in the Punjab general election in 1951. The party forged a united front of opposition.²⁵⁵

Rigging and Malpractices in the election 1951

According to the critics of the election the word Jurloo was invented to describe the true picture of the kind of rigging and malpractice that took place in the election. It was alleged that bureaucratic machinery was used in favour of the Muslim League candidates.²⁵⁶ Police officers threatened voters at booths itself, the voting was not secret. The boxes were not sealed. They could be easily opened and sealed after transferring the voting papers. Many boxes were found broken when the ballot papers were counted and voting papers were found bunches instead of being separated possibilities of tempering would be sufficient to cast doubts on the elections and nullify them.²⁵⁷ Rawalpindi conspiracy was also considered an election stunt used by the Government in favor of the League.²⁵⁸ It was reported that people were transferred from one booth to next booth in Tangas and cars and even on trucks.²⁵⁹ Farooq Qureshi explained that no doubt that Muslim league succeeded and even attained majority in assembly but undemocratic step it took to achieve its aims gave a strong blow to the future of democracy in Pakistan²⁶⁰ Safdar Mahmood describe his views irregularities and unfair practice employed in the Punjab set up an unhealthy precedent for other provincial leaders who followed the

²⁵³ Makhdumzada Syed Hassan Mahmud, *A Nation is Born*, (Lahore: Feroz Printing Works, 1958), p.21.

²⁵⁴ He even declared that to vote for the Muslim League would be the greatest sin because the Leaguers were not the true representatives of the people. *Pakistan Times*, 7 January 1951

²⁵⁵ The Pakistan Times Lahore, 3 September. 1950

²⁵⁶ Safdar Mahmood, 79

²⁵⁷ Jaffri, p.23

²⁵⁸ The army Chief of the staff and other senior officers were involved in this conspiracy. Major Genral Akbar khan Chief of the conspirators disagreed with the prime Minister on his policy on Kashmir and believed that military solution of the problem was possible. Liaqat Ali Khan said the conspirators had planned to set up a communist Military after overwhelming the established government that the help of the communist and other revolutionary elements. Shahab, 222

²⁵⁹ Mazher Ali Khan, 345-346

²⁶⁰ Farooq Qureshi, 201

example.²⁶¹ Andrew R. Wilder said these elections are remembered more for the massive level of officials' manipulation and rigging that took place than for being first democratic election.²⁶²

Whatever the truth of charges and counter charges may be the tradition of malpractice in elections opened eyes in a new country's first election in the hands of selfish politicians continues till date. They gifted it to their successors which were accepted happily by their successor with thanks and as obedient successor they put it near to their heart and soul as a sacred tradition and symbol of their predecessors. They took oath to keep alive this preliminary tradition, owing to this tradition is implementing till now with the progress of new ways and means. Another tradition which was the product of first election 1951 was transfer of loyalties. The members who could not succeed in getting the League's ticket, one third of them were absorbed in the Mamdot,s league. This tradition traveled swiftly and its followers called political travelers' as well as their travel continuously continued till now whether it met with a new name of the floor crossing or horse trading. That reveal leaders had dearest their personal interests, they had no sympathies for their nation and towards their institution Punjab legislative Assembly. Besides it the use of Government machinery for the success of government backed party removed the concept of impartial and crystal elections in the future years of Pakistan.

Second Punjab Legislative Assembly

In 1951 after elections the Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947 was implemented, consisting of 174 Members the Punjab Legislative Assembly was formed. On May 7, 1951 it held its first sitting and on March 31, 1955 met for the last time. During its life of four years five months and eight days the Assembly held ten sessions over 114 sittings and on October 14, 1955 worked until the of one-unit formation. Dr Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din became Speaker his education was M.A.,and he also did LL.D., Bar-at-Law from Punjab University his period was from May 7, 1951²⁶³ to Oct 14, 1955²⁶⁴."Deputy Speaker was Chaudhri Chandu Lal Sundar Das, he was B.A and also had degree of LL.B. He was Pakistani Christian and Anglo-Pakistani-II, his period was from

²⁶¹ Safdar Mahmood, p.81

²⁶² Andrew R. Wilder, The Pakistani voters Electoral politics and voting behavior in the Punjab, New York: Oxford University press, 1999. P. 18

²⁶³ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 7 May 1951, Vol.1, p. 11.

²⁶⁴PLD 1955 Central Statutes 277

Dec 18, 1951²⁶⁵ to Oct 14, 1955".²⁶⁶ Chief Minister became Mian Mumtaz M. Khan Daultana, from Multan basically remained in office from 5 Apr 1951²⁶⁷ to 3 Apr 1953²⁶⁸ After him Malik M. Feroz Khan Noon from 3 Apr, 1953²⁶⁹ to 21 May 1955²⁷⁰ After him Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti who had portfolios of Law & Order, General Administration, Village Aid, Finance and Judicial remained in office of Chief Minister from May 21, 1955 to Oct 14, 1955.²⁷¹ Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot was Leaders of Opposition from May 7, 1951 to 1952²⁷² and Mian Abdul Bari was from 9 December, 1952 to 14 October, 1955

Long before partition Mamdot had differences of opinion with Daultana. Jinnah tried to bring together Daultana and Mamdot for political faithfulness in the Punjab but unfortunately in his life time not succeeded. Therefore, on May 27, 1948 Daultana and Hyat resigned from the ministries. In the cabinet of Punjab Chief Minister this flimsy situation of factional contention provided more than enough opportunities to the central government to get in the way in the selection of candidates. The Central government stressed to Mamdot to include Daultana, Feroz Khan Noon, Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Abdul Hamid Dasti, and Mian Nasrullah in the Punjab's new Cabinet to influence political state of affairs in its own hands. Mamdot refused to

²⁶⁵ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 18 December 1951, Vol.2, p.130.

²⁶⁶ (PLD 1955 Central Statutes 277

²⁶⁷ Political Department (General) Notifications No.2931-PP-51/20239 and No.2975-PP-51/20247, dated 5 April 1951, published the same day in the Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), p.253.

²⁶⁸ Resigned along with his Cabinet — Political Department (General) Notification No.2743/53/PP, dated 3 April 1953, published in the Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), dated 6 April 1953, p.123.

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²⁶⁹ Resigned along with his Cabinet — Political Department (General) Notification No.2743/53/PP, dated 3 April 1953, published in the Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), dated 6 April 1953, p.123.

²⁷⁰ Political Department (General) Notification No.GS-860 and No.GS-861, dated 3 April 1953, published the same day in the Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), p.119.

²⁷¹ Mr Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani dismissed the Cabinet and appointed a new seven-member Cabinet headed by Sardar Abdul Hameed Khan Dasti, Minister of Agriculture in the Noon Ministry — *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, dated 22 May 1955.

²⁷² Assumed office in the first session of the Assembly which commenced on 7 May 1951; and held that position until the Assembly ceased to exist on the formation of the Province of West Pakistan on 14 October 1955, in terms of section 11(7) of the Establishment of West Pakistan Act 1955. For details, see PLD 1955 Central Statutes 277; Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 7 May 1951, Vol.1, p.12; and, 31 March 1955, Vol.10, p.1255.

consider any influence from the high command. He had objective to take M. Hussain and Faiz Muhammad, Fazal Elahi to support his place in the system of the power²⁷³.

Mumtaz Daultana and Punjab legislative Assembly

After 26 months Punjab legislative Assembly again was full of ministers and majority of them were from Muslim Leaguers on 4th April 1951. New cabinet which was second since partition consisted of seven members. Following were the members of the Daultana,s cabinet

Sardar Abdul Hamid Dasti (Education)

Sheikh fazal Ilahi Piracha(publications and colonies)

Chaudru Mohammad Hussain Chutha (Revenue)

Mr. Mohammad khan Laghari (Public work)

Sufi Abdul Hamid (Agricultural)

Syed Ali Hussain Shah Gerdezi (Industries).²⁷⁴

With the consent of central government of ML in 1951 the Provincial elections of Assembly, Daultana became self-confident to get the leadership of Parliamentary Party of ML in the provincial Assembly.” On 30 March the election results was announced proved that the Muslim League had succeeded to win 143 seats but theon very next day its numbers rose to 153 and after four months it increased to 166”.²⁷⁵ The ML was the only organized party in the province. An attempt by six opposition parties to organise a joint front in opposition of League failed.²⁷⁶ Mumtaz Daultana was elected person in charge of the Muslim League Assembly Party and was invited by the Governor to form the ministry. Punjab Assembly was acclaimed as first popular ministry since independence. Chief Minister Daultana pronounced that opposition was essential for the type of democracy being worked out in the country in his first press conference.²⁷⁷ In his underlying vocalization he laid specific ashore enhance fast plan of displaced people, extension of mutual administration and mechanical change.²⁷⁸ In his first speech he laid special emphasis on land reforms, speedy settlement of refugees, extension of

²⁷³ Dawn, May 28, 1948

²⁷⁴ The Pakistan Times, 17 April 1951.

²⁷⁵ M. Rafique Afzal, p.58.

²⁷⁶ Craig Baxter, “The People’s Party vs The Punjab Feudalists” in Contemporary Problems of Pakistan, ed., J. Henry Korson (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1974), p.23.

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²⁷⁸ Zahid Chaudhary, Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tarikh, [Urdu] (Lahore: Idara Mutalah-i- Tarikh, 1990), p.325

social service and industrial development.²⁷⁹ However, the first action which he took after assuming power was showed his intolerance for the opposition. He banned the publication of Urdu newspaper *Nawa-i-Waqat*, because its chief editor, Hameed Nizami was a friend of Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot and he had published many reports during the election campaign in which Liaquat Ali Khan and Mumtaz Daultana were severely criticized.²⁸⁰ Other members of the League Ministry also favoured Daultana on this point, as they agreed that this newspaper was publishing notorious reports against the League leadership. Yet, the banning of the newspaper was a direct attack on the freedom of press. Editors of various newspapers took the stand against the Provincial However, due to efforts of Maulana Akhtar Ali Khan, a friend of Mumtaz Daultana and President of Pakistan Newspapers Editor Conference (PNPEC), the matter was resolved. Daultana relented and the publication of *Nawa-i-Waqat* was allowed.²⁸¹ Daultana bow in front of the power of the pen.

Ethno Religious issue

Two years after becoming CM Daultana started dreaming of becoming master of Pakistan. But democratic way was very long therefore, he choose a short cut. Serious problem took place in West Pakistan. There was community called Ahmadies or Mirzais. This community was founded in 1901 by Ghulam Ahmad²⁸² According to the K.K Aziz it had been mainly concentrated in the Punjab.²⁸³ They have doctrinal conflict, Muslim charged the community with separatist tendencies in their personal political and social life.²⁸⁴ During Anti-Ahmediya Movement 1953 Daultana However gave challenges to the Fedral government; central government forced him to resign.

Daultana was thinking that Prime Minister was generous and kind hearted, he would not take hard steps to prevent the disaster with iron hand. But few days after central government took a hard step and imposed Martial law in the province.²⁸⁵ Monir report had explained political motives of the Daultana in detail. According to the report Daultana had made the show only for his political motives whose impact was long lasting not only for the provincial politics but also

²⁷⁹ Ibid, p.319.

²⁸⁰ Zahid Chaudhary, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tarikh*, [Urdu] (Lahore: Idara Mutalah-i- Tarikh, 1990), p.319.

²⁸¹ Zahid Chaudhary, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tarikh*, [Urdu] (Lahore: Idara Mutalah-i- Tarikh, 1990), p.319.

²⁸² Nasar, 131

²⁸³ Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan*, 36

²⁸⁴ Aziz, 8

²⁸⁵ Jafri Abbas Aqeel, *Pakistan kay siyasi waday* (Lahore: sunj Publisher.2011)p.280

on central one. The Martial law was imposed in Punjab but its result were a great blow for politics for Pakistan. The political motives of Genral Ayub Khan was arouse after successful Lahore Martial law. There was not a single party which had sacrificed to up bring democratic culture in the country. Daultana was dethroned after that by bloody plan of the politician. It was proved a destructive force for democratic nourishment. Khatem-e- Nabowat movement was religious movement perceived by the common people but it was a source of dreams of politicians behind the scene packed the way for non-democratic steps. Land of five rivers remained badly ground for many days and hence debased socio- economically. On 21 January a deputation of the *Ulema* authorized by the *Majlis-i-Amal*²⁸⁶ set up by the All Pakistan Muslim Parties Convention delivered to Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din Prime Minister an challenge within a month which initiate a direct action if *Qadiani* or *Ahmadis* were not annouced a - minority and the Foreign Minister, Chaudhari Zafarullah Khan, who was an *Ahmadi* and each and every one *Ahmadis* had important positions in the country were not detached from different offices. There can be no better example of this desire to avoid action against any agitation which adopts the guise of religion, than the history of the events culminating in the Punjab disturbances of 1953. The *Ahmadis* were reputed to have 200,000 members in Pakistan, and included some distinguished and prominent men.²⁸⁷

The agitation against the *Ahmadis* was led by religious leaders, and the early stages of the movement were conducted by members of the *Ahrar*, before independence as a religious-political group, had associated itself with the INC and was generous in its condemnation of the ML and the Jinnah down to the day of the partition.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ The most prominent Ulema who joined the movement were: Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Turanam, President Jamiat al-Ulma-i-Pakistan, Punjab; Maulana Mufti Muhammad Hussain, Jamiat al-Ulma-i-Islam Punjab; Maulana Ahamd Ali, Amir Anjuman Khudam al-Din Lahore; Maulana Syed Muhammad Dawood Ghaznavi, President Jamiat Ahil-hadith Punjab; Maulana Muhammad Ali, Nazam-i-Ala Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam Punjab; Maulana Syed Nur-ul-Hassan Bukhari, Nazam-i-Ala Tenzim Ahal-i-Sunnat-o-al-Jamat Pakistan and Syed Muzaffar Ali Shamse, Idara Tufaz Huqooq Shia Pakistan.

²⁸⁷ Justice M.Munir, Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire into the Anti-Qadiani Riots of 1953 (Lahore: Government Printing Press, 1954), p.131-132

²⁸⁸ L. Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1961), p.268.

The disillusioned *Ahrars* saw no political role before them, after independence. They had, now turned their organization into a purely religious body and had aligned themselves with Muslim League. The *Ahrar* party had been excluded from nineteen parties list, banned for the Muslim Leaguers.²⁸⁹ As an *Anti-Ahmadiya*, the *Ahrar* won the support of many of the more reputable *Ulema*.²⁹⁰ The methods, they employed were the holding of open meetings, especially in mosques, processions and the passing of emotional resolutions. The Central Government and Provincial Government made no serious attempt to suppress the fast growing campaign. On the contrary, there were substantial indications of government support or acceptance of the demands. Mumtaz Daultana, the Chief Minister of the Punjab, made it clear that he personally accepted the view that the *Ahmadis* were non-Muslims, but it presented a problem for the Constituent Assembly and the Central Government.²⁹¹ This was a clever political move, since it enabled Mumtaz Daultana to show his sympathy for the demands while explaining that the solution of the problem could come only from Karachi. Various agencies and supporters of the Punjab Government went much farther than the Chief Minister in their support for the *Anti-Ahmadiya* movement. The Punjab Education Department spent more than 200,000 rupees in two years in subsidies to newspapers.²⁹² The concerned newspapers, said the “Munir report were all keenly busy in this debate and went on fanning the demonstration even during the days that they were getting the payments”.²⁹³ In 1951, the Punjab Government established a Department of Islamiyat for purposes of religious education. A board of six *ulema* was set up, four of them played a prominent part in the movement and two of them were subsequently arrested. The department employed eighteen persons as lecturer, and of these eleven took a leading role in the agitation and seven were arrested later on.²⁹⁴ The Punjab Muslim League was also prominent in its support for the forces of disorder. The police prepared a list of 377 members of the League who were involved in the disturbances.²⁹⁵ It noted:

“These gentlemen took part in processions, top brutal mobs, violating
Commands imposed under section 144 and collection of funds for the

²⁸⁹ Justice M. Munir, pp.263-264.

²⁹⁰ *The Pakistan Times*, 16 January 1953.

²⁹¹ Justice M. Munir, pp.263-264.

²⁹² *Ibid.* P.83

²⁹³ *Ibid.* p.144

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p.88

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p.102

Finance of the movement. In this list presidents, Secretaries, senior vice-presidents, treasurers and other office holders of the Different ML organizations were included in them. Four of them were Provincial ML councilors, two were advocates, five were members of the Muslim National Guards and one was an editor of Urdu daily.”²⁹⁶

The Central Government, even though its Foreign Minister was under personal attack, was little more resolute. Its policy for several months was described as one of ‘indecision, hesitancy and vacillation’.²⁹⁷ The Central Council of Action had couched their demands of January 1953 in the form of an ultimatum. This expired on 22 February 1953 and direct action was planned to begin on 27 February 1953. In the Punjab more than 55,000 volunteers were enrolled for the campaign.²⁹⁸ On receipt of the four latest alarming reports, the Central Cabinet met in the morning of 27 February 1953. The Governor of Sindh, the Governor and CM of N.W.F.P, the Deputy Chief of Staff and police officials were in attendance.²⁹⁹ It was determined to take into custody the leaders of the demonstration and to ban some rabble-rousing newspapers.³⁰⁰ But by this time the mob was ready to go into action. Mass agitation against the police, the *Ahmadis* and the government soon sporadic standard of life in Lahore and other areas of the Punjab. By 4 March 1953, areas of the walled city of Lahore had been taken over by the rioters and the police had abandoned the presence of having the situation under control. By midday on 6 March 1953, communications had been largely severed and the electricity supply had been partly suspended. Several shops were burnt and the situation inside the city became precarious. When the agitations were at its peak, Mumtaz Daultana himself openly demanded that *Ahmadis* be announced as non-Muslims and Zafarullah Khan may be dismissed from the cabinet.³⁰¹ Civil government had virtually ceased to exist and Mumtaz Daultana was prepared to capitulate. He issued a statement in Urdu which he later described in the following words,

²⁹⁶*Ibid.*, pp.266-267

²⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p.167.

²⁹⁸ Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy, 1947-1977* (Lahore: Afrasian Publications, 1980), p.41.

²⁹⁹ Keith Callard, p.207.

³⁰⁰*The Pakistan Times*, 8 February 1953.

³⁰¹*Dawn*, 9 March 1953.

“On the 6th of the month, on behalf of my ministry and myself I appealed to the public of the province to assist in the maintenance of law and order. I guaranteed them that my government would be ready to open instant dialogue with the main elements of the *Tahafuz-i-Khatm-i-Nubuwwat Movement*, and that would place their demands would be placed before the Central Government my ministers with a suggestions that these should be accepted.”³⁰²

The province of the Punjab was up in flames. The disturbances which immediately broke out spread fast and grew alarmingly dangerous. Mumtaz Daultana was neither averse to these developments nor dared to oppose them. He sought to switch the agitation towards Karachi to the confusion of Khawaja Nazimud- Din. A political conflict between the Punjab provincial headship and the Central command of Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din cast its shadow over the whole country. Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, when faced with the crisis appeared undecided, being torn by conflicting considerations. It was the Defence Secretary, Iskandar Mirza with the support of army decided to take firm action, and imposed Martial Law in the province.³⁰³ The order was restored by the army in a matter of six hours. Eleven people were killed and at least forty nine were wounded during the military operation. Martial Law remained in effect in Lahore until May 1953.³⁰⁴ Emposition of Martial law being Central subject was not allowed to discuss in the PLA. Prime Minister put all responsibility of the situation on Punjab in his speech in Consituent Assembly. As he said “I would like to clear the misunderstanding about the Central Government’s liability in the ground of law and order. According to our Constitution, law and order is the solitary and exclusive liability of Provincial Governments. As far as central Government is concerned, is eventually responsible for this subject matter only in respect of areas of Centrally administered. In the provinces the civil authorities can demand military help in support of civil authority to put down disorder. The check is always whether intrusion with public life is essential in order to perform the duty of restoring order. The military authorities take over charge in order to refurbish and to drive back force by force when the civil authorities are not capable to manage a situation”³⁰⁵ Two Privilidge Motion were received on 20 March 1953 by the Speaker, Dr Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, from Chaudhri Muhammad Afzal Cheema and

³⁰²*Ibid.*, 13 March 1953.

³⁰³*Ibid.*, 13 March 1953.

³⁰⁴The Pakistan Times, 26 March 1953.

³⁰⁵ Pakistan Times, 20 March 1953

Gibbon because Members of this House were honored to talk about the circumstances which led to causes of the imposition of Martial Law in Lahore, Speaker while highlighting limitation ruled out the motions that “ must be related to the subject in front of the Assembly and have to related to the provincial subjects — the words of the Speaker preventing the member from commenting on the imposition of martial law did not contravene the privilege of freedom of speech in the House *inter alia* because martial law was a central subject and its debate in the Provincial Assembly could not be allowable according to the rules.³⁰⁶

Feroze Khan Noon leader of the Assembly

. For the office of the Chief Minister of Punjab next choice of centre was Feroze Khan Noon. The majority that had kept Daultana in office now welcomed and supported new leader Feroze Khan Noon. On 28th March Malik Feroze Khan Noon left the office of Governor of east Bengal and arrived at Lahore for taking the hold of Punjab Government. He warmly welcomed at the airport. He was appointed was appointed new Chief Minister and organized his cabinet which was consisted of following members.

Malik Feroze Khan Noon(Chief Minister)

Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan DastiChaudhary Ali Akbar Khan(Education)

Mahumudumzda Alhuj Sayyed Muhammad Alamdar Hussain Shah Jilani
(Health)

Mr. Muzafar Ali Qizlabash (Revenue)

Sardar Muhammad Khan Laghari(Public works)0

Sheikh Masood Sadiq(Industries)

Feroze Khan instead of seeking reconciliation among the conflicting factions adopted the policy of confrontation in order to maintain himself in power. Immediately after assuming power he opposed Daultana agrarian reforms. He represents the viewpoint of anti-land reforms elements. He initiated his work by winning the favour of those who became aggressive by Daultana, s reforms. Immediately after assuming office he observed that the reforms had created confusion by worsening the landlord tenant relational ship and if not amended, would lead to communism. So he presents the bill for amending the agrarian reforms.³⁰⁷ However improvement of the little reforms by feudal cabinet was remarkable achievement but could not be implemented

³⁰⁶ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 20 March 1953. Vol-VI, pp. 270-71.

³⁰⁷Dawn, 7 May 1953

properly. This legislation created confusion in spite of any result land lord lobby stood against the reforms. But it's true that these reforms paved the way for new legislation in the future years. Under the force put by the central administration, to serve the wellbeing of the centre, Noon became in favour of the scheme of One Unit, inspite of his reservations regarding the motives of central management, functioning behind the implementation of One Unit scheme.³⁰⁸ In Assembly issue of representation of refugees in one unit was discussed many times. On 15th August 1954, and the Delimitation Committee,s recommendations for elimination of reserved seats for refugees opposed and criticized by the refugee MLAs of the WPA sturdily in the approaching general elections. Two resolutions was adopted by the refugee legislators, apposing abolishment of reserved seats at a meeting held at residence of Mr. Shamim Ahmad Qadri MLA, presided by Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan. The reserved seats for refugees was favoured by participants on the grounds that refugees from rural and urban places had not been permanently and properly rehabilitated and seeing that they should be permitted to take part in the legislature to air their complains. They protested against the exclusion of difference between the agreed and non-agreed places in the second resolution. The participants also resolute to send a delegation of eleven-member to had meeting with the PM Bogra and Punjab central Ministers to estimate them of the state of affairs and concerns and grievness of the refugee politicians. Seats reservation for refugees was opposed by Mian Muhammad Shafi who was a refugee himself because it was only a tool for the influential to come into the Assembly and not for the wellbeing of the refugees.³⁰⁹He brought the notice of the House to all those refugees who had lost their bread earners and till then had not been taken into account for resettlement. nineteen refugee MLAs including two ministers from West Punjab demanded effective proposed representation in the setup of One-Unit by the end of August 1955. A joint statement was issued by them from Lahore claiming: "We the refugee members of the PLA undersigned, convey and resolve to the Central command, the Governor appoint from West Pakistan and the Chief Minister-choosed from West Pakistan, our solid confidence in the states of West Pakistan and union of provinces and request that the at once implementation of One-Unit may please be and proportionate and resolve further that and effectual representation should be decided fro the refugees in the proposed

³⁰⁸ K.k. Aziz, 1976.pp.27-28

³⁰⁹ *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 16th August 1954, 'Punjab refugee MLAs oppose abolition of reserved seats'; *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 21st August 1954, 'Reservation of seats for refugees opposed'.

assembly of West Pakistan and proposed Cabinet and the in view of the fact that the mission of refugees resettlement is incomplete still side of the rural areas and the rehabilitation on the side of urban areas has not been touched at all and without this effectual, the refugees perspective can not be articulated prior to the government”t. ³¹⁰

On 14 October 1955 one Unit was established to put together the Punjab, the Baluchistan States Union, Sind, the Chief Commissioner of NWFP and Baluchistan and, and Karachi and the State of Khairpur and Bahawalpur into one province of West Pakistan. Later on it was realised central government took that decision against the wishes of the provinces. He sustained to refuse and to accept the central command, s and ML, s in their open using of authority to put forward the representatives from the Punjab to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. as a result, Noon remaned no more reliable agest of the centre governmentand and on May 21, 1955 he was detached from the seat of the” CM of Punjab ‘in public interest’ and Sardar Abdul Hamid Dasti Daultana,s nominee was chosen as CM of Punjab.”³¹¹

New election on adult franchise were held in 1951 next 4 year cherished behind these Expectations during the life of first Punjab Legislative Assembly in all tensions were called one session lasting only one day. The total number of days it met come up to about 111.By 1953 out of 37 Acts passed by the assembly at least ten were amending Acts. with the exception of Punjab children Act, the Punjab Prohibition of Orpheum smoking Act, or Punjab youthful offenders Acts no other the legislative measures with an object of social reforms or welfare of the ordinary citizens to be found on the statute book. In addition it is observed that the legislature without much hesitation gave up its rights of legislating on many an important matter to the governor during the year 1952 -53 at least 9 Ordinance were issued by the governor and rules and regulation made by him in ten important cases. For example the Punjab tenancy (amendment) rules, 1953, the Punjab factories canteen rules, 1953 the Punjab first rules, etc. in regard to debate and general conduct of business and standard appeared to be fairly high. after the general election are comparatively small about 44% but active and experienced opposition had manage to return to the Legislative Assembly consequently the proceeding remained lively and interesting despite the preponderance of Muslim League 153 men. In Mian Abdul Bari, Mr.

³¹⁰ *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 31st August 1955, ‘Refugee representation in One-Unit set up: Punjab ministers and MLAs demand proportionate seats’.

³¹¹ Noon, 1966.p.245

C. E. Gibbon and Syed Amir Hussain Shah the house and vigilant an impressive critics of the government frequently, they were quick passages at arms, spirited attacks and defense and occasionally organized walk out by the opposition member. The question hour in the Punjab legislative assembly possessed all the reality, sitting and excitement of a typical one. In this respect the Punjab legislative assembly was surely more conscious of its prestige and power than either legislative assembly in West Pakistan.³¹² Here not only a large number of questions were asked, but quite often attempts were also made to raise debate on them through the half hour adjournment.³¹³ In addition the rate of moving adjournment motions, resolutions and in the cases of appropriation Bill cut motions was higher than other assemblies with the possible exceptions, however of the East Bengal legislative assembly. So many points of order and privileges and of personal explanations were raised that sometimes it appears to be irritating to the visitors in the galleries as well.

Adjournment Motion

Ch Muhammad Afzal Cheema, wished-for to move an adjournment motion³¹⁴ so that maladministration in the Punjab University (PU) regarding leakage of results, under-valuation of answer-books etc can be discussed on December 1, 1953. The motion was ruled out of order by the Speaker, Dr Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, for the following reasons – “This motion was evidently open to a number of objections. According to the rules in the first place the motion has to relate to any particular subject of current happening. This motion was about a number of matters; under-valuation of answer-books, there is leakage of results in general, and the purposeful under-marking of the answer books of a particular student and so on. Secondly, there was also matter of internal management of the PU was an autonomous body. On these basis rule was declared out of order.”³¹⁵ Another adjournment motion was presented to talk about the failure of the establishment to take some essential measures to relieve the situation arising out of the Kisan

³¹² Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol ,IX, No.2, P.87.

³¹³ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol, No.2, P.116.

³¹⁴ The notice of a motion under rule 80, explaining the matter proposed to be discussed, shall be given in writing, in triplicate, to the Secretary not less than one hour before the commencement of the sitting in which the motion is proposed to be moved, and the Secretary shall thereupon bring the notice to the knowledge of the Speaker, the Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs and the Minister concerned.

³¹⁵ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 1 December 1953, Vol-VII, pp. 91-92.

Morcha at Lahore in association with the new settlement of the Lahore District. Under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was issued by District Magistrate and a petition for review against the said order lay to the High Court. Therefore the motion was held out of order.³¹⁶ On many issues during sessions Point of order was also raised On 19 March 1953, for example Ch Muhammad Shafiq in his point of order raised that point that as the Chief Secretary, s salary was noted in the Punjab Budget because he was a employee of the Civil Department of the Punjab and his status as the Naib Nazim of Martial Law (imposed in Lahore) could be discussed in the House. Dr Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din as Speaker, gave the following ruling — the point of order was over-ruled rose by Ch Muhammad Shafiq on the ground that imposition of Martial Law was decision of the Central Government. Yesterday I explained that Martial Law imposition means the postponement of the ordinary law and therefore the Martial Law Administrator becomes the supreme power in the that part of the country where the Martial Law was imposed. For that reason, he is capable to use the services of any private citizen or any official of the Punjab administration, whether that official is a P.C.S. or C.S.P. a man or that private citizen is taking active part in life or a retired person and in fact under the Martial Law he is bound to render every such help according to the requirements of the Martial Law Administrator. In this way, the question regarding for the purpose of his administration any official of the Punjab Government being used by the Martial Law Administrator did not make that relevant question, and for that grounds any reference to the Martial Law, would, as he said day before, be out of order and irrelevant.”³¹⁷

Question hour

The question hour is most important institutions of the parliament”, observed dr. Khalifa shuja ud din, the speaker of the Punjab legislative assembly. Whereas this curtails the number of questions answered, the rules of procedure restrict the freedom and the field of asking questions. As the rule 19-A of the rules of procedure of the West Pakistan legislative assembly which were originally those of the Punjab assembly ‘no question shall be asked save with consent of the governor in regard to any of the following subjects, namely;-

All issues related with the dealings between the president and any foreign state Or ruler:

³¹⁶ P.L.A.D. Volume IX, Page 335,

³¹⁷ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 19 March 1953, Vol-VI, p.190.

