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Abstract

This research paper explored electoral patterns in the Punjab after independence focusing on the first provincial elections of Punjab. Did the voters have any real choice? How was the religion card employed in the absence of non-Muslims? And how important were ethnic and geographical affiliations in a newly independent, conventional Punjab. How fluidity of displaced people affected the electoral behaviour and results. These important inquiries have important implications for the present scenario. Muslim League became a major political party and incumbent government during the early years of independence. The provincial election helped its splinter groups into new political parties. Victimhood, blaming, national unity, and the Kashmir issue were top trends in campaign rhetoric. Rural election campaigns focused on *biradri*, clan or village heads. Both male and female voter registration and vote casting still needed to improve. Muslim League was accused of using officials and rigging. Research noticed that the electoral reforms improved the election process while acceptance of election results could not make its place. Press lacked objectivity and the government imposed censorship on its critics. The Punjabi electors voted Muslim League as well as opposition with conventional thinking rejecting radical call against Muslim League, popular at that time in East Bengal. This article contributes to understanding early electoral behaviour of Punjab, particularly and the present scenario of elections in both Punjab and Pakistan in general.

Keywords: Punjab elections, election campaign, provincial election, party factions, Pakistan electoral politics, authoritarian politics

1. Introduction

Elections in Pakistan are an integral part of democratic mechanism as any other state. Electoral activities are related to both enthusiasm as well as uncertainty, panic, and enmity. The first general elections resulted in huge polarisation and the making of Bangladesh. The third general elections were a prelude to the new military regime of General Zia. However, future elections did not cause any tragic situations². The Majority in Pakistan considered the elections a necessary evil and denounced them complaining that the process hardly added any improvement in the stability of democratic system. Recently, due to the poor economic condition of the country many groups have begun a debate about the cost-benefit of elections. Their point of view is that a huge amount of state resources are consumed in elections which might be a waste of money.

This article maintains that electoral politics reflect gradual change in the choice of electorate but also public response to the active politicians. The relevance of provincial electoral behaviour with national elections is both filled with predictability and uncertainty as history has revealed. Thus the Punjab electoral behaviour is crucial because certain commonalities exist between its and federal electoral patterns. In the history of Pakistan, provincial elections of 1954³ in East Pakistan were considered politically significant because results not only exhibited radical change in the status of the incumbent Muslim League as well as public opinion of the largest province of united Pakistan. This article argued that the big picture did not complete without the study of the first provincial elections in Pakistan which were held in the Punjab in 1951.

Geographical, communal, political and economic realities had immensely changed in Punjab at the time of provincial elections in 1951 (Afzal, 2007). Yet electors inherently respond to campaign rhetorics to strengthen the notion of authoritarian trends (Gilmartin, 1998, 1991). Conventional Punjabi electors displayed gradual change as the second largest province of Pakistan (Wilder, 1999). Their electoral behaviour reflected less progressive but nationalistic as compared to East Bengal electors. Gilmartin (2009, 1988) noted that in rural Punjab, loyalty with personalities was stronger instead of law. It was again proved true especially in central and south Punjab during 1951 elections. Party or ideology affiliation was present in cities while in small towns and villages *bradri* attachment seems effective.

This article explored the answer to the following questions.

- What were the electoral patterns and did the voter have any real choice?
- How political parties selected their candidates and coalitions?
- How did the central government respond?
- How campaign rhetoric was built, and accepted?
- How did electorates and electors respond to results?
- How was the performance and impartiality of administration?

2. Background

There were huge changes in the Punjab of 1951 from 1947 as now it constituted geographically half as it used to be. It was now a Muslim majority because about thirty-nine lakh Hindu and Sikh Punjabi had migrated to East Punjab leaving substantial fertile agricultural lands while five and half million displaced Muslims were rehabilitated in the West Punjab and still migration continued. The first Premier of the West Punjab was Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, and his two prominent ministers Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan were sons of Punjab Muslim League leaders. These Young leaders of Punjab Muslim League were preferred by Quaid-e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah over older politicians because of their loyalties to the Muslim

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² After 1985 elections were held almost regularly though no government could complete its tenure until one more military regime of General Mussaraf (2001-2008)

³ Muslim League lost these elections to the United Front.

