

Intra-Class Conflict and Landed Factionalism in the Institution of Punjab Legislative Assembly 1947-55²

Abstract

This paper will explore Intra class conflict and landed factionalism in the Institution of Punjab Legislative Assembly that how 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 which failed to generate a powerful political, social and economic structure in the province. The study will shed light on how in the post-colonial era Punjab elites wanted to retain their privileged position in the administration structure of Punjab and how these factional conflicts were encouraged by bureaucracy.

Key Words: Factions, Conflicts, Landlords, Legislation, Institution, Landed elites.

It is almost obvious that an institution is to be expected to perform well in function then It should be administratively fit. Some discrepancy within its assemblies, personality clashes or even divergent priorities or interests, are to be projected, but it is an institution which develop conducts to resolve them. Abandoned internal disagreement isolate members from institution and from one another. They do not work together and may instigate to imperfection; the institution has become ineffectual and incompetent and may even crumble at that time. Same was experienced in Punjab Legislative Assembly 1947-55.

The study will explore PLA as an institution from 1947-55 that could not function accurately 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. 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. After 1947 Intra-Class Conflict, Landed Factionalism in the Institution of PLA confronted tremendous challenges as compare to other provinces of Pakistan and failed to achieve their task.

In this Post-colonial period establishment was also clever enough to utilize of this factionalism, playing important role in making diverse political alliances off against each other in the quest of their own power and benefits. 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 capacity of the state's institution, logistical reach and capability to infiltrate society at the disposal of the colonial government of British, infrastructural power was the major difference between them. 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 legal system that could enforce and implement a plethora of laws intended to safeguard the interests of the landed allies and British government. In the first few decades of the twentieth Century under the colonial rule State-landholder relations reached their peak, when electoral politics and limited representative government was introduced actually it provided a new opportunity and ways, through which the power of both the landed elite and British raj could be strengthened. In addition, the landed elite formed informal associations to attract the government for further support, by these actors' political parties and organizations such as the Unionist Party came to be prominent and dominated, and remained the most influential force in Punjabi ground of politics for years to come.³Crux of the talk is, these activities legally institutionalized the patronage politics and traditions of province, with the field transfer from the durbar to district boards and legislative assemblies. To engender an institutional 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.⁴ 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

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² Dr Kalsoom Hanif, hereby declare: The article is a part of my PhD thesis submitted to History Department University of the Punjab, Lahore. The coauthor helped me refine this article as his area of research is same.

³Ian Talbot. *Punjab and the Raj 1849–1947* .(New Delhi : Manohar Publications, 1988) .

⁴Ali Imam. *The Punjab Under Imperialism, 1885-1947*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press.1988).

he says from the interests of individuals who are part of the institutions always different then institutional interests. "Applies to individuals in the long run individuals are all dead", not institutions.⁵ Individual interests based on are inevitably short-run interests. However institutional interests exist through time; the advocate of the institution has to consider 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."⁶

Nawab Iftikhar Mamdot and PLA:

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 (First Chief Minister of Punjab) 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 calmness.⁷ Sir Francis Mudie Governor of the West Punjab also did not have highly opinion about Mamdot.⁸ 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 rehabilitations put down by eradication of class differences existing in the social order. 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 formalities.⁹ 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. 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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 problem's country was facing and going through, and stressed on the necessitate for an 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

⁵Samuel Phillips Huntington."Political Order in Changing Societies". *Foreign Affairs*. 28 January 2009

⁶ Ibid

⁷Humayun Adeeb, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan: Mamdot Aur Punjab* .(Lahore: Society Books, 1989), p.341. After Quaid's demise Mamdot had to face the brass tacks of the Punjab politics. He had to seek good will 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 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.

⁸Francis.. *Mudie to 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.

⁹*The Pakistan Times*. May 28 1949, Lahore.

¹⁰Ahmad Salim, *Mamdot Say Wattoo Tak*, [Urdu] (Lahore: Gora Publishers, 1996), p.14."

¹¹ R.Afzal,. *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1947-1958*, Vol-1 (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986). p.88.