1. The personal conduct of the ruler of any acceded state:
2. No question shall be asked on any matter related to any acceded state except the Governor
3. Is contented that the issue affects the wellbeing of the provincial Government or a ordinarily Pakistani subject inhabitant in the province;
4. Has given his approval to the question being asked.
5. The speaker shall disallow any supplementary question if, in his opinion it infringes the foregoing rules.

It has been rightly said that question time throws a search light upon every corner of the Public Service. Questions are asked on all sorts of subjects ranging from government policy on certain subjects such as educational services, evacuee property, refugees rehabilitation, allocation of Budget, etc. The object obviously is the explanation to the public or the meaning of political events. It is one of the most valuable features of modern procedure. to make it really useful and real, however certain pre-requests are necessary, such as regular and stable parliamentary life, one common language in the chamber, and alert and effective public opinion, etc. all these elements being in the process of development, the question hour in Pakistani legislatures has yet to acquire the perfection of this extremely useful and effective institution.

Private members' Time

The private member's time is the unique feature of the British parliament. It is the straight effect of the first quarter of the 19th century when the legislative work was mainly concerned with the regulation of questions of local and limited interest. There was, then, little difference in character between government business and private members, business. Consequently there was no need for rules for the allocation of time as between these two types of business. With the passage of time, when all the major legislation passed by the parliament began to be founded on bills initiated by the government, standing orders were passed giving precedence to government on two to three days a week. On the provincial level conditions are quite similar. The real concern of the provincial government is that the bill or the resolution does not involve financial expenditure from the provincial exchequer.³¹⁸ The bills and resolutions

^{318 318} Munir-ul-Anjum, The Role of Christians in the Freedom Movement of Pakistan: An Appraisal, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* (PJSS) Vol. 32, No. 2 (2012), p.441

moved in the provincial assemblies, therefore, usually contain some sort of opinion more often than not on some non-controversial subjects. Since the government is seldom called upon to explain as to why a particular bill or resolution was not implemented, they rarely feel, called upon to snub one. During the present century private members' time has been subjected to further restrictions, first under a revision of the standing order in 1902 and 1927 and sensational order. With the result that only a small amount of time (mainly on Fridays) is kept free in each annual session. Again, the distribution of this time is left to the chances of a ballot. Also in some sessions, the private members are completely robbed of their time by the government, when the latter decides that it needs all the time for its own business. Now this is no chances happening. It is a tendency which has culminated in a situation, for example in the case of the Australian Commonwealth Parliament, where private members; bills appear to have ceased to have any place at all. In Pakistan the position is practically quite similar. The Pakistani legislatures do in fact devote some time for private members/ bills and resolutions. But statistically it does not look very impressive. In the earlier years of the twentieth century, both Irish and Labour members of the British parliament found it quite normal to bring in bills relating to home rule or land reform. The House of Commons, as a result, until 1914, spent many of its private members; Fridays in debates, conducted with all the panoply of ardent political conflict, on great constitutional, economic and social questions. During the past fifty years, however, the natural inclinations of men have been tamed and restrained by experience of political reality. The view that private members' are best when they deal with small and non-controversial problems has ultimately prevailed.

Privilege Motion

In Pakistan, parliamentary institutions are of a comparatively recent growth. They have not developed and well defined rules or privileges regulating their procedure. In this case, therefore, there is an urgent need that the rights and privileges of the assembly as well as the members are clearly defined and protected by law. At one occasion, when the privilege motion on the detention of Mr. Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi was moved in the Punjab legislative assembly, the speaker observed:

“The privileges of the house as well as of members are defined by Section 71 of India Act, 1935(as adapted in Pakistan). They have freedom of speech in the immunity and legislature from liability for proceedings in the court about anything supposed or any vote given in any committee or the legislature therefore. in other respects the be the definition of the privileges in act of the provincial legislature and until so defination shall be such as were instantly before the establishment of the federation, Assembly members were enjoying or in the case of the PLA by the provincial assembly of the Punjab.”³¹⁹ In spite of the privileges mentioned above, like any other citizen all the members are also subject to the existed law of the land. The privileges are given to the members so not intend to raise them above the law. The purpose is to make possible to them in the performing their duties as legislators. While conducting business and sitting in the Chamber, they were bound by the the Rules of Procedure of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab 1947/50, provisions of the Constitution/law, and the parliamentary conventions.³²⁰ The milieu Pakistan inherited at the time of her establishment was extremely discouraging the ensure a smooth running of the parliamentary government. In the first instance life had been severely shaken by the holocaust accompanying the birth of this country. Secondly the people of the new country were inadequately equipped to carry on the parliamentary government in its genuine sprit. Parliamentary institutions here were of a very recent growth. Their introduction had been half hearted and not uniform. Just to illustrate how ministries and assemblies were dismissed unceremoniously, at the instance of the centre, the following provide the typical examples. On November, 1954 The Bahawalpur assembly was dissolved. Six days later the Sind ministry was fired. The noon ministry in the Punjab met the same fate on May, 21 1955. And about two months after, the Rashid cabinet in the N.W.F.P. found itself dismissed from office. This saga of dismissals is now well-known as the prelude to the integration of West Pakistan. At the Centre; the government was accumulating more and more power without any opposition.

Women legislators

Women in this sub-continent received the right to suffrage in 1921. They had not campaign and agitate for it as their counterparts had to in most of the advanced countries, such as Britain, U.S.A or as they are still doing in countries like Iran. But that in no way militates against

³¹⁹ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 19 March 1953, Vol-VI, pp. 188-89.

³²⁰ The Rules of Procedure of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab 1950, rule 217.

this right of their. This is shown by the report of the Indian Statutory Commission (1929), which tells us that all male legislative assemblies in 7 out of 9 provinces of British India granted this right to women in 1921. The women members, the commission have put on record, have done useful work as legislators. One of the women members of the Madras Legislative assembly, was, e.g., unanimously elected its deputy president. She was also, responsible for the passage in madras of an important legislative measure known as the devdasi bill. That the women were quite alive and assertive in the use of this right is shown by their direct contests against male rivals in elections. The active participation of women in politics has increased still, after the independence, however, it will be observed that in the areas now constituting Pakistan they have been slow and hesitant, in entering this field. Lack of political education, which they share with their men-folk, may be the one reason. But the general conservative psychology of our society and such social customs as purdah, segregation of sexes in every walk of public life and the consequent intellectual impoverishment of our average women is in fact responsible for this. During the early ten years, female representation in the law-making assemblies has increased from 10 to 23 which will eventually rise to 30 after the general elections under the new constitution.³²¹ But one thing which is easily discernible is that women's own efforts and contribution in the rise is almost nill. The increase of women seats in the legislative assemblies has been more as a result of a constitutional change than women's own initiative. In 1954 there were 21 seats reserved for women in the various legislatures in the country. They were in addition free to contest elections in other constituencies. But not to speak of any women candidates winning a seat ; against a male rival in a non reserved seat, none ever filed papers in such a constituency. In first legislative assembly of Punjab there were two women members just Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz and in second legislative assembly after election total four members were female. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz from outer Lahore, Salama Tassaduq Hussain from inner Lahore, Syed Shamim Hussain Qadri, her education was B.A., LL.B. She was from Corporation of the city of Lahore-III. Dr. Begum Gulzar Muhammad Ali, highly qualified she was M.B.B.S., L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S. L.M. (Dublin) D.O.M.S. (London). She was from Multan city.³²² In respect of past parliamentary experience, most of them had started their

³²¹ ³²¹ Munir-ul-Anjum, The Role of Christians in the Freedom Movement of Pakistan: An Appraisal, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* (PJSS) Vol. 32, No. 2 (2012), p.441

³²² Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 1951, Vol-VI.

career as legislators after the establishment of Pakistan. Three had performed useful work on the legislative assemblies of their provinces long before independence. Begum Jehan Ara Shahnawaz, who is still the member of West Pakistan legislative assembly, has the longest record of parliamentary service even more than many men. She was first elected in 1937 to the Punjab assembly. Sikander and Begum Shah Nawaz when joined Council in 1937 without concern of league they were ordered to be quit. Punjab Premier in turn exposed that from the League his Muslim Unionist group would resign.³²³ Begum Shah Nawaz refused to resign and was excluded for five years from the League. Before 1946 elections she tendered apology later issued her devotion for the cause of League.

From then on she has been continuously elected in 1946, 1951 and now in 1956. She was also member of the first Constituent assembly from 1947 to 1954. They have, however, quite regularly and actively participated in debates over budget or other legislative measures, especially when they relates to women or children. Speaking in the west Pakistan assembly budget discussion begum Tassaduq Hussain(Muslim League) from inner Lahore devoted her attention to the disabilities of women in various walks of life. She particularly referred to the plight of women who had to go to courts in connection with some law suits.

Role of Opposition

From 1947 to 1955 the first period the opposition was small, mostly non-Muslim and was usually composed of elements who had opposed the creation of Pakistan. In the first place the opposition could present no chances of an alternative government. Secondly they could at least only review the government policy. Thirdly they were not placed in favorable circumstances so as to carry with them the great mass of the citizens outside the chamber. These conditions had their corresponding effects on the character of debates. The opposition felt neglected in the administration of the affairs of the country.

Minorities in Punjab Legislative Assembly

On the 23rd of June, 1947 a meeting of the PLA was arranged, to consider whether the Province, still undivided at the time, should be part of Pakistan or of India. The three Christian

³²³ Waheed Ahmad, *The Punjab Story, 1940- 1947: The Muslim League and the Unionists towards Partition and Pakistan* ((Islamabad: National Documentation Wing Cabinet Division, Government of Pakistan, 2009), 279.

members of the Assembly had met the night before at Singha's Davis Road home had determined to vote for the insertion of the whole of Punjab in Pakistan.³²⁴ On the morning of the meeting, leader of the militant Sikh Akali Dal Party Master Tara Singh stood on the broad flight of steps in front of the Assembly with a bared *kirpan*, threatening to use it on any member who would vote in favour of union with Pakistan. Coming up the steps, Dewan Bahadur Singha confronted the armed Sikh leader, announcing that he indeed intended to vote for Pakistan, and challenged him to do his worst. S. P. Singha raised slogan "Seenay Pay Goli Khaan Gay Pakistan Bunaian Gayhay" (for the establishment of Pakistan we would die)³²⁵ A scuffle broke out, but violence was prevented by other members.

The vote itself was 88 for remaining with India and 91 for joining Pakistan. The three votes (actually four) which created the majority were the three votes of Christian members Dewan Bahadur Singha, Mr. Cecil Gibbon and Mr Fazal Elahi, plus Singha's additional vote as Assembly Speaker and thus it was decided that Punjab would be part of Pakistan.³²⁶ But the division of Punjab itself – the Great Tragedy of the Partition – now came to the fore. When the Boundary Commission started its proceeding, the Christian leaders, led by Singha, recorded their statement that, the Christian populations should be incorporated with, and in fact termed as, Muslim populations for the demarcation of the Boundaries.

Chaudhary Chandu Lal was serving as a lawyer representing the Christian community, inter alia visiting Pathankot and Gurdaspur districts to obtain a resolution from the Christian populations there that they wished to be included in Pakistan. Mr. Cecil Gibbon while appeared before the Commission, demand that the city of Lahore must be considered as part of Western Punjab. (Some of the readers of this piece may be surprised to learn that the fate of that historic city was ever at issue, but it had been!) Gibbon additionally desired that all the Anglo-Indian Christians in Punjab should be transported to Pakistan. In 1906 Gibbon was born in Allahabad. For schooling he went to St. Joseph's College, Nainital, and later in Shillong to St. Edmund's

³²⁴ Munir-ul-Anjum, The Role of Christians in the Freedom Movement of Pakistan: An Appraisal, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* (PJSS) Vol. 32, No. 2 (2012), p.441

³²⁵ 19 Daily Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, June 23, 1947. Salma Butt, Remembering marginalised Heros. *Pakistan Today*. 22 July 2016

³²⁶ Violence, Memories and Peace-Building, A Citizen Report on Minorities in India and Pakistan, South Asian Research and Source Centre (SARRC), Islamabad, 2006, pp. 139-140. Ashfaq Ahmad (1983). *Partition of the Punjab 1947*, Lahore: Compilation of Official Documents, National Documentation Centre, 247-248.

College. On his family background, he had told the Radcliffe Award quoted as, “in fact I am an Anglo-Muslim. By descent I am a European-Muslim because my great grandfather married a Muslim princess.”³²⁷ In 1938, from Hyderabad he was elected as the President of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association. Approximately the same time, even though he was critical of its politics, he joined the Indian National Congress. Gibbon addressed a public meeting in March 1939 where he asked communists to join the Congress in large numbers “By the Removal of its so called spiritual outlook forward policy could be mould on more human lines ... the Indian National Congress could claim to be a beyond doubt innovative body determined to protect the complete freedom of our Motherland purged of spiritualism.” Gibbon in 1941 was posted in the Punjab and he joined the Government of India Food Department. Here he was elected as the president of Anglo-Indian Association, Punjab chapter, and from an Anglo-Indian constituency in 1946 was elected to the Legislative Assembly. He remained the Parliamentary Secretary to CM Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana. Gibbon honestly supported the demand of establishment of Pakistan from May 1947 onwards and was disqualified from the Anglo-Indian Association and Congress for doing so. In August, Alongside SP Singha and FazlElahi he established the Anglo-Pakistan Association in his office at 13 Jail Road, Lahore. On June 23, 1947 he was one of the three Punjab Assembly legislators who voted for Pakistan. Gibbon was among those who during its proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission chaired by Sir Cyril Radcliffe he was summoned, from July 21 to July 31, 1947. There were only 5,891 Anglo-Indians in Punjab at the time of partition according to the statement of Gibbon before the commission. He told in detail the position of the Punjabi Anglo-Indians to the commission in the following words: “it is pleasure for Anglo-Indians to be in Pakistan ... It is a renowned fact that the Anglo-Indian community, s cream’ comes from the Punjab. Their origin linked back almost to 200 years ... in the Punjab many of us Anglo-Indians could even mark out our link from the Kings of Oudh ... Such is the folder with just about 99% of the Anglo-Indians were in the Punjab. They are the offspring of the Anglo-Muslim race.”³²⁸ After the establishing the new -country, Gibbon had the honour to be member of the Committee on Fundamental Rights of Citizens and Minorities of Pakistan. On August 12, 1947 the committee was formed by the first Constituent Assembly. Other committee members were Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, DewanBahadur S.P. Singha;

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³²⁸ Daily Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore: 23rd June 1947, p.1.

Chaudhry Nazir Ahmad Khan; Jamshed Nusserwanji Mehta; Phoni Bhusan Barua and Khawaja Shahabuddin. In November 1949 after death of Singha's, Rallia Ram was chosen to the committee in his place. On August 29, 1947, Gibbon wrote to Jinnah to articulate his harmony in the wake of influx of refugees and communal riots from India. He uttered his grievance in the following words: "The sorrow and grief which fills your heart of Excellency is shared by my community. Our people are doing all that can be possible humanly to lessen suffering and assist the management in restoring law and order. In Lahore the Anglo-Indian community wishes, most sincerely, to pay their admiration to your Excellency and to show their devotion to your individual and the state. At the Burt Institute arrangements were made to hold a meeting of Anglo-Indians, Lahore, 31, at 10.30 am on Sunday. it would be great honour if Your Excellency were to give ti me anto address just in a few words to the Anglo-Indian community of Pakistan, and from us receive a contribution for donation for the West Punjab Refugees Relief Fund."³²⁹ Gibbon wrote an article on birth anniversary of Mr. Jinnah in 1949, how he was introduced to Mr. Jinnah and over the course their various conversations of what with time became a long-lasting association. He comments, "I was introduced to Mr. M. Ali Jinnah in the year of 1935 by the late Sir Henry Gidney, in the Indian Legislative Assembly he was representative of the Anglo-Indian community. I have a glowing remembrance of a series of talks which took place between Sir Henry Gidney, Mr. Jinnah, myself and others, in New Delhi and Simla and in 1939 and 1934. The conversation centred on the partition of India into two separate states- Pakistan and Hindustan. Amusingly none of us, except Mr. Jinnah, were issued at that time of the possibilities of such a partition but, with the passage of time the Congress became more communal-minded we started to see that what we well thought-out to be a dream may sooner or later become a truth."³³⁰ In April 1952 it was noted in his statement on the floor of the house: "I wish to ask for a motion...to talk about a specific issue of urgent community importance, that is, situation of the grave arising out of the plan of the government in respect of the extensive expulsion of Christians...from their home assets, thus exposéd almost 300,000 Christians homeless and on the brink of starvation, and it would have too horrible consequences."³³¹ Gibbon played a very significant role as a member of the first and second Punjab Assemblies. Espacaily

³²⁹ Daily Times 4 July 2017

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Debates of Punjab Legislative Assembly, voll VI. P.201

in his second tenure in the Punjab Assembly, he pointed out many chilling questions and as the deputy opposition leader discussed important topics. He was the Leader of Opposition in the absence of Mian Abdul Bari in the session held from 22 November, 1954, to 11 December, 1954'. Gibbon won a National Assembly seat in June 1955 from the Punjab – interestingly this was the only seat allocated for non-Muslims. He was elected as the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly in August. Many sessions of the National Assembly were chaired by Gibbon. that debated 'the Establishment of West Pakistan Bill and the Constitution Bill'. He was very active in raising voice for Christian families, still displaced: He had been 'outspoken especially in his condemnation of the rehabilitaiaon policy' of the new Country. After the establishment of Pakistan, thousands of Christian households peasant were expled from villages because their Sikh lords gone for India and the Pakistani administration was ignoring this inside displacement. In 1951, Gibbon wrote a Catholic publication, that efforts "are being made to hinder and curtail the growth and activities of our educational institutions; and in the Punjab thousands of Christians have been expled from their lands and are now reduced to starvation and poverty.", he declared In March 1952 that "in in search of to make them happy some dissatisfied people the government had adopted a policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul, and formed a dishonest management".³³²." He always advocated separate electorates: Most important reasons to support Pakistan by many Christian leaders were the idea of separate electorates. Gibbon was also a strong supporter of separate electorate scheme. He was also the members of the Committee on Fundamental Rights of Citizens and Minorities, both Barua and Gibbon was in favour of the joint electorate system in 1952. From East Pakistan many Hindu leadership thought that the separate electorate system had 'Islamic implications'. Following to their thoughts, Gibbon quoted "Leave me alone so that I can follow my religion and develop my culture. I do not want to connect a supporter to represent me."³³³He was of the view that minorities were 'sufficiently strong to defend their interests in East Pakistan'. His anthusiaism for separate electorates also featured a lawsuit in 1956 he filed against the federation in the High Court of Karachi. He unfortunately lost that legal battle.

³³² Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 30 April 1952, Vol-IV, p. 132.

³³³ Ibid. P.133

S.P. Singha, a prominent Christian leader of pre-Partition Punjab. Hailing from Pasrur, near Sialkot, Singha moved to Lahore. He rose to Registrar of Punjab University³³⁴. Elected to the Punjab Assembly in 1937 before entering politics, Singha would emerge as a staunch supporter of the Pakistan Movement. Moreover, he forcefully and courageously used his position as Speaker of the PLA to further the cause of State. At a time when many of the so-called Ulema were categorically opposed to the Pakistan concept, to the ML, and especially to Mr. Jinnah, the leaders of the Christian community were consistently strong supporters of the Quaid-e-Azam's vision. When Singha was asked by a journalist the cause Christians, support to the ML, he said, 'before independence of Pakistan, Muslims were a minority community of the sub-continent, after creation of Pakistan they became the majority. The Muslims would keep in mind the troubles faced as a minority and would not carry on the same destiny for other minorities...'³³⁵

Mr. Jinnah chose veteran journalist Pothan Joseph as editor of the newspaper that he founded. In 1942, the All India Christian Association (AICA) guaranteed unconditional full collaboration to the founder of Pakistan. The leaders of the Church in the Punjab strongly endorsed the Pakistan concept and advised their brethren to move to Pakistan when it would come into existence. The evolution of the Pakistan concept saw an intellectual like Joshua Fazluddin write in the daily *Inqilab* that the region of Pakistan, with its connection to Central Asia and its own distinctive history, was a separate country from the rest of India. Fazluddin considered himself in harmony with Chaudhry Rehmat Ali (who devised the name Pakistan) about the partition of this territory from India "as it was in just according to the wish of God".

Some other examples are Chaudhry Chandu Lal, Fazal Elahi, journalist Elmer Chaudhry (the latter was the father of Squadron Leader Cecil Chaudhry, celebrated Pakistani war hero and educationist) and B.L Ralia Ram. The community of Christian, as an appearance of admiration of Mr. Jinnah and support for the Pakistan cause, arranged a number of receptions in his honour. On November 19, 1942, a magnificent reception was given at the King's Garden, Lyallpur (now Faisalabad). Another reception was arranged the very next day at the hall of Lorang's in Lahore, which was attended amongst others by Sir Sikandar Hayat and Miss Fatima Jinnah, and Nawab

³³⁴ Munir-ul-Anjum, The Role of Christians in the Freedom Movement of Pakistan: An Appraisal, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* (PJSS) Vol. 32, No. 2 (2012), pp. 437-443

³³⁵ Ahmed Salim's Interview with Cecil Chaudhry, in *Reconstructing History: Memories, Migrants and Minorities*, edited & compiled by Ahmed Salim (Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute, n.d), p.162.

Mamdot. On that event, Mr. Jinnah said, “We will never put out of our mind your support as you have cooperated with us.”

when Mountbatten’s June 3 Plan, the Partition of India was announced, Dewan Singha and the Christian community in Punjab expressed their opposition to the separation of Punjab and asked for the whole of Punjab should be part of Pakistan. Joshua Fazluddin, in a statement to news, called the Congress that the partition of the province would result in a human disaster. When the horror that was the Radcliffe Award was announced shortly after Independence, one of the first voices raised in concern was that of Dewan Bahadur Singha, who asserted that the Plan was tailored so as to wreck Pakistan’s economy while facilitating Indian occupation of Kashmir.

Clearly, the Christians had supported the cause of Pakistan in the faith that a Muslim society by its nature would be more secular and fairer to them than the caste-ridden Hindu society that would inevitably emerge in India. Pakistan, they believed, would be more concerned for the rights of minorities. Observing the deadly antics of the *Hindutva* mobs presently prevailing in India, that assessment, it seems, was at least partly correct. But, for the other part? Well, in August 1947, Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha became the first Speaker of the new West Punjab Assembly, an office he endeavoured to fulfill with dignity. However, after the passage of the Objectives Resolution in 1949, he was obliged to step down as it was now felt that a non-Muslim should not preside over a Muslim House. The Christian members of the Punjab Assembly accorded fundamental importance to the rights of the minorities. They gave special attention to the problems and difficulties of the Christian community because Hindus, the Sikhs after the migration were the only significant minority remained in the province. On 20 January 1948 S.P. Singha in his speech delivered in the house has acquired the form of a historical reference. In this situation, the Christians in the province, he denounce the strategy of Sikhs for choosing to leave the country for their sake after living here for centuries and for leaving behind an inheritance of suffering and misery for the Christians community. Families of sixty thousand Christian in this situation who had been inhabitants of Sikh landlords became now on the streets and without jobs. Muslim refugees were distributed much of the evacuee land, and six to eight acres was given to each family, but these Christians who were living under the Sikh landlords had been overlooked totally and whatever small piece of land they tilled had been handed over to the refugees. Singh admitted in spite of all that when this situation was brought into the notice

of the authorities by him they had issued instant orders that the Christian community would carry on to have the right on the crops they had grow and they ought to got their due share.³³⁶ The Christian political leaders performed very commendably during the turmoil of partition, exceptional were C. E. Gibbon, S. P. Singha, and Master Fazal-Elahi they were members of the PLA. They individually visited the refugee camps and organise medical and other relief supplies for misery sufferers. Singha tried to bring peace between the various religious factions by establishing an inter-faith “Peace Council” but this effort proved an unsuccussful. In 1951, the government of India Act, 1935 was amended for the Election 1951 which was held on the basis adult franchise. The Christian representatives C. E. Gibbon, Ralia Ram, Chaudhry Chandu Lal, S. P. Singha and Fazal Elahi were elected. Chaudhry Chandu Lal afterward was elected as the Deputy Speaker of the PLA.³³⁷

Christian Representatives in legislature (1946-1955)

Election 1946 –PLA

B. L. Ralia Ram
C. E. Gibbon
Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha
Fazal Elahi

Election 1951 – PLA

C. E. Gibbon
Chaudhry Chandu Lal
Fazal Elahi
S. P. Singha

Election 1954 – PLA

C. E. Gibbon
Fazal Elahi
Joshua Fazal-ud-Din
S. P. Singha

³³⁶ Father Francis Nadeem, “Ye Des Hamara Hai” (Lahore, 1997), pp. 48-53.

³³⁷ Akhlaq Hussain Shamsi, Social Status and Political Participation of Christian Minority in Pakistan.Lahore:PHD thesis, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Quaid-e-Azam Campus. 2011

In all of this, it may now be asked why, the Assembly members did not take no for an answer upon their right to decide that who would be and how long their leader. Therefore, the answer is that actually members of the Assembly had not as yet attained political maturity and full understanding of their institutional distinctiveness and autonomy. Still they were just entered to their legislative roles. In 1946 most of them had been voted for the first time, some in 1951. Furthermore, the mainstream was landed elites, and in wandering to political independent institutions they had import with them their deep-rooted belongings of expectations, image, and morals relating to friend and foe, difference and its promise. “Institution of legislation in Pakistan is not independent to mainstream leadership, ideological matters and policies take a backseat to personalism, institution loyalty is non-existent and politicians are solely focused on creating their own personal following”.³³⁸From 1947 to 1955 the first period the opposition was small, mostly non-Muslim and was usually composed of elements who had opposed the creation of Pakistan. In the first place the opposition could present no chances of an alternative government. Secondly they could at least only review the government policy. Thirdly they were not placed in favorable circumstances so as to carry with them the great mass of the citizens outside the chamber. These conditions had their corresponding effects on the character of debates. The opposition felt neglected in the administration of the affairs of the province.

³³⁸ Natasha M. Ezrow ,Institute for Democracy & Conflict Resolution – Briefing Paper (IDCR-BP-06/11)
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Chapter 3

Efficiency, working of the Punjab legislative Assembly

Legislature is essential component of Modern Democracy. Constitutional and institutional development in Pakistan is weak and slow. Central Government is not working in genuine capacity. Interference of other institutions in the institution of legislature is very common. Power politics played important role in failure of legislature and democracy to govern newly formed State. These kind of problems weakened political structure of Pakistan. Institution of Legislature can play important role to strengthen democracy in Pakistan.

The West Punjab Assembly has commenced its first session as the Assembly of free people. The Government and the Legislature are no longer cribbed and confined by an unchanging alien Constitution, no longer restricted by over-riding authority of a British-appointed Governor or hampered by an Executive over which it could not exercise full control. While freedom has brought wider powers, the way in which freedom was achieved has created new and difficult problems. The burden of responsibility on our Government would have been onerous enough even in normal circumstances, but the events of last year have increased it a hundred-fold, the new assembly meets under the shadow of a grave crisis. Lakhs of men, women, and children thrown out of their homes have to be rehabilitated: the gaps in our economic structure created by the non-Muslim exodus have to be filled; the administration has to be overhauled and corruption stamped out. These and various other urgent tasks call for the speediest possible action. It provides a vital test for the elected representative of the people. The league government and even the league assembly party were on trial before the people and would be judged not by their fine speeches but by their concrete achievements. The judgment of the people was likely to be severe, for their sufferings had been great and their patience and fortitude was beyond praise. The people did not expect miracles, but they were expecting a bold and definite beginning to be made, their judgement would be based on no utopian ideals, for the leaders of league had themselves laid down a standard which in the circumstances of today can be regarded as an essential minimum. In 1944, the Provincial Muslim league drew up comprehensive thirteen-point manifesto which outlined the league programme for a free and prosperous Punjab. It was on the basis of this programme that the last elections were fought and

won. Shortly before the present ministry assumed power, we drew its attention in these columns to these promises and called for their early fulfillment.

A few days later, the Punjab legislative assembly, in its pledges to the people of the province, asked for a certain amount of respite to carry out its social and economic policy. Since then many weeks and months have passed- a period of acute trial and tribulation for the people. Conscious of the magnitude of the problems which faced our state and our province, the people have waited with patience and given their government the respite it needed. With the commencement of sessions of the legislature all eyes in west Punjab were focused on the women and men who would discuss and decide measures of the greatest importance, while it would be wrong and unfair to pass judgment on legislators before they had properly begun their work, we cannot refrain from saying that, so far, whatever proposed measures (both official and non-official) have been brought to public notice seem to have been put forward with a keener eye for the press and public galleries than for the serious crisis confronting this province. We profoundly hope, however, that our fears regarding the lack of concerted measures to meet present-day demands are unfounded, and that the ministry intends to bring forward legislation in keeping with its electoral pledges which will take our province forward on the road to progress.

Land Reforms

The real task before the Punjab and other provinces of Pakistan was to eliminate every vestige of feudalism to give the tenant full security and fair return for his labour, to liberate the mass of our people from the shackles of an oppressive, restricted system of land tenure so that they could feel the day of freedom had dawned. In the Punjab before the 1946 elections, the Muslim League had proposed drastic land reforms. But gradually it watered them down. In 1949 the Agrarian Reforms Committee of Muslim League with Daultana as Chairman worked out a plan fixing the ceiling at 150 acres irrigated land and 300 acres non-irrigated lands, although it provided that adequate compensation would be paid to Zamindars for acquiring their estates. In the former Punjab in the provincial elections in 1951, landlords members elected were about 80 per cent. The Punjab election manifesto in 1951 further watered down the agrarian reform proposals and a Bill introduced in the Punjab Legislative Assembly in the same year sought only palliative measures which, in Daultana's words, "would give the landlords a greater lease of

life."³³⁹It made no indication to the ceiling of big estates. It was only effort to reduce the Zamindar's share of the production from 50 to 40 per cent.³⁴⁰

This proportion would not, however, apply to tenants living on land which the Zamindar would keep for his personal cultivation, which was fixed as 25 acres irrigated and 50 acres non-irrigated lands. Even this mild measure evoked vehement protest in the Punjab Muslim League Assembly party of whom 80 per cent were landlords. In an Assembly Party meeting the "leader" of the anti-reforms group, Syed Naubahar Shah, dramatically waved his cap and declared that his land belonged to him, as much as his cap.³⁴¹The final Act kept the proportionate share of the landlords and tenants in the produce of the land at 40:60 but the amount of land that could be kept as personal possession was raised to 50 acres of irrigated and 100 acres of none irrigated land. Under the law every landlord was to announce which areas he wanted to keep for his private cultivation. The date for this declaration was deferred again and again. Even the provision for the 40 per cent share of the produce was not acted upon; the tenants could not insist for their increased right as this would aggravate the commanding landlords.³⁴²

The enforcement of prohibition and enactment of series of agrarian laws with far reaching effects are among the social and economic reforms that had been approved in the province. The step towards prohibition was taken by the elected Ministry of the province on April 1, 1948 when it was considered an offence for anyone to dish up fluid to a customer in the café or any other public restaurant. Six months later a second step was taken enforcing total prohibition for Muslim subject to individual exemptions on medical ground. In January 1949 soon after the ending of the Ministry and Assembly, this second order was challenged in the High court and held on February 16 to be invalid on technical grounds. This was the position when Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar took charge of the province as a Governor in the beginning of the August 1949. On September 14 he made the necessary amendments in the provincial excise Act and followed it by reimposing with effect from October 1, 1949 total prohibition for the Muslim again subject to individual exemptions on medical grounds and further restrictions on the consumption of liquor by the non-Muslim . He also enacted another law to control opium in

³³⁹ Dawn, October 8, 1951

³⁴⁰ Talukder Maniruzzaman ,Group Interests in Pakistan Politics, 1947-1955. *Pacific Affairs*, University of Columbia, Vol. 39, No. 1/2 (Spring - Summer, 1966), pp. 83-98

³⁴¹ Dawn, editorial, "Land Reform in the Punjab," October 8, 1951.