League and its cause⁴. Immediately after independence, the Punjab administration had to work for rehabilitation of millions of migrants, allocation of evacuee property, rescue of kidnapped women, floods damages, smuggling, and maintenance of law and order (Ali, 1973). Young ministers were also pressured with pattern-clintalism demands (McGrath, 1996). Instead of taking advantage of experienced Governor Sir F. Mudie, and setting a precedent for dealing every issue justly, allowed nepotism, favouritism, and corruption.

Consequently, Governor Raj was implemented in the Punjab on January 25th 1949, under section 92A of the amended Act of 1935. The 92A⁵ was included in 1948, through an Ordinance issued by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as Governor General when provincial governments in Pakistan were showing malpractices in administrative affairs (Mahmood, 2000). In January 1949 Khwaja Nazimudin on the advice of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan dissolved the Legislative Assembly and ministry of the West Punjab. The Punjab Ministry was accused of nepotism, misconduct and corruption. Governor Sir F. Mudie established an Anti-Corruption Department to prosecute corrupt officers (Dawn,). Accused Politicians and bureaucrats tried to politicise their wrongdoings. The Governor was pressured by the Centre government and ministers, even PM Liaqat Ali distanced himself from Governor F. Mudie, who resigned after six months (Hussain, N., 2019). Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar was nominated as new Governor and in 1950 first provincial elections in the Punjab were announced.

3. Election Inquiry Committee

The Basic Principles Committee established for Constituent making had a subcommittee to deal with adult franchise and elections (Kaukab, 2020). Ex-Governor Sir F. Mudie had appointed an Election Inquiry Committee whose Chairman was Sheikh Faiz Ahmad to report suggestions for electoral procedure. The committee in its first report proposed following;

1. Age of voters should be 21 for both men and women. There were no restrictions for education, and property.
2. There should be one seat for one lakh.
3. 42 seats for refugees. 3 for minorities in large towns of Lahore, Multan, and Rawalpindi. One reserved seat for women while one for University graduates.

This report was submitted to the public to comment. During the Constituent Assembly Pakistan (CAP) session Mian Iftikharudin and Sardar Shaukat Hayat overly discussed it. In the final report there were 197 seats in the Punjab Provincial Legislature. Muslim seats were 142 general, and five for women, thus 147 total Muslim seats, out of which 44 were reserved for refugees, 4 seats for non-Muslims, General community; one, and university graduates one (election report by government of the Punjab). Total number of Muslim electors was 81,50,213, while Government of the Punjab spent Rs. 2610351/- on these elections (Gopb, 1952).

4. Preparations for Elections

The Government of Pakistan made a law to include Dera Ghazi Khan in the Punjab. Governor Aburrah Nishtar issued Ordinance ; Punjab Assembly Election Act 1950⁶. There was another issue related to newly rehabilitated displaced individuals. According to the Election Ordinance following were the definition of the migrants. The person who originally belonged to East Punjab and those territories which now belonged to India, came into Punjab at the time of disturbance or before but intended to return to his original home. Administrative preparations for the elections were almost completed in the first month of 1951 (Civil Military Gazette 3.1.1951). According to the schedule the last date of nomination for candidates was February 5, 1951, scrutiny and paper checking was to be completed till 7 and 8th February, and election was to be held during 10 to 20th March (Mahmood, 2002).

5. Political Parties, Alliances & Campaigns

Punjab Muslim League (Punj.ML) became the major political party in the province after independence (Malik, A., 2003). Urban based Khaksar and Ahrar had lost their popularity during pre-independence elections and were reduced to large cities and towns. While Congress and Non-Muslim Sikh and Hindu parties had left. The Ahrars decided to support Muslim League instead of contesting. Communist party Pakistan had negligible support in the Punjab. Jamaat Islami were present in Karachi, Lahore and other urban areas. Their influence was mostly in the educated religious inclined people. Jamaat contested the election by nominating likeminded candidates. All Pakistan Christian League was the major non-Muslim party. There were other labour and local parties working in the Punjab, politically less significant.