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 emphasized these leaders to ignore their previous differences and misunderstandings and work like a group by reminding them enormous responsibilities that fell upon the government of Punjab.¹² 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 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 their resignation from their posts from the Mamdot Ministry.¹³

Firstly, ambition and arrogance of Daultana may have provoked him to confront Mamdot, who was now a less important land owner, 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 year's 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. 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 rumor 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, 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. Daultana now turned his concentration to the provincial ML because on November 25, 1948 elections for party offices were planned. He determined to fight for the president of League against candidate of Mamdot Alauddin Siddiqui, for this seat.¹⁴ Each group used its contacts to imprison maintain of as various rural councilors and enough buses and cars were sent to transport them to Lahore. 22 votes won by Daultana and it was a margin of few numbers, General Secretary Wilayat Ali son of Liaquat Ali Khan was elected.¹⁵ Daultana during the election, a 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 favor 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 after 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

¹²Syed Noor Ahmad, *From Martial Law to Martial Law* (Lahore: Vanguard, n.d.1989), p.289.

¹³*The Pakistan Times*, 16 January 1949, Lahore.

¹⁴Muhammad Farooq Qureshi, *Pakistan Jumariat Ka Zawal*, [Urdu] (Lahore: Muktaba Fikr-o-Danish 1987), p.195.

¹⁵Zahid Chaudhary, *Muslim Punjab ka Siasi Irtiqa*. Vol. 5, 122. (Idara Mutalia Tarikh, 2013).

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 another group. Transfer orders were withdrawn 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 a slow 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 routine work of public officials, but one of Mamdot friends made his mind Chief Secretary deserved to be sent away because he had spoken as Daultana's sponsor."¹⁶ 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. 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. In January 1949 Liaquat Ali Khan visited to 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.¹⁷ 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 ministry, and Governor's rule should be introduced in the province after dissolution the Assembly.¹⁸

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 originals strength of 175 were reduced to somewhere below hundred. In view of actual number of memberships 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 passed by the Legislative Assembly also included the West Punjab Muslim personal law Sheriah 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.¹⁹ Sardar Shoukat Hayat appreciated the step taken by the central government. Minister Walayat Ali Khan declared it step in right direction. 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.²⁰ Daultana sensing that the tide had turned now joined with the provincial Muslim League condemned the center, intervention as undemocratic and retrograde.²¹ 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".²² 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.

¹⁶ Ahmad Salim, *Mamdot Say Wattoo Tak*, [Urdu] (Lahore: Gora Publishers, 1996)

¹⁷ K.K. Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan : a study in nationalism*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967).

¹⁸ R. Symond, *The making of Pakistan* .(London: Faber and Faber, 1949) .

¹⁹ *The Pakistan Times*, 19 March 1950.

²⁰ Ahmad Salim, *Ahmad. Mamdot Say Wattoo Tak*, [Urdu] (Lahore: Gora Publishers, 1996)

²¹ Aysha Jalal, *The State of Martial Law* .(London: Cambridge University Press 1997) .

²² Shahnawaz, *The heart divided*. (Snippet view, 1990).

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 Attock district.²³ Unfortunately 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. =10,00,000/- to four Achnut members of the PLA to alter their loyalty for his seat of premier but also used his influence and wealth, with the help of begum Shah Nawaz, to obtain grenades arms from NWFP.²⁴

Dissolution of Punjab Legislative Assembly 1949:

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. Mudie was trying to file a case, under PRODA, against Mamdot on the custodies of dishonesty and misappropriation of control 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 leader vessel of the Muslim league in favor of Mian Abdul Bari who demanded Mudie's removal from the office and organized a campaign against Mudie. These events dismissal of assembly, resignation of Mudie are note worthy as they proved how the landed elite rallying, as a unified force against a joint rival, owned the power to challenge and test the authority of the state effectively.

Provincial Elections 1951:

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 Abdu Rub Nishtar in January 1949. In 1951, barely four years after the end of British rule, Punjab's landed elites were able to use their economic and social clout to dominate elections to the district boards and provincial legislatures. Interestingly enough on 30th 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 still fresh as the founder party. Whereas Electoral Reform Commission Report²⁵ 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.

Mumtaz Daultana and Punjab Legislative Assembly

After gaining an obvious power in the province, Mumtaz Daultana Mian who had been landlord of the southern Punjab, famous Unionist and political figure of Punjab in the pre parcel time started interfering in the affairs of the Central Government. 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. 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 affected its recognition in the entire country. Daultana got opportunity when, Nazimuddin was no more in the central government and from Lahore martial law by General Azam

²³Francis, *Mudie to 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.