³⁴² Planning Board, op. cit., pp. 316-317.

the province in the province with a view to stopping it altogether in due course. Another important step was an administration order, dated April 3, 1950 which virtually abolished the age old statutory distinction between agriculturist tribes and other in the province. Fifty years ago a law under the name of Punjab Alienation of Land Act was enacted in the Punjab to prevent members of certain tribes, declared as agriculturalists from alienating their agricultural land in favour of the persons not belonging to such tribes. This law proved useful in saving large class of peasants propitiators from expropriation by usurious moneylenders but it also led to other consequences which might or might not have been foreseen when the law was enacted. It became the focus of political controversies and created tendency of social and political grouping in the province on the basis of castes.

The protected tribes tended to band themselves together for claiming further protection and privileges as against others. It even led to political estrangement between the village and town. A section of the Alienation of land Act empowered the Government to modify the list of agriculturist tribes when it thought fit. The list had however undergone only minor alterations during the past half a century. In the light of the changed circumstances and needs of the province after independence the list of the agriculturist tribes had now been so widened as virtually to include every person who hold land as landlord or tenant in the Punjab or ordinary resides in the province. Special protection had been maintained for the rights of the existing population in the Thul area. Another measure of agrarian reforms followed enactment of the Punjab protection and restoration of tenancy rights Act³⁴³, which aimed at a temporarily as well as permanent objectives. Complaints had risen about large scale evictions of their tenants by big landlords in the province. One part of the new Act declared all evictions whether carried out by means of legal process or otherwise, during the past one year to be null and void. The evicted tenants were given the unreserved rights to claim reinstatement in their former tenancies, provided the claims were made within a certain period. The act further gave permanent protection to tenant for the future. No landlord could now evict a tenant except when the letter fails to fulfill the terms of his tenancy or become an active advocate of a non-rent campaign. If a landlord desires to till his land himself or through his sons, he could get his land vacated, but only upto 25 acres maximum in the case of irrigated land or in the case of unirrigated land 50

³⁴³ Passed by the Assembly on 10th January 1952, published Punjab Gazette Extraordinary 29 January, 1952.

acres. The grounds on which he could may be claim the eviction of a tenant. This law seeks to protect not only to protect the tenant but also to protect good relations between the landlords and the tenant from being spoiled by intransigence on the part of either. The third notable law of the series was Punjab Tenancy (Amendment) Act³⁴⁴. It abolish certain customary cases which the tenants in certain areas were playing to landlord over and above the latter's proper share in the crops or the net amount of rent. No tenant shall be liable for the new Act lays down and no landlord shall be permitted to anything in the shape of cases were really the relics of a by gone age when a feudal lord charged seigniorial dues from tenants and nonproprietary residents of a village as a token of their allegiance to him and as a price for the protection which a new law supposed to give them. Apart from the Material relief which new law would give the tenant and landlord of the province? Actually it was not relationship between a feudal lord and a serf, but an economic partnership. This agricultural reform was undoubtedly unique in Punjab but also in western Pakistan

But it was limited and inaccessible Before the PML-N set up a committee for agricultural reforms, it proposed a maximum of 250 acres of landowner land³⁴⁵. The farming area was set up due to setting up a landowner's property in Agricultural Reforms. There was no significant effect on the interests of the zimindar.³⁴⁶ Further committee proposed that land acquired from the landowner should be given to cooperative societies of the tenants.³⁴⁷ Furthermore, in the case of forestry etc., which was given to be very badly beneficial and the landowners began to disperse Mazar-e-Aen by showing gardens to the fertile land. The barbaric government plans to settle the unfamiliar Mazar-e-Azen on the official land to solve the problem. It was also Punjab's first nature but its first move in Pakistan, although it was very limited and meaningful but big landlords tried hard to oppose them and failed them and also used religion to protect its interests in this regard and some big landowners members of the assembly established Anjuman_i_Tahafuz Haqoq Zimindaran Tahtul Shrriah. Many members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly joined that organization belonging to Muslim League; Pir Noo Bahar Shah was head of it.

³⁴⁴ Passed by the Assembly on 9th January 1952, published Punjab Gazette Extraordinary 4th February, 1952.

³⁴⁵ Pakistan Times 14, July 1951

³⁴⁶ Pakistan Times 2 October 1951 Daultana once asked to the Mian Amirudin who was Member of the Assembly that It is important to make the public happy by the manifesto, it is not intended for anyone to take land but u will have no loss.

³⁴⁷ Report of the Agrarian committee appointed by the working committee of Pakistan Muslim League. 1949. P.25-41

Despite this opposition of landlord progressive circles attributed agricultural reforms to inadequate and just explicit and there was an impression of a circle that Daultana tried to protect the landlords from the revolution with these reforms. These reforms were passed by the Pakistan Muslim league working committee in January 1952; working committee demonstrated the importance of farmer's problems on other issues.³⁴⁸ After one week Punjab Legislative Assembly approved these reforms. With this all Jagirs of the province canceled without any compensation. In this regard, it has also been clarified in The Punjab Abortion of Jagirs Act, 1951³⁴⁹ that no Jagirs further will be established.³⁵⁰ Although land reforms were limited but it was effort to eradicate landlordism and thus made it feasible for self-cultivation to be the main means of production.³⁵¹ Land reforms adopted by the Punjab legislative Assembly certainly not improved the rural condition in any major aspect. Mazher Ali Khan wrote that if Mr. Daultana took a determined stand he could easily silence the more selfish on the question of bringing in some measures of genuine agrarian reforms, he would receive the people full support against those who for the most mundane motives, want the country to stand still or go backward.³⁵²

Out of a total of 40 members from West Pakistan in the (Second) Constituent Assembly, the landlord group comprised 28 members.³⁵³ Such dominance by the landlords in West Pakistan as well as in central politics prevented any real progress of land reforms in West Pakistan. Landlords became part of the house not because they wished to execute their good illustration to the society. Making laws and formulating policies and were perhaps secondary to their charge as they supposed it. "They took part in the election because it was an approved way and new of factional conflict conducting. They had humbled and won their opponents. Their dominance in

³⁴⁸ Pakistan Times 5 January 1952

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid. 10 January 1952

³⁵¹ G.S Bhalla, Agricultural Growth and Industrial Agriculture development in the Punjab, article in the book "on the Road to Industrialization" EDITED BY JOHN W. MELLOR London: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995

³⁵² Pakistan Times, 3, October 1951

³⁵³ The professional classification of the members of the (Second) Constituent Assembly was as follows:

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Landlords	28	--
Lawyers	3	20
Retired officials	5	9
Industry and Commerce	4	3
Miscellaneous	-	8

Source: M. Ahmad, Government and politics in Pakistan. Karachi: Pakistan Publishing House, Second edition, March 1963, p. 115

their fields had been entrenched through a current organization. First they had become component of the government and then got a strong position from which they could take advantages for their preferred constituents and for themselves.”³⁵⁴ The acknowledgment they had to compensate in return to their voters. In this they did not feel embarrassment because the leader and competitor both struggled for their votes, were actually not combating for standard or strategy but for dominance and power and the gratification these would carry. Leaders dividing the party into factions was not deplorable or particularly anything new. Divisions and Factional conflict had always happened and they were expected as well. But it remained important for wise men choose best way and to make the possible bargains in selecting and altering sides. A vast majority of the twenty five legislatures selected were either big landlords or well known for their bitter opposition to tenancy reforms and at least two of them had the distinction of being driven out of the Muslim League for their refusal to accept the meager concession given to the tenants.³⁵⁵

“The governmental services are demoralized thoroughly and depressed. Due to the factions among the different political leaders discipline is bad. Ministers interfere in all fields of the administration and a greater scandal M.L.As has been than ever it was before. Difference in the League between Daultana’s and Mamdot’s groups, M.L.As have been expected to be more and more rapacious’.”³⁵⁶

Encouraging Industrialization

After 1947 serious drawback of the economy of the Punjab is increasing pressure on land. This has been further accentuated due to the sudden increase in the population figure by about 15 percent only. The only ways to relieve the pressure on land is through industrialization which will open up new avenues of livelihood for the people. This is being done in a systematic and affective manner and the industrialization of the province is proceeding at a brisk pace. While heavy and medium industries are being promoted through government assistance, the corner stone of the Industrialization programme continues to be the development of cottage and small scale industries.

³⁵⁴ . Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India*, p. 253; Darling, Rusticus Loquitur, pp. 211-12;

³⁵⁵ Pakistan Times 11 January 1954.

³⁵⁶ File No. 2(2)/PMS/49, ‘Correspondence with the Governor West Punjab’, Prime Minister’s Secretariat, 10th January 1949, 4, NDC.

All this means that social and economic conditions in the Punjab need to be improved very radically in various directions before the standard of life in this “Heart of Pakistan” can approach anywhere near the standards prevailing in advanced countries of the modern world life. That the Punjab was able to withstand the strains of this overwhelming problems-unprecedented in their magnitude in human history was little short of a miracle. This province, however, not only bore the strain but also reorganized with remarkable rapidity its capacity and overcome most of the immediate problems of its shattered economy and its refugee population and from 1949 onward, it has been forging ahead at increasing speed with the development of its basic resources and the expansion and reorganization of its social services.

A setback to these efforts was the great calamity which overtook the province in September 1950, in the form of unprecedented floods in its rivers and caused colossal damage. Within a few days houses and crops in thousands of villages were washed away, road and rail communications were breached in numerous places over a large area and some of the important canals were damaged and rendered unfit for the flow of irrigation water. By this time, however, the public services and resources of the province were much better organized to cope with emergencies than they had been three years earlier at the time of partition. In an atmosphere of prompt and effective measures were adopted for relief and repair. After three months hardly a trace was left in the province of the havoc that had been wrought by the floods and the province was on its onward march again. The Pakistan army did splendid work in helping to restore normal conditions of life.

Industrial Development

The area which forms the present Punjab made very little industrial progress under the British rule. At the time of partition it had, all told not more than 800 registered factories, mostly seasonally operating sell units of cotton ginning, rice husks; flour grinding, ice manufacturing and so forth, employing in all about 75,000 persons. About 90 per cent of even this small number closed down in August 1947 when their Sikh and Hindu owners migrated to India the immigration of non-Muslim bankers and financiers, the sudden deterioration in the supply of electricity and the loss of markets in India also dealt a heavy blow to the flourishing small scale and cottage industries which had established themselves in towns of Lahore, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Nizamabad, Gujrat, etc

The first task of the provincial industries department, therefore, was to rehabilitate abandoned industrial undertakings by allotting them to deserving refugee industrialists and others. It was, however, not before the middle of 1948 that the wheels of industry started moving again, Arrangements were made to organize dumps at important industrial centers and to ensure continued supply of raw materials from abroad. This helped to restore the industrial and commercial life of the province to a great extent.

Thal Development

During early years since partition important steps have been to safeguard and improve its resources which the province had inherited from the past and to make up the woeful shortage, which had either already existed or resulted from partition. The most notable scheme of development which the province has in hand is that of irrigating and colonizing what is known as the Thal area in the North Western corner of the Punjab. Some encouraging work was done by Pakistan army. A certain portion of the area had been reserved for providing new homes for Pakistani soldier whose families had been uprooted from India. Backed by the resources of their regimental organizations these soldiers moved their refugees' families into reserved chuks and braved the initial difficulties.³⁵⁷ On the civilian side however the scheme of colonization languished and the prospects of its early success were none too bright. Then Punjab Legislative Assembly enacted a Law in July 1949, The Thal Development Act³⁵⁸ for the constitution of a public corporation to start on its own development of thal and carry the process to point at which settlers would feel attracted to take it up. The Public corporation named the Thal development Authority was constituted on August 29, 1949 and given powers not only of operating on Government land but also of acquiring privately owned lands in Thal so as to develop the area as whole. It took some time to prepare elaborate and detailed maps of proposals villiages, towns, forest, seeds cattle farms and roads etc. In Thal actual operation started early in 1950. Lands was taken up block by block; demarcated into chuks and broken of land was ready for showing operation a batch of previously selected settlers was brought and each individual settlers put in

³⁵⁷ General Headquarters Pakistan, Report on Military Resettlement in the Thal 1948-49, Ibid, p.2.

³⁵⁸ This Act was promulgated and assented to by the Governor of the Punjab on 28th July, 1949, and published in the Punjab Gazette, (Extraordinary), dated: 29th July, 1949, pages: 127-152. "The Thal Development Authority", hereinafter referred to as "The Authority" and the Board shall be a body corporate, and shall have perpetual succession and a common seal, and shall by the said name sue and be sued. The Authority shall consist of not more than seven members The Thal Development Act, 1949 appointed by the Provincial Government by notification

possession of an area of 15 acres.³⁵⁹ Which he started sowing almost at once. Agricultural implements, bullocks, seeds and other necessities of life were kept ready beforehand for every batch of settlers. For the first six months each batch had to live tents, huts, or temporary barracks. Later they were helped to build their own houses and bring their families. Necessary material for the building of houses was provided and houses of a standard type were also built by the authority itself at a total cost of Rs. 1,000 each. The main point that settlers had to pay nothing immediately either for the land and for its development or for his living or for his house. Reasonable price for everything was to be recovered from him by easy installment over a number of years. For one or two crops he was also given special remission of land and other taxes.

Five Year Plan

The pace of industrial progress in the Punjab could have been more rapid than it has been during the six years under review. But for a number of initial difficulties like the scarcity of private capital, shortage of power, and paucity of experienced and technical personnel. A considerable amount of investigation, planning and preparation has, however, been done during recent years and the ground has been prepared for quicker and concrete results in the future, a "Five Year Plan"³⁶⁰ was prepared in 1951 to inaugurate an integrated programme of industrial development. The plan provides setting up of over 70 factories at an estimated cost of Rs. 40 crores. Another important step taken in 1951 was appointment of an industries facilities promotion Committee, with the object of assisting and advising industrialists in relating procurement of raw material, to the acquisition of land, power resources, machinery, trained personnel, railway sidings, and marketing facilities etc. Five year plan had basic structure of economic policies of the governments were made by civil officials and economic Affairs Division, economists in the planning commission, and the ministry of finance. Such policy had been never submitted to legislature for prior approval. Because final authority was the National Economic Council (NEC) for approval but its evaluation of the plan was not figurative because to pass expert judgments on complex programs and issues was not easy for members of the council

³⁵⁹ The Punjab, A review of first six years. 1947-August 1953 .p.29

³⁶⁰ Five year plans Planning Commission of Pakistan.

the real power was used by the the planning commission and ministry of finance the economic affairs Division.³⁶¹

Cotton Textile Industry

Textile industry occupies a key position in the economy of this province since 1947³⁶². During the past six years the industry has made remarkable progress. Out of 2.5 million spindles as the total target for the whole of the country during the first ten years, the share of the Punjab at present stands at 650,000 spindles. Out of this quota which has been distributed to suitable parties 300,000 spindles have already been installed, if the industry maintains the present progress there is little doubt that by 1957 Pakistan would become self-sufficient in cloth. It is interesting to recall that for some years after partition Pakistan used to import cloth and ears worth Rs. 42 crores annually. The Punjab's annual requirements of yarn have been estimated at 120,000 bales of cotton yarn per year, when the installation of 650,000 spindles allocated to the Punjab is completed by the end of 1954, the output of cotton yarn in the Punjab will shoot up to 512,000 bales per year. This will not only make the Punjab self-sufficient in its requirements of cotton yarn but will also leave much surplus for consumption in other parts of the country.

New Mills

Three large cotton textile mills have already been set up since partition by private enterprise at Lyallpur, Multan and Rawalpindi.³⁶³ Another seven mills are now being set up under public or semipublic control. Plants for these have already arrived and are being installed. Construction work for the factory building, staff quarters, road, railway siding, etc., is proceeding at a brisk pace. Lyallpur was declared industrial zone in 1950s by the Government of Pakistan and the province started development and expansion in industry particularly in textiles and textile related industries. By blessing of time the province got a noteworthy heighten since tax holiday was declared by the Government for new factories. Nearly all eminent and most significant textile industries Crescent Mills, Kohinoor Textiles, Nishat Mills, zeenat textile

³⁶¹ Mustafa Chaudhary, Pakistan: its Politics and Bureaucracy, Delhi: Associated publishing House, 1988, p.212

³⁶² Aftab A. Khan, Mahreen Khan. Pakistan Textile Industry Facing New Challenges. *Research Journal of International Studies* - Issue 14 (May, 2010) p.21

³⁶³ Hamid Iqbal Dr. Abdul Qadir Mushtaq, Cotton Processing and Spinning Industry in Pakistan: A Case Study of Lyallpur City *Lyallpur Historical & Cultural Research Journal*. June 2017, Vol. 3, No. 1 [27-46]p,1-5

industry, Premier cloth industry, and Rehmania textile mills were also founded flourished at the same time.

Sehgal group in 1948 founded Kohinoor Textiles, a bleaching, yarn spinning, weaving and company.

Mr. Muhammad Shafi established Crescent Mills in 1950, a yarn spinning mill.

Nishat group founded Nishat mills in 1951, a Yarn spinning mill.³⁶⁴

Another cloth and yarn mills Premier cloth mills, established in 1953.

Zeenat textile mills spinning dyeing yarn mill, founded in 1953.

Rehmania textile mills, cotton, yarn, spinning established in 1955.³⁶⁵

These mills were established by Government with the assist of Japanese assistance program under these projects on land provided by Government on cheap rate. Machinery was given by Japanese company to this program on extremely discounted rate yen loan. By 4 to 40 looms industry increased as cottage industry. Due to labor regulations and exemption from taxes by the Punjab legislative Assembly industry increased day by day. Further these cotton industries proved helpfull for their expansion to large number of yarn sizing, weaving units and fabric processing. From the lapse of these industries other well-known cotton and cotton related industries were established. From independence of Pakistan 1947-55 development in cotton Industry at Lyallpur had been described in the following table:

Cotton (yarn and textile production)

Year	Number of Mills		Production of Yarn	Production of Cloths
	(000MT)	(000Yds)		
1947		1	
.....				
1948	2		0.006	35378
1949		2		0.008
44826				
1950		3		0.012

³⁶⁴ <http://nishatmillsltd.com/wp/index.php/about-2/>

³⁶⁵ Hamid Iqbal Dr. Abdul Qadir Mushtaq, Cotton Processing and Spinning Industry in Pakistan: A Case Study of Lyallpur City *Lyallpur Historical & Cultural Research Journal*. June 2017, Vol. 3, No. 1 [27-46]p,31

55411			
	1951	4	0.017
70053			
	1952	4	0.022
105223			
	1953	4	0.046
192440			
	1954	4	0.078
282254			
	1955	4	0.114
389436			

Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics

Handloom Small-scale industry

In the Punjab handloom weavers has increased significantly after independence. 150,000 numbers of handlooms approximate installed. In the session of the assembly, Syed Ali Hussain Shah Gerdizi Minister of Industries mentions about annual expenditure of wool by handloom workers was 472,800,000 lbs.³⁶⁶ In 1952 by the Punjab industries Department in order to ensure and regular cheap supply of wool to these weavers plan of the Central Government was all set and through the industrial Co-operative Bank was now being implemented. Through the medium of co-operatives step was also taken to arrange cottage industry.

As many as 75 new calendaring and finishing plants have been set up in various parts of the province. The provincial industries Department has set up a cotton Handloom weavers in improving g the design and quality of cloth. About 20,000 refugee weavers have taken advantage of the existence of this centre. The centre has been provided with necessary technical staff and working capital and is bearing expanded by the addition of more machinery.

A scheme for the setting up of a similar Development Centre for hand loom weavers at Lyallpur at cost of Rs. 5,73, 385 is under consideration of the Government.³⁶⁷ Another scheme for the setting up of textile cum hosiery institute at Lyallpur is also under consideration. The expansion of the Government Demonstration Weaving Factors at Shahdara has been planned. A

³⁶⁶ Punjab Legislative assembly Debates 1947 Vol. XXVIII. P.317

³⁶⁷Hamid Iqbal Dr. Abdul Qadir Mushtaq, Cotton Processing and Spinning Industry in Pakistan: A Case Study of Lyallpur City *Lyallpur Historical & Cultural Research Journal*. June 2017, Vol. 3, No. 1 [27-46]p,28-35

textile Advisory Committee has recently been formed to suggest measures for bringing more improvements in the techniques of production and marketing of finished goods.

Woolen textile industry

The Punjab produces 16,400,000lbs of wool per year but hardly any woolen mill existed in this part of the undivided Punjab. Between 1947 and 1953 seven new medium and standard sized woolen spinning and weaving mills have been set up in the Punjab.³⁶⁸ Out of the total allocation of 15,000 spindles and 150 looms reserved for the Punjab almost half of it has already been installed. Besides there are a number of small handloom woolen concerns which manufacture two kinds of woolen goods including blanketing clothe and tweeds. for the development of cottage and small scale woolen industry in the Punjab a woolen industries development centre has been set up Jhang where most of the refugee woolen weavers from India have settled.

Ch Muhammad Shafiq moved an adjournment motion On 29 April 1952³⁶⁹ talking about the indiffrences and unresponsiveness attitude of the Punjab Government to take immediate measures to save the traders of wool and cotton in the Province from the disaster that had befallen them. He stressed that due to neglecton of the Government, the wool and cotton markets had gone was near to the ground that the traders of those imperative exportable supplies of the Province were expected to have a stern set-back. Dr Khalifa Shauja-ud-Din, The Speaker, ruled as under _

“This motion will have to rule out of order. The reason is that an adjournment motion can be moved only regarding the matters of recent urgent public importance. But the motion itself is proved that this is not a subject of latest happening. Honourable member can invited the notice of the Government to this matter by other means, if he wanted to do so, by question and resolution on the subject. Where alternative remedy is available, an adjournment motion cannot be allowed.”³⁷⁰

Orders executed by the refugee weavers through the Jhang centre for the supply of blankets and cloth since its inception exceed Rs. 5,000,000 in value, Government have

³⁶⁸ Hamid Iqbal1 Dr. Abdul Qadir Mushtaq, Cotton Processing and Spinning Industry in Pakistan: A Case Study of Lyallpur City *Lyallpur Historical & Cultural Research Journal*. June 2017, Vol. 3, No. 1 [27-46]p,31

³⁶⁹ A motion for an adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussion on a definite matter of urgent public importance may be made with the consent of the Speaker.

³⁷⁰ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 29 April 1952. Vol-I, p. 68.

sanctioned sufficient working capital for advance payment to the cottage workers against the supply of goods manufactured by them there is a proposal to convert this centre into a Training –cum-woolen industries Development Centre by the addition of a small woolen spinner and by holding regular training classes in wool spinning, weaving, dyeing and finishing . The Punjab Branch of the Pakistan manufacturing centre at Gujranwala. Carpet weaving industry has made good progress in the Punjab. There did not exist a single art-silk mill in the province at the time of partition. This, however, has not dimmed public enthusiasm to invest in the industry the total number of power looms installed so far has exceeded 1,500.

Engineering industries

There were 14 large-scale re-rolling mills in the Punjab on the eve of partition , some of which have since been renovated and their capacity increased. in addition, about half a dozen new steel mills have been set up in the province. a big steel rolling factory is in the process of installation at Lyallpur.

Iron and steel

The following schemes for the development of iron and steel industry are under consideration of the Central Government;-

Setting up of two steel furnaces with billet mills	50 Lakhs.
Setting up of two sheet rolling and wire drawing mills	50 Lakhs

On migration to Pakistan Wagener plant were purchased by the well-known Batala Engineering Company, which Pakistan acknowledged them as its share of Reparations of German War; the Company has prolonged its urbanized behavior to such an level that today it is considered as one of the top engineering company in the indo-Pakistan. In 1954 the company brought a 6-ton steel furnace. It has got in hand many schemes for the adding of more machinery the company is also planning to undertake the manufacture of railway wagons in Pakistan the province has maintained its reputation as the largest manufacturer of oil engineer, expellers, lathes, machine tools and machinery parts in the country.

Surgical instruments

As a result of the various measures adopted by government, the output of surgical instruments manufactured at Sialkot has risen to above Rs. 15 lakhs a year as against 7 lakhs at the time of partition. Measures have also been taken to encourage the use of indigenous surgical instruments in the public health institutions, the surgical instruments used in hospitals and other

government institution are now being repaired at the government metal industries Development Centre, Sialkot. In the case of cutlery industry a scheme for the establishment of a cutlery development centre for providing heat treatment and other technical assistance to cutlery manufacturers in the province prepared by industries department has recently been implemented, arrangements are also being made to provide necessary raw material to cutlery manufactures through co-operative organizations. It has been decided to provide electricity to the town of Wazirabad a famous centre of cutlery manufacture, for helping the industry.

Cycle Parts

Manufacture of cycle parts is a new industry which has by now established a foot-hold in the Punjab. At present nearly a dozen concerns are engaged in the manufacture of cycle spare parts on fairly large scale. The provincial government has prepared a scheme for setting up a factory for the manufacture of cycle parts, electric motors, which gears, transformers and textile machinery at a cost of Rs. 2 crores.

Swing Machines

Manufacture of sewing machines is another new line taken up after the partition. There are at present two medium sized concerns engaged in the manufacture of sewing machines on a fairly large scale. These machines are much cheaper than the important ones and noticeable improvement has recently been affected in their quality and workmanship,

The Punjab wool board has been constituted for conducting enquiries into the indigenous wool industry and making recommendations, for improving and co-ordination sheep breeding, sheep rearing, cussoring, sorting, grading, marketing and other aspects of this industry.

Electric Fans

The partial restrictions imposed on the import of electric fans after partition have resulted in the establishment of about a dozen concerns some fairly large engaged in the manufacture of electric fans. The government of Pakistan have recently granted protection to this industry which has contributed greatly towards its further development.

Tanning and Leather Goods Industries

About two dozen new tanneries have been established in the province through private enterprise. Schemes are under consideration of government for the establishment of two up to date tanneries with food wear factories attached to them as state owned enterprises at an

estimated cost of Rs. 2,800,000. The Punjab government has also established an institute of leather technology at Gujranwala.

Sports Goods Industry

The sports goods industry of Sialkot exported sports goods valued at over Rs. 4.8 million during 1952. The sterling area accounting for nearly 80 % of the exports in terms of value was the largest buyers. A representative of this industry was sent to Japan in 1951 for training in silk gut manufacture. The industries department has a scheme for the registration of sports goods exporters in order to ensure the supply of standard goods to foreign customers. The department has also made arrangements for the continued supply of essential raw materials to sports goods manufacturers.

Rehabilitation of Refugees:

The most gigantic of the problems which across for the Punjab from partition one which really threatened to destroy all organize life in this province was the problem of the vast numbers of uprooted Muslim refugees from India seeking resettlement here. First Ministry of Mamdot was not fully aware of the problem of the refugees it is estimated by this that there was not any minister of Refugees in first ministry of the Province. Most of the members of the cabinet took responsibility first time. So that old politicians and leaguers considered Mamdot Ministry as the team of “undergraduate children”³⁷¹ When Mamdot was asked why he was late to reset the seat of the refugees’ minister, then he replied that this was intentionally late. I first wanted to make member of the Eastern Punjab to member of the western Punjab. After that it may be better to decide because of any one of you may be a minister and better take care of refugees.³⁷²

After that Ministry of refugees was established Mian Iftikhar took oath as first Minister of refugees and he managed to settled 461000 the population of refugees only in one month in different district of the province.³⁷³ The two way traffic of refugees and evacuees. Which started across the dividing line be twin the two Punjab’s on the eve of partition and continued for months, was unprecedented in its volume in the history of the world. Approximately 55 lakhs of Muslim refugees came in the Punjab form territories part of India. The bulk of them came within

³⁷¹ Safdar Mahmood. *Muslim League ka dour-i-Haqomat 1947-54*. (Lahore: Sang-i-meel publisher, 1982p.278

³⁷² Punjab Legislative Assembly, 25, march 1948, p.346

³⁷³ Civil Military Gazette Lahore 9 October 1947

the first four months after partition.³⁷⁴ After Independence the first budget of the Punjab was of loss of Rs, 560 Million, out of these three crores and 27 lakh rupees were released for migrants in August 1947 to March 1948.³⁷⁵ Most refugees were shopkeepers, artisans, civil servants unskilled and labourers who took part in to expanding in dition a labour market that was previously inundated by local manpower.³⁷⁶ In 1948 Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation of Pakistan (PMRAR) Census said that Sikhs and Hindus expected 4.5 million had gone to India, and Muslims more than 5.5m had stimulated to the Punjab Pakistan.³⁷⁷ At the same time some 38 lakhs of non-Muslim migrated from this province to India. The influx of refugees was as sudden and overwhelming as to leave no time for the collection of facts and statistics for any kind of planed rehabilitation. Women politicians and Members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and higher middle-class people of the society of Lahore espacialy supported to put the program active for the integration, rehabilitation and settlement of unfortunate 'sisters'. "your country wants you to colaberats today as never before, Actually you are the genuine soldiers of State, Your dependent sisters look forward to your aid", in late September 1947 urged Begum Shah Nawaz".³⁷⁸ On the floor of the Assembly she once said "lets the Pakistani women proved that they are good Manager".³⁷⁹ In Assembly attitude of the bureaucracy was also discussed again and again which showed the attitude of bureaucracy towards this great mission "I am not blaming to any individual. I have the same opinion that it was the state of mind which has to be changed gradually, Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash from the house of the Punjab Assembly echoed same words".³⁸⁰ The first attempt of the authorities in the Punjab was therefore to disperse as many refugees as possible to those villages where land abandoned by Hindus and Sikhs was available.³⁸¹ To make sure the availability of improved facilitation to the riot incapacitated

³⁷⁴ Safdar Mahmood. *Muslim League ka dour-i-Haqomat 1947-54*.(Lahore: Sang-i-meel publisher,1982.)p.273-274

³⁷⁵ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates Voll.1st p.25

³⁷⁶ Out of the 1,583,600 self-declared non-cultivator migrants, 427,000 were businessmen, 407,500 labourers, 329,800 artisans and 260,300 public servants. See *Recent Developments in Refugee Rehabilitation and Resettlement in the Punjab*, 12th July 1951, NND 938750, NARA and *Department Air gram No. A-202*, 27th March 1951, NND 938750, NARA.