Punjab ML factions had intensified after a short interval of freedom movement (Syed, 1989; Shah & Majeed, 2022). A faction led by Molana Abussatar Niazi was called 'Khilafat Group'. The Central League Working Committee expelled Molana Abussatar Niazi on calling League 'Mujram League' and for opposing appointment of advisors from the ML in October 1949. Anti-Mamdot group was called 'Progressive Group' led by Mian Mumtaz Daultana. Another faction who endorsed Khan Mamdot was called 'Jinnah group' the largest of all. Majority of Members of Legislative Assembly Punjab (MLAs) and refugee leaders were its members. Sardar Saukat Hayat and Mian Iftikharudin also had their separate groups but were not as strong or popular.

Mamdot Liaqat escalation started soon after independence when the Central government tried to direct the Punjab government about refugee rehabilitation and many other matters (Adeeb, 1978). At another time Quaid-e-Azam sent Liaqat Ali Khan to resolve the

⁴ Muslim League in its early phase had only some popularity in urban areas. In the rural Punjab large landholders controlled the electorates. Majority lived in rural areas therefore it was crucial to get their support for success. Majority of the rural ML members were ex-Unionists.

⁵ According to the 92A; if the Governor General believes that an emergency condition which is dangerous for Pakistan or any of its area is created and the provincial government is unable to run provincial government then the Governor General can dissolve the Assembly as well as provincial government.

⁶ According to this Act bribery and corruption during elections were punishable. Any candidate can withdraw from the elections 15 days before. (Civil Military gazette 30.10.1950)

conflict among Daultana, Mamdot, and Sardar Shaukat. Pro-Mamdot newspapers criticised the modern ways of Mr. and Mrs. Liaquat Ali Khan, and PM's performance on Kashmir Issue. Molana Abdul Bari, provincial League president, met PM Liaquat Ali Khan in Karachi leading a refugee group and demanded elections in Punjab (Iftikhar 1984). In October 1949 Khan of Mamdot was tried for allegations of malpractices during his premiership⁷. However, Khan Mamdot was declared free of charges in September 1950 after the court report.

Next day Mamdot group held a grand public meeting in Lahore, with immigrant leaders from East Punjab, Lahore based and rural Muslim League members of Jinnah group. Speakers criticised Mian Mumtaz Daultana group and PM Liaquat Ali Khan. They threaten to not allow Liaquat Ali Khan any activity in the Punjab (Adeeb, 1978).

Muslim League had scheduled a public meeting in university grounds, Lahore on 29th October 1950, and PM Liaquat Ali was going to address it. This meeting was disrupted when someone released a snake during the PM's Address. Liaquat Ali could not deliver his speech. Next day Liaquat Ali, as he was the President of Pakistan Muslim League now, called Mamdot. Mamdot left the Muslim League after a couple of days (Iftikhar, K., 1984).

6. Inception of Jinnah Muslim League & merger with Awami League

Khan Mamdot after consulting his friends decided to set up a new party and named it Jinnah Muslim League. Fifty workers and members left ML and joined Jinnah Muslim League in Mamdot Villa Lahore. Many supporters did not leave the party. While Muslim League members and leaders of Punjab including Malik Feroze Khan Noon, and Raja Ghazanfar Ali etc publicly criticise and blamed Khan Mamdot and his group.

Khan Mamdot in the press had said he would make an alliance with the Azad Pakistan Party however later it was not done. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy who had resumed politics in East Bengal and joined Awami League, had come to Lahore for support. He addressed a rally of migrants in Lahore who tried to obtain support from Punjabi migrants by blaming Liaquat for rehabilitating UP muhajir in the Punjab. He was called by Khan Mamdot to represent him in the court for the cases against him, however Suhrawardy became ill and could not. Suhrawardy Offered Jinnah League to join Awami League however, factions in both parties protested and demanded from their leaders not to do so. Molana Bhashani from Awami League and Molana Abdussatar Niazi from Jinnah League demanded their respective leaders not to merge with the other party. But Khan Mamdot and Suhrawardy agreed to merge their parties with each other.

Leaders of Awami League and Suhrawardy did not want the word 'Islami' to be included in the party name, while Leaders from Jinnah Muslim League insisted to do so. Suhrawardy pointed out that it was to get support of non-muslims in East Bengal. Companions of Mamdot exclaimed, excluding 'Islami' could make them unpopular in Punjab. Molana Abdussatar Niazi even demanded that Miss Fatima Jinnah should be made chairperson of the party then he and his companion would accept Awami League. Finally, both parties agreed to merge and the new name of the party was Jinnah Muslim Awami Party.