²⁴*The Civil & Military Gazette*. 1955, 31st August 'Refugee representation in One-Unit set up: Punjab ministers and MLAs demand proportionate seats

²⁵"*Electoral Reforms Commission Report*." 1956.

was withdrawn, circumstance and time was once again favorable for him to design the craft of politics. He originated ideas to eject Noon from office. Lieutenant Mohammad Hussain Chattha his friend set a plane to announce a no-confidence motion against Feroze Khan Noon in the ML Assembly party in November 1953. 86 members sworn to support him while assembled at house of Daultana. At this point, in behalf of Noon however, PM Bogra and the Punjab Governor, Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, stimulated in to stump Assembly members. 87 of them were there at house of the Noon' and assured to support him. It seems that twenty-six legislators adored the generosity of both houses and, in turn, promised loyalty to each. As the president of the PML Bogra, wanted to put the matter on a stronger footing. He allowed to re admit the Nawab Iftikhar Mamdot and his supporters to the party, now in the Punjab Assembly they were eligible to take part in balloting and vote in the proceedings of the ML party. Of course, they sided with Noon. Daultana's scheme of voting down the ministry of Noon thus failed. Now Daultana made a plane to remove him from Punjab ML party. In June 1953 Noon's election for the president had been an undecided deal. To contest Noon, group of Daultana had chosen Mohammad Hussain Chattha. Under the leadership of Noon Punjab Government, arrested Chattha before one week of election therefore he was removed from the electoral process. Chattha's candidacy was withdrawn. Thereupon Noon was elected president. But Daultana and his followers by December 1953, were once again prepared plan against him. In the party council he has tenuous support, and it looked that a no-confidence motion would pass against Noon. At that time Bogra wanted to dissolve the Punjab ML council but he had fear that Daultana would challenge him in national council of the party so he postponed to implement his decision. He threatened to dissolve the Punjab Muslim League and order new elections to the council

Feroze Khan Noon and Punjab Legislative Assembly:

For the office of the Chief Minister of Punjab next choice of center 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 as new Chief Minister.

Feroze Khan instead of seeking reconciliation among the conflicting factions adopted the policy of confrontation in order to maintain himself in power.²⁶ 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 favor of those who became aggressive by Daultana's reforms.²⁷ Immediately after assuming office he observed that the reforms had created confusion by worsening the landlord tenant relationship and if not amended, would lead to communism. He presents the bill for amending the agrarian reforms.²⁸ However, improvement of the little reforms by feudal cabinet was remarkable achievement but could not be implemented 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 center, Noon became in favor of the scheme of One Unit in the beginning, in spite of his reservations regarding the motives of central management, functioning behind the implementation of One Unit scheme.²⁹ Later on it was realized central government took that decision against the wishes of the provinces. He sustained to refuse and to accept the central command and ML in their open using of authority to put forward the legislatures after the Punjab to the Essential Meeting of Pakistan. as a result, Noon remained no more reliable agent of the center government 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.³⁰

²⁶ There are several letters in the Quaid-i-Azam papers that allude to this emerging rivalry, some of which are, interestingly enough, written by Viqar-un-Nissa Noon, Feroze's wife, who complained on several occasions to Jinnah about the rough treatment her husband was receiving from his colleagues. See, for example, Letter from Viqar-un-Nissa Noon to M. A. Jinnah, 27 February 1946, QAP Vol. XII, 616-618

²⁷ Daultana's support for land reform arguably provided the pretext for the rebellion against him in Punjab. In 1953, Daultana sought to bring down the new Noon government in Punjab through a vote of no-confidence. Muslim League MLAs were split right down the middle in their support for the two factions, with 86 and 87 members supporting Daultana and Noon respectively. Not unexpectedly, several had once again committed to both sides, although the matter was ultimately decided by the re-admittance of Mamdot and his followers to the party in exchange for their pledge to support Noon. See Safdar Mahmood quoted in Syed (1989, 59-61).

²⁸ *Dawn*, 7 May 1953.

²⁹ K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, .

³⁰ Shahnawaz, *The heart divided*. Snippet view, 1990.

Conclusion

Landed elite were in position to exercise their privileged authority in Post-Partition as their domination was demonstrated in the elections of 1951. However; the fact was that elites had potential to use powers effectively as shown the event like Mudie's resignation. the pervasive factionalism to the politics of Punjab prohibited the class solidarity. In its place, struggle for supremacy and power became a basis of instability and uncertainty once again, Establishment was always ready to manipulate these different factions of the landed elite to pursue and safeguard their own interests.

Members 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. Landlords in the Assembly were not 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 win and defeat their opponents. 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.³¹ In return they could tribute him just in form of their vote. Asking and demanding was not shame for the Chief and for his rival because they were in fight on war of principal but for dominance and power and level of satisfaction as well. Dividing 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.

³¹Woodruff, P. (n.d.). *The Men Who Ruled India*. Darling, Rusticus Loquitur.