³⁷⁷ NDG, File no. B50, 20/CF/48, Appendix A, Pakistan Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, p. 9.

³⁷⁸ Pakistan Times (Lahore), 25th September 1947.

³⁷⁹ Pakistan Times (Lahore), 10 December 1947.

³⁸⁰ *Punjab Assembly Debates*, 10th March 1954, PCSL.

³⁸¹ Summery, Resettlement of refugees of land in Punjab, part. VIII

refugees the PLA enacted the West Punjab Social and Economic Rehabilitation Act of 1948.³⁸² The foremost aim of this Act was to authorize the provincial government to hire Assistant Rehabilitation Commissioners, Rehabilitation Commissioners and Deputy Commissioner.³⁸³ The Act also threw light on the duties and powers of the Rehabilitation Commissioners as securing the sufficient assimilation of the received refugees in the structure of the economic and to reconstruct the displacement in the province because to the migration of the business group of people, desertion of evacuee property and the relocation of workmen and tenants. Consisted of Rehabilitation Commissioners, provincial government was able to establish an Allocation Tribunal by this Act and to make new orders, put in all the powers or amendments in the existing ones. Another factor of the attention for provincial government was the overstated claims presented by the refugees regarding to their properties in the States of Alwar, East Punjab, East Punjab States, Bikaner, Delhi Province and Bharatpur. In order to make conform the registration of claims the through its Governor Mudie, on 11th September 1948 West Punjab Government enacted the West Punjab Refugee (Registration of Land Claims) Ordinance 1948.³⁸⁴ The Act explained categorically the true meaning of refugee' Registering Office' 'land', claim', 'landholder' regarding the registration of claims process. West Punjab Government was allowed to hire Assistant Settlement Officers and Settlement Officer. The Act defined the , important dates, registration of claims procedures and also explained the penalties in cases of fake entries.

Some 40 lakhs of Muslim refugees were thus hurriedly settled on land: each refugee family was given five to eight acres of irrigated or 121/2 acres of un irrigated land for temporary cultivation. About 15 lakhs stayed in towns and squeezed themselves into whatever accommodation was available. The total area of agricultural land owned by Hindus and Sikh in

³⁸² M.A.Hassan, ed., *Inter-Dominion Agreements*, ibid, pp. 57-61.

³⁸³ Ibid 64-66

³⁸⁴ M.A.Hassan, ed., *Inter-Dominion Agreements*, ibid, pp.64-66. The Resettlement Department (Land) notified the said Ordinance on 26th April 1949, under Notification No. 2469-R(L) through Secretary to Government, West Punjab, Resettlement & Colonies Department, see Hassan, *Inter- Dominion Agreements*, ibid, p.65. Copies were sent to all Settlement Officers and Extra-Assistant Settlement Officers; In-charge Settlement in West Punjab; Deputy Commissioners Gujrat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Attock; Colonization Officer Nili Bar Colony, Pakpattan; Thal Development Officer Mianwali; Extra-Assistant Colonization Officer, Haveli Project Multan; Rehabilitation Commissioner (General) Old Residency, Lahore; and Officer on Special Duty, Pakistan-West Punjab Refugee Council, Lahore by the orders of the Deputy Secretary Resettlement & Colonies.

the Punjab was about 66 lakhs of acres according to the figure collected for certain purpose before partition. These tallies with total of 66.6 lakhs acres subsequently reported by commissioners as evacuee agricultural land. Of these nearly 47 lakhs acres were recorded as cultivated but actually only 41 to 42 lakhs. “There were many numbers of cases as to press on officials first to timetable and then with a writ to serve hearings upon a notice of a week.”³⁸⁵ Mian Mumtaz M. Daultana the then CM of Punjab – exposed the “level of the headache of bureaucratic at the same time as introducing the annual 1953-4 Budget to the Punjab Assembly”.³⁸⁶ Detail of these number of refugees in West Punjab presented to the Assembly by parliamentary secretary Mian Abdul Haq

District	Place of camps	No of Refugees
Lahore	Shahdra	22,027
	Ravi Road Camp	16,000
	Kasur	26,000
	Walton	160,936
	Bowli	48,620
	Total.	2,73,583
Shiekhupura	Sialkot.	6,000
	Shiekhupura	4,952
	Muredke	3,298
	Chahr Kang	10,278
	Dhuban Singh	330
	Warburton	10,135
	Mianwali	1,402
	Nankana Shahb	3,615
	Shahdra	20,027
Total	60,037 ³⁸⁷	

³⁸⁵ *Punjab Gazette*, 29th September 1950, UPL.

³⁸⁶ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates.

³⁸⁷ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates. 27 Jan , 1948.P. 519

Figures were confounding 160, 93 objections checked and 11 *lakhs* of announced to be evaluated.³⁸⁸ Predictably, then, members of newly-restructured Punjab Assembly and former eastern members of the stressed Pakistani authorities into a resettlement of refugees district-wise and therefore vulnerable the latter's diffusion inside the area or their transfer to any province of Pakistan..

Meanwhile congestion in the refugee's camps in the refugee's camps was increasing day by day in spite of the speed at which Mohajreens were being increased into towns and villages. More and more refugee's camps had to be opened until their number all over the province rose to 75 by the end of January 1948. The daily population of these camps rose to well over a million before the camps. The department of Education played a conspicuous role. Many schools teachers were accessible for the purpose, who worked in the camps until the refugees and rehabilitation department, were competent to employ its own separate staff. The Education Department also offered to run refugees camps for minorities in East Punjab It was also discussed in the Assembly again and again that refugees camps for minorities on either side of the border should be the responsibility of the Government concerned. Following is a chart of Schools opened in different cities of the Punjab where children of refugees were getting Education.

r.no	City Name	Pop ulation	Refu gees	Sch ools for boys	Sch ools for girls	Tota l
	Lahore	1,89 5,071	749 000	4	7	11
	Sialkot	1,47 4,196	308 000	4	4	8
	Gujranwala	1,04 6,923	293 000	3	3	6
	Shiekhupur a	923, 081	301 000	4	1	5
	Daira Ghazi Khan	627, 529	390 00	5	2	7

³⁸⁸*Punjab Gazette*, 29th September 1950, UPL.

	Jungh	875 531	131 000	2	1	3
	Layalpur	215 2401	102 6000	2	4	2
	Montgmar y	181 5888	703 000	3	4	7
	Multan	2107241	703 000	4	2	2
	Muzafargh arr	751249	237 000	5	2	7
	Cambal Pur	723 452	260 00	6	2	8
	Gujrat	115 7742	133 000	2	4	2
	Jahlam	278 900	500 00	5	2	7
	Mianwali	549 049	480 00	3	1	4
	RawalPindi	874 971	106 000	2	2	4
	Shahpur	116 1387	193 00	7	3	10

Source: Punjab Legislative Assembly debates³⁸⁹

The last batches of the refugees' population were cleared from the camps by October 1948. this did not mean the end of the problem. Nor did it means that the last refugees had been rehabilitated in suitable and full time employment. It did means however that the bulk of the refugees had been put on their feet economically and had become earning and self supporting members of the new state. It also means that the vacuum which had been occurred in the life of the province owing to the migration of the Hindu and Sikh population had been filled to large extent. Under the guidance of Pakistan Punjab Joint Refugees Council a scheme had been

³⁸⁹ Detail Punjab Legislative Assembly debates.p.459

worked out for the implementation of the formula. According to this scheme those refugees who had ownership of occupancy rights in East Punjab and certain other prescribed areas. In India would get land of equal produce value out of evacuee lands up to 250 acres, with a cut of 50 percent in their claims above this limit and a maximum of 450 acres. For instance in Lahore in 1952, the Garden Allotment Committee was, heading for to rearrange flower and vegetable path “to *chaks and* villages other than those under the Rehabilitation Settlement Scheme where they have applied for share of land”³⁹⁰ The Government recognized fully the severe level of the issue. On 24 October 1948 Pakistan Punjab Refugees Council took vital measures to trounce the problems bearing the industries of the province. Under the Council five committees were established. These included the General Economic Committee to control the general resettlement of the financial existence of the province, the Industries Committee to make arrangement for new industries, and the public work committee was formed so that option of utilizing refugee labor for public welfare can be explored.

Health Reforms

Starting with a skeleton staff of doctors who made history by saving the Punjab from cholera and smallpox during the fateful autumn of 1947 and nursing thousands of sick and wounded refugees back to life, the province has rapidly reconstructed an efficient organization of Health Services and laid sure foundations for future expansion.

The migration of Hindu and Sikh doctors (forming about three-fourths of the total before Partition) left all hospitals in the province under staffed and quite a large number with no staff whatsoever. Some of the private hospitals were also stripped of all equipment and left in the form of bare walls Lahore had a very good medical college, one of the best in the indo-Pakistan sub-continent; but its work was also thoroughly upset. It was not therefore, only the problem of the present, but also of the future that had to be solved.

Both were taken in hand simultaneously, the available medical talent being suitably reshuffled between the essential jobs of teaching and clinical work. The old Medical College was put on a sound footing and another College for the training of women doctors was started in Lahore in October, 1948. The new College, known as the Fatima Jinnah Medical College for women, has now 87 girls under training in the first and second year classes, within a few years it

³⁹⁰*Memorandum No. 5371-R (L)*, 23rd April 1952, PCSL.

will be admitting about 100 women candidate every year. Meanwhile, the king Edward Medical College, as the old college is known, has already produced over 300 medical graduates since partition and its classes are now crowded to full capacity. Post graduate courses for training in medical Radiology and Tuberculosis diseases have been started in this college. For post graduate training in preventive health work, which was not available in Pakistan, an institute of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine was started in Lahore in 1949. the Punjab de-Montmorency College of Dentistry in Lahore, the only institution of its kind in Pakistan, which immediately after partition had only a solitary part time Muslims Dental Surgeon to run it, has now a proper complement of staff and is functioning with pre-Partition efficiency. The need of securing advanced training overseas for selected doctors from the Punjab has not been overlooked. Eleven doctors who have completed their studies abroad have returned to the province since partition. Another 10 are now studying there and ore are being selected to follow them.

The old prejudices of Muslim women against the profession of nursing broke down under the stress of a national emergency after partition. Previously no Muslim woman (with one solitary exception) had ever sought training as a nurse in this province. Since then, however, more candidates are applying for training than can be accommodated and it has been possible to secure amount they would be trainees a higher standard of qualifications than was insisted upon before partition. Candidates from the Punjab have also gone to U.K and Australia for advanced training in nursing. Arrangements for the training of mid-wives, dispensers and nurse-dais, all necessary parts of a properly functioning system of health services, have been reorganized and are being expanded.

As regards immediate arrangement of medical relief, rapid reorganization has been carried out according to a plan. The premier general-purpose hospital of the Punjab, the Mayo Hospital, which is attached to the King Edward Medical College , and the other big and modern hospitals of provincial importance that were functioning in Lahore before partition have all been restored to normal efficiency. These include the lady Willington Hospital, the Lady Aitcheson Hospital, the Sire Ganga Ram Hospital (now attached to the Fatima Jinnah Medical College for Women), the Janki Devi-Jamiat Sing Maternity Hospital, the Gulab Devi Tuberculosis Hospital, the Punjab Dental Hospital (attached to the DE Montmorency college of Dentistry) and the Punjab Mental Hospital. The last mentioned has recently made a name for itself for a new type of treatment through an operation called prefrontal lobotomy. This extremely delicate and intricate

operation, learnt in USA by a surgeon of the Mayo Hospital of Lahore, has been performed on scores of mental patients with very encouraging results. The Lady Aitcheson Hospital is a purdah institution with an accommodation of 100 beds. The Lady Willington Hospital for the treatment of women's diseases is not a purdah institution. The treatment there is mostly by men doctors. Because of this, the hospital was not very popular with Muslim women before partition, despite its highly specialized arrangements which are said to be the best in the indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The prejudice against it has, however, disappeared since partition. For instance, in 1948 a total number of 8,365 patients were treated in this hospital, of which 8,024 were Muslims. In 1947, the total number of patients treated was only 3,078 of whom only 1,662 were Muslims.³⁹¹

Labour Reforms

To meet the needs efficiently and in anticipation of the future needs, the Punjab Government set up a separate Labor Department in April 1952. The Government was concerned with

- Conciliation of industrial dispute
- Enforcement of labour laws
- Collection of various statistical and trade intelligence
- Inspection of factories, shops, weights and measures.
- Promotion of the general welfare in various spheres of labour administration.

Punjab legislative Assembly in September constituted a Board, with the object of advising the Assembly's Generally on labour problems with particular emphasis on labour welfare, labour legislation and the establishment of healthy industrial Relations between the Employees and employers. Among the progressive measures adopted by The Legislative assembly were promulgated of rules for the compulsory establishment of canteen for workers in all industrial concerns employing more than 250 workers and establishment of labour welfare centres in different industrial area of the province.

Trade Unions

The right of association by the workers and forming trade unions is the keynote labour organization and Assembly encourages the formation and functioning of healthy trade unions. A

³⁹¹ Punjab A Review of the First seven years The Director, public Relations, Punjab 1953.p.75-77

increase in the membership and number and of trade unions as noticeable as a result of that policy Figure collected for the first five years bear this down out as shown below

Year	No of Unions	Membership
1948-49	72	100,802
1949-50	88	117,568
1950-51	109	126,599
1951-52	123	267,903
1951-53	128	271,930 ³⁹²

Education

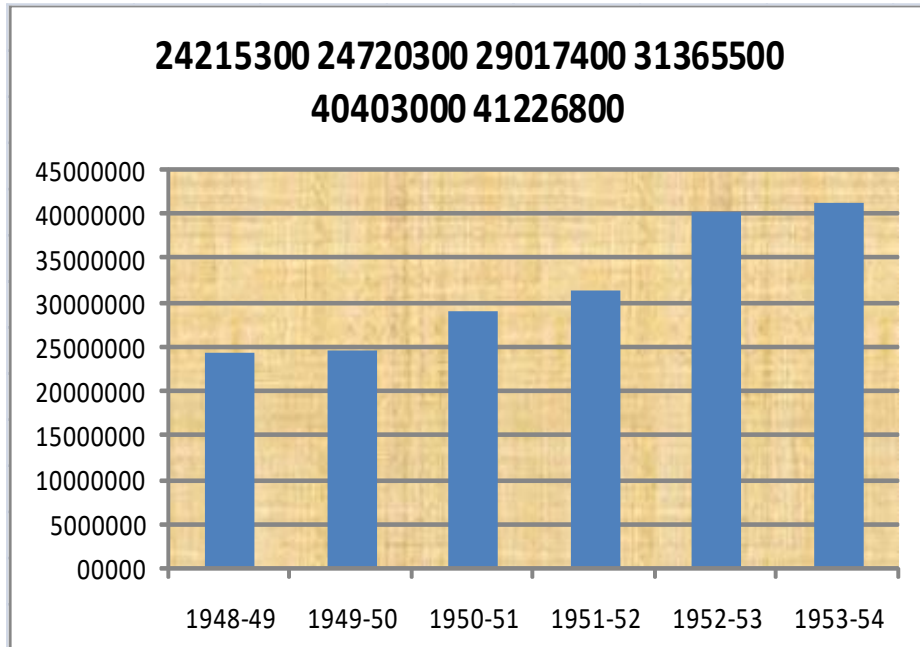
Before Partition n the Budget of the Education department during the year 1946-1947,³⁹³ for 29 districts of the undivided Punjab was a little less than 260 lacs. But in the period under study figure had risen of 412 lacs for the 16 districts of the Punjab. The amount to nearly one fifth of total revenues of the province. Punjab legislative assembly undertook a scheme for the expansion of vernacular education and during 1949-54 1,800 new primary school was opened and 200 lower middle schools were raised to the middle standard. Their enrolment stands at 577,472 and 92,386 respectively. Assembly intends to continue this programe of expansion at the rate of 300 primary school every year. Punjab Legislative assembly was considering ways and means of financing an accelerated program of expansion. It was decided in assembly that with effect from April 1, 1953 fees which were being levied in those areas where compulsion had been enforced have been abolished and primary education was free throughout the province.³⁹⁴ During first eight years, considerable improvement had been effected in re orientating educational policy to meet the requirement of the state. Despite the inherit limitation of accommodation, equipment and teaching staff, serious efforts have been made to improve the condition of secondary education. Punjab legislative assembly took special steps to attract talented young men in higher studies. Stipend had been awarded liberally to students seeking admission in training institutions. Assembly had provided an additional sum of 10 lakhs in

³⁹² *The Punjab A review The First six years*, The Director Public relation Punjab, 1953. P. 19

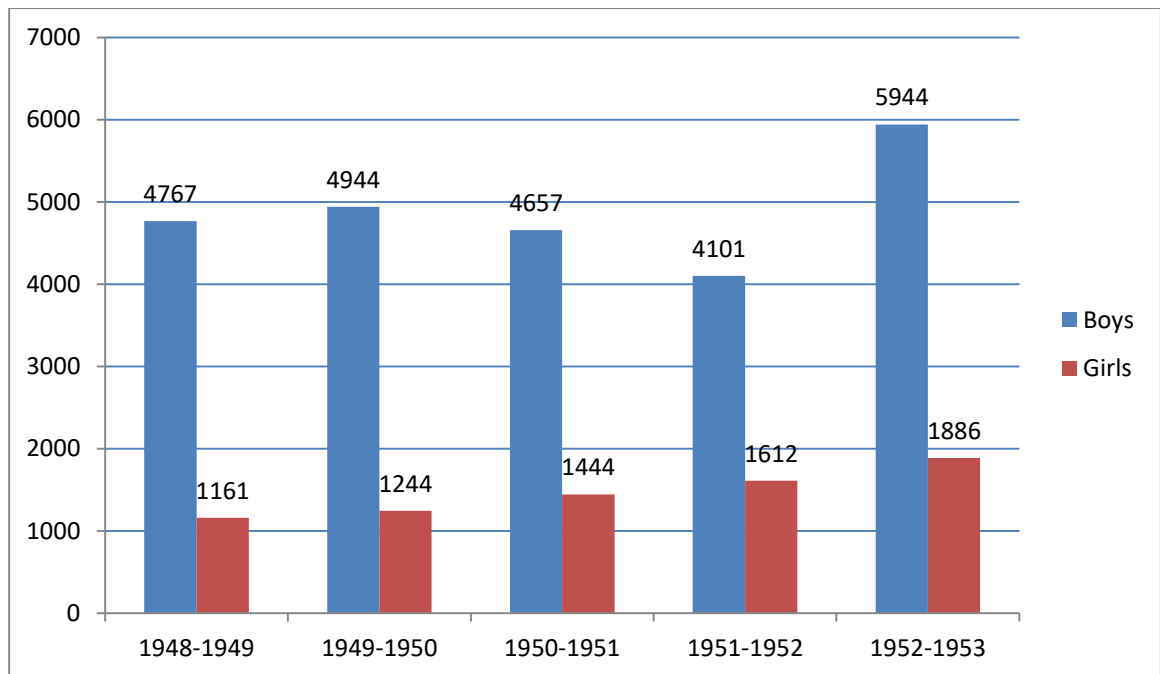
³⁹³ The Punjab Assembly Debates. 17 December 1951

³⁹⁴ The Punjab Assembly Debates. Vol VI P. 53

financial year of 1953-1954.³⁹⁵ Out of an amount of 2, 50,00,000 allocated by the central Government to the Punjab education department for the social uplift programme.



The Punjab A review The First six years, The Director Public relation Punjab, 1953. P. 19



The Punjab A review The First six years, The Director Public relation Punjab, 1953. P. 20

³⁹⁵ The Punjab Assembly Debates. Vol VI P. 54-57

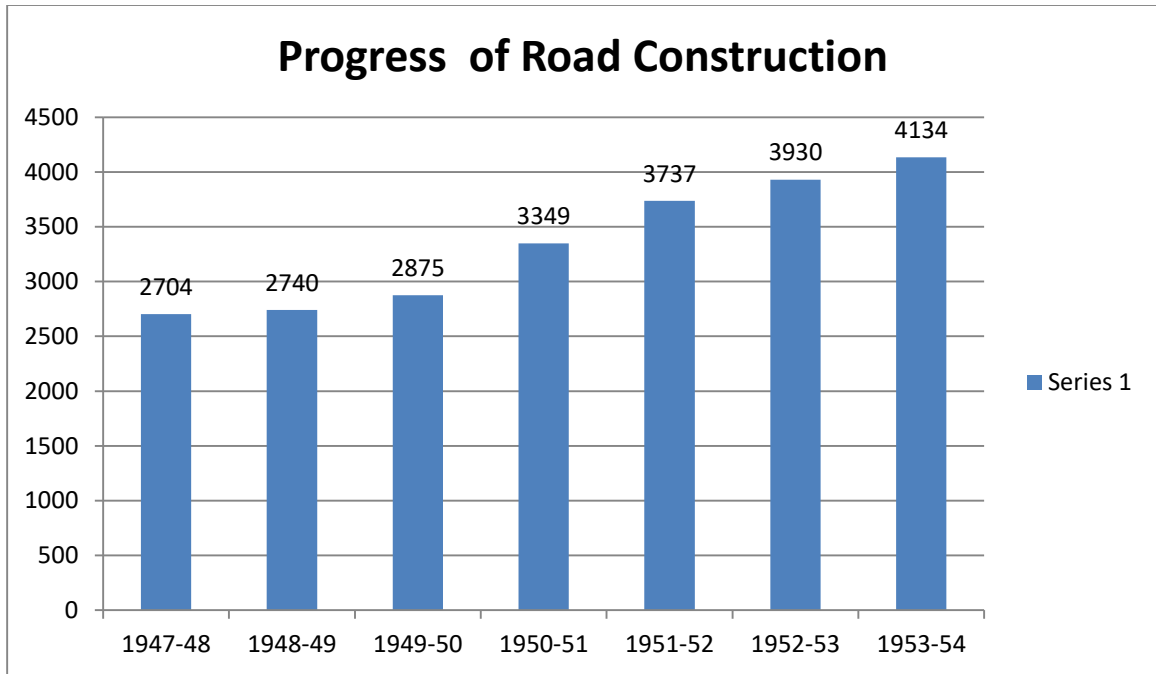
Building Roads and Transport

Punjab has been justly proud of its network of good and modern roads and more proud for its very achievement in road building. It inherited 2,675 miles of metaled roads at the time of partition an enviable asset giving the Punjab a distinctive position in the sub- continent. The province has thus achieved in this short period nearly 33 percent of what was completed in a century of British rule. The Building and Roads branches also shoulder the responsibility for constructional work in connection with entire programme of social uplift that has been chalked out for the province, building of schools, collages hospitals, Governments financed factories and satellite towns. The magnitude of the building programe can be judged from the fact that from Rs. 75 lakhs in 1952-53 the expenditure on building construction has risen to Rs. 31/2 crors in 1953-54. During the year 1953-54 The Punjab added 204 miles to its metalled.³⁹⁶ The magnitude of the building programme can be judged from the fact that from 75 lakhs in 1952-53 the expenditure on building constructions has risen to Rs. 31/2 crores in 1953-54.³⁹⁷ The Punjab Board transport has been constituted by the Government under the Motor vehicle (Amendments) Act, 1951. It was decided that if any dispute arisen between central and provincial Government in respect of any matter concerning fares and freights, no settlement is arrived by negotiation. Dispute shall be referred to the arbitration of chief justice of the Federal court.³⁹⁸ The operation of road transport has been a fruitful source of revenue for the province as with an approximate capital expenditure of Rs. 1 crore 93 lakhs the income has announces to more than Rs. 1 crore 40 lakhs up to the end of 1953-95.

³⁹⁶ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debate. Vol.X.1955, 10. March 1955.p.180

³⁹⁷ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debate. Budget Session. 1954. P. 177

³⁹⁸ The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary Registered No. S. 1033. 1955.P.203



The *Punjab A review The First six years*, The Director Public relation Punjab, 1954. P. 44

Evacuee Property

First come first served methodology was adopted for allocation of evacuee properties and many other Governmental projects was basically biased against the ultimate indication and protection of any dominance, let alone refugees' probability of taking benefit from the unusual advantage of a political structure already that had elongated featured support associations. Officially, evacuee property permanently could not be allotted unless between India and Pakistan issues concerning was addressed. Both of the countries adopted a method by appointing the custodians established the office for the Custodians of Property of Refugees to preserve and protect the displaced persons,s properties on 29 August 1947. On 23 September 1947 by the West Punjab government the Act was issued "Administration of Evacuee Property Act". This was followed by the "West Punjab Protection of Evacuee Property Ordinance" which defined 'Evacuee Property' as: property of any kind in West Punjab, owing to the turmoil, the owner in person cannot take delivery or manage, or inhabit from the place of leave, or in the case of a conglomerate property which forms the possessions of any undertaking or business which has ceased partially or wholly to activate due to the said turbulence.³⁹⁹ Whereas notification the legal title to the possessions 'evacuees', published in the Punjab Gazette by the West Punjab

³⁹⁹ The West Punjab Protection of Evacuee Property Ordinance (VII of 1947), in All Pakistan Legal Decisions , XII Lahore, 1960

government. The establishment being at the expense of the state wished to utilize evacuee also did not wish too long to lapse because had 'illegally' engaged vacant properties. Punjab, refugees were given temporary property. This was of 12 acres per family with respect to land. By the end of 1950, 90 per cent refugees'based on agricultur had one way or another settled in the urban areas.⁴⁰⁰ It was not conference of the representatives of Karachi drew up policy for the records of exchange properties. The proprietary right by transaction or any other way was accord, 'Special Jamabandi' "between the two parts revenue were exchanged the government had the ability to 'eliminate the tenants, who had grabbed a share of property in the hurry of allotment and who left no pieceof land in India".⁴⁰¹

Issue of evacuee property was discussed again and again in sessions of Punjab legislative Punjab Assembly by many members. During speech of Mian Mohammad Noor Ullah line he avowed that: "Sikh properties and agricultural land is illegally accupied by many influential local zaminda in Lyallpur, which was discarded by a Sikh Sardar last year".⁴⁰² In a study on Pakistan, Farzana Shaikh comments on "moral economy of corruption may be termed and shows how the anti-democratic dishonesty subjugated discourse set early in Pakistan. This was politicized and selective in its targets, as are accountability discourses later."⁴⁰³ corruption scandals against the leadership of provincial government were uncovered by provincial oponents mostly not absolutely Centre- intended for. The leaders involved in general scale of corruption would have established it hard to turn down them, yet in the doubtful situation of being spotlessly sincere. Most treacherously of all, the whole privileged class was gradually more seen as corrupt and dishonest. Such remarks given by one parliamentarian unintentionally increase the strong power of the the bureaucracy and the military. Mohammad Afzal Cheema spectacularly on 10 March 1954 stated on the floor of the House: "Another section of inconsistency has opened up in the case of in the allotment of refugee rehabilitationand urban evacuee property. This misconduct could not be checked by the Government. Many respected members of the house were misusing settlement of the evacuee property after partition, they used to occupy t he bungalows andbig houses of Sikhs, and they are socsidering this accupancy as a gift for them.. . . Mr. Speaker . . .

⁴⁰⁰ The Governor General Reports on Refugees and rehabilitation File.803, 1949.p. 2 (National Archives Islamabad).

⁴⁰¹ NDC, File no. 50B, 20/CF/49, Pakistan Ministry of refugees and rehabilitation 1949, p. 8.

⁴⁰² Proceedings of the Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates (PPLAD), 6 January 1948, File no. D- 50 (4)

⁴⁰³ F. Shaikh , Making Sense of Pakistan. London: C.Hurst.2009.pp.132-140

Without disclosing part of this house, I can notify this about many seasoned members of this assembly because of the illegal activity of need to take on city way of life as they have. For them this is the only purpose of the establishment of Pakistan but also the management of resettlement issue. He then political exigencies obstructed accountability and of influential dishonest politicians. 'Our habitation is that due to its political that there is still need to be traced out from the people living in hundreds of houses and who had illegally settled there. He completed his speech by asking for that the embezzlement in the handling of settlement of evacuee property should be checked.'⁴⁰⁴ Cheema was not alone in revealing the adjacent the evacuee property. Cheema on 10 March 1954 in Punjab Legislative Assembly revealed that "M. Speaker without mentioning the name of the respected Assembly members, whereas I just request to house to do their duties with honesty and integrity."⁴⁰⁵

In the Assembly rival of the League members were extremely critical about settlement and handling of refugees. C. E. Gibbon, a Christian Assembly Member, was remained honest in his condemnation. During 1954 about ruling Punjab Muslim League leaders, Gibbon suspected that when the refugees claiming of their evacuee property, how some politicians he claimed were "taking the refugee rehabilitation and settlement for their benefit in their power politics. Every refugee was a vote for the ML. I am not prepared to vote for you, then up comes the with a big notice that under rule so and so, please 7 days - There are the very people who are playing start to finish ... and they are making the refugees that the ML may remain part of power; votes by voting them or bogus allotment and so on."⁴⁰⁶ Gibbon in addition mentioned that many League leaders not only deliberately doing bogus allotments of their supporters but delayed conditionally refugee urban mandatory settlement, mostly in order to their electoral constituencies. He exposed in his speech, the increasing problems between the province and Centers regarding the subject of refugees of settlement. in a straight line Punjab Refugee Ministry, Gibbon transfer your responsibility the responsibility to you and from start to finish'.⁴⁰⁷ In the mid of 1949, the government begin the 'second part of settlement on urban systematic ranks and in the different districts orderd the urban rehabilitation officers to deal with abuses of entitlement relocation 'for the advantage of more justified and justified refugees'. "It intended to verify allotment on

⁴⁰⁴ PPLAD, 10 March 1954, File no. D- 50 (4), p. 022-24, PSA.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid,p. 923

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.p.924

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.p.925

permanent basis barely to 'the existing allottees if their ownership had not been annihilated by unjustified, malpractice, fraud or multiple allotments'.⁴⁰⁸ Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation in a survey by late 1949 exposed over 12,000 shops and 12,400 houses, in the West Punjab urban areas, to be in the illegitimate work of unjustifiable inhabitants.⁴⁰⁹ As the documentation of the West Punjab land settlement plan confess the most awful abuses concerned the 'Land Settlement Scheme', flood of refugees distorted the structure to develop themselves by registering 'bogus' exaggerated, 'multiple' or dual claims. The report explained that: "bogus claims of the displaced persons were brought to the notice of the authorities for claims as they had very little land as they either claim or did not possess any land in East Punjab. There were a big number of bogus claims who were not claiming genuinely as they had and they submitted false affidavit to prove their claims."⁴¹⁰ Fazal Ilahi Paracha Minister of refugees and Rehabilitation shared the detail of evacuee property with the members of PLA.