7. Azad Pakistan Party

Mian Iftikhar-u-din and Sardar Saikat Hyat Khan both were ministers in the first Punjab cabinet of Khan Mamdot. They both considered themselves more capable than him, moreover Jinnah group too regarded them as troublemakers. Both were expelled from ML by Secretary ML Abdul Qasim on violating League Discipline⁸. Mian Iftikharudin owned an English daily and communist inclinations. Mian Iftikharudin and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan also founded on November, 16, 1950. This party had communist and radical ideology (Khan, 1995). Azad Pakistan Party was rather a smaller party with a small scale organisation.

8. Election Campaign

Patriotism, unity, security of Pakistan, Kashmir issue, refugee settlement issues, Safety Act, establishment of new political parties were usually discussed in campaign meetings. Mamdot and Jinnah Muslim Awami party tried to cash in on the popularity of Miss Fatima Jinnah. Jinnah Muslim Awami League leaders claimed in their meetings that she would come to Punjab to address their public meetings. Muslim League was also anxious and wanted her support. She however, only delivered a statement to the press that her message to the Punjab public was to vote fearlessly to the followers of Quaid-e-Azam (Civil Military Gazette January 24, 1951).

In September, 1950 floods had badly affected large areas of Punjab. Thugs and thieves looted many flood ridden villages, and officials failed in both helping or protecting them. Ex-premier Mamdot and party members criticised the central government that it had not yet fulfilled its promise to help flood ridden areas. Nawa-e waqt reported Liaquat was in Murree while Mamdot and friends were working in flood areas the government left Punjab unattended (Nawa-e-Waqt).

9. ML Fact Finding Committee & Electoral Campaign

Muslim League was in both provincial and central incumbent governments and a well-resourced party. While Ex- Members of Punjab legislative Assembly were not happy with the decision of its dissolution by PM Liaquat. Yet the popularity of League in public was still intact, they could not ignore its ticket for provincial elections. The Central Muslim League took great interest in the first provincial elections. Mian Iftikharudin and Sardar Shaukat Hayat who were also vocal in Pakistan Constituent Assembly⁹ were

⁷ After the dissolution of Punjab Legislative Assembly and his ministry, cases of corruption were filed against him by the government.

⁸ They appealed in the Working Committee but Daultana was one of the judges and did not favour them.

⁹ At that time an individual could become a member of both provincial and Central legislatures at same time.

expelled from the party. ML was still the largest and most popular party in the province. It had strong membership and district level organisation which other parties lacked.

There were more than eight hundred applications from the potential candidates who wanted to contest elections on the Muslim League ticket. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali established a Committee which was called 'Fact Finding Committee' to decide the most suitable candidates for League tickets. This Fact finding Committee included; Education minister of Sindh, Mr. A.B. Haleem, Vice Chancellor of Sindh University Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Gaghra; member Working Committee Muslim League Central, and two members of Sindh Legislature Assembly; Mr. Hasan Ahmad Shah and Mr. Malik Sharif-u-din.

These members were later divided into groups and different districts of the Punjab were assigned to them. They travelled extensively to these districts and called upon candidates and party members.

'Fact Finding Mission' was told by candidates and workers that many members did not trust Mian Mumtaz Daultana¹⁰ and provided the names of suitable candidates. Prime minister with the consent of a Parliamentary Board, consisting of Mr. Nassir Mulli, Mr. Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Molana Abdul Baqi, and Syed Khaliqzaman finalised the ticket-holders. They distributed party tickets in 14 districts. The tickets were given to mixed candidates. In rural areas traditional influential families were favoured even brothers, cousins were given tickets. Many were Ex-Unionists. In urban areas both variables were considered i.e. electability and party services. A League worker Sardar Rasheed Ahmand was nominated in Lahore, rejecting Nawabzada Ghazanfar Qizalbash. Ex-minister Punjab Sheikh Kramat Ali, Ex-MLAs, Mian Nasrullah, Mir Ahmad Shah, Sheikh Nasim Hussain, Malik Muhammad Anwar were also refused League tickets. University of the Punjab Seat was being contested among Mr. Aga Bedar Bakht (Jinnah Muslim League), Khalifa Shujaudin (was sure of favour from ML), Mian Muhammad Tufail (Jamaat Islami) while another candidate Mr. Muhammad Ali Bajwa was independent. Many candidates who were refused for ML tickets, blamed ML leadership¹¹ and joined Jinnah Muslim League and Azad Pakistan Party for tickets.

A legal 'Advisory Committee' to provide assistance to ML candidates was also set up to assist them on legal matters. Muslim League also set up its 'Campaign Committee' which consisted of many members from other provinces too, who were assigned tasks to address the public meetings in the Punjab to obtain favour in public. PM Liaquat Ali Khan appointed General Secretary ML Muhammad Yousaf Khatak as Supervisor of the campaign, who transferred his office in Lahore, Khan Abdul Qayyum, and members of Working Committee of Pakistan ML delivered press releases to appeal public to support ML and remind voters to vote for Pakistan again.

Centre Minister Dr. Mahmood Husan and Sheikh Sadiq Hasan were also members of the Campaign Committee. Speakers in the public meetings remind the public of the achievements and sacrifices of Muslim League during the Pakistan Movement. They advised people to prioritise unity and reject splinter-born parties. They condemned new parties and ex-Leaguers as traitors of Pakistan.

10. Campaign by Candidates

Mian Mumtaz Daultana did not rely on the central League strategy. He arranged meetings with influential families in the rural areas and sought their support. He made them to promise on the pages of the Holy Quran (Anjum, 1996). He besides *biradri* leaders also met with the Sajada Nasheen, Syeds and Pirs and requested them to convince the public to vote for his party on the name of Islam. He especially focused on the constituencies where Jinnah League's important members were contesting. He repeatedly stated that a strong ML is the solution to every problem. He criticised Mamdot's performance as ex-premier. He promised to improve developmental works with the electors.

11. Manifesto Day Celebration

Daultana considered himself more sophisticated, learned and modern than Mamdot, because he himself was educated in Oxford University. He also targeted the Ex-provincial government that it had no manifesto (in those days' political parties in developed countries as well as communist parties often discussed about manifesto) therefore, Mian Mumtaz Daultana wrote an eleven point 'Manifesto' and distributed in all districts its leaflets. In 1951 twenty first January was declared Manifesto Day. He addressed the League workers on that day and discussed his eleven points (Anjum, 1996). He mocked that Mamdot and Mian Iftikharudin, who were friends, had separate parties. Another candidate in the same meeting Abu Saeed Anwar criticised Jamaat Islami for exploiting religion. The members from immigrant community Sheikh Sadiq expressed that elections are a challenge to improve national unity.

12. Christian Candidates Campaign

There were two notable Christian organisations, one was called All Pakistan Minority League, and Mr. P.D. Bandhara was contesting as a candidate for it. While second; All Pakistan Christian League; it nominated three candidates. They were Mr. S.P. Singha for Lahore seat, Mr. C.E. Gibbon for Rawalpindi Seat, for Gujranwala and Sheikhpura seat, Mr. Chandu Lal was nominated. There were a lot of other independent candidates contesting for these seats. ML tried to obtain an alliance with Mr. S.P. Singha and Mr. C.B. Gibbon but both refused. vMr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din was contesting on Christian & Anglo Pakistani seat- IV.

13. Women Candidates

¹⁰ Major Mubarak Ali Shah, and Ch. Asghar Ali. The former said those who had left the party were candidates for premiership and ministries. When they found their chances low, they left the party.

¹¹ Ch. Muhammad Nawas who was District Secretary of Muslim League Sialkot blamed that party had become a capitalist party and it had nothing for the poor.

An ex-MLA Baji Rashida Latif was a progressive woman, member of numerous women, trade, and labour unions and a proponent of women's rights. She was an Ex-MLA and took active part in legislative debates (Fareeda, et al., 2009). She also joined Jinnah Muslim League of Mamdot and contested from Lahore. Begum Irfanullah, member of Muslim League Council and Muslim League Women Wing was made supervisor of the electoral campaign for women (Civil & Military Gazette). Begum Jihan Ara Shahnwaz (outer Lahore) Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain (inner Lahore) were Muslim League candidates along with Begum Khadija G.A. Khan. Begum Gulzar Muhammad Ali (MBBS) was also contesting for Multan city.