Serial #.	District	"A"	"B"	"B"	"C"	"D"
		Total acreage of cultivable land left by the evacuees in each district of the provinces	Total acreage of land allotted to Muslim refugees in each district.	total acreage allotted under the Rehabilitation Settlement Scheme up to 15th November 1952.	Total acreage of land allotted to Muslim espies and atharies in each district.	Total acreage of land allotted to Christian sepies and atharies in each district.
			Urban			
	Lahore	61,0782	Rural 18,162 5,03,557	Ru only 3,27,400	4 151	13, 826
	Sialkot	5,2	5,775	1,2	3	4,1

⁴⁰⁸ NDC, File No 50B, 20/CF/49, Pakistan Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, pp. 18A-18

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 18B

⁴¹⁰ PSA, Land Settlement, January to June 1955, E 33, Part XIV, p. 2.

		0,988	3,98,154	7,735	,082	28
	Gujranwala	3,9 9,379	3,296 334,971	1,0 8,517	3 ,400	6,7 91
	Sheikhupur	4,3 7,890	2,384 3,98,148	1,6 1,871	5 ,108	5,4 20
	Gujrat	1,3 0,796	1,006 85,331	26, 602	2 4	14
	Shahpur	1,1 3,952	5,772 1,24,721	86, 971	N il	Nil
	Jehlum	32, 257	964 34,580	8,7 52	N il	Nil
	Rawalpindi	36, 866	683 16,391	3,6 92	6 ,709	Nil
	Attock	42, 608	1,339 14,335	81 4	N il	Nil
0	Mianwali	52, 688	319 62,247	20, 305	N il	Nil
1	Montgomer y	4,2 9,346	3,914 6,06,527	2,8 9,490	1 37	773
2	Lyallpur	5,6 3,401	726 5,90,313	2,8 1,432	N il	1,5 15
3	Jhang	1,0 4,499	5,881 64,587	44, 755	2 68	Nil
4	Multan	4,2 6,275	3,124 4,91,144	1,9 1,819	7 8	27
5	Muzaffarga rh	2,0 9,879	2,417 1,32,492	55, 452	N il	Nil
6	DeraGhazi Khan	1,4 7,724	862 76,617	28, 106	N il	Nil
7	NilaBar,Pa kputan	2,4 5,454	439 1,60,879	2,0 4,935	1 62	2
8	Haveli Project	77, 813	551 67,411	67, 508	N il	Nil

9	Thal Project	1,0 5,311	85 1,20,607	69, 003	Nil	Nil
	Total	46, 87,908	57,699 42,83,012	21, 05,159	2 3,199	32, 496

Source: Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates 1952

The recuperation of the litany of false claims was one matter; however, allotments, looted goods, evacuee properties, and illegal occupations were altogether Corruption, widespread bribes had become to large scale scandals. The legislation planned solution of the problems, namely the 1947 Prevention of Corruption to be enforced through the creation Establishment. This was grist to the dialogue but tackled only cases in reality. Periodically, on January 1955 the Government who had did allotments, for example, the note of West press stating about 1 June of that surrender voluntarily the 'illegal transactions' to do so would be dealt with by 'strict and deadlines were hardly ever observed, the hold of the property the officials charged with influenced by them. There were various prosecutions under Act 1947. By October 1953, over 5,000 only a fraction actually resulted punishment.⁴¹¹ There was a thus fraudulent practice. In the 1955, according to an assessment symptom of Pakistan public life was demoralization of the common person than corruption.

Legal Reforms

In pursuance of its efforts to tone up the crumbling administration of the province, to ensure justice and fair play to the common man and to weed out corruption from every walk of life, Punjab legislative Assembly has taken some revolutionary steps in the direction of legal reforms in the province. Following are some of the measures taken in this behalf:

The dispensation of justice has been freed from effective interference by the Executive. By deciding upon the separation of the judiciary from the Executive Government have not only concerned and old public demand but also given a lead to the other province of Pakistan. Under the scheme the magistracy has been divided into two categories

The Judicial Magistrate, who try cases and conducts proceedings of judicial or quasi-judicial nature.

The Executive Magistrates, who deal with the proceeding of purely executive nature.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.P.3

The District Magistrate was accountable for the maintenance of the Law and order only and does not hear appeal from the order of the judicial Magistrates nor does he write their confidential reports. In order to make justice cheaper for the litigant rural populations which have too had to incur heavy expenses on visit to district headquarter 30 lawyers were recruited for appointment as resident Magistrate in every Tehsil of the Province.

A bill for the amendment of Goondas Act⁴¹² was introduced in the Budget session of 1954 proposing the elimination of the representatives of the police from district tribunals which declare Goondas and impose restrictions on their movements.⁴¹³ This has been circulated for eliciting public opinion at the suggestion of the opposition. In order to guard against mala fida detention and undue curtailment of civil liberty a bill was introduced to amend the Punjab public safety Act 1949⁴¹⁴ to give detents the right of representation to the Chief justice of Lahore High Court against the order of detention. In order to eradicate the habit of Opium smoking in the Punjab, Punjab Assembly passed Opium smoking Act 1953.⁴¹⁵ Under that Act opium smoking in any form or shape has become offence. Assembly was equally alive to the bad effects of opium eating and was enforcing its gradual prohibition by reducing its quota for retail sale from year to year despite substantial loss to the provincial revenues. As against 11.678 seers in 1948-49 only 7,074 seers were released for retail sale in the year 1953-54. Vital Amendments have been made by the Punjab legislative Assembly in Punjab Entertainment⁴¹⁶ Duty Act to check evasions of entertainment duty and to streamline its administration. Formally exemptions from that tax could be granted if the proceeds were intended to be developed to philanthropic, educational, scientific or charitable purposes.

Agriculture

Punjab legislative Assembly took adequate steps for the development of Agricultural schemes. Agriculture provides the main occupation to the people of Punjab About 80 percent of the population consists of peasants. Of the total 37 million acres over 20 million acres in the province consist of cultivated land. The province of the Punjab has been except for the last two

⁴¹²The Act was passed by Punjab Assembly on 22 December 1952 and assented to the Governor of the Punjab by March 1953, Published in the Punjab Gazette(Extraordinary),dated 20th March 1953.

⁴¹³ The Punjab legislative Assembly session. Vol. IX

⁴¹⁴ The Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary) 13 August 1949.

⁴¹⁵ Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary)5th June 1950.P. 109-112

⁴¹⁶ Punjab legislative Assembly passed it on 29 January 1952 assented to by the Governor of the Punjab 29th January 1952 Published in the gazette (Extraordinary) 5th February 1952.P.99

years primarily responsible for the country's self-sufficiency in food and also for providing raw material for the growing industries in Pakistan. material.

There was long discussion on export of the wheat to America, Canada and Australia in Legislative assembly. There was critical period in 1954 so wheat was not export to other countries. Punjab Government launched Grow More scheme which was intended to guard against the possibility of a recurrence of food shortage in the province. Short term schemes were introduced to increase the production of food.⁴¹⁷ These scheme the cost of which was being shared equally by the central and provincial Governments. Tube well scheme, the new reclamation schemes were introduced. Crown land was lying barren and unused given on lease to cultivators in blocks. In the press Note dated 5th November 1954, The Punjab declared that the refugees allotted landlord would now use the same privileges as enjoyed by the local owners in this behalf. ⁴¹⁸ It was all governed by Provincial Tenancy Act.⁴¹⁹ Three important irrigation links Bombanwala Ravi Bedian link, Balloke Sule manke links, Marala Ravi links ware completed in 1955.⁴²⁰ Zamindar who bring in area under food crop in excess of the area put under these crop last year have been rendered free from the imbursement of land revenue and water rate in respect of their extra effort. Similarly Zimindar who brought banjar land under cultivation for growing food crops in 1953 exluded from the fee of land revenue and water rate. As a result of these measures about 66,000 acres of virgin land were brought under cultivation during 1953-54.The total irrigation of Punjab canal during Kharif 1953 rose to 7,51,629 acres against during Kharif 1952, while that for Rabi 1953-54 rose to 6,186, 145 acres against 5, 584,778 acres in Rabi 1952-53.

The following table will show the comparative increase in area under Kharif and Rabi crops during the period under review.

Name of the crop	Acreage during Kharif 1952 Rabi 1952-53	Acreage during Kharif 1953 Rabi 1953-54	Increase	Percentage
	Acres	Acres	Acres	

⁴¹⁷ Pakistan Times 14 July 1951

⁴¹⁸ Summery Resettlement of Refugees on land VII. Punjab 1955. P. 28

⁴¹⁹ Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary) 13 June 1950

⁴²⁰ Punjab Legislative Assembly debates.vol. x. P. 179

Jawar and	1,188,707	1,220,138	31,431	2.7
Chari	348,506	409,276	60,771	17.5
Maize	687,599	812,194	124,595	18.1
Rice	3,349,434	3,743,733	394,299	11.77
Wheat	275,485	361,036	85,551	31.1
Gram	1,161,333	1,344,109	182,776	16.0
Miscellaneous				

Source: The Punjab A Review of the First seven years 1954. P. 24

Punjab Legislative Assembly passed Punjab conservation of useful cattle Act in 1952.⁴²¹ In the Assembly Punjab conservation (Restricted on exports) of cattle Bill.⁴²² Designed to prohibit the export of cattle from Punjab to other provincial units of Pakistan aiming at maintaining an adequate supply of milch cattle and those required for the purpose of agriculture. A scheme for the appointment of disease investigation officers to survey the entire province for recording the incidence of various contagious and infection disease for poultry, parasitic, bacteriological disease, virus disease and nutritional disease has been taken up. Another Act was passed by the Assembly The Punjab conservation (Restricted on slaughter of useful Animal(Amendments) Act, 1954⁴²³ A ordinance for establishing a milk control Board of the province with special reference to Lahore city.

In order to ensure proper success for the efforts to check the menace of Sem and Thur a special legislation under the name of Punjab soil reclamation Act⁴²⁴ has been enacted. As a consequence of this act a soil reclamation Board with the authority to carry on the work has been created by the Government. It was hoped that wide power delegated to the Board to coordinate and enforce policies for the better application of reclamation principles would result in a salutary effect on the Punjab .s agriculture in the non-distant future.

⁴²¹ Act was passed by Punjab Legislative Assembly on 19 December 1952; Published in the Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary) February, 1952.

⁴²² Punjab Assembly passed on 1953, Published in Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary) 24 January, 1954.

⁴²³ Punjab Assembly passed on 27 October 1954, Published in Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary) 10 January, 1955.

⁴²⁴ The Punjab A review The First six years, The Director Public relation Punjab, 1953 P. 19

Effort to increase the production of food grain in the Punjab depends to immense level on the ability of the irrigation Branch to provide more water. A committee was formed by Daultana to visit all areas of the province and tried to inform all factors of the scheme “growing more Food” to the general public.⁴²⁵ Water for the irrigation of crops is the biggest problem that Punjab has to face. One way of meeting this problem to go in for percolation and tube wells. The department since 1950 had bored 1,127 percolations wells as against 277 in 1947-1948, and 100 tube wells in the 1949 against 29 sunk in 1949.

Hydro Electric Project

Punjab faced shortage of electricity in its early years but after some years Punjab was succeeded in increasing its output of electrical power from 10,000 kilowatts of partition to nearly 40,000 kilowatts. The Punjab Electricity (Emergency powers) Act, 1947⁴²⁶ was passed by Punjab legislative Assembly. Punjab has to prepare definite plans for progress. The Punjab electricity (emergency power) (control of supply) Act, passed by the Punjab legislative Assembly in 1949. The most important source of supply which was in prospects was proposed Hydrel power station at Mianwali.⁴²⁷ First part of the programme was completed practically all the electricity undertakings in the province have been completely renovated and new sets generating over 7,500 K.W added to the Power houses. Punjab in 1955 was in position to yield a supply of about 10,000 K.W instead of their supplies of less than 2,000 kilowatts before partition. The amount put of the Shahdra has also been increased by 2, 500 kilowatts by the installation of a new boiler.

Mirror of the Budgets:

Once conditions in the province had stabilized, its recovery from the effects of the economic upheaval was remarkably rapid. This is best indicated by a study of its budgets, which are generally regarded as a sure barometer of the economic wellbeing of a state, the dark period of months after Partition (August 15th 1947 to March 31, 1948) burdened the provincial Exchequer with a deficit of Rs. 536 lakhs. The estimates for the subsequent complete financial year (April, 1948 to March, 1949) showed a deficit of Rs. 290 lakhs. For the year 1949-50 an attempt was made to end the series of deficits and fresh taxation was imposed to the extent of Rs.

⁴²⁵ Pakistan Times 14 July 1951.

⁴²⁷ West Pakistan Legislative Assembly Debate. Vol.X .p.179

264 lakhs. By means of this the budget was just balanced, showing a nominal surplus of Rs. 9 lakhs. This was a year of notable administrative changes in the province. In January 1949, the provincial Legislature which had become an arena of strife and wrangling between two almost equal groups, one supporting the ministry and the other opposing it, was dissolved by the Central Government, the Ministry and the other opposing it, was dissolved by the Central Government.⁴²⁸ The Ministry was dismissed and the then governor, Sir Francis Mudie, was authorized under Section 92-A of the Pakistan constitution Act, to take over the administration. The budget for 1949-50 was framed by him. Soon, however, there arose in the province bitter and voluminous political controversies, leading to the resignation of his office by Governor.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸ West Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), Notification No.G-1(3), dated 25 January 1949, p.15.

⁴²⁹ In reply to Liaquat's letter dated 22nd June 1949, Governor Mudie tendered his resignation from Murree on 24th June 1949. In his telegram he stated:

I am afraid that your scheme is one which I could not possibly hope to work with success.

In spite therefore of the last sentence of your telegram I regret I must hereby tender my

resignation of my post as Governor of the West Punjab and ask you to forward it to proper authority for acceptance. Liaquat was not expecting a resignation from Mudie so he sent a telegram on 25th June 1949 with just a sentence that "your telegram of 24th June, please await my letter". Then on 28th of June Liaquat wrote to Mudie and tried to explain to him the motives and necessity for the appointment of advisors to the governor. He stated that he had met with the President and other prominent members of the Punjab Muslim League and was assured that they meant to help and not to create problems. He further stated that final selection of the advisors rested with the Prime Minister and as he had assured the governor before that he would not agree to any advisor without consulting with the governor. He wrote: I feel confident that we should be able to find five good men who would serve Pakistan faithfully and honestly and who would co-operate with you in the discharge of your duties and I am sure that you would unhesitatingly place your great experience at the disposal of the Advisors....personally I am very hopeful of the success of the scheme and I must really urge you to stay on and at least give it a trial. Mudie responded by writing a private letter No. 51-P.S. to Liaquat on 2nd July 1949 and reaffirmed his decision to resign from his post. He wrote to the Prime minister that the President of the Punjab Muslim League Abdul Bari had no intension to cooperate with him and was responsible for an agitated campaign against him. Mudie also accused Mamdot for his media trial through his news paper the *Nawa-i-Waqt* specially their personal attacks on Mudie's niece Miss McQueen for her role in the Red Cross Fund. He asked Liaquat to make the scheme workable with a new governor of west Punjab who was acceptable to the Punjabi Muslim Leaguers and finally asked to forward his resignation for acceptance. Further correspondence between the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and Sir Francis Mudie can be seen in File No. 2 (5)-PMS/49, *ibid*, pp. 243-262; for Mudie's resignation please see "Resignation of Sir Francis Mudie" in File No. 2(6)-PMS/49, Prime Minister's Secretariat, indexed on 9th February 1950, Government of Pakistan, National Documentation Wing (NDW), Cabinet Division, Islamabad; M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties*

Thereupon Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, a member of the Central Cabinet, was selected to replace him, the new Governor took over charge on August 2, 1949.⁴³⁰ About three months later he appointed five advisers on the recommendation of the president of the provincial Muslim League to assist him in the administration of the province. The financial year was completed under that regime, towards the end of the financial year it was found that the budget surplus would be, instead of the originally estimated small figure of Rs. 9 lakhs, well over Rs. 175 lakhs, Government, thereupon, sanctioned certain supplementary items of expenditure to be charged to the account of the year that was closing and decided to refund part of the increased taxation that had been imposed earlier, by estimates to Rs. 102 lakhs.

For the financial year (1950-51)⁴³¹ it appeared at the time of framing the budget that on the basis of the existing level of revenue and expenditure there would be a surplus of well over Rs. 2 Crores. The Punjab legislative Assembly was, therefore, able on the one hand to abolish altogether the surcharge imposed a year before on the canal water rates and, on other hand, to provide boldly for new and beneficent expenditure. A scheme of revising the scales of pay for low-paid Government servants was under consideration in order to give retrospective effect to that scheme from January 1, 1950, a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs had been taken out of the surplus of the 1949-50 budgets⁴³² and kept as a separate fund. A sum of Rs. 80 lakhs was earmarked for that scheme in the 1950-51 budgets.⁴³³ In addition, new expenditure to the extent of Rs. 80 Lakhs relating to beneficent departments was provided. Out of a total revenue income of Rs. 19.62 crores, expenditure on beneficent departments stands at Rs 5.56 crores, a record in the history of the province before or after partition. Provision for new expenditure on beneficent departments during the financial year include a sum of 38 lakhs for a vigorous campaign of

in Pakistan, ibid, p.56; Anwar H. Syed, 'Factional Conflict in the Punjab Muslim League', ibid, p.58; Zarina Salamat, *Pakistan 1947-1958*, ibid, p.75; "Review of Events in Pakistan for June, 1949" in Mudie Collection, MS Eur. D 1033/16, NDW folder no. 8563, p.51. Mudie's resignation was accepted by Governor-General of Pakistan on 10th July 1949.

⁴³⁰ West Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), Notification No.4(1)-Cord/51-X, dated 26 November 1951, pp.155-56

⁴³¹ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates,

⁴³² Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates,

⁴³³ Punjab Assembly Debates.

expanding adult education as well as school and college education in the province and over Rs 20 Lakhs for the expansion of health services.

Jail Reforms

The Partition of the Punjab and the option of the non-Muslim staff for the service in India had completely dislocated the working of the jail in the province. The position was further aggravated by non-availability of expert labour and raw materials and employment of untrained staff. The partition of the province left us with 4 central jails, 9 district jails, and 6 sub jails, one of the women prisoners. On the partition the condition prevailing in these jails was far from healthy or satisfactory and they were further worsened immediately after partition by the temporary vacuum of expert administration that ensued. With the object of completely reorganizing the entire jail administration of the province a jail reforms committee was appointed by the Punjab Government in 1950. Which visited all the important jails of the provinces and interviewed various Heads of the Departments and other interested in penology and social reforms? The committee after thoroughly examining the prevalent conditions and administration of jails and considering suggestions advanced by persons representing different departments of administration as well as general public submitted an exhaustive report containing 118 important recommendations most of which have subsequently been approved by Punjab Legislative Assembly. After the introduction of jail reforms, the prisoners are treated as men who have been temporarily led astray by the force of circumstance, citizens of a sovereign state. The rules that were derogatory to human dignity have also been repealed.

Legislation for the cleaning the body (Anti-Corruption)

In the Pakistan corruption in its demonstration of favoritism did not come into view suddenly. For example in the Punjab, it was ingrained in the state of British colonial support of a mutual system which stressed patron-client.⁴³⁴ This Pakistan province remained always unique. There were parallel opportunities for corruption wherever there was great level migration, as Sarah Ansari has exposed about Sind.⁴³⁵ On the time of the independance, the emergent fears generated in the air in which further a trend of corruption took root, particularly as a consequence of the fall down of the Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana,s ministry and Unionist coalition

⁴³⁴ I.Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj: 1 849-1947* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1988).

⁴³⁵ S. Ansari, *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh 1947- 55*(Karachi: Oxford University Press)

in Punjab and the chance to restore the ML government.⁴³⁶ In March 1 947, four untouched members of the PLA were offered by Mamdot, an amount of Rs 100,000 to change their faithfulness and devotion in order to make stronger his proposal as substitute the Unionists as the leading party.⁴³⁷ Corruption in public services is a social evil of very long standing in the Punjab. A determined attack on it was started in 1949 and is being vigorously pursued. In 1951 parliamentary secretary to the chief Minister was disputed to tour the districts and report for his personal information and inefficiency in the administration machinery. Soon after Government Anti-Corruption for enforcement in Government department.

The Anti-Corruption Department has been strengthened with a view to making its work more effective, since its inception in 1949 the department dealt with 588 cases against corrupts public servants including 226 against gazette officers.

One hundred and six cases were sent up for trial in courts including 29 against gazette officers. Of these, 48 including 2 gazette officers were convicted, the punishments awarded ranged from three years to three months rigorous imprisonment as well as fine ranging from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 100. Thirty –four cases including 15 against gazette officers are still pending in courts.

Department action was taken against 156 officials including 70 gazetteer officers. Of these, 62 including 28 gazette officers were punished. The punishments awarded included dismissal. Reversion to lower ranks, stoppage of increments, compulsory retirement, censures and warning.⁴³⁸

With the object of expediting, disposal of Anti-Corruption cases Government have now appointed an experienced District and Sessions Judge as Special Enquiry Officer to conduct the formal departmental enquiries against Gazette Government servants, with the same object he has also been invested with magisterial powers in order to try criminal cases prepared by the anti-corruption Department. Ante-Corruption cases are also entrusted for trial to two special magistrates.

On account of the increase in work it is now proposed to further strengthen the departmental staff in order to provide an Anti-Corruption Officer who will be stationed at the three

⁴³⁶ I. Talbot , Khizr Tiwana , *The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (London: Curzon, 1996), pp. 145-156.

⁴³⁷ *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), 21 October 1949, p. 6.

⁴³⁸ *The Punjab; A Review The first six years. 1953* The Director public Relations Punjab. p. 76-77

Divisional Headquarters viz. Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan. The work of the entire staff will continue to be supervised by the superintendent of Police Incharge of the Department with headquarters at Lahore. This scheme would involve an extra expenditure of Rs. two lacs approximately.

The Superintendent of Police, Anti-Corruption Department has been directed to undertake an extensive tour of all the districts of the Punjab, with a view to collecting information and acquainting Government with the amount of interest which local officers are taking in this national work. For this purpose, he will examine the records of departmental enquiries conducted against corrupt public servants and apprise Government of the adequacy or inadequacy of the punishments awarded, and departmental enquiries pending against corrupt public servants with a view to their expeditious disposal.

In February 1953 a meeting was held in the Punjab Civil secretariat on which measures for combating corruption including those contemplated by the Pakistan Government, were discussed. This includes amendments of the Anti-corruption Laws⁴³⁹ and other cognate measures with a view to making them more effective. Proposals recommended by the meeting were submitted to the Central Government. The Punjab examined the draft of new anti-corruption legislation. Punjab Legislative Assembly passed "The Punjab youthful Offender (Amendment) Act, 1952"⁴⁴⁰

The Cooperative societies

Whereas it was expedient further to facilitate the formation and working of cooperating societies for the promotion of prudence mutual aid and self help among peasants, artisans, labourers and other people with desires and interests in common so as to bring about better business, improved livelihood, and better method of production and for that purpose to consolidate and amend the law The Cooperative societies (Punjab Amendments) Act, 1954⁴⁴¹ These societies based on sound principles have done useful work as it can be seen in its enquiry report⁴⁴² relating to the cooperative societies in the province of the Punjab. PLA was pioneer in Pakistan to the level of other advanced countries of the world in its humanistic and scientific

⁴³⁹ The Punjab; A Review The first six years. 1953 The Director public Relations Punjab. p. 76-79

⁴⁴⁰ Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary) 23 March 1953 P.103-113

⁴⁴¹ This Act was passed by the Assembly on 11 November 1954 assented to by the Governor of the Punjab on 20 December 1954; published in the Gazette (Extraordinary) dated 31 January 1955.

⁴⁴² The cooperative inquiry committee report. Lahore West Pakistan. 1955

treatment of the wasted Human material. The well Known Hailey Collage Commerce, The University of Punjab introduced additional evening classes for training of employees of the bank and staff related to the elementary education for banking the accounting. At The Lahore Central cooperative Department also had begun its own banking courses and classes for the cooperative banks.⁴⁴³ There was the also and network of Central cooperative Banks, Punjab Provincial cooperative Bank and societies in the province and various districts. The total effective assets of all cooperative banks in the province were 160,705,679. There were 400 industries cooperative societies in the Punjab.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴³ Board of Economic Inquiry west Punjab, Monthly summery, October 1947-June 1948,p.4ISPA.11/4,O.I.O.C

⁴⁴⁴ West Punjab Economic Survey, July-September 1949, (Board of economic Inquiry publication, West Punjab , Lahore, 1949)p.13

Chapter 5

Autonomy, Influence of other Institutions over Punjab Legislative Assembly

This Chapter observes the domination of the institution of the one over to other. Chapter examines the power and influences of the legislature other institution of Pakistan in the Institution of the Punjab. There was continuous interference of the institution of bureaucracy and Central Government here in Legislature during period under study. Unfortunately Pakistan has never been a State where Legislature had been powerful than personalities. Real power reserved outside the legislature. Decisions usually initiate in party form, translated into bylaw through legislature process and then defined firmly implemented and then bureaucracy controlled it.

From external pressure autonomy refers to independence. Assemblies must be autonomous and to be well institutionalized. In other means institutions require to be independent from other organizations and individuals, self-determining from external influence, and communal groups that are outside of the Assembly. Norman D. Palmer remarks about political system of Pakistan. According to him during the early period of its history which “was closely modeled on the parliamentary democracy of British system, as amended by the more highly restrictive and centralized provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935”⁴⁴⁵ According to theory of Huntington without being coherent an institute can be autonomous and coherent without being autonomous. In reality, however, the two are frequently intimately connected to each other. Autonomy becomes a way to coherence, enabling the institute to build up a spirit and way that become unique marks of its conduct. Autonomy also prevents the interruption of troublesome exterior forces, even though, of course, autonomy does not defend against interruption from inside sources. Substantial or Rapid or expansions in the membership of an institute or in the participants in a system tend to deteriorate coherence. Power equation between the legislature and executive during the early days of the independence of the country was innate from British so that institutional incoherence and imbalance was the most important

⁴⁴⁵Palmer, Norman D. Elections and Political Development: The South Asian Experience, Pakistan and North India. (Karachi: Oxford University Press.1975) p.75

challenge after independence.⁴⁴⁶ Political institutions are barely ever developed on professional base in Pakistan. The main cause for this is dynastic political affairs of the State. In which individual interests, family and party are favored instead of national welfare. For that reason, development restricts itself to few families. Growth at large seems little possible. Colonial set pattern and rule had shaped formal institution of Pakistan. In the administrative field also the Federal government could exercise extensive influence and pressure all the way through its extraordinary powers of dismissal and making of cabinet of the province through its Provincial Governors selected by the Center. Furthermore Interim constitution amendments, during the early period extended the control of the Center over the financial matters of the provinces.⁴⁴⁷ In this regard the influence of the Legislature has been restricted by the overarching role of executive. In many times this happens, Parties and Party in government and rivals tends to have power over the way legislator speak or do not speak and vote or do not vote on the floor of the Assembly. In that way party direction operates definitely from outside the legislature to keep an eye on legislation including amendments and making laws.⁴⁴⁸ Executive power is a common reality of political system. Typically powerful institutions, tend to be sometimes sole and major actor in the political organized systems. It is relatively tough to assemble a powerful legislature or an electorate to make influential and electorate for a legislature or not so with executive.⁴⁴⁹

Center role in politics of the Punjab

Under the Interim Constitution the measure of power sharing between provinces and the centre and clearly point out the some degree of place of provinces in the administrative, financial and legislative subject of the country. Furthermore, until 1949 the Governor- General was given authority to adjust the amendments in the constitution and afterward, some of the acts of the Constituent Assembly continual efforts to limit the power of the province in the country, system. Through the chain of amendments in the Indian Act 1935 the inclination to centralize the authority of the state was strengthened. To the Interim Constitution until 1954 almost forty-four amendments were made, to retain ascendancy of central government in the state matters. In 1948 under the Amendment Order 1948, the establishment of Central Police Service, in 1952

⁴⁴⁶Zaidi , S. Akbar. *Military, Civil Society and Democracy in Pakistan* (Lahore:Vanguard.2011)p.88

⁴⁴⁷ Muntizira Nazir, *Federalism in Pakistan*, Lahore: Pakistan Study Center, 2008. P.201

⁴⁴⁸ Muhammad Waseem, *Democratization in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press, 2006.P.30

⁴⁴⁹ Robert.C Fried, *Comparative Political Institutions* New York: MacmillanCo, 1966.p.7

Concurrent list 'prevent detention' to the the transfer of provincial subject of and labour training was special controled by centre over and exchange establishment in 1953, were the actually amendments which decisively diluted the provincial power in the decision making process for the country.⁴⁵⁰ Special control of provincial government was given y emergency powers in the hands of central establishment and lessen the capacity of the provinces to work proficiently in the political ground. On 27 August 1947 under Section 102 interim Constitution of Pakistan state of emergency declared by Quaid-i-Azam. On the ground due to the severe migration from India financial situation of Pakistan was susceptible and Sind was not ready to welcome refugees. Through striking emergency, political issues were determined. When Emergency was announcement, central legislature was empowered to make laws related to the provincial list and rule out any provision of the provincial list which clashes could be with central laws. In the refugees camps of West Punjab, government wanted to determine the issue of the surplus of refugees but was not receiving the collaboration required from the concerned provinces particularly Sind. In this connection on 23rd August 1948 a meeting was arranged by PM Liaquat Ali Khan.⁴⁵¹ It was determined that ever since the Sind province from West Punjab camps was not ready to take in two lakh surplus refugees, under section 102 of the Government of India Act 1935 the Governor-General Quaid-i-Azam should be asked to agree to a declaration of serious emergency in the country. Ministry of Interior and the Law Ministry approved a proclamation prepared for the Governor-General to sign. According to the Proclamation of Emergency, central government was empowered to issue orders to both the governments of the province of West Punjab and Sind to receive and transfer the surplus of two lakh refugees. Along with a note, a draft stating the causes for the necessitate of declaring emergency was sent for approval to the Governor-General. On 25th August 1948 after a cabinet meeting the Proclamation of Emergency was issued and on 30th August 1948 was published in the Gazette of Pakistan Extra-ordinary by the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation. It declared: "Whereas the financial life of Pakistan is in danger by situation arising out of the mass migration of from and into Pakistan, in pursuance of Section 102 of the Government of India Act 1935 the

⁴⁵⁰ Ali, 1996, 118

⁴⁵¹ Note for Cabinet prepared by Mr. E.de V. Moss, Secretary Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation in File No. 251/CF/48, pp. 174-76, National Documentation Wing, Cabinet Division, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Governor-General is hereby happy to declare that a serious emergency has thus arisen and does exist for the purposes of the said sections.”⁴⁵²

This centralization of defiantly to the federal system supremacy changed the country management into a federal type of system, where provinces reliant to the federal establishment. Although for not more than six months, such kind of acts were to be active and practically it became non-operative after the six months from the date of proclamation of emergency, the period such clauses remained active was extended in 1948 and once again in 1950 in order to to keep provincial outhority within the state politics. Working of the provincial institutions can be checked through provincial autonomy. It does not mean taking apart of units from central government or contravene of affairs between provinces and federation. But the under the shadow of clear mechanism of decentralization, idea of provincial autonomy delegates some continual assign to provinces to put them hold sustainable economic and political expansion. Mainly Provincial autonomy has two factors; economic autonomy and political autonomy. In other words it concern with the decentralization of two-dimensional power, with and tools for implementation of such power and autonomy (complete control) over basic measures, from federation to the provinces under well defined and well-built devolution mechanism.

The League, s leader Mamdot, formed the first ministry in the Punjab Assembly. Basicaly He was traditional in political attitude and could refuse to accept the central authority in Punjab matters. The Governor of the Punjab, had stipulation about him. In this situation, Mian Daultana who was Finance Minister was an appropriate option to dish up the concern of the centre in system of the state. Daultana Daultana had clashes with Daultana before independance. For political solidity in the Punjab Jinnah tried to settle issues between Mamdot and Daultana but

⁴⁵² *Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*, 30th August 1948 (Karachi: Governor-General Press, 1948), No. 419; Office Memorandum No. 65/CM/48 dated 31st August 1948, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of Pakistan Karachi; Government of Pakistan, “Proclamation of Emergency in connection with transfer, reception and maintenance of refugees” in File No. 251/CF/48, NDW, Cabinet Division, Pak-Secretariat, Islamabad, pp.1-3; Government of Pakistan, *Pakistan Chronology 1947-1997* (Islamabad: Ministry of Information and Media Development, 1998), p.40; Sarah Ansari, *Life after Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sind 1947-1962* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.66; *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 28th July 1948, ‘Grave Emergency in Pakistan: Centre may Issue mandates to provinces-refugee crises’; Note for the Cabinet prepared by Mr. E.de V. Moss, Secretary Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation in File No. 251/CF/48, pp. 174-176, NDW, Islamabad.

unfortunately not succeeded in his life. As a result, on May 27, 1948 Daultana and Hyat resigned from their position. This brittle situation of factional conflict in the Punjab cabinet for the new cabinet of the CM of Punjab to the centre to get in the way in the selection of candidates, provided abundance of opportunities. The Central establishment enforced Mamdot to take in Daultana, Abdul Hamid Dasti, Firoz Khan Noon, Mian Nasrullah and Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz in the new Cabinet of Punjab to influence political state of affairs in its own hand. Mamdot refused to acknowledge any orders from the central command. He had aim to take Fazal Elahi and M. Hussain, Faiz M. to make stronger his place in the system of the power.⁴⁵³ Jinnah issued this order two days before the provincial assembly budget session that East Punjab Muslim League members will be part of the upcoming West Punjab Assembly And they would be able to attend the budget session starting on March 15 1948.⁴⁵⁴ Within twenty days of the announcement these persons had to resign from the membership of ILA, in East Punjab Assembly which was welcomed by the members of the ML party, it was considered a 'happy gesture' by them from the side of the Government of Pakistan. The Secretary of the Muslim League party Rana Nasurullah Khan in East Punjab Assembly stated: "by passing the Ordinance the Governor- General incorporating the

from East Punjab Muslim MLAs into the West Punjab Assembly has not only reclaimed a long standing demand but from the East Punjab I believe has enormously contributed towards reinforcing the self-esteem of the refugees and reestablish their self confidence".⁴⁵⁵

The political division of the middle class of the province and the Nawab Mamdot political position will be timely in force. Since the majority of the members of the East Punjab Muslim League belonged to the middle class Therefore, this Governor's order naturally extends politically to Punjab's middle class and Nawab Mamdot. Provincial Assembly session started on March 15, 21 Muslim members of Eastern Punjab became members of West Punjab Assembly.

⁴⁵³ Dawn, May 28,1948

⁴⁵⁴ *Liaquat Ali Khan to M.A. Jinnah*, dated 8th March 1948, in F.187 (2)-GG/19, Governor-General Files, National Archives of Pakistan(NAP),Islamabad, Pakistan; Z.H. Zaidi, ed., *Jinnah Papers*, vol. VII (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, 2002), pp.177-78; *Dawn*, 12th March 1948, 'West Punjab Assembly will take Muslim refugees'; For details see, 'West Punjab Legislative Assembly Order 1948' in F. 187 (2)-GG/22 & 64, Governor-General Files, NAP.

⁴⁵⁵ *Dawn*, 13th March 1948, 'Admission of refugee MLAs in West Punjab Assembly welcomed'.

The seventh of them took oath the same day While three unionist feudal Khizar Hyat Tiwana, Malik Feroze Khan Noon ,Sir M. Nawaz were absent. Nawai Waqat specially mentioned the absence of the three in his report because from some constituencies, Muslim members of the East Punjab Assembly were strongly opposite as the member of the Western Punjab Assembly. Daultana was trying to add one or two members of the Ambala division in the provincial cabinet to strengthen his party position. Karnal was also present in the Ambala division where Liaquat Ali Khan's family was the architect on this Mamdot answering the point of view on the budget, said that we want to tell the Center that the burden does not take place on Punjab. Just take the burden on us as we can pick up other and made other provinces realized too to take their duty in this regard.⁴⁵⁶ Nawab Mamdot also announced in his speech that if Punjab's rehabilitation continued to be inaccessible at the center, then he would be separated from the Council.⁴⁵⁷ The position of Nawab became more stable than ever before members of East Punjab members became members of West Punjab. Due to this reason, the differences between the Nawab Mamdot and Central Government were raised about the rehabilitation of refugees in Punjab removed.

Mamdot's struggled for reasonable share of economic resources and defense procurement provinces were measured as a powerful type of Punjabi prejudiced intimidation by the central command. To disperse/ reduce political stress of this province, the centre subjugated rival factions of the ML to control the energies Punjab, s politicians.⁴⁵⁸ Daultana had the support of the Mohjir based ML Party at the centre that in November 1948 supported him in his selection as the Punjab Muslim League president. It cemented the mode to extricate Mamdot as well as opportunity of the composition of the party in favour of the central establishment.⁴⁵⁹ Punjab Muslim League with the support of center (PM Liaquat Ali Khan and Francis Mudie, Governor) was interested to dissolve the Ministry of Mamdot in Punjab.

In this intricate political circumstances Khawaja Nazimuddin Governor- General interfered and directed Mudie that Noon should not be encouraged to take Mamdot's place', with a outlook that in the assembly within the cabinet, as prevailed already in Sind, Mamdot had a great support and captivating, will mean disorder in Punjab. Without public support Ministry could amplify governmental interfering and make awful impacts on the officials. But Mudie

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid, 18 March 1948

⁴⁵⁷ Zahid Cahudhary, 115

⁴⁵⁸ Jalal, Ayesha, (1991). *The State of Martial Rule*(London: Vanguard.1991) p.55

⁴⁵⁹ Dawn, June 13, 1948

sustained his political maneuverings against Mamdot and on 24 January 1949 dissolved the Punjab Assembly and Ministry of Mamdot and on the charges of maltreatment of seats as premiere maladministration, and misuse of community fund, on the advice of PM Liaquat Ali Khan. Interim Constitution under Section 92-A of the Governor Rule was established of Pakistan which continued until April 1951.⁴⁶⁰ Mudi noted that

The “[administrative] services are thoroughly demoralized and Disheartened. Discipline is bad owing to the factions among the Political leaders. Interference in all branches of the administration By Ministers and M.L.As has been a greater scandal than even it Was before. With the close balance between Mamdot’s and Daultana’s groups in the League, M.L.As have been encouraged to Be more and more rapacious”.⁴⁶¹

Noon wrote about that I asked Liaquat Ali Khan that the was the reason of it. He said that both Mr. Daultana and Nawab Mumdot both have written a letter to me that No stable ministry can be established in the province so I suspended the Legislative Assembly .But they never asked me anything although I had support of majority of the party members. He had not discussed with the party or its members Only 2 candidates who were disappointed by their success were considered a reasonable excuse.⁴⁶² Froze Khan Nun was not justified about himself; the fact was that which Nwai Waqat had written many days before. This paper was an analysis Noon had only 14 members support Daultana was not in the favour to make Noon Chief Minister and not in favour of Raja Ghazanfer Ali Khan.And his hope could not be fulfilled by the support of the elected members of 1946.Apparently Liaquat Ali Khan made this plan based on the hope that after the new elections, the provinces and the Central Assembly or the existence will come to be exactly what he says. He will be able to govern according to his feudal mind set but, he will also able to set a constitution according to his own willing for this purpose. Due to his narrow concern, he promoted a local show order in Punjab which was later not proved only dangerous for him but also for the entire country.It was a great deal of cost to the country and nation which he started Jagirdar Nexus a year ago in the Punjab. It was really an undemocratic behavior of

⁴⁶⁰ Aziz, 1976, 5

⁴⁶¹File No. 2(2)/PMS/49, ‘Correspondence with the Governor West Punjab’, Prime Minister’s Secretariat, 10th January 1949, 4, NDC.

⁴⁶² Feroze Khan Noon, *Chashem e Deed*. Lahore: 1974, p.83

Liaquat Ali Khan. Punjab was dispossessed of a useful voice in the state structure under Governor Rule. Within the Punjab Assembly challenging factions, supported by the central establishment, provided the centre and chance for a dominant and strong position against the provincial self-reliance and autonomy of Punjab. In 1949 Punjab Muslim League Party election Federal government had played a scheming role. In the result, to any office in the National Assembly no Punjabi was elected. To fill up the vacated posts of the WPLA old Unionists were encouraged and given high posts in government sector to maintain the benefit of central government in the Assembly.

In the same way Ayub Khan Comments with respect to Liaquat Ali Khan, "I am sure that he was assured by his colleagues that he should get majority in the provinces especially in Punjab if he wanted to make his position strong in centre. His position was not so strong due to political situation in Punjab. Liaquat decided to back Daultana who was CM at that Time and as far as Momadot was concern a case under PRODA was filled against him for irregularities and corruption. This situation was well played by press and hostile situation was created against Prime Minister." ⁴⁶³ When Liaquat Ali Khan was in London for attending Commonwealth Conference Khawaja Nazem ud Din, Nawab Mamdot, Gurmani and Pir Manki Sharif tried to overthrow the Ministry of Liaquat Ali Khan. There was editorial in Nawai Waqat that Governor Moodi was involved in that this is Lawrence of Pakistan. The purpose of this clever man is so dangerous, he wanted to disunite and bring in into two groups by creating Anarchy in Central Government. English man divides Punjab Ministry into two Parts. The Punjab League led Leaders were divided into two parts. This will be the result of the warfare, the leaders will end all this. Now he is distributing Punjab Newspapers in two ways. ⁴⁶⁴ Political Secretary of Liaquat Ali Khan M. Sadiq wrote that if British are going on same way as Col. Lawrence than Nwai Waqat playing same role as Indian National Congress before Partition. As Indian Nation Congress impose all responsibility of Hindu Muslim Conflict on the policy of British divide and rule. ⁴⁶⁵

In 1951 elections of Provincial Assembly, Daultana with the approval of central command of ML became self-assured to get the leadership of ML Parliamentary Party in the PLA. Daultana on the other hand, during *Anti-Ahmediya Movement 1953*, had challenges to the

⁴⁶³ Khan, Mohammad Ayub (1967). *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography* (Karachi: Oxford University Press.

⁴⁶⁴ Noznama Nawai Waqat 20 May 1949

⁴⁶⁵ Sadiq Ali Khan. *BaiTaigh Spahi. Karachi: Allazbk Corporation, 1971. P. 496*

central command although he was still enjoying support of the majority in the provincial legislature but central Government forced him to resign.⁴⁶⁶ In the future Parliament Liaquat and Daultana had serious differences over criteria for regional representation, enclosed in a BPC report, most Punjabi politicians in the view that East Pakistan would be permanently dominant and influential in the central government. For the office of the CM of Punjab next choice of centre was Feroz Khan Noon., pressure built by the central command, to serve the welfare of the centre Noon decided to support the One Unit scheme, although he had doubts about the purpose of central command actively engaged at the back the implementation of One Unit scheme.⁴⁶⁷ On 14 October 1955 one Unit was established to put together the NWFP Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Karachi and Baluchistan States Union and the State of Bahawalpur and Khairpur into one province of West Pakistan. This was ended on the central command against the desires of the provinces. For the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan he was also in continuous effort to oppose the direction of Muslim League and central government in their open use of influence to the representation nomination from the Punjab. Hence, Noon like Mamdot and Daultana lost his position as a reliable yes man of the centre and on May 21, 1955 in public interest he was removed from the office of the CM of Punjab and a nominee of Daultana Sardar Abdul Hamid Dasti, was appointed CM of Punjab.⁴⁶⁸

Chief Justice Muhammad Munir's Inquiry Court, which was appointed by the government of Khwaja Nazimuddin to inspect the state of affairs which led to serious disturbances in the Punjab in 1953, had this to say about the role of the civil servant: “[This Inquiry] has given us an opportunity to ask our officers, on whom lies the burden of administration, to bear this burden in the traditions of the steel frame, when we saw the erect figure of a district officer the middle of an excited procession, a soft smile on a firm mouth, determination written on his face.”⁴⁶⁹

In March 1949 first reason to create attention between Feroz ministry and center was a one unit scheme. It is pertinent to mention that, Feroz Khan Noon favoured the incorporation of

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.P.11

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid. p 27-28

⁴⁶⁸ Noon, Feroz Khan. *From Memory*(Lahore: Feroz Sons.1966)P.245

⁴⁶⁹ Government of the Punjab, Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted Under Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire in the Punjab Disturbances of 1953 (Punjab, Lahore: Government Printing, 1954), p. 287.

West Pakistan provinces into a one unit for the capable management. In the constituent assembly for each province ministerial quotas were reserved and purposed.⁴⁷⁰ The proposal was supported by Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz who declared that the province of into single unit Western region could be effective economically.⁴⁷¹ Therefore one unit scheme was purposed in July 1954 as a means to counter the increasing provincialism and a device for develop Governmental efficiency.⁴⁷² This plan did not come across a firm resistance only in province of Punjab. After the creation of Pakistan it was considered as the best thing that could have happened to his Country and generally welcomed by the people.⁴⁷³ Nearly all the member of the provincial Assembly (both from opposition parties as well as ruling) supported the resolution for the merger of Western provinces into one Unit, when it was presented in the House on November, 30, 1954. Feroz Khan Noon chief minister of Punjab strongly supported the idea. He pressed for zonal federation, he said he will be satisfied with 40 percent representation in one unit legislature for the Punjab that one unit experiment should work initially for ten years and after that provinces should be free either to remain in one unit or leave it.⁴⁷⁴ Central government would maintain his duty for currency, defense, interprovincial communication and foreign affairs, and the rest of its current function would transfer to government of West Pakistan and East Pakistan sub federation. It not only accommodated the interest of East wing but also removed the fear of Punjab domination over the smaller unit in the western part. This proposal was supported in Punjab legislative assembly but some Pakistani member in the constituent assembly did not favor it.⁴⁷⁵ Noon reiterated his demand in the constituent assembly on September, 1954 but the motion was rejected. In October 1954 government decided to create West Pakistan province by abolishing its existing unit. Noon came out in strong denunciation of certain provision of the new constitution of which he declared as highly objectionable. He also urged the Punjab ministers to oppose these provisions. But in October in 1954 constitution assembly was dissolved, Muhammad Ali Bogra announced a scheme for formation of one unit in these circumstances Noon's advocacy of sub federation became an irritant and paved way for the removal of third

⁴⁷⁰ Dawn, 3 March, 1949

⁴⁷¹ Nazir, 160

⁴⁷² Ibid

⁴⁷³ Rizwan Mali, *The Politics of One Unit 1955-1958*, Lahore: Pakistan Study Center, Punjab University, 1988, P.56

⁴⁷⁴ Rizwan Malik, 21-22.

⁴⁷⁵ Inamur Rehman, 78.

ministry in the Punjab.⁴⁷⁶ Second difference is noon ministry had with center on the issue of election of members from the Punjab to the second constituent assembly.

Punjab Muslim league pressurized into authorizing the central leadership to select 16 persons to represent the province in the new constituent assembly. These include 7 central ministers including Sikandar Mirza, Chaudhary Muhammad Ali and doctor Khan Sahib.⁴⁷⁷ Feroz Khan Noon agreed with the decision of central leadership at first but later denied acceptance the decision. When noon tried to resist the central leadership decision they turned their faced toward opposition leader Daultana to tackle it the other also gained the services of Abdul Hamid Dasti how was a part of the Feroz cabinet as Minister. Shaikh Masood Sadique and Muhammad Khan Laghari also joined hand with Dasti and threat their resignation if Feroz did not bent before the decision of central leadership.⁴⁷⁸ Khizar Hayat Tiwana and Mubashir Ali Qizalbash were on the back of Feroz Khan Noon when Feroz Khan denied Boeing his head on the decision of central leadership, he was ousted from the power and Abdul Hameed Dasti became the new leader of Punjab legislative assembly.⁴⁷⁹ According to Ahmed Saleem when the chief minister of Punjab did not find the names of the supporters Muzafir Ali Qizalbash and Chaudhary Ali Akbar in the list of the members of second legislative assemble he objected and tested the result of this objection in the form of his dismissal.⁴⁸⁰ These dissentions were the reason of dissolution of third ministry of Punjab but not a whole cabinet of dissolve just Feroz Khan Noon was removed. Local people had many complains against provincial and central Government, s mediocrity. Taxcompliance levels of 66 measured and mirrored the success of the Pakistani management in dessiminate a sagacity of belonging to a wider society among its people, the annual renewal of the Muhajir Fund Cess Bill in the early spring of 1953 loomed large on the Punjab Assembly, s agenda. A 2 *anna*/Rs. tax was levied on all the domain of West Punjab to maintain the resettlement and rehabilitation of the Partition refugees after its establishment in 1948.⁴⁸¹ C. E. Gibbon five years later flew into a fury at the Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti Minister for Education who introduced extensions to the terms of the West Punjab Fund Cess Act, 1948 to

⁴⁷⁶ Salamat, Historical Review, 85.

⁴⁷⁷ Inaumur Rehman, 176-177

⁴⁷⁸ Munir Ahmad Munir, *Siyasi Uttar Charao* (New York: Oxford University press, 1999) 171-173

⁴⁷⁹ Saleem tabusam, 59

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid, 58

⁴⁸¹ West Punjab Gazette – Extraordinary Issue, 26th January 1948, UPL and Punjab Gazette, 22nd February 1952, UPL.

the provincial Assembly as an incharge. “The ML at the provinces and in the Centre in the have made the life of every highly regarded, law abiding citizen, God-fearing and unbearable”, explode the elected representative from the Anglo Pakistani III and constituency of Pakistani Christian.⁴⁸² He put forward relatively radical solution. In his view, on certain section of the society the recurrent heavy taxation on one hand and the existing food crisis on other hand had given enough ground for “imperative necessity” of a revolt.⁴⁸³ Tax moral of Gibbon epitomised the extensive idea of mistrusted authority that was clumsy in its effort to put together preferences of the people into its own political system. Allegations of incompetence joined with, in particular, the clear insight of a total absence of proper central legislative and executive bodies.

Rehabilitation of Refugees

In the province and in the Center to handle the refugee issue a new Ministry Refugees and Rehabilitation was established in September 1947. For the carrying out of the ministries, at Province level Punjab Refugee Council and in the Centre Pakistan Refugee Commission was formed and set up to manage and coordinate between the activities of the federal government and provincial government. Even though as CM of Punjab Mamdot, was the incharge of allotment of evacuee property, administration, the real mission of settle the emigration and providing food but refugees settlement was generally under the control of two British officers, E. D. V. Moss, F. F. Stevens Brigadier and the Chief of Pakistan Refugee Commission, who represent central government.⁴⁸⁴ In spite of the fact from the Punjab that central government was extensively expecting best likely collaboration, in this crucial matter the position of the provincial government was constrained which formed a quandary of mere coordination and confidence between the province and the centre.⁴⁸⁵

Predictably, the twirl of joint skirmishes and allegations institutional clear away even the number of those organizations that were being established to arbitrate controversies. For instance same was happened in the case of the Pakistan-Punjab Joint Refugee Council. In October 1947 its establishment affirmed plan of organizing the plans of rehabilitation, almost immediately it

⁴⁸² *Punjab Assembly Debates*, 31st March 1953, PCSL

⁴⁸³ *Ibid*

⁴⁸⁴ Sayeed, K.B. *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948*(Karachi: Oxford University Press.2001) 269

⁴⁸⁵ WPLAD. West Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Report, 1(3). 1948.p. 292

“converted into the impotent battleground where the two challengers confront each other to a duel.”⁴⁸⁶ In the early years dealing with the crisis regarding refugees greatly anxious the Centre and the provinces, Mian Iftikharuddin relentlessly criticized the West Punjab, managing of the refugee problem and about political corruption in the province by using of his newspaper. He proposed a plan for the refugees’ rehabilitation, when with a view to give away the refugees; he raised his voice for large estates in the Punjab. He recommended that 'a graded on the revenue of all landlords, taking more annum from their farming soil. Not surprisingly this revolution, turned down by the dominated provincial landed lords, lead by Nawab leading gentry of the whole Punjab. Consequently the central command took subjective agreements and internal government of the Province. He targeted Minister who was not succeeded to obtain for East Punjab management concerning possessions as had been received from Punjab Sikh and Hindu refugees.⁴⁸⁷ Mian Iftikharuddin resigned on the grounds that speedy measures were not taken by the Government. Mamdot was not only involved in issues with the PPRC, factional rivalries with other politicians, over the right of discarded motor vehicle and cars, clash between the province and Centre. Between the Punjab and centre first major look of mistrust came in the form the announcement of Federal Minister for Refugees, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. In March 1948, during the debates of the Legislative Assembly Khan threw light on it that “if the West Punjab had the courage and vision to initiate the far-reaching changes in the accessible economic structure of the province, the issue of refugee would have been satisfactorily resolved”.⁴⁸⁸ The whole tone of the speech recommended that without providing any room in the decision making procedure, forfeit from Punjab to complete the mission of refugees rehabilitation. It was a sign of the instigation of suspicion and hostility between Punjab and centre at the policy making level on the problem relating to refugees. Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation Mian Iftikharuddin in the Punjab made a plan of restelment of the refugees. He projected a main cut in the share of landlords’ in agregarain foodstuffs, on personal income more than a sensible point heavy taxation, nationalization of all main industries and a usually more reasonable indulgence of national assets. He recommended graded tax on the income of landlords should be levied, drawing which was more than Rs, 15,000 per annum from their cultivated land. The projected

⁴⁸⁶Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 20th March 1953, PCSL.

⁴⁸⁷ NDC, File no. 262,-PMS/48, 128/CF/48, Ministry of refugees and Rehabilitation, pp. 36-37.

⁴⁸⁸ WPLAD. West Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Report, 1(3). 1948.p. 292

idea of Mian Iftikharuddin was rejected by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, subjugated by the landlord's gentry. Being accused as communist and Mian Iftikharuddin plan of land reforms was portrayed against the Islamic believes. In this craftsmanship, he considered himself not able to put into operation any plan for the rehabilitation of refugees, just two months after the appointment, as the Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation of Punjab Mian Iftikharuddin resigned.⁴⁸⁹ He also criticised the Government of the Punjab about handling over the issue and rejected categorically claim of Mamdot regarding the settlement of 5,000,000 refugees in the province. Resignation of the Refugees Minister was also on the ground that Punjab Government was not willing to take immediate measures to rehabilitate and settle the refugees; further tensed the relations between Province and Centre.⁴⁹⁰ "Whereas the effective functions of Pakistan Refugee Council was concerned, under being the direct control of the central establishment; even on those issues the provincial government was not consulted constitutionally which were under the direct authority of government of Punjab. Six times increase of tax while the transfer of land, collection of *Quaid-i-Azam* Relief Fund for Refugees through civil bureaucracy, extension of period of the *Muhajir Fund Cess* and in the Advisory Committee of the Council appointment of the old Unionist was the example of the domination of centre on the government of Punjab".⁴⁹¹ , there were some unlikable scenes even within the cabinet of the Mamdot; at one phase over the allotment of neglected factories the Revenue and Industry Ministers were at break with.⁴⁹² Provincial leadership was frequently considered an unruly team by the Centre. It was easy and convenient for center to egg on the view that 'corruption' had become hurdle in smooth rehabilitation of refugees in the Punjab. One instant reaction of the federal Government was the establishment of the Special Centre Police for annihilate corruption' in the Punjab. In the Punjab Muslim League leadership these investigations continued to a previous practice of internal strife and the moves towards centralization. Punjab political affairs remained subjugated by the personal conflicts between Nawab Mamdot, the Chief Minister and Daultana, who was all the time more seen as the Centre's man. Mamdot was the target of stern press criticism at the times within the Punjab Assembly, threatened to move a none articulated the indifference and

⁴⁸⁹ Malik, Abdullah. *Mian Iftikharuddin Selected speeches and Statements*, Lahore: Nigarhat.1971. p. 58-59

⁴⁹⁰ Ilyas yas Chutha, Partition and locality, violence, Migration and Development in Gujranwala and Sialkot, 1947-1961 New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. P.98

⁴⁹¹ WPAD. (1948). West Punjab Assembly Debates, Official Report, 1(4), p242-243

⁴⁹² NDC, File no. 1350, 20 CF/49/50, Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, p. 2.

callousness and of the Punjab rehabilitation authorities have demoralized the refugees to a extensive degree.⁴⁹³ Governor of Punjab was long before reporting informed Jinnah that Nawab of Mamdot double crossed the Council always by verbally instructing his officers not to obey the decision and the political situation is steadily deteriorating under Mamdot's leadership and Shaukat's aspirations.⁴⁹⁴ In January 1949, the Governor-General of Pakistan Khwaja Nazimuddin dissolved the Punjab Government in a powerful worded speech that community living had been depressed by discipline and corruption in the services shattered by conspiracy. The removal of Mamdot's ministry, the Centre, dominated by considered the Punjabi representatives cooperative.⁴⁹⁵ A trial of strength Mamdot group was in prospect, of misappropriation of public he subsequently found guilty in 1950 by Lahore High Court. Important section of the division of British India plan 1947 was division of Punjab. However, it did not entail any scheme of migration or demographic change and mass-scale dislocation of population. But the eruption of mutual riots led to the commencement of biggest movement in world history, loaded with the murder of millions of people and miseries of billions of masses. In between 1947-1951 in this procedure 7.25m refugees fled from India approximately and 10% of the population of Pakistan contributed in it. The Punjab who immediately bore the responsibility of refugees was just Punjab; whereas other provinces were disinclined to offer room to refugees.⁴⁹⁶ 50 to 70m rupees per annum as much as were spent by the government of Punjab on foodstuff for refugees anticipate an imperative part in the policy-making and implement action procedure for the rehabilitation and settlement of the immigrants.⁴⁹⁷ On 23rd June 1949 in its editorial one prominent government newspaper, *Pakistan Times* evaluate the part of Punjab.⁴⁹⁸ At the time of partition just Punjab bowed to its gigantic and bore the heap of miserable and destitute people represented by refugees. Along with NWFP it was the Punjab again managed to divide with the Azad Warriors the prolonged and dismal agony of the Kashmir great effort. Our bill of national services is as it was yesterday as full and crowded today. In the food and defense and commerce, and the rehabilitation of the refugees, and organizational duty that look

⁴⁹³ Civil and Military Gazette (Lahore) 28 February 1948, P.3

⁴⁹⁴ The Ministry of refugees and Rehabilitation, 2(2)-PMS/48, 26 March, 1948, p.2, NDC.

⁴⁹⁵ PPLAD, 10 March 1954, File no. D- 50 (4), p. 022-24, PSA.

⁴⁹⁶ Ali, Chaudhari Muhammad, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967, p.

⁴⁹⁷ Sayeed, K.B. *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967, p.266

⁴⁹⁸ Pakistan Times, 23 June 1949.

forward to us to win Kashmir in the coming days the role intended for the West Punjab endure to be overwhelmingly, essential and expectant. In view of all, the people exactly estimated that their public management in the province, and party would perform in a way deserved by their earlier period and required by their present. But opposing to such probability of the Punjab, centre had aim to go in front of the whole procedure of rehabilitation of refugees' entirely through the use of Central authority and power in the Punjab.

The Punjab, s role in decision-making and policy forming procedure was limited through these administrative strategies, and same was made in the procedure of execution of decisions of the central establishment. The central establishment made significant decisions on the subject of the settlement of refugees without observing the concerns and wishes of the Punjab Provincial Ministers. An Indian Civil Service Officer Ahsan Uddin appointment was proposed by Revenue Minister of the Punjab Sirdar Shaukat Hyat Khan, as the Secretary to the Chief Minister, to the administrative post of Lyallpur District, Deputy Commissioner (now Faisalabad) to accelerate the rehabilitation procedure. The scheme was strongly resist by the Governor of Punjab, Sir Francis Mudie. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in this authority clash, federal government especially favoured the Governor and diluted the position and position of institution of representative of the Punjab. As a result, Deputy Commissioner of the district and Financial Commissioner having important position within the procedure of resettlement was chosen from among the British officials or amongst the refugee officers to expand a special power of the refugees management in the province and controlled the field of provincial administration.⁴⁹⁹ In this point of view, Raja Said Akbar Khan in the PLA statement shows the position in this procedure was assigned to the Punjab. He avowed that "any member of the Assembly should not blame to the Punjabi and any group of the state for the extensive problems in the development of refugees rehabilitations."⁵⁰⁰ Charges for corruption on politicians were not merely based on reality but also on the corruption discourse of the country particularly heading for against opponents, particularly in Punjab like Nawab Mamdot and in Sindh M. Ayyub Khuhro, were considered as too 'provincialist' in point of view. In actuality, the administrative and political management of the rehabilitation development was mainly the masses of emigrant society who

⁴⁹⁹ Noon, Firoz Khan, From Memory, Lahore: Firoz Sons. 1966. p.202

⁵⁰⁰ WPAD. (1948). West Punjab Assembly Debates, Official Report, 1(4).p148

'were receptive needs, though primarily to those of inner-city settlers'.⁵⁰¹ There the administrative machinery could be ascertained by in spite of being only 10% of the total population 34% of the seats of central services of Pakistan in 1960s.⁵⁰² Refugees' dependence on individual bindings, relied on ethnic kinships and background, shaped the culture of dishonesty and previously-shared localities; in terms of property and grabbing jobs as M. Waseem has highlight, "The apparent subject was rule of law, public morality, official credibility and efficiency of administration".⁵⁰³

Mamdot during Assembly session pointed out attitude of the Refugees Council. The first order, which was sent by the Secretary of refugee's council for Refuge Commissioner, was that no papers need to send to to refugees Minister of West Punjab Mian Iftikharuddin. As far as Punjab is concerned about populating refugees, the Refugees Council attains the right to formulate a policy and tell us how many people have to settle on the earth and how many men have to plant in the industries. But refugee's council cannot do that in which the decision to make such policy should be done in meetings in which no representative of Punjab exists. In such a meeting it was decided that the Advisory Committee should be made in District wise. So the order was sent directly to the Deputy Commissioner or the local officials and when the Deputy Commissioners' Reports came to me, I saw that they were some treasurers who had fought against our members in the previous election. When I made Bail Press, it came to me a long letter on which it was written that we have approved and these names why you objected to them. I want to ask why they send names to such people that were workers of the ML dead.⁵⁰⁴ This was the responsibility of the Punjab government and the Punjab Assembly, should make a meeting and recommend the names of themselves, none of the members of the Refugee Council should intervene. We are not ready to leave this right nor can we intend to intervene to the extent that Deputy Commissioner should combine them and should not come into space. I think that our differences have reached this level that it is also necessary to describe them. The events that are present today we have to say that we have to make a mistake in approving the references of the

⁵⁰¹ 2 S.J. Burki, 'Economic Decision-making in Pakistan', in L. Ziring (ed.), *Pakistan: The Long View* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1977), pp. 149-150; and also see T. P. Wright, Jr; 'Indian Muslim Refugees in the Politics of Pakistan', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 12 (July 1974),

⁵⁰² Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*. p.113

⁵⁰³ Waseem, 'Urban Growth and Political Change at the Local Level', pp. 207-228. For a discussion about the system of kinship in West Punjab, see H. Alvi, 'Kinship in West Punjab Villages', *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, 6, 1 (1972) pp.1-27

⁵⁰⁴ Punjab Assembly Debate, p.342-44

refugee's council. It is impossible to work in this council. In these situations, I am forced to guess this, Punjab's representatives in the council cannot run with this council, I assure you that I will be separated from it.⁵⁰⁵

The Minister for Revenue Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash in the cabinet of West Punjab in early March 1954 through the views of its Government said. "A resolution was passed by PLA and we had also on paper that this division should not be removed", that was a reply to a question that from the reserved seat of refugee Lyallpur VIII, Shameem Ahmad Khan had posed him.⁵⁰⁶ The cut and thrust of the speech was noticeable by sheer parliamentary and political expression for the very easy motive that the distinction between avacuee from non-agreed and agreed areas had *de facto* by now been reserved. At proletariat point, the border had always been somewhat porous between the two. Those refugees related to non-agreed places mostly belonged to the aristocracy or had significant connections inside the 'administrative circles' had already not tied up their lives from the difficulty of allotment practices and ordinances. The elections of 1951 more clinched the conflicts by not discussing first and then providing them for reserved seats.⁵⁰⁷

Bureaucracy and Punjab legislative Assembly

M. Waseem writes that "areas and provinces that comprised Pakistan were under developed in terms of representative character of their legislatures and assemblies. Like in Punjab Provincial Assembly, the official members were more than non officials in British Rule as compare to Calcutta, Bombay and Utter Pardesh. The Punjab was annexed by British after one century as compare to other regions of Sub Continent and British rulers relied mostly on bureaucracy to run the system".⁵⁰⁸ With the death of Liaquat Ali Khan, the first PM of Pakistan during the first four years of Chief Executive was influenced by Pakistan civil servants. Bureaucrats were attached with the government although democratic institutions were there but both Liaquat Ali Khan and Quaid-i-Azam as effective and influential relied profoundly on the bureaucrats. Various top civil servants of central as well as provincial departments were

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid, 346

⁵⁰⁶ *Punjab Assembly Debates*, 2nd March 1954, PSCL.

⁵⁰⁷ West Punjab Gazette – Extraordinary Issue, 5th August 1949, UPL and West Punjab Gazette –*Extraordinary Issue*, 23rd December 1950, UPL.

⁵⁰⁸ Muhammad Waseem, *Politics and State in Pakistan*, Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1994, p. 16.

encouraged by Quaid-i-Azam to communicate directly with him as the Governor General, on significance matters.⁵⁰⁹

Trend of close relations and ties between politicians and influential bureaucrats such as Prime Minister of Pakistan, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali (1955-1 956) Governor- General of Pakistan Ghulam Muhammad (1951-1955) and leading capitalists refugee was active. They had no political foundation in Pakistan undeniably such bureaucrats-turned-politicians and refugee politicians required to incentive kinfolk and clients as and sought to maintain their vote-banks undamaged. They actively rewarded the refugees from avacuee property and tried to cultivate them as their new supporters. Earlier we have seen, the first and fine example of this is Chief Minister Nawab Mamdot from West Punjab after-independence. Most of the refugees of course had not high position and right of entry to strengthen their ways. They practiced trivial corruption in their each day dealing with the country. Sometime they used to oil the wheels of the dishonesty mechanism with dealing and bribes to handle with officials of low rank in order to to get their cases heard they even took even small steps. Their cases neither were nor secured due to the failure of their 'consideration. The consequence was that their experiences and those of kinsfolk provided the dialogue which, eventually the debates in the corruption did not acquire the economic level political and administrative atmosphere where deceitful activities which charges against public figures. In the Pakistan Times in 1954 a correspondent outlined the refugees': "without offering bribes to the officers it was impossible almost to file to the touts or their officials".⁵¹⁰ This position was continued until well after a decade for example, Chaudhry Mahtab PLA, was still claiming "the Refugee rehabilitation scheme found any Muhajir who has not been required to pay off bribe between 100 and Rs 1000. Bribe is being prearranged by poor Muslim to Revenue officers, Sub-Tahsidars, Patwaris and other officers appointed on high positions."⁵¹¹ Eventually the discourse on corruption was Ayub's capture of power. Not only Mamdot, Daultana and their buddies sought make sure control by manipulation of bureaucratic office. Mamdot government was investigated; Mudie also talked about political persecution and

⁵⁰⁹ Sayeed, K. B. (n.d.). The Political Role of Pakistan's Civil Service. *Pacific Affairs*.p.12 Islam, R. (1987). *The Bangladeshi Liberation Movement* . Dhaka: The University Press.p.131. Kaushik, S. N. (1985). *Pakistan Under Bhutto's Leadership*. New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.p.41

⁵¹⁰ Pakistan Times Lahore. 17 July 1954. P.2

⁵¹¹ PPLAD, 22 March 1958, File no,D.50(5),PSA.

the role of provincial police as a tool. As highlighted by Mudie, “ Mamdot as have his officers has got into the habit, of creating quires into the conduct of and even striking or bigning of criminal cases against, high government officialdom and magistrates while not regard to their superiors boost this a completely unscrupulous and corrupt ministry which initiate query adjacent to those offices that they thought about their political rivals, and that keep the foremost tarnished criminals either as a result of they did their dirty work for them or had allowed them to share in their loot”.⁵¹²For Mudie, Mamdot and his government kept strong his power through police which played very important role in shaping startegy, with attacks on political rivals and fractious bureaucrats appointed on key positions through which the political elits eradicate confrontation to the quest of their agenda. Liaqat Ali Khan remained reluctant to back the investigation of Mudie and it was the delimma in political scenario of Punjab since colonial period. The special relation of Punjab was given to the authority of the government at the Centre, and the dependence of the ML on significant, renowned landlords leaders within the province to make sure electoral support, the PM had to make a decision on between hostile his previous allies and as a result risking the fall down of government of his party, or varnish over their official record in order to make sure their long-term alliance with the ruling coalition.⁵¹³ Consisting of five advisors, Khan directed Mudie to compose an interim government, approved by the Prime Minister, appointed by the Muslim League, would be given ministerial powers and would be head of various executive departments.⁵¹⁴This scheme was in clear diffrent to one that had been promoted by the Governor himself, in which he had recommended the four “seven advisors would be appointed, out of which four would be from the diffrent factions of the

⁵¹²File No. 2(2)/PMS/49, ‘Correspondence with the Governor West Punjab’, Prime Minister’s Secretariat, 30-31 January 1949, 3, NDC.

⁵¹³As argued by Syed (1989), Liaqat Ali Khan’s reliance on the Punjabi landlords was compounded by the fact that he himself, being a migrant, had no real constituency in Pakistan. This would also explain the decision to ultimately support Daultana over Mamdot; while the former was one of the largest landholders in the country, the latter had been forced to abandon much of his estate in India. Although Mamdot was compensated for this, and was also able to appropriate a large amount of evacuee property in West Pakistan, his standing amongst the West Punjabi landlords was arguably not as great as Daultana’s.

⁵¹⁴File No. 2(4)/PMS/49, ‘Appointment of Advisors to Governor West Punjab’, Prime Minister’s Secretariat, 22 June 1949, NDC.

political parties and three from bureaucracy.”⁵¹⁵”It was clear that the PM, s proposals same old politician would get opportunity to run the business of the government of Punjab, despite assurances of Liaquat Ali Khan to the contrary”.⁵¹⁶ As Aysha Jalal mentions that external support was given to the Pakistani Military as post-cold war politics and alignment with U.S and maybe its support against political internal players.⁵¹⁷ Khalid Bin Sayed pointed out that in October 1954 after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. Having its remarkable power in abeyance the Army was always in the background.⁵¹⁸

In the national dilemma of Pakistan the role of Bureaucracy cannot be even denied. During the early History of Pakistan bureaucracy became very powerful and dominant. In the absence of mature political leadership and established political smooth system bureaucracy began to get attention in political matters. During Colonial Period similar to military the bureaucracy was a trained and organized institution. Chaudhary Muhammad Ali from 1947 to 1951 played his role as the powerful Secretary General in Pakistan. Iskandar Mirza and Ghulam Muhammad were prominent bureaucrats who captured political authority from 1951 to 1956. The elected Politicians were dependent and reliant on local bureaucracy for a variety of kinds of support.

The quality of the Punjab administration and the moral of the officers had never been destroyed as it was in November and December 1948. ⁵¹⁹In addition to the Inspector General of Police, Khan Qurban Ali Khan, many other government officials were in the favour of Daultana. This was not only the reason that the unionist members of these officers had long links, but they knew that after the death of Jinnah, Daultana's star was alive. He all just of this communication and the rest are the only way.

Political administration and management of the Punjab

Political management of the province another variable through which we can be aware of the place and position of Punjab in the federation of Pakistan. Several provisions of the Interim

⁵¹⁵File No. 2(6)/PMS/49, ‘Resignation of Sir Francis Mudie’, Prime Minister’s Secretariat, 28 June 1949, 1, NDC.

⁵¹⁶File No. 2(6)/PMS/49, ‘Resignation of Sir Francis Mudie’, Prime Minister’s Secretariat, 28 June 1949, 1, NDC.

⁵¹⁷ Aysha Jalal, ‘State-Building in the Post-War World: Britain’s Colonial Legacy, American Futures and Pakistan’, in Sugata Bose (ed.) *South Asia and World Capitalism*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990. pp. 262-301.

⁵¹⁸ Khalid Bin Sayeed, Collapse of Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan. Middle East Institute, *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Autumn, 1959), pp. 389-406

⁵¹⁹ Sayed Noor Marshal, 377-372

Constitution of Pakistan 1947 assured the power and influence of the central establishment in the management of the provinces. Executive mechanism was to work in a conduct as to make sure directed by federal laws under 122 Section. Likewise Section 124 more amplified the range of the federal Government in the governmental formation that ‘the central establishment might impose duties and bestow powers on or their officers and provinces, even while subject related to the matter of the legislations, might be away from the control of the provinces.’ the centre had authority to issue orders to provinces concerning the federal laws of administration, with respect to matters particular in the concurrent list under Section 126(2). Nearly, these provisions became influential to stop the political activeness of provinces in the country machinery.

It is clear that the economically powerful landlords and business groups of West Pakistan had a dominating influence in Pakistan politics during the period 1947-1958. Although the landlords were not formally organized, they could easily get elected to political positions because of their control over the financial life of their tenants. Their influence on the political process was direct. They were part and parcel of the political establishment. The influence of the business group, on the other hand, was indirect. Formally they were organized and they put effectual pressure on the decision-making elements from outside the institutions of government. The refugees had some representatives in the West Pakistan Assembly as well as in the central legislature. There were also some refugee organizations trying to influence government policy from outside but with only partial success.⁵²⁰

Through the notice of a privilege motion Ch Muhammad Afzal Cheema,⁵²¹ inside the Assembly Chamber objected the presence of Military Officers, restrictions forced on the entry of the respected members into the Assembly hall and obligatory closing of the windows and doors. Speaker Dr Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din the ruled out the motion with the following comments:-

“First part of the motion is concerned with the motion of Gibbon presented earlier before the house. Restriction imposed on the officials to enter in the Assembly especially during session, by the Secretary of the Assembly, that the old practice of the issue of admission cards to honourable members to make possible their free entry into the building has been invigorated in

⁵²⁰ Talukder Maniruzzaman ,Group Interests in Pakistan Politics, 1947-195. *Pacific Affairs*, University of Columbia, Vol. 39, No. 1/2 (Spring - Summer, 1966), pp. 83-98

⁵²¹ A member may, with the consent of the Speaker, raise a question involving a breach of privilege either of a member or of the Assembly or of a Committee. A member wishing to raise a question of privilege shall give notice in writing to the Secretary not less than one hour before the commencement of the sitting on the day the question is proposed to be raised.

order to protect them against futile molestation at the round about the Assembly Building by the Officers appointed by the Martial Law Administrator. Closure of the windows and doors is in the favour of the safety of the Building and has no affected whatsoever on the meetings of the Assembly. The motion is, ruled out of order therefore. I should like, however, to point out that I would welcome suggestions from honourable members in this behalf which may be likely to facilitate further their entrance and way out and into of this Chamber.”⁵²²

Anti-Ahmediya Movement

Punjab Government soon saw the intensification of sectarian violence with the fundamentalist demand, members of the Ahmediya should be declared non-Muslims and above all other things Pakistan would be Islamic State so that Ulema would have significant influence in power structure.⁵²³ In the same context, but central government remained relatively forceful through civil government in the provinces although law and order maintenance was a provincial matter. Report of the court of inquiry regarding Punjab Disturbances in 1953 during Anit Ahmdyia Movement pointed out the fact that central aouthroties had direct links with the provincial administration, on the subject of law and order situation and the activities of the Chief Minister of Punjab, Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana, report was send to the central government. Political Provincial leadership, particularly Daultana CM of the Punjab and Nazimuddin, encouraged and supported the protesters and demonstration for instant political advantages. Secretary Interior from States and Frontier Regions G. Ahmad, was extremely concerned by the the situation and path and methodology that the political class had adopted. He wrote a note to

⁵²² In that ruling the Speaker observed that the presence, with the consent of the Speaker, of army personnel in the galleries, boxes or anywhere else in the assembly building in connection with security and safety of the building and the members did not involve any breach of privilege — see Decision No.301, pp. 329-31.

² Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 18 March 1953, Vol-VI, pp. 115.

⁵²³ Anti-Ahmedi sentiment eventually led to serious full-scale rioting in 1953, which in turn resulted in the establishment of a committee of inquiry led by then Lahore High Court Justice Muhammad Munir. The committee examined the entire controversy and reported on the history of the Ahmadiya movement, starting in the 1880s when, Mirza Ghulam Ahmed declared himself the recipient of divine revelations through to 1901 when he claimed that he was a prophet, albeit one without a new Sharia, and that while the traditional doctrine of the Finality of the Prophethood ruled out the possibility of a new Sharia, it did not rule out the possibility of a new prophet. See *Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953* (Lahore, 1954), pp. 9-10. To Sunnis and Shias the finality of the prophethood is a core element of faith. For any individual to proclaim himself (or herself) a prophet (with or without their own Sharia) amounts to apostasy, punishable by death. The 1973 Constitution incorporated, as the Second Amendment, a demand from fundamentalists that Ahmedis be declared non-Muslims and apostates; thus under Islamic traditions and laws, to kill Ahmedis or forcibly convert them to mainstream Islam, became a meritorious deed. An attack in 2010 on an Ahmedi place of worship, which left 95 dead, drew practically no condemnation from religious parties and only formal protestations of outrage at loss of life from mainstream political p

the PM regarding the "Internal Situation on 14 March 1952."⁵²⁴ In a nutshell he acknowledged two main prescriptions. One was that by engaging religious class, the politicians had only established their own lameness and risked dropping the country into disorder other was that politician who were in rule should not use their political position for their own personal benefit. They should take their role seriously as policy makers.⁵²⁵ The prime minister did not take pay attention to. Between Daultana's ambitions, and Nazimuddin's insecurities the Punjab soon became the victim of sectarian violence and demonstration because religious class started direct Action against Ahmadyias in Lahore and other part of Punjab as well.

Hamid Yausaf wrote that he wanted to switch the demonstration to the Karachi to the discomfort of the Government of Nazim ud Din.⁵²⁶ Chaudhari Mohammad Shafique Jinnah Awami League said that on 6th March the Chief Minister's announcement was a evidence that "he encouraged the leaders of the agitation".⁵²⁷ Safdar Mahmood also said that Daultana tried to turn the protest towards the center with two substance one he wished to substitute Nazim ud Din with himself second to exterminate the proposal of parity, presented in BPC in its report.⁵²⁸

In March 1953 the governor general dismissed the government of Daultana and to crush the anti-Ahmedi riots army moved into Lahore on 17 April 1953. while together civil servants and with senior military commanders, Nazimuddin was asked by the governor general, to stay out of power and recognized a bureaucratic dictatorship backed by the army, legitimized by a collaboration of judiciary, and favoured by a group of opportunistic politicians rotated into and out of office at the pleasure of governor general.⁵²⁹ In spite of fulfilling their real duty - explaining and protecting it in community and making policy and mostly elected representatives were alert on getting familial and personal substance benefit and developing a annoyance value by exploitation of the "hypothetical grievances" of the electorate.

⁵²⁴National Documentation Centre, Folder 21, File. No. 3(5)-PMS/52, Government of Pakistan, Prime Minister's Secretariat, "Correspondence with the Hon'ble minister for Interior and States & F.R." (1952).

⁵²⁵Ilhan Niaz, *Advising the State: Bureaucratic Leadership and the Crisis of Governance in Pakistan, 1952-2000* Royal Asiatic Society, Cambridge University press, Third Series, Vol. 21, No. 1 (JANUARY 2011),pp. 45

⁵²⁶ Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan, A study of Development 1947-97*, Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publication, 1999.p.52

⁵²⁷ *Pakistan Times* lahore 20 March 1953

⁵²⁸ Safdar Mahmood, 85

⁵²⁹ Ilhan Niaz, *Advising the State: Bureaucratic Leadership and the Crisis of Governance in Pakistan, 1952-2000* Royal Asiatic Society, Cambridge University press, Third Series, Vol. 21, No. 1 (JANUARY 2011),pp. 41-53

PRODA

By the Public and Representative Offices Disqualification Act, 1949 (PRODA) the Governor-General was empowered to keep out parliamentary secretaries, provincial legislatures, members of central and ministers from politics for a period of ten years maximum, if found maladministration, culpable of corruption and any mistreatment of officials positions. This Act was used by the centre as an instrument to keep away those political figures from the sight of politics that were demanding the provincial autonomy and challenging the power of the centre. Cases were filed and referred to the tribunals established under the Act, against Daultana and Mamdot under PRODA. But, Mamdot was not proved blameworthy of any bad behavior or mishandling of authority. Proceeding against Daultana was never accomplished⁵³⁰. Mudie articulated his shock in a letter written to prime Minister in which Liaquat Ali Khan wrote that although law must be in its course, but case should not be used against Mamdot as it is not in favour of Pakistan, among masses any kind of feeling should not be emerged that what is being done for oppression of the people mainly from Punjab.⁵³¹

Through the Governor to influence the provincial politics, Section 51 of the Interim Constitution of Pakistan was mainly imperative tool. Governor under Section 51 in his dealings with the cabinet of province had to perform as the mediator of federal Government and had to chase the commands of center for summoning, dismissing, and choosing the ministers of the provincial. On the other hand, until the selection of Mushtaq Ahmed Khan Gurmani as the Governor of Punjab no Punjabi was appointed in November 1954. Francis Mudie (1947- 1949) after independence was first British Governor of Punjab, among the Governors appointed after Mudie, Sardar Adur Rab Nishtar remained Governor of Punjab during 1949-1951 and he was belong to North- West Frontier Province, after him Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar appointed as Governor for the period of 1951-53 was a refugee business, Mian Aminuddin for a period of 1953-1954 remained Governor, he was a refugee civil servant and H. I. Rahimtoola was a refugee lawyer remained from 1954-November 1954 in the office of Governor..

These Governors had the emergency powers which he used very regularly as ordered by the centre. During the first seven years after independence, ten provincial CMs were dismissed and the Governor Rule was enforced in the provinces. Through this system the Governor

⁵³⁰ The Gazette of Pakistan, 1953

⁵³¹File No. 2(2)/PMS/49, 'Correspondence with the Governor West Punjab', Prime Minister's Secretariat.

followed out the directions of the Federal government to execute the wish of central Government in the politics of province. The dismissal of NWFP Ministry on August 22, 1947 under Section 51 was the first time when center proved itself more powerful than the provincial government. Consequently, center used this provision intrepidly in the Punjab, East Bengal and Sind to reduce the authority of provincial government in the situation of political ground.

Land Lords

The landowner is fascinated in control, and purpose of it was just to secure his land and his influence over the natives who live on and around it. Landlord always enjoys the power of ruler in system of Pakistan. At this time landlords were most successful politicians in the Punjab, Daultana was one of them. Mamdot did obtain some land in Pakistan because his family's assets had been left in India, and although, he was no longer a big landlord. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali had his land but all was left in India and he did not get land here in Pakistan. Now he was landlord but by tradition and background actually he had no more land. Now in the circle of politics of Punjab he decided to favour Daultana in spite of Mamdot because he thought that Daultana was better choice for partnership than Mamdot.

Firstly, ambition and arrogance of Daultana may have provoked him to confront Mamdot, who was now a less important landowner, but he suffered embarrassment in public when Mamdot first agreed and then refused to invite Daultana back in his cabinet may have been the additional strong cause. A big landholder had been snubbed by a smaller one and the entire world knew it. In the years subsequent partition, the Punjabi landed cream of the crop were capable to strengthen and swell their authority, by their well-established place within the framework of institution of the country to get used to the altered political milieu in a means that permitted them to keep on pursuing their political and economic benefit. Landed gentry used their institutional place to settle in changing financial situation and remained leading in bureaucracy and always manipulate electoral practice. Although they failed to subordinate the state after partition due to their factional variance over power and recourses. They institutionalized themselves overtime as part of political process. Chaudhary Nasirudin accused the unionist Deputy commissioner of Sheikhpura in the Assembly that he has involved in the overthrow of the property. On this, Feroze Khan Noon raised this point of order when a member should not be allowed to name the government officer and attack him. Iftikharuddin said ministers did not bring some bad and bribe officers as some assembly members were in the back

of them. CM Nawab Mumdot admitted that this officer is really a big bad name In such a big bad name, he refused to charge a district Before that officer I told him to go to all the districts on a official visit and tell me which district accepts it. Then I sent him to the holiday, now he has returned, the compassionate person has been placed in the center. By placing the house, salary cannot be given; we are investigating against this officer.⁵³² However, these protests and complaints inside and outside of the assembly could have had no effect and could not .Main reason of Punjab's middle class protest against corruption and promotion of elements of unionist officers was that traditionally bureaucracy was a major influence in Punjab. There was no doubt about the victory of those political elements that were backed by bureaucratic. Since most of the province's officers have been appointed in the period of Unionist feudal before Pakistan, And since formation of Pakistan, politically apparently they were the supremacy of the feudal. Therefore, the loyalty of these officers was associated with the feudal, even though they themselves belong to the middle class. According to Iftikharuddin, there was no action against these corrupt officers that some members of the Parliament used to support them. Nawai waqat, a few days later supported this allegation of Iftikharuddin wrote in an editor. We know that the members of the ministers recommended those who were accused of bribery and robbery. Mamdot issued orders for the dismissal of unionists' officers. They reached to the ministers for safety. In this case, the ministry should advise the governor to break the present assembly and order new elections. In the election, they will vote only for those people who have the overall interest of the public on the interests of a large group of big land lords.⁵³³ Pakistan Times also informed that this cabinet crisis has led to due to the intervention of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan. Iftikharuddin and his newspapers Pakistan Times and Amrooz were against Liaqat Ali Khan,s favour for Unionist Feudal and considered it dangerous for progressive class. Iftikharuddin's opposition of Unionist Feudal was not new.

He delivered his first speech in the Punjab Legislative Assembly after successful victory on the Muslim League ticket in the general elections of 1945.In this, he strongly criticized the unity of Unionist and Congress the Assembly against the ML in the session of Punjab Legislative Assembly in 28 March 1946. The Nexus was released by Abul Kalam, and its aim was to bring an end to power in the subcontinent. On the occasion of transition, the Muslim league should be

⁵³² Nawai Waqat, 18 January,1948

⁵³³ Ibid, 28 January 1948

deprived of power from Punjab .Although the League Party was the biggest in the Assembly The number of unionist were not more than nine or ten. Iftikharuddin's allegation was that the Congress united along with the treasures of the country to oppose the right to self-determination, rather than the highest religious claims of their rule. Now in 1948 his view was that Liaqat Ali Khan by pairing with Unionist Feudal behaved in same way as Abul Kalam in 1946.⁵³⁴

Appointment of Noon as CM of the Punjab added insult to injury further for Daultana who had following of the majority in the Punjab. Noon, s selection was thus symbolized the discomfiture which the central command determined to put in force upon Daultana. Noon was thus satisfied with the position as CM of the Province so he left the presidency of ML party for Daultana; such a compromise by Noon was a prove of admiration and value for political position of Daultana in the province and accumulate his arrogance. The landholder, yet, does not consider the politics as a game in which the opponent is to be beaten but if not kept breathing and well so that the game may continue. Noon sought to come to an end Daultana.

Member of the PLA did not claim and demand for their right of choosing that who would be their leader and who would not. The reason of this was that they still had not secured full political maturity and sense of their role in institution. Till that time legislative role was new for them to act. In 1946 most of them had been elected for the first time, some in 1951. Furthermore, the landlords were in majority and in roaming to democratic and independent institutions they had brought their long-established luggage of expectations, approaches, and ideals with them regarding friend and foe, clash and its motion.

Landlord were in the Assembly were nor due to their role to improve the society. Law making and shaping policies were incidental tasks for them in political scenario. Their participation in the election was the reason that this was the new and accepted way to some extent to maintain their factional conflict. In this way they could won and defeat their oponents. They had very strong command in their areas through this strong Institution. They had legislative positions and now they could legitimize claim, advantages and demand for themselves and for their constituencies.⁵³⁵In return they could tribute him just in form of their vote. Asking and demanding ws not shame for the Chaief and for his rival because they were in fight on war of

⁵³⁴ Ibid,123

⁵³⁵Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India*, p. 253; Darling, Rusticus Loquitur, pp. 211-12; Saghir Ahmad, *Class and Power*, p. 100.

principal but for dominance and power and level of satisfaction as well. Deviding the party into different factions was not new for their political benefits. Factional conflicts and divisions had always existed; they were unavoidable. It was the test of a man to make right possible bargain in changing and choosing faction. In democratic political history of Pakistan land lords always got opportunity to control political parties and legislature.

One Party (Muslim League) Assembly

Muslim League remained ruling party in period under study Mudie says that Mamdot,s Ministry failed due to two reasons, firstly intra class conflict in Punjab where different factional wanted to deploy their resources to capture political power as much as possible although their factions were competing for power but their animosity was going to reshape the institution of Punjab Muslim League In the discussion with prime Minister he voiced that ML be disqualified from issuing parliamentary tickets because Nepotism, corruption, factionalism, would leave impact on electoral result.⁵³⁶

There is a silent revolution in Punjab's politics The poor people did not yet understand the importance of this revolution but rich and ruler family are scared of it.They (landlords)fear that if the leadership of the League also came out of our hands, we would end up completely And our politics will be terminatedAnd in the next selection people will get assembly tickets to the poor and middle classFor the sake of this danger, now it is the leadership of the League So that the distribution of league tickets remained in their hands in coming elections. They are afraid that the door of the ministry has been opened on the poor if the poor worker is elected as president, there will be no refuge for us.The Punjab Muslim has been in the absence of leadership for several yearsIt is an important opportunity to create leadership.⁵³⁷This leadership is emerging among the masses and the poorJagirdar and Nawabzada gathered on a front to crush it.

In the early years of Pakistan, the Muslim League's Government in the province of the Punjab, instead of focusing on resolving the problems of its masses, it mainly revolved around its' political leadership for their personal interests which not only degenerated its fame within the province rather it had effected its recognition in the entire country.JAL described as a result of the union of Moderate religious leaders Suherwardi mixture of orthodox Muslim and refugees

⁵³⁶File No. 2(2)/PMS/49, 'Correspondence with the Governor West Punjab', Prime Minister's Secretariat.

⁵³⁷ Nawai Waqat, 28 November 1948

and dissatisfied Leaguers.⁵³⁸ The party and institutional rift between center and province was widening day by day. In late 1952 the of two prominent *zamindars* as well as members of the PLA, Nasrullah Khan and Syed Naubahar Shah, reminded by highlighting of previous undertakings and agreements to parliamentarians and fellow ML associates. The Punjab Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1952 and on going debates on tenent and landlord relationship was under discussion. A voluble campaign marked by violent declarations and by the disciplinary actions toward the withdrawn of wheet from local market and smuggle to India was getting meeting and momentum approval from Muslim leagures and landed gentry. Apparently at least 30 party members were prepared to join the group of these two dissenter *zamindars* and straight barricades to reform the primary sector in order to protect their benefit from any further effort.⁵³⁹ Daultana handled this case and ordered expulsion of Naubahar and Nasrullah Khan from the Muslim League when Naubahar threatened him to resign. It was one of those cases when someone is used as a mouthpiece. Isolation of Nasrullah Khan and Syed Naubahar Shah from the party was equivalent to a marginalisation from the political spirit and to a banning from their ‘right’ to exploit the state *apparata* and successfully mould government policies. Apparently all the other members of the assembly land andlords received Daultana loud and clear. Certainly the revolt was put down, as an officer to the British High Commission (Lahore) reported, “held in check at least for the time being”.⁵⁴⁰ But both Nasrullah Khan and Syed Naubahar Shah had signed their own political death warrants. Their enticing attempts to join the JAN ran into the buffers of resolute disapproval of Suharwardy. The high prices of *atta* and other food grains were extending quality and weight to the political space to all the existing Opposition parties. In February 1952 the Azad Pakistan Party, the Jamaat-i-Islami, and the Islam League combined their efforts with Communist Party the in the preparation of a march in protest as government was unable to tackle the emergency situation⁵⁴¹On that time attendance of 8000 spotlight the potention of the issue and strength of the electoral position.⁵⁴² Market was facing downfall because of the resistance of just two rebel Zimindars who resisted against the high price and any

⁵³⁸ Elesabetta Iob, *Refugees and policies of everyday State in Pakistan*, London: Routledge Taylor &Francis Group.2018.p.116

⁵³⁹ D.B.C.C, Brien, *The Mouridesof Senegal*, Oxford:Oxford University press,1971.pp179-89

⁵⁴⁰ Elesabetta Iob, *Refugees and policies of everyday State in Pakistan*, London: Routledge Taylor &Francis Group.2018.p.116

⁵⁴¹ *Riot in Lahore – Despatch No. 146, 27th February 1952*, NND 842430, NARA.

⁵⁴² *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), 25th February 1952.

eventual agrarian reform. As a result, the leaders of the Opposition were not ready and by risking their popular support by taking Nasrullah Khan and Syed Naubahar Shah on board.⁵⁴³ After partition politicians were not able to perform their proper duty the ML which influenced in every field of the political life of Punjab after partition was unsuccessful to manage a variety of critical issues like rehabilitation of refugees and evacuee property, political representation in the central and provincial legislature. The league failure to deal with these issues led to its downfall. The dissolution of the ML gave opportunity to rise many small political parties which shaped more unhinged political circumstances in Punjab.

In one party dominant Assembly, party and the Government had become impossible to tell apart. Here loyalty to the nation means loyalty to the party and drifting apart from party means disloyalty with nation and political structure itself. As in the case of ML which was failed to transform itself from movement of nation to party of the nation. For the strong democratic institution on a firm footing, culture of acceptance is necessary. Difference of opinion and space to each other is not tolerated in the party. In the end PML in center and in the province level began to lose leaders and honest workers. Party in decline led to the establishment of many other political parties before solving initial problems and flexible and strong institution. Downfall of ML in political structure was another strain on working of the institutions. Therefore political system falls down within few initial years.

Management of Provincial Finances

In regard to the provincial resources federal Government had superior hand under the Interim Constitution. The collection of taxes and financial resources was to be managed by the central authority. Consequently, the allocation of economic capital was extremely in favour of the centre. Other than the supervision of monetary issues and fiscal, foreign exchange, international trade and national currency, every main resource was in the authority of the federal establishment. Furthermore, the choice to capitulate the share of profits of the provinces owing to mass migrations into Pakistan and increased defense expenditure increased the place of central command and the influence of the provincial establishment was minimized. Income tax, custom

⁵⁴³ Elesabetta Iob, *Refugees and policies of everyday State in Pakistan*, London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2018, p.116

duties and Sales tax were taken over to get together the exigencies of the time for the time being in 1948 by the central government from the government of provinces for two years.⁵⁴⁴ Which was extended for two more years. Later, under the government of India Act (amended) 1952 this collection was prepared permanent in support of centre. Punjab became the subject matter of the will of the center in some projects of development of the provinces in the allocation and management of certain taxes introduced by the. Practically financial system was centralized, as a result in the absorption of big industrialists' amenities and business behavior to the business society of the central wealth in capital city, which became everlasting economic socio political phenomena in State. As a centre of 'Tata's and Birlas Daultana condemn this deliberately application of development and wealth in the federal city Karachi.⁵⁴⁵

Punjab was deprived by this development and in its share in the commercial and industrial progress. Punjab not only suffrend burden of the influx of refugees but central policies towards concentration of maximum financial resources in Karachi and deprivation of Punjab in this regard. Although Punjab remained the major contributor to resources and against the ratio of population its share to economy was double as compared to other provinces.⁵⁴⁶

Under the 1935 Act Industry was a provincial subject; however, under Industrial Act XIII in 1948 it was included to the concurrent list. Later, under the Constitution of 1956 it became provincial subject. In public interest Punjab and NWFP favoured this decision of the central command, while Sind wished the center's authority restricted to coordination and planning whearas the East Bengal sturdily remained in opposition against this agenda⁵⁴⁷

Over the provincial financial resources provinces resented continuous infringement of the centre. In 1951 a Commission head by Raisman was set up to make recommendation regarding the distribution of revenue scheme between the Center and Provinces. Between the provinces and the centre revenue sources reallocated, 50 percent of income tax revenue was suggested by Raisman Award 1951 for the provinces. 62.50 percent of net proceeds East Bengal had to avail on jute, 10 percent of any extra duty though; 35m in share was given on the existing limit.

⁵⁴⁴ Lubna Kanwal, The Interim Constitution 1947:Centre-Province Relations and the Punjab 1947-1955, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. 32, No. 1.P.132

⁵⁴⁵ Dawn,Nov. 10, 1952

⁵⁴⁶ Callard, Keith, (1968). *Pakistan: A political Study*, Karachi: Oxford University Press.P.176

⁵⁴⁷ CALD. (1949). Constituent Assembly Legislature Debates, Official Report, 1(6).P627-629

Central command was also controlling the sales taxes and was not returned to the provinces and. On collection as equal to the jute, a share of the export duty was demended by Sind and Punjab. The ratio of 50 % of the net proceeds of income tax was recommended to the provinces as follows: ⁵⁴⁸

Baluchistan 4

East Bengal 45

NWFP 8

Other areas 4

Punjab 27

Sind 12

Inspite of these recommendations the Provinces share revenue increased to some extent but the Provinces continued to have deficit budgets during this period. They were mainly dependant upon the grants and loans from the Central Government. Here it was worthy to mention that Provinces were not allowed to raise loans in the open Market locally. ⁵⁴⁹consequently there was a steady increase in the loans given by the Central Government to Province. During the period of first years of Independannce the Central provided nealy Rs, 1,000,000,000/- in this respect. ⁵⁵⁰The utilization of these Loans was monitored by Central government. The Provincial Government had to submit a strong Proposal project to the Development Board for approval and loan sanctioned could be spending on the approved scheme. ⁵⁵¹ The Provincial Government was also bound to keep the Central Government informed of the progress of the work. The Punjab after Independence developed its agriculture and land revenue sourse considerably.

One Unit and Consent of PLA:

In October 1954 the Central Government held a meeting of provincial CMs in Fedral Capital to regard as the West Pakistan scheme of unification. ⁵⁵² In the future constitution representation matter should be solved. Between two wings of the State concept of parity was

⁵⁴⁸ Raisman, Jeremy, (1952). Financial enquiry regarding the Allocation of Revenue between the Central and Provincial Government, Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press.

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⁵⁵⁰ Kieth Callard, Pakistan, Apolitical Study, New York: MacMillian, 1957. P168

⁵⁵¹ Meherunnisa, Ali, Politics of Fedralism in Pakistan 1947-58, Karachi: Royal Book Co, 1996. P44.

⁵⁵² Iftikhar H, Malik ,State and Civil Society in Pakistan, Politics of authority, Ideology and Ethnicity, Baring Stoke, Macmillan, 1997, p.196.

introduced but the demands of provincial autonomy by smaller provinces it proved a 'crushing blow'. As that time scheme was a 'brain child' of Mumtaz Daultana, it was considered an idea of Punjab to set up control over all other provinces and especially East Pakistan considered it as a rejection of its numerical power. Daultana drafted that paper regarding strategy to integrate the West Pakistan. Most explicit version of Pakistani Machiavellianism could be found in these documents. A few words will be enough: "Actually at present it can be hold pistol to achieve constitutional, political and economic agreements. . it would be critical to launch any movement if opposition is not working actively. Punjab must be held in reserve. At this time idiocy of our friends should be checked and later on Punjab would be in lead. Time will come soon when there would be intelligent and active leadership of Punjab in both Center and Lahore".⁵⁵³

Role of Print Media (News Papers)

The role of Nawai Waqat in Punjab has been very important in early days When Daultana published his 11-point manifestation for the presidential election of Muslim League. In which it was especially related to unemployment and industrial workers.⁵⁵⁴ Nawai Waqat blamed these Daultana' foes for promoting communism. The purpose of this comment was to tell the Jagirdar members of the assembly about Daultana's ambitions. The advantage of this was that the communism was discussed in the private meetings of the landlord. So Muhammad Nawaz Khan and Sir Maher Shah joined the PML and affiliated themselves with Mamdot group on 24 December 1949. Daultan opposed him, but requests for joining were unanimously passed. At the end of a meeting, Nawab ممدوٹ told Nawai Waqat that the government's opponents realized that the Ministry has got the majority of the support. Therefore, they will not bury the opinion on any issue.⁵⁵⁵ Now Nawai Waqat did not have any complaint nor did they feel any threat neither from Unionist nor the members of the House. Now there was no need to raise any pressure on the idol of landlordism. Now suddenly the falsehood was justified and right had taken the form of false.⁵⁵⁶ Nawai Waqat used to write about the honor and value of Punjab government in the eye of center. On November 20, the reader's editor, a reporter of the UP, wrote a short letter on Sunday, which was said that the Nawia-e-Waqat was the biggest scholar of Islamic unity. The description of the poison against Punjabi officers in the central

⁵⁵³ Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, 1955, Vol. I, pp. 508-513 and pp. 612-629.

⁵⁵⁴ Pakistan Times, 27 November 1948

⁵⁵⁵ Nawai Waqat, 26 December 1948

⁵⁵⁶ Zahid Chaudhary, p.141

government is so painful that we also have to mention about it. Abhya Pradesh is being appeased on Saty on the province and it is raising the Punjab Punjab name. The answer of this letter was given in an editorial on 21 April. The first as it was allegedly declared that Nawa i Waqt believed on provincialism. Punjab's historic services were poured out for Islam and Pan Islam. It was said that protest against the loss of Punjab is not a worship of provinces but service to the nation and nation. In August 1948 West Punjab Government was ready to take strict action against Print media according to Punjab Public Safety Act so that criticism and rebellious voices could be curbed out. It was marked as important feature of the initial years of the History of State. Religious publications, Textbooks, Radio, imported films and Pakistani films, literature, vernacular press and local English were all cautiously scrutinised and sooner or later blacklisted. For example, *Yeh Azadi*, This Freedom, *Pakistan Men Mazdoor Tahreek*, History of Workers in Pakistan, (Long Live the Revolution of Chiang Kai-Shek) *Inquilab-i-Chin Zindabad* were not successful to get favour of censors, as per established formula by the Government these were considered dissatisfied. ”⁵⁵⁷ These kind of action were previously taken against *Nagoosh* (Evening) *Adab-e-Latif* (Man and his Works), Urdu literary periodicals, *Savera* (Dawn). so far they were actively working for the well informed public, strong party system, role of opposition, and legislation. Although Journalist at that time and newspapers were not strong enough to make people that what should be think but just drew up the topics to be talked about and discussed to gain full socio-political awareness in their surroundings. Consequently political complicities and vetoes did threaten the practice to formulate an opinion on specific occasions. It was in the rumour in early 1949 the influential and popular *Nawa-i-Waqt* was blessed by CM of Punjab Nawab Mamdot an obligation of gratefulness. Rumor has it that, with the support of Mamdot Urdu daily was allotted a modern new press and its editors were allotted agricultural lands. In the result, pointless to say, among its readership there was a plunge in credibility. ‘Intimate’ ties and somehow censorship between the political authorities and press reduced many debates on government policies and politics to silence. Local radios and Newspapers were badly failed to provide proper interpretation of the events to build up opinion— no matter educated or well off most of the people were unable to face socio political complexities of the society relationship with the community. Public safety act was proved weapon in the hand of Muslim League to snub

⁵⁵⁷ West Punjab Gazette, 1st January 1949, UPL, West Punjab Gazette – Extraordinary Issue, 23rd

August 1950, UPL and *West Punjab Gazette –Extraordinary Issue*, 29th August 1950, UPL.

the rivals. In turn, the fallouts on the electorate were distressing. Hussain Suhrawardy says, it “suppresses[ed] the organisation of the local public opinion”.⁵⁵⁸ Certainly, a very strict implementation of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code in 1949 banned meetings and processions all kind of public gathering across the whole of Punjab.

Silence means that the material in Punjabi Muslims at this moment has been stirred up and some of the feelings of disappointment were given to cook. So its essential result will appear in the form of the answer of the province. We do not even have to say that the answer to the questionable province is a very dangerous thing, not influenced by the attitude of provincialism, but it is very appealing to crush statehood .Do justice with Punjab and make justice sooner to emerge in the body of poisonous people⁵⁵⁹ When Khawaja Shahbudin central minister of rehabilitation visited Lahore Nawai Waqat wrote an editorial in this editor, the allegation was accused in a very tremendous word. Punjab, which is the most populous province of Pakistan, is being fooled by plan.Punjabi officials are uncomfortable in Punjab, they are considered unworthy and dishonest. Determination of the poison against the Punjabi officers in the central government is so painful that we did not like to mention it Punjabis are not considered in Pakistan police. Sometimes it was felt that Mamdot and Daultana conflict Kush was actually a tension of the middle class and the Jagirdar class. When Iftikharuddin as president of Muslim league of the post was over in November 1948. He announced that he will fight presidential election for provincial league. He presented his three point agenda. Alloudin Sidique was candidate of Mamdot group he was Islamist intellectual. In the innovative opinion of Nawai Waqat, the election was actually the competition of poor and wealthy class.⁵⁶⁰ The newspaper Nawai Waqat wrote in this editorial shows how severe the border between the middle class and the Jagirdar class was observed these days.

The demand for separation between the judiciary and the executive has come mostly from lawyer-politicians. In East Pakistan, where lawyers are more powerful, an Act called the Code of Criminal Procedure (East Pakis-tan) Amendment Act, 1957, has been passed whereby District Magistrates and Sub-Divisional Officers will deal only with the preventive sections of

⁵⁵⁸ Civil and Military Gazette (Lahore), 3rd July 1949.

⁵⁵⁹ Nawai Waqat , 21 April, 1949.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid, 26 November, 1948

the amended provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.⁵⁶¹The Judicial Magistrates will try all criminal cases and will be directly responsible to the Sessions Judge. In West Pakistan, where lawyers are not as powerful as landlords, the demand for separation has not met with the same degree of success. In Punjab a scheme for partial separation was launched in 1954, each District being assigned an additional District Magistrate to handle judicial functions, Development. Devide forces of PLA were always manipulated by the Central Government in this period. To bring out the desired changes in political structure Governors were instruments to manuver the situation. They played their role as the protectors of favourte persons as CM and dislodging for those were not favourt by central administration. Experienced and competent persons from diverse provincial civil services could be promoted to significant posts in the provinces. Though On all level serious effort were not made for the provincial political participation. If election on provincial and center level held on time then strenghning power of bureaucracy could be reduced. It was the only way that it could boost up the representative charectoer to play their role effectively espacialy over bureaucratic machinery.Only election could have infused sence of participation in political process. This practice was not done in Pakistan in early years. The absence of conseness on the operational norms of political instibilty and politics and slow disintegration of political process did not creat an environment of confidence and trust among the competeing interest. It established non accommodative nonprincipal and free for all political activities. No key political issues representation in the Provincial, Provincial autonomy, and economic and Central Legislature and interection between province and center were developed to the satiisfication of the province.

⁵⁶¹ The Pakistan Times, March ,6, 1957.

Conclusion

Many Writers who have written on Institutions unfortunately not given importance to write in Legislation. Propose of the present study is to fill the Gap by revisiting the formation and working of the Punjab legislative Assembly in early crucial years of Pakistan. Without highlighting the PLA as an Institution, democracy in Pakistan and dimension of history of Pakistan cannot be understood in real perspectives. It was found that first decade of the Pakistan Assembly could not assert itself as a strong institution Bureaucracy and elite class strengthen their position in this province. The study of this institution is summed up in two phases first after 1947 to 1949 and than dissolution of the Assembly elections and second phase of the Assembly from 1951 to 55. The assembly was dissolved and formed by the players and forces outside the Institution of Legislature and assembly could not be shaped as an institution to reckon with routine legislative activities of the Assembly carried on.

This research was conducted with the hypothesis that institution of Punjab Ligislative Assembly failed to generate powerfull social economic structure in the Province. In early years institution of Punjab Assembly could not work properly even Governor Rule was imposed for the business of administration. Since Punjab was the key province of Pakistan whatever happened in field of Punjab impacted whole country. Therefore experiments of democracy suffred and this provided an excuse to military intervention n the country in 1958. Failure of the governments happened not only by Bureocracy which had its own plan but politicians and landlords who organize factions in party and Assembly to support their own political and economic aspiration. League Ministry failed to overcome landed power factionalism which actually split the unionist party after 1946 moreover when after 1947 there was enough possibility of institutional change , some factors like bureaucracy attitude , landed factions, members cunningness ensured that this did not happened. In Punjab Legislative Assembly competition for patronage and power became the reason of instability. There are many reasons of the ineffectiveness of the legislature in Pakistan looking first electoral ineffectiveness. Muslim League which was the only political party after Independence failed to articulate and aggregate the interest of the various groups and regions the party in power level tolerated any opposition in which was typically equated with anti state and treasonous activities. The Muslim League which began to disintegrate in 1953 gave birth to several similar parties within a period of 4 years this certainly had the effect of propelling telling the political situation towards

instability during the period under study. As a result legislature in Pakistan found it impossible to exercise control over the executive because party development was historical weak. Another reason for the ineffectiveness of Legislature was there be constitutional position during the period of 1947-55 administration of Pakistan was carried on according to the provisions of Indian independence act of 1947 and the government of India act of 1935 with certain modifications. These two acts gave the head of state certain emergency powers which ought to have been exercised only with the advise of the cabinet. This emergency powers were at times used by the governor general to this credit certain individuals and parties. Legislative ineffectiveness is clearly related to the Apathy of members who fail to take their functions seriously many members of the house did not even attend its sessions. One of the reasons for this was there relatively brief sitting time of each session.

The landlord class constituted a powerful force in political life of Pakistan and Punjab as well but its influence was exercised mainly as a political party working within the legislature rather than acting as an external pressure group.

Abolition of landlordism is necessary for the institutional development in Pakistan and economic and political development of Punjab as well. Institution of Military, Bureaucracy landed class constant to exercise incredible influence over legislature behind the scene within first ten years of independence political landlord retains the ability to manage legislative and electoral politics and tried to maintain their influence over legislature. Factionalism, landism, Bureaucratic mechanism in Punjab had cumulative effect on the instability of the Institution of legislation. It became difficult overtime for the growth of the maturity of the Institution of Punjab Legislative Assembly. Against prime minister Dismissal no voice was raised. No single actions of assembly like notice and discussion were taken for his removal. Although the act was not in favor of the democratic practice and rule and where no voice can be heard. Political institutions i.e. parliament should be democratic; all the members of National Assembly must represent the ideology of the nation, they should put forward the bills and ordinances in the best national interests. Pakistan is a poor country in connection with the political instructions. Neither the properly elected nor the real leaders come forward in the country's most powerful political institution. Might is right, this is the real slogan of the national politics. All the feudal, criminals, and anti social persons are sit by the agencies and the country's ruling forces, they, themselves are law breakers, what they can for the society? Politically, our social values are based on

nationalities, specially interior Sindh and interior Punjab, since the creation of the Pakistan, some selected families are ruling the country, whether competent or not, but they kept in country's executive seats, no one from the middle class can dare to contend election against those powerful feudal.

It is not only the study of history of provincial autonomy and efficiency of the legislature but an effort to formulate a design so that maximum institutional economic and political autonomy can be achieved. This study draws attention towards institutional internal weakness and influence of external factors and then can be helpful to understand techniques of managing these problems regarding efficiency and autonomy of the legislature. Those internal conflicts had adversely affected the core issue of resettlement. Unity and discipline is important for the success of every organization. Espirit, morale, and unity all needed in the government whereas strategy, numbers and weapons needed in war but main deficiencies in both are coherence, efficiency and discipline. In any institution creating coherent is difficult but not impossible. wherever in the situation administration involved in legislation or policy making; frustration was created among refugees' legislators and refugees in general. This intensifies inter-group and interpersonal rivalries. Even failures after failures and with their known idiosyncrasies, the ministers had the courage to show off their working in the conferences and meetings that they had participated and attended. India remain in war with British shortage of wartime and construction in post war established the culture of corruption in post partition period tricked on to Pakistan as game players had same mind set. Pakistan Government was aware from disease of corruption and introduced legislation and Anti-corruption rules but unfortunately before these measures started to work social and bureaucratic damage had been done. Whereas institution of army was not indulged in corruption they were free from that kind of practice so they earn respect and trust of Jinnah Father of Nation. Land of thul which was a desert converted into productive land by the army and it was a great example to follow other civilian Institutions. The army had shown its reliability in relief, rescue, and operations of resettlement and as a result received full assistance from the Centre as personified by the Jinnah and also by the Punjab government as led by the Governor Mudie. Legislative hierarchy remained always in the top in the center and in the Punjab naturally inclined towards previous practice of electorate and they were open in their attitude. Although their spotless credentials Liaquat Ali Khan Prime Minister and Nawab Mamdot the CM of West Punjab were infrequently

recognized as refugee empathizers to the detriment of the locals. Refugees who were deprived from their land and less vocal as well as locals were criticizing this act of nepotism especially in the case of avacuee property. Both of them were also blamed by the people to allotted choicest land to their relatives. Gap was emerging day by day between refugees and locals and each faction was blaming to other led to the uncertainty and instibility in the institution of the legislation. Nawabzada Liaqat was himself reluctant from locals and he was depended on the support of refugee legislature. He had no choice but to support Daultana although he liked Mamdot. Joining of the refugees' legislature created bad blood in the Assembly. Local legislature were big land lords, they were considered themselves superior to refugees legislature. Refugees legislature were better in education, profession posed serious threat for the locals feudal lords. This threat was furthure strengthen due to the inclination of Liaqat in center and Mamdot in Province towards refugees legislatures. Instead of working full time wholeheartedly for refugees settlement assembly remained devided into various factions. In the result these refugees legislature who were in minority, had to play their role as opposition in the house. This factional war increased the problems of the unsettled refugees and they became object of laugh across the border as seekers of the "promised land" of Pakistan.

This factional rift thus created uncertainty and upheaval continuance fuster in every institution especially institution of legislation. This legislative grouping furthure receive criticisim of the governors as well. The counteractive power of Mudie in the Punjab who had fully support and approach of Liaqat and Jinnah was disliked by all the factions of the legislatures. Mudie was alleged by all the factions who conspired together against himand compelled him to exit. In this period assembly was forme don two party system landed elits and their refugees counterpart which made impossible the entry of locals and margenzlized class. The socio-religious parties like the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* and *Jamaat-i-Islami* which were socio religious parties remained busy to improve their image and dented their reputation for being involve in opposition of Pakistan,s idea. This happening in the formation of the assembly on group base led to other province like Sind. The refugees legislature who jointd assembly in winter of 1947 had mix kind of reception, they were considered intruders by the feudal lords. Although in term of esperience they had political flexibility, professional edge, better education, organizational ability than their other colleagues, who were arrogant feudal of their constituencies. Gradually rehabilitation process of the refugees turned their mind to establish their independent group in

the assembly. They make alliance with like minded people in order to maintain identity by helping and supporting in their political objectives. Refugees' elements enjoyed unified voice and solidarity whereas locals had support of many individual elements. In a similar way feudal lords also reciprocated but their stance was not as strong. Bureaucracy in Pakistan played a major role in policy making this extensive role of Bureaucracy cannot be attributed to the weakness of the representative Institutions bureaucratic dominance hindered the growth of in the representative institutions in Pakistan. In transitional societies and in balance between policy making Political Institutions and policy implementing bureaucratic structures such an imbalance typically favours Bureaucracy. Political situation remained always suitable for Bureaucracy. Finally our analysis has demonstrated that Legislature in early years of Pakistan was badly failed to satisfy Huntington's and Mcguire, s criteria of institutionalization complexity, adaptability Coherence and autonomy. In this period legislature was not strong enough and could not work properly in center and in provinces as well where it was dissolved by Governors and budget was enacted by executive order without even recommendation of the legislature when it was presented in the Assembly members were not ready to take interest in debates and offering recommendations. Constitution of 1956 and 73 further limited the power of legislature in certain expenditure. Effectiveness of legislature is driven from the effective electoral structure and strong political party system. Consequently legislators in Pakistan were not able to enforce controls on institution of the bureaucracy. Punjab Assembly remained unable to prove itself autonomous and efficient in its working and could not satisfy different factions on critical issues, its focus was remained personalities rather than issues.

The traditions that Assembly inherited after 1947 were not hopeful enough for effective institutionalization and it was difficult for the members to set new trends to establish autonomous, efficient, coherent and reasonable institution. With adoption of proper rules and regulation complexity of the institution can be enhanced with the passage of time. There is no doubt that for the development of the institution mutual understanding and relationship is necessary.

Assembly adopted rules and regulation which has been formed by previous Assemblies. No new rules were introduced. Complexity which is foundation of the institution could not be continued during its working. It was not protected by its members and not even cared by external forces.

External forces which were not part of the legislature weakened the durability of the Assembly to that extent it could not flourish and develop as independent, strong, autonomous institution. Other institution intervened in the matters of the Assembly that it could not work properly. External forces were not fully responsible for all irregularities but there were many inner weakness and deficiency in the working of PLA as representative institution that it failed to sustain stability and complexity. Failure to response strongly to major issues for example Qadiani Issue, Rehabilitation, satisfaction of the people and inability to deal with other political and executive institutions led to the eventually disintegration of the Institution of Punjab Legislative Assembly. The members of the Assembly were not trained or experience enough to deal with the performance and instructions of other strong institution. Inexperienced and lack of institutional competency to tackle other institutions resulted in weak autonomy of the Institution.

The crux of the finding of this study is that PIA did a considerable work during its life span 114 sitting in ten sessions many important matters of the province were discussed. There were many responsible members of the Assembly who actively took part in the debates on important issues and openly criticized the Government politics. Many acts and amendments were introduced but unfortunately tussles, factions and disunity among members became one of the hurdle legislature could not proved itself as mother of all Institution.

After reading primary sources Author is in position to say that internal weakness , rivalries between factions of the parties, prioritizing group interest inspite of state provided the opportunity to the external factors ,civil, Military, Bureaucracy who always in wait to step into power and manipulate the situation in their own favour. Unfortunately this opportunity was provided by representatives of the institution. Assembly fell short of sincere leadership due to which it could not present meaningful programs. Mamdot, Shaukat and Iftikhardun parted their ways from Muslim league party in rule and then Daultana faced opposition in the Assembly on the issue of land reforms. Daultana ,s Ministry was entangled thread from Central Government on the Issue of Anti Ahmadiyah and Basic principal committee report. Which was led to the dissolution and Feroz Khan Noon was blessed with power by virtue of Central Government because he was apposing Daultana. But it suffered same fate when he denied to bend in front of the Central Government he was also replaced. In the begning refugee settlement remained the major priority of This Institution. It was difficult processs which became more difficult due to scarcity of resources and entangled malpractices. Rehabilitation was contuiued with slow speed

till the end and became the cause of criticism. A number of policies and plans were introduced to improve education, health and social attention was paid to the road communication due to its social and economic importance discussed in chapter 3 in detail. Many schemes were introduced for the growth of agriculture and industry. When Pakistan was facing food shortage Punjab Assembly was successful to introduce scheme of Grow more food. With little resources and diminished machinery Punjab Legislative Assembly succeeded to recognize the life of the province and developed the field of education, health and communication although its speed was slow. Although in the first legislature there is sad commentary regarding its members. Bureaucracy of Civil-Military were not confident about the competence of the political leaders, they often took decision without even consulting them. One thing was clear that the civil-military bureaucracy “would not allow the religious ideologues and politicians to lead the country to anarchy”.⁵⁶² Atmosphere was created by all this for the acceptance of the supremacy of Military and Martial Law, a rehearsal in the State and acceptance of it by the people.

In Pakistan democratic Institutions are developing but they are still facing great problems due to a lack of political activism parliamentary committee system in the province of Punjab has failed to control the executive due to number in balance is most crucial among them political parties and their leaders have not given due importance to the Parliament and always tried to run the affairs of the province aghorism through executive approach. Outdated rules of procedures and conduct of business of the Assembly is also major hurdle in the empowerment of committee system. The Recommendation of committees is of advisory nature are not binding upon the government and communities having no powers like the committee system of Federal parliament overseas democracies. Lack of Logistic support and trained human capital are also the major issue. They badly affect the performance of committees and even there is no proper and separate accommodation available for the most of the committees. The organic structure of the committees system in the Punjab does not commensurate to the modern pattern and the needs of the day. Political fertility heading the committee and comprising therefore is not trained and qualified according to the postmodern structure to check the executive action and to hold supremacy of the parliamentary system. Inadequacy of parliamentary outreach and public trust

⁵⁶² Hamid Khan, Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 853. 5

upon the political will and activism also held legislative check over the executive due to Bureaucracy negative approach towards public representation the executive accountability by the Parliamentarians remained a Myth and have never been translated into reality.