14. Azad Pakistan Party

Mian Iftikharudin and Sardar Saukat Hayat also started their party election campaign with huge enthusiasm. Though that party did not have a large public popularity in rural areas or structure however, Mian Iftikharudin owned a newspaper and knew how to attract press with huge declarations and sensational statements. Majority of Azad party candidates were relying on personal efforts and connections. In public meetings Iftikharudin severely criticised the government. A large public meeting was arranged in Gujarat. Amir Hussain Shah presided over it, where Ex-MLA Sheikh Rashid Ahmad, Sardar Shaukat Hayat also addressed the public. Mian Iftikharudin said League ministers had not acted on its manifesto nor fulfilled their promises (Pakistan Times).

15. Other Smaller Parties

Ahrar decided to support Muslim League candidates. Candidates of Jamaat Islami spoke and demanded about Islamic system in Pakistan, and criticised the League government for forgetting its promise. Their candidates claimed that the best option is to choose Jamaat candidates to islamize Pakistan. There were a huge number of independent candidates contesting in the majority of constituencies. Many of them were those who were refused party tickets from ML and Jinnah Awami Muslim League. They criticised both government and opposition for antagonism and inefficiency while describing their own good abilities and social work.

16. Jinnah Muslim League Campaign

Khan Mamdot and Suhrawady have had opposing personalities; only similarity was anti-Liaqat Ali Khan feelings. Jinnah Awami Muslim League was the only party giving some competition to ML. Suhrawady knew that Mamdot had more popularity in Punjab and had no ambitions for powers at the central level yet. Suhrawady, while addressing public meetings, severely criticised the government on rehabilitation, Kashmir issue, and being a member of the commonwealth. Khan Mamdot was critical of the central government on its Kashmir policy. He blamed that the government was not doing enough efforts to solve the Kashmir issue. He also often declared that his severance from ML was due to League's weak national and provincial policies. He also described his services in rehabilitation and land allotment. His party had gathered famous orators like Agha Shorash Kashmiri, Molana Abdul Bari, and Molana Abusattar Niazi who attracted the public with emotional speeches. Khan Mamdot also enjoyed support from ex-student leaders, Urdu press, and immigrant leaders of East Punjab (Civil & Military Gazette).

17. Military Conspiracy

One day before these elections, PM Liaqat Ali Khan in a press conference, revealed that a conspiracy of military coup against the government was captured. One of the main accused arrested was Major General Akbar along with his wife. Poet and editor of daily *Pakistan Times* Faiz Ahmad Faiz was also a member of this conspirators group. Major General Akbar was son in Law of Begum Jihanara Shah Nawaz contesting for reserve seat for women. She first stated that she would not contest, but later withdrew her statement and won her seat (Asif, 2019, Civil Military Gazette 10.03.1951).

18. Elections and Voter Turnout

Turnout was not ideal, about 44% of voters voted, women voting ratio was far less than that. Polling was scheduled for ten days of March 1951, i.e. 10 to 20. Many clashes between supporters and rival candidates were reported related to firing, hurting, beating, and harm to electoral activities in Multan, Lyallpur, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Sheikhpura, and Lahore. Azad Pakistan Party, Jinnah Muslim Awami League leaders accused Mian Mumtaz Daultana and League candidates that they tried to influence civil servants to help League candidates (Kamran, 2009). Daily Nawa-e-waqt and other urdu magazines were vocal against the League. They hold it liable to heavy rigging done to achieve victory for its candidates. In Rawalpindi workers of Jinnah League reported in the press and to police about rigging. Suhrawady inculpated incumbents and demanded re-elections at once. Police and IG Punjab Qurban Ali Khan were accused of helping in rigging by opposition parties. A lot of unsuccessful candidates claimed that final results were different from those which were told at the polling stations (Nawa-e-Waqt).

Following were the details of seats won by different parties.

A controversy was created in Lahore where first Mr. Mirza Muhammad Ibtahim a labour leader was winning initially but after the final counting about 946 votes were rejected and ML leader Mr. Ahmad Saeed Kirmani was declared as the winner. Nawa-e-waqt protested and blamed Liaqat Ali Khan, and accused Up base bureaucrats, Returning officers for favouring Daultana and his friends. Next day a censor was imposed on the Nawa-e-Waqt. After ten days of tension, blame and conspiracy theories on the first of April 1951, election results were declared officially.

The results were not surprising, Muzaffer Ali Qazalbash was not given the ticket by Muslim League due to his past conduct but he defeated ML candidate as an independent and later obtained ministry of revenue, treasuries, colonies, & rehabilitation (pap.gov.pk) in both ministries of Daultana, and Noon. Sardar Saukat Hayat Khan and Mian Iftikharudin lost. Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan after a while left politics until 1970. Majority of conventional rural candidates won with the help of influence, and bullying if required.

Many constituencies were changed due to new migrants, and Baxter (1987) claimed that traditional family representation decreased. Hizar Hayat Khan Tiwana did not contest, but a relative Habibullah Khan Tiwana won the seat. There were new faces in the Assembly. New local leaders had emerged due to migration of old non-Muslim elites from their areas and also due to rehabilitation of new migrants from East Punjab (Talbot, I, 2006). These newly emerged leaders were either different *biradri* or clan leaders or successful businessmen. Many had won reputation from social work during turbulent days of independence. Molana Muhayudin from Jamaat Islami won from Lahore. Almost all important leaders of Jinnah Muslim Awami league won their seats, Khan Mamdot, Malik Ghulam Nabi, Mian Amir uddin, Baji Rashida Latif won along with Begum Salama Tssaduq Hussain, Begum Jahanara Shah Nwaz, Begum Khdeja G.A. Khan and Begum Gilzar Muhammad Ali won their seats.

Table no.1: Results of 1951 Punjab Provincial Elections

No. of Seats	Name of Party
16	Independents
5	Minorities
1	Azad Pakistan Party
1	Jamaat Islami
31	Jinnah Muslim Awami League
143	Muslim League
197	Total

Source: (Asif, 2019, p. 220)

19. Analysis and Conclusion

Electoral patterns changed in Punjab though not as radical as were in East Bengal. Parties, even Muslim League, had not provided visionary candidates for choice. If the criterion for candidates' nomination would have been based on characteristics like leadership, education, administrative experience, respect for rules, democratic nature, and integrity then performance of politicians would have improved with time. But instead parties preferred traditional methods of nominating those who can win no matter how. If a worker from lower and middle class was nominated for example Sardar Rasheed of ML was not voted by the public beside rich opponents' malpractices. Positive point was that quibblers such as Iftikharudin, Sardar Shaukat Molana Abusstar Niazi etc were rejected whereas they had won 1945-46 elections. ML had not needed to attempt rigging because it could have won without it.

Punjab electors and politicians behaved differently from East Pakistan; Electors still felt indebted to Muslim League for making Pakistan. The rigging did not happen at large scale in elections as were propagated. Politicians need to develop a tradition of accepting election results. Encouraging point was that the Central Muslim League tried to adopt democratic process of candidate selection as was practised in the days of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, but Punjab based candidates did not seem to follow the process as was seen in the tactics adopted by Daultana and Mamdot.

The Safety Act and censor on the press were non-democratic whereas excessive hate propaganda by the Urdu press created unnecessary hypertension during elections. They had forgotten that competition was among free Pakistanis and not with foreign rulers. Pattern-clientele offered during election campaigns, and later while establishing ministry proved fatal for Daultana and he faced pressure to fulfil election promises he had made. Religious parties could not attract votes. The Punjabi voter seems respectable to religious traditional leadership such as *pis* and *Sajada-nasheens* but did not vote for parties solely based on religious ideology.

Finally, the research paper argued that this election displayed gradual deterioration of democratic and lawful norms in political parties. The ML Working Council forbade those candidates to contest elections, who were not granted party tickets. But the majority disregarded and either joined other parties or contested elections as independents. Existing Punjabi leadership disregarded democratically granted authority within the party to its officials. Therefore, the office of party presidents became authoritative and centre of every decision. To encourage Rule of law as well as obedience of law in the province, party organisations have to adopt it in their hierarchy.